1692.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

During the REIGNS of the

Royal Houſe of *STUART.*

WHEREIN

The ERRORS of LATE HISTORIES are Diſcover'd and Corrected;

With PROPER REFLECTIONS;

And ſeveral ORIGINAL LETTERS from King CHARLES II. King JAMES II. OLIVER CROMWELL, &c.

As alſo the Lord SAVILLE's Famous *Forg'd Letter* of Invitation, which brought the *Scots* into *England* in the Year 1640;

And gave Occaſion to the Beginning of the CIVIL WARS.

This LETTER being never before publiſh'd, led the Earl of CLARENDON, Biſhop BURNET, Mr. ECHARD, Dr. WELWOOD, and other Writers, into Egregious MISTAKES upon this Head.

To all which is Prefix'd,

Some Account of the *Liberties* taken with CLARENDON's HISTORY before it came to the Preſs, ſuch *Liberties* as make it Doubtful,

What Part of it is CLARENDON's, and what Not.

The whole Collected from the moſt AUTHENTICK MEMOIRS, *Manuſcript* and *Printed.*

By the Author of the CRITICAL HISTORY of ENGLAND.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN PEMBERTON, in *Fleetſtreet*; RICHARD FORD, RICHARD HETT, and JOHN GRAY, in the *Poultry*; and THOMAS COX, under the *Royal-Exchange.*

M.DCC.XXX.

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M.DCC.XXX.

TO ALL

TRUE ENGLISHMEN,

LOVERS of our

Preſent Happy Conſtitution.

IT is about twenty Years ſince I was deſir'd by ſome Perſons of Eminence, who were very much in your Favour, to undertake the Defence of your *Happy Conſtitution* againſt the furious Attacks of a Powerful Faction, who, in the latter part of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, by falſe Doctrine, falſe Argument, by wicked Arts, and deluſive Pretences, ſubverted the beſt Adminiſtration you ever liv'd under; and would have ſubverted your Religion, Liberty and Laws, had not the good Providence of God interpos'd for your Deliverance, as it had done wonderfully at the *Revolution*.

In the Proſecution of this Work, I was obliged to look back into the Practices of the Enemies to the *Conſtitution* of ENGLAND, ever ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; for till then *Engliſhmen* had no Enemies but *Foreigners* and *Papiſts*, and I found all thoſe Practices to be ſo many Warnings to us to guard againſt them for the future.

Scarce was that glorious Princeſs cold in her Grave before there broke out a flaming Zeal for what thoſe Men were then pleas'd to call the *Church*; by which they, in truth, meant no other than the Tyranny of the *High-Commiſſion Court*, and the inferior Spiritual Courts under their Protection.

To make this paſs with the Prince, their Doctors every where preach'd up the boundleſs Prerogative of the Crown, the ſlaviſh Obedience of the Subject, and the Bleſſings of Arbitrary Power and Servitude; which in a limited Proteſtant Government, could not but create ill Blood, as ill Blood always creates Diſtempers, which become obſtinate by Continuance, and are not to be cur'd, but by Remedies equally violent and dangerous.

What then? Muſt the Patient die for fear the Phyſick ſhould gripe him? Your Fathers, when the Diſeaſe was likely to become mortal, never fail'd of applying a Cure, and never fail'd of Succeſs; tho' the Editors of Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and Archdeacon *Echard*, repreſent them as ſo many *Empiricks*, who knew neither the Diſeaſe nor the Cure, but adminiſter'd the *Poiſon*, inſtead of the *Antidote*.

The Acceptance which ſome of my former Endeavours for your Service found with you, in the MEDLEY, The SECRET HISTORY OF EUROPE, and other Treatiſes, too numerous to be inſerted, inſpir'd me with Ambition to produce ſomething more worthy that Honour.

I could think of nothing ſo neceſſary, as to diſcover the *Errors* in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, and Mr. *Echard*'s Hiſtory; and having ſo done, to ſet the Facts in the four *Stuarts* Reigns in a true light, that the glorious Principles and Practices of your Anceſtors, might no longer lie under the Reproach of REBELLION;

——nec dicier Arma Senatus
Bella ſuperba decet,—ſed Patriæ vindicis Iram.

but be Examples of a brave and neceſſary Defence of their Religion and Liberty to all Generations.

It is true, we are ſo happy as to live under a Government, which has the ſame Foundation with our *Liberty*, and the joint Security of both is inſeparable. But we ſee every day, eſpecially of late, many wild and inſolent Attempts made to blanch the Characters of all the Princes, who in the

the laſt Century attempted to deſtroy our Religion, Rights, and Privileges, to ſet them off as ſo many *Patres Patriæ*, and to blacken *Your Patriots* and Champions, as ſo many Villains and Scoundrels; the Terms that are made uſe of, with a traitorous Intent to promote the Intereſt of a pretended Heir to thoſe Princes, who doubtleſs inherits their Love to your Religion and Liberty, with the Advantage of having never liv'd in any Country, but where Tyranny and Popery were triumphant; and who conſequently can have no Conception, that Heaven has any other Happineſs in ſtore for either Prince or People.

You have given me reaſon to believe, that the *Critical Hiſtories* of *England*, and the Compariſon of *Clarendon* with *Whitlock*, diſcover'd the Errors of the above-mention'd Hiſtorians to your Satisfaction; and to encreaſe it, I have farther examin'd them *en paſſant* in this Work: after which, I hope neither the preſent Age nor Poſterity will be in danger of being impos'd upon and corrupted by them, as it is very plain they would have been, had the Counſels and Actions of your Anceſtors been handed down to them with ſo much Miſrepreſentation, Partiality and Malice, without Remark and Animadverſion. If the Miſchief intended by theſe Writers is prevented, I leave to you to judge of the Importance of the Service, and I can no more doubt of your doing it Juſtice, than of your Affection and Attachment to the Welfare of your Country.

Some ill Men have maliciouſly aſpers'd the Author, as if he had been *hired* by a *Party* to write, what otherwiſe he had no Concern about: But the Baſeneſs of this Aſperſion will appear in almoſt every Page of his Writings, where the Reader will ſoon ſee the Heart ſpeaks with a Sincerity and Ardor, that are not to be bought and ſold; and as to the *Hire*, were it decent for him to explain himſelf, he could prove the Falſhood of that Charge to a degree not eaſily to be imagin'd or believ'd.

When you have gone thro' the following Reigns, and are come to their Diſſolution, in the Acceſſion of King *William* and Queen *Mary* to the Throne, will you not look back upon them, as Voyagers do on the boiſterous Ocean, after having eſcap'd Shipwreck, when they ſtand ſafe on the ſolid Shore? Will you not dread the like Tempeſt, and promiſe yourſelves never again to tempt the Dangers of the Deep? Will you not be deaf to all Perſuaſion and Flattery, and reſolve, as far as in you lies, to enjoy the Calm and Safety you live in, with contented and grateful Minds? Will you not then abhor thoſe reſtleſs mutinous Spirits, who endeavour to diſturb that Calm, and endanger that Safety? Will you not perceive their pernicious Views, however they diſguiſe them? Will you not diſtinguiſh Names from Things, Truth from Falſhood, and adhere

firmly to the Leſſons left you by your Fathers, for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant Religion* and *Liberty*, which ſo many of them ſeal'd with their Blood? If I could flatter myſelf that the remembring theſe things here, would have ſo good an Effect, how ſhould I rejoice in the Succeſs of my Labours?

But be that as it will, I ſhall never ceaſe to pray that your Happineſs in the preſent Conſtitution, *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, may be tranſmitted to your Sons, and their Sons Sons, to the End of Time.

I am,

Your moſt Humble,

Moſt Faithful,

And moſt Devoted Servant.

PRE-

PREFACE.

IT were to be wish'd that the Divisions among us in England, *and the Mischiefs they have occasion'd since the Death of Queen* Elizabeth, *were bury'd in everlasting Oblivion; that all Names and Notions of Distinction among* Englishmen *might be no more heard of, and that a Spirit of Peace and Union might spread over the whole Nation.*

It is the Duty and Interest of all Men to contribute to this Blessing to the utmost of their power, and why this is not done, is very easy to be observ'd.

Particular Parties support themselves by particular Views, and no Persuasion or Argument can reconcile them to the General Good, if those Views are lost by it, and the Happiness it would procure is to be in common. A mean and ruinous Way of Thinking, unworthy a wise and generous People! But it has prevail'd so long, and taken so deep root, that it is not to be eradicated by Precept; *and if* Example *has any Prevalency, some benefit may accrue by turning over the following History, where the fatal Effects of Division and Discord will appear in almost every Page, as well before and after the* Civil Wars, *as during those miserable Times of Devastation and Slaughter.*

Yet what Hope is there of succeeding in any Attempt to unite Men's Minds, their divided Opinions and Interests, and reduce them to one sound Principle, that of Liberty *Spiritual and Temporal, as long as there is so little Disposition in them to look on things with an impartial Eye, and to judge without Prejudice and Passion?*

Perhaps I may myself be thought guilty of that Passion and Prejudice, and to be mis-led by the same Weakness I condemn in others. It is therefore necessary to consider what is, or ought to be understood by the Word Party; *and I wish what I have to say on that Subject were worth the Reader's Attention: for if my Conceptions are right, as I must think they are, till I am bettter inform'd, I cannot justly be deem'd a* Party-man, *or pass under that Censure with Men of Reason and Candour, however Appearances may at first sight make against me.*

If we have any such thing as a Constitution, *and that* Constitution *is the Bulwark of our Ecclesiastical and Civil Liberties, Rights and Properties, whatever is said or done in defence of it, is for the Advantage of the* Commonwealth, *of every one in particular, and of all in general; which sure is not a* Party, *no one Man, nor no Set of Men, having any more Concern in it than another, but in proportion to the Interest he or they have in the Whole.*

If this Constitution *is founded in the Protestant Religion, a due and impartial Execution of the Laws, a just and equal Administration of Affairs; then all contrary Courses are contrary to the* Constitution, *and he who adheres to it, cannot be said to be of a* Party, *because the* Constitution *is the Whole; and those only are* Party-Men, *who divide from it, by setting up an arbitrary, partial, unequal, illegal Government, and an Interest separate from that of the Publick. It follows then, that those who stand up in defence of this happy* Constitution, *when any Breaches are attempted to be made in it, are no more* Party-Men, *than those who shou'd, in case of Invasion, stand up in defence of their Country; especially since domestick Enemies are more dangerous than foreign, and Treason more to be fear'd than Power.*

It will appear plain enough by the History of the Stuartine *Kings, that they were continually making Breaches in this* Constitution, *and endeavouring utterly to subvert it: Those therefore that adher'd to them in such unlawful Endeavours, of course separated from the general Interest, and supported a particular mistaken one, in opposi-*

tion to it, which render'd them the worſt ſort of Party-Men; *while their Opponents were the only true Sons of the Common-wealth,* good Proteſtants, *and* good Engliſhmen, *adhering to their Birthright, their Religion, Liberties and Properties, which thoſe Princes, and their Adherents, in ſo many Inſtances invaded and violated.*

The Facts in the following Hiſtory being the Proofs of this Aſſertion, the Queſtion is brought into a narrow Compaſs; for if the Facts are true, the Argument deduced from them muſt be ſo too; upon which Iſſue I leave it.

I expect that ſome Perſons of too much Indifference in matters of ſo very great Importance, will be apt to cenſure this Undertaking, as if it was a reviving antient Animoſities, and giving a new Ferment to that ill Blood, which occaſion'd the Diſtempers in the laſt Century: But theſe Perſons do not conſider what great pains have lately been, and are now every day taken to vilify the Principles and Practices of thoſe brave and wiſe Men, the Hampdens, *the* Hollis's, *the* Pyms, *the* Seldens, *the* Onſlows, *the* Whitlocks, *&c. who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in Counſel and in Arms, by their Zeal for the Reform'd Religion, the Rights and Privileges of the People.*

When the Nation was pretty well reconcil'd to the Principles of the Revolution in Queen Anne's *Reign, and the Doctrine of* Paſſive-Obedience *and* Non-Reſiſtance *was become ſo much a Jeſt, that it was hardly nam'd, but in Ridicule; when the Cauſe it was to ſupport, was ſinking ſo faſt, that in a little time we were like to hear no more of* Hereditary, Unalienable, Indefeaſible, Unalterable *Right to the Crown, which are all only ſo many Names for the* Pretender: *Then did the* Party, *Enemies to the* Revolution, *and the Governments founded upon it, bring forth the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *under the great Name of the Earl of* Clarendon; *and the Prefacer told her Majeſty,* That the induſtrious Propagation of the REBELLIOUS Principles of the laſt Age, (*Pray obſerve he very decently calls the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons* REBELS) Render'd it neceſſary that ſhe ſhould have an eye towards them. *The Tenour of the Hiſtory is to juſtify all the arbitrary illegal Acts of Government, which produc'd the* Civil War, *and to repreſent the Parliament that oppos'd them, as a Company of hot-headed factious Enthuſiaſts. But I deſire it may be remember'd, the* Editors *of it were not charg'd with* reviving Animoſities: *And coming out under the Protection of what they were pleas'd to call the* Church, *no body durſt queſtion the Truth of it, till it had done ſo much Miſchief, that the Malady became almoſt incurable. At laſt the* Critical Hiſtories *made way for this, as the beſt Cure that could be thought of; and as ſuch it is offer'd to the Publick, for whoſe Service it was written, and in whoſe favourable Acceptance the Author hopes to find a Reward for all the Labour, Trouble and Expence he has been at, under many Diſcouragements and Hindrances. The latter indeed ſeem'd affected, and that by Perſons, who, the world would think, ſhould rather have forwarded than hinder'd ſo uſeful and laudable an Undertaking.*

But theſe Matters are too particular and perſonal, to concern the Reader any farther in them.

I have, in more than one Place of this Hiſtory, mention'd the great reaſon there is to ſuſpect that the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *as it was publiſh'd at* Oxford, *was not entirely the Work of the Lord* Clarendon, *who did indeed write a Hiſtory of thoſe Times, and I doubt not a very good one; wherein as I have been, I believe, well inform'd, the Characters of the Kings, whoſe Reigns are here written, were very different from what they appear in the* Oxford *Hiſtory, and its Copy, Mr.* Echard's. *I ſpeak this by* Hearſay; *but* Hearſay *from a Perſon ſuperior to all Suſpicion, and too illuſtrious to be named without leave.*

I alſo humbly refer it to the Deciſion of another very honourable Perſon, whether there is not, to his Knowledge, ſuch a Hiſtory in Manuſcript ſtill extant; and to a Reverend Doctor now living, whether he did not ſee the Oxford *Copy, by which the Book was printed, alter'd, and interpolated; and the Proofs of the printed Copy, and even the Reviſes of thoſe Proofs alter'd and interpolated, while it was at the Preſs.*

To which I muſt add, that there is now in cuſtody of a Gentleman of Diſtinction, both for Merit and Quality, a Hiſtory of the Rebellion *of the firſt Folio Edition,* ſcor'd *in many Places by Mr.* Edmund Smith *of* Chriſt-Church, Oxon, *Author of that excellent Tragedy,* Phædra *and* Hippolitus, *who himſelf alter'd the Manuſcript Hiſtory; and added, what he has there mark'd, as he confeſs'd with ſome of his laſt Words before his Death. Theſe Alterations, written with his own Hand, and to be ſeen by any one that knows it, may be publiſh'd on another occaſion, with a farther Account of this Diſcovery. In the mean time, for the Satisfaction of the Publick, I inſert a Letter entire, which I receiv'd ſince the laſt Paragraph was written.*

To

To Mr. *******

SIR,

ACcidentally looking on ſome of the Sheets of your *Hiſtory of* England, *during the Reigns of the Royal Houſe of* Stuart, *at the Bookſellers*, I find that you mention the Hiſtory of Lord *Clarendon*; wherein you juſtly queſtion the Genuineneſs of that Book: In order to put that matter out of Doubt, I here ſend you the following Account.

Mr. *Edmund Smith*, a Man very well known in the Learned World, came down to make me a Viſit at ***** about *June*, 1710, where he continu'd till he died, about ſix Weeks after.

As our Converſation chiefly ran upon Learning and Hiſtory, you may eaſily think that *Clarendon*'s was not forgotten. Upon mentioning that Book, he frankly told me, "*That there had been a fine Hiſtory written by Lord* Clarendon, *but what was* "*publiſh'd under his Name was only* Patch-Work, *and might as properly be call'd* "*the Hiſtory of* Al..... Small..... *and* Atterbury, *for to his knowledge 'twas alter'd*; "*nay, that he himſelf was employ'd by them to interpolate and alter the Original.*"

He then ask'd me, *Whether I had the Book by me? if I had, he would convince me of the Truth of his Aſſertion by the very printed Copy.* I immediately brought him *the Folio* Edition, and the firſt thing he turn'd to, was the Character of Mr. *Hampden*, where is that Expreſſion of, "*He had a Head to contrive, a Heart to conceive,* "*and a Hand to execute any Villany.*" He then declar'd it was foiſted in by thoſe Reverends.

SIR,

I have only to add this, That he not only underlin'd this Paſſage as a Forgery, but gave, during the ſhort time he liv'd with me, the ſame Remark to ſome Hundreds more.

I am, Sir, &c.

Tho' this Information differs a little from my former, mention'd in the Body of the Book, yet it, in the main, confirms it, and comes from a Perſon of ſo much Honour and Worth, as leaves not the leaſt room to doubt it. The Original of this Letter is and ſhall be forthcoming. It has been read by all my Bookſellers, and the Gentleman who wrote it, is ready to atteſt the Truth of it.

And now what a Farce was play'd in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *its* Dedication, *and* Prefaces, *all which were publiſh'd, as was thought, ſeaſonably, to prevent Queen* Anne's *putting her Affairs into the Hands of thoſe Miniſters, who rais'd the Reputation of* England *higher than ever it had been perhaps in any preceding Reign,* Plantagenet *or* Tudor? *And what was their Reward? What the fatal and ſhameful Effects of ſhifting thoſe Hands, and putting in their Places*—— our Enemies will tell the reſt with pleaſure, *as ſaid the Right Reverend Father Biſhop* Fleetwood?

It was the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *and the Preachments that were made upon it, which in a great meaſure rais'd that wicked Spirit which threw the Kingdom into Diſtraction and Confuſion in* Sacheverell's *Time, robb'd it of all the Fruits of ſo many glorious Victories, and reduced it to a State of Diſhonour and Contempt, like that of the Reigns we have been writing.*

Was it not then neceſſary for Poſterity, *The preſent Age, 'tis to be hoped, are made wiſer by ſuch late dear-bought Experience; I ſay, for* Poſterity *to have an* Antidote *for the* Poiſon? *An* Antidote *is in this Hiſtory, which we truſt will deſcend to them, and anſwer its End, notwithſtanding the* Impediments *it has met with.*——*Of which no more at preſent.*

I am far from thinking that no part of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion *was written by Lord* Clarendon. *The Fruitfulneſs of the Imagination, the Beauty and Variety of Colouring, and above all, the Redundancy of Expreſſion, are Proofs to the contrary, tho' they are all well imitated in the Alterations: but it appears at firſt ſight, that thoſe who directed thoſe Alterations were zealous for the* Laudæan *Hierarchy, the Honours and Emoluments thereunto belonging, which no Lay-Hand would have labour'd ſo much.*

Beſides, it is not poſſible for an Hiſtorian, who treats of a Conteſt in a Nation divided into two Parties, to range all the Heroes *on one ſide, and all the* Poltrons *on the other, with any regard to Fact and Truth. Heat here prevail'd over*

Judgment, and who are the Hot Men when their Intereſts and Prerogatives are in queſtion, I leave to every one to judge.

The Wonder is very much magnify'd by the Editors *ranging all thoſe* Heroes *on the ſide of Tyranny, the* worſt *Cauſe that can be, and all the* Poltrons *on that of* Liberty, *which is the* beſt.

Lucan, *in his* Poetical *Hiſtory, written almoſt* 1700 *Years ago, and* 1200 *Miles off, deſcribes the Parties engag'd in our unhappy Civil Wars, more juſtly and naturally than is done in the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion. *We find there the General of the* Senate's *or Parliament's Army thus haranguing his Soldiers the* Roundheads *of* Old Rome:

O ſcelerum Ultores, melioraque ſigna ſecuti:
O vere Romana manus: quibus Arma Senatus
Non privata dedit, votis depoſcite pugnam.

Ye brave Avengers of your Country's Wrong,
You who to Rome *and* Liberty *belong;*
Whoſe Breaſts our Fathers Virtue truly warms,
Whoſe Hands the Senate's *ſacred Order arms:*
With chearful Ardor meet, &c.

ROWE.

He then charges Cæſar *and his Followers, the* Roman *Cavaliers, with beginning the Civil War, as King* Charles I. *and his* Cavaliers, *were always charg'd by the Parliament, and by all fair and impartial Hiſtorians.*

Jam tetigit Sanguis pollutos CÆSARIS Enſes:
Dij melius, Belli tulimus quod Damna priores,
Cœperit inde nefas. *Nec dicier Arma Senatus*
Bella ſuperba decet, ſed Patriæ Vindicis Iram.

Now CÆSAR's *Sword with* Roman *Blood is ſtain'd;*
The Fates this Field for our Defence ordain'd:
His Lawleſs Rage the Senate long did bear,
Patient of Ills, till he began the War.
Some other Term to their juſt Arms belongs,
A righteous Vengeance of their Country's Wrongs.

We have a very lively Image of the Armies of Greenvile *and* Goring *in the* Weſt, *as they are left us in the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *and of the Sack and Slaughter at the taking of* Briſtol, Leiceſter, *&c. by the* Royaliſts.

——————————Neque enim iſta vocari
Prælia juſta decet——————————
Nec magis hoc Bellum eſt, quam cum *Catilina* paravit
Arſuras in tecta faces, ſociuſq; Furoris
Lentulus, exertique manus veſana *Cethegi.*
O Rabies miſeranda ducis!

Yet call not it a War *to which we go,*
We ſeek a Malefactor, *not a Foe.*
Rome's *awful injur'd Majeſty demands*
The Puniſhment of Traytors at our hands.*
If this be War, then War was wag'd of old,
By curſt Cethegus, Catiline *the Bold;*
By ev'ry Villain's *Hand who durſt conſpire,*
In Murder, Robbery, or Midnight Fire.
Oh wretched Rage! Thee, Cæſar, *&c.*

ROWE.

* The Puniſhment of *Delinquents* was declar'd by King *Charles* IId's firſt Parliament to be a *juſt Cauſe* for that *War*, which the *Editors* of Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory call the *Grand Rebellion*.

One thing more is observable in this Translation of Mr. Rowe's, *and that is his Negligence of* Decorums. *He sticks not to call the Emperor* Julius Cæsar MALEFACTOR, *and his Adherents* VILLAINS, *a Term which is sufficiently warranted by the Example of the* History of the Rebellion, *and Archdeacon* Echard's *History, when they speak of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, and their Adherents. Whoever reads* Lucan's Pharsalia, *finds a thousand Parallels for our* Civil Wars *as to* Things; *but as to* Persons, *the Character even of* Cæsar's Romans *can by no means be lower'd to that of our* Cavaliers; *tho' I think the* Hampdens *and the* Pyms *were as truly* Roman, *in Principle and Practice, as the* Cato's *and* Scipio's.

If I have any where spoken of the Earl of Clarendon *as the Author of the* Oxford *History, I spoke it when I had not had so good Information, and was in some doubt concerning it, tho' very little, for the Reasons here suggested, and its unparallel'd and undisguis'd Partiality.*

Mr. Echard's *History is a poor Copy of the* History of the Rebellion. *He has copy'd the very* Foibles of it, *the Overflowings of Fancy and Expression, as well as the Errors in Fact; and I could not make room for my own History, without removing the Rubbish which those Historians had laid in my way: a Work which, while I was upon it, put me often in mind of the* Augæan *Stable.*

However, what I have said of those Historians, has no more Malice nor Rancour in it, than the Pleadings of a Lawyer, who, to make good his Cause, bears hard on his Antagonist, and perhaps dines with him as soon as the Trial is over; nevertheless with this difference, that the Author has made a Conscience of saying any thing which he believ'd was not true. A Scruple that, 'tis to be fear'd, is not always observ'd in Pleadings.

I have heard some Gentlemen express their Fears, that there would be too much Warmth *in this History. If by* Warmth *they mean Spirit, their Apprehension of it were enough to make one vain; but since I'm afraid by* Warmth *they mean Scurrility and Virulence, it will require some Explanation.*

If I had affected any such Indecencies, I should not think the Examples of the Author of the History of the Rebellion, *and Mr. Archdeacon* Echard, *nor even those of King* Charles I. *and his Son King* Charles II. *would justify me, tho' the Parliament are often call'd* Devils, Dogs, Villains, Vipers, Rogues; *and Mr. Archdeacon descends so low as* Son of a Whore, *when he is taking to task the Evidence against the* Papists *about the Plot. But the Facts I was oblig'd to relate were sometimes so foul, that it was impossible to preserve always the Purity of Expression, or to meet with so much Injustice, Cruelty, and Insolence, as will here be met with, and not kindle a little with Indignation; which is not inconsistent even with* Stoicism, *when the Cause of our Country is in question. All the favour I desire in this case is, that the Reader will not leap over Mountains in their Histories, and stumble at Mole-Hills in mine.*

. The Ancients had a very great Advantage over the Moderns in writing History; they had Liberty *of* Genius, *and were under no Restraints but those of Truth and Decency: which, as to Decency was none at all, because with them what was true was decent. The Freedom of ancient* Greece *and* Rome *appear'd in all their Writings, and the Greatness of Soul in* Greeks *and* Romans, *a happy Effect of that Freedom, privileg'd every Citizen to speak and write what he thought would conduce most to the common Good, whether it reflected on* Archons *or* Consuls, Senators *or* Priests. *King* Charles II. *asking* Vossius *why it was, the Ancients wrote better than the Moderns, that Learned Critick reply'd,* The Ancients wrote in Free Governments, where Learning only flourishes. *When afterwards* Rome *had lost her Liberty, her new Masters, the Emperors, did not presently tie up the Tongues, and put Fetters on the Pens of the* Romans; *not only* Augustus, *but* Tiberius *bore even with the Invectives of those Historians, who could not bear the Slavery they impos'd upon them, nor forget the Happiness and Glory of the Republick.* Tacitus, *tho' Contemporary with the Tyranny of* Domitian, *blesses himself for the Privilege, which the* Romans *still enjoy'd,* 100 *Years after the Commonwealth had no more a Being,* Rara Temporum Felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet. *They think what they please, and speak what they think: And whenever that Privilege ceases, it is to be hop'd History will cease with it; for it must then degenerate into Flattery, and so misrepresent Persons and Things, that Posterity would know no more of past Times, than we could do of the Civil Wars, their Causes and Effects, by what we read in the* History of the Rebellion, *and Archdeacon* Echard's; *which disagreeing with* Rushworth, Whitlock, *and other* fair *Writers, so acknowledg'd by Mr.* Echard, *must be themselves* unfair.

It is very probable I may be cenſur'd for ſpeaking freely of the Kings in the following Reigns, but I aſſure myſelf that Cenſure will be paſs'd by ſuch only as are not ſufficiently acquainted with the Rules and Manners of Hiſtory; as Mr. Archdeacon ſhews he is not, when he values himſelf on his conſidering thoſe Kings chiefly according to the Dignity of their Offices, *which borders ſo near upon Nonſenſe, that it is ridiculous or unintelligible: For when Kings do not maintain the Dignity of their Offices, which is to govern according to Law and Juſtice, the Endeavours of an Hiſtorian to do it for them, will be vain and fruitleſs. He adds,* He has been fearful of examining and expoſing their private Vices and Extravagancies. Decency commands to throw them into Shades. To ſearch into their Receſſes, is preſumptuous. *Ought not an Hiſtorian to examine into the Waſte of the immenſe Treaſures ſquander'd by King* Charles II. *for fear of diſcovering they were conſum'd by the Ladies? Does Decency command us to* throw *his Double-dealing with God and Man, in pretending Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, when he was a* Papiſt, *into* Shades? *Should we not ſearch into the Receſſes of his Negociations with* France *for a Penſion, to enable him to live without Parliaments, leſt we be guilty of Preſumption?*

The Noble Lord Hollis, *that Patriot and Confeſſor for the Cauſe of* Liberty *in two of the following Reigns, did not think it* preſumptuous *to ſearch into this* Receſs, *and to charge King* Charles II. *with conſpiring the* Subverſion and Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, *as will be ſeen,* p. 647. *How idly then does the Archdeacon talk of treating that Prince, chiefly according to the Dignity of his Office? Had Lord* Hollis *ſo treated him, we ſhould never have known that he* had enter'd into a League to ſubvert and deſtroy the Church of *England, which muſt always be underſtood in the firſt place, when the* Proteſtant Religion *is mention'd, as it is by my Lord* Hollis: *For the* True Church of *England, ſuch as it was in the Days of King* Edward VI. *ſuch as it was under Archbiſhop* Grindal, *Archbiſhop* Abbot, *and many other pious primitive Biſhops even in the* Stuartine *Reigns, ſuch as it has been ever ſince the* Abdication *of King* James II. *and ſuch as it is now under her preſent Fathers, eminent for Learning and all Chriſtian and Humane Virtues; I ſay, this* True Church *of* England, *is the* True Proteſtant Religion, *and ſo acknowledg'd, and as ſuch reverenc'd by all the Reform'd in* Chriſtendom.

I deſire the Reader to take particular notice, that Lord Hollis *charges King* Charles II. *with a Deſign to ſubvert the* Religion *of his Country; and then to read what Dr.* Welwood *ſays of* Cæſar. *Lucan* is not content, only to deliver him down to Poſterity, as the Subverter of the Laws and Liberties of his Country, which he truly was, and than which no greater *Infamy* can poſſibly be caſt upon any Name; but, *&c. How afraid ſome Perſons have been, leſt I ſhould be too* warm, *as if* Infamy *could be too* warmly *dealt with! Lord* Hollis *and Dr.* Welwood *are my Counſel in this Caſe.*

I know ſome ignorant Perſons among the Diſaffected, who abound with them, have objected, that to ſay any thing of the Princes of the Houſe of Stuart, *is raking the Aſhes of the Dead, of whom nothing ſhould be ſaid but what is good; which is very juſt as to private Characters,* De Mortuis nil niſi Bonum. *If they offended, they will offend no more. They ſtood on low Ground, were little ſeen or obſerv'd. They and their Actions paſs off like a Dream. We ſhould be ſilent with reſpect to thoſe on whom Death has impos'd eternal Silence. To take advantage of their Mortality to inſult and defame them, is barbarous and impious. However, it is not ſo as to Princes, otherwiſe than as Defamation and Inſolence are always impious and barbarous. Their Vices are contagious, and infect whole Kingdoms. Their Actions live, and affect the Living, when they are mouldering in their ſuperb Monuments. They ſtood on the moſt lofty Ground, and their Examples are like glorious Suns, to enlighten and enliven all thoſe that come after them; or like Beacons, to ſhew when and where there is Danger, and warn People to be upon their Guard. If nothing but what is Good was to be ſaid of Emperors and Kings, we had never heard of the Fate of* Uriah, *or the Fortune of his Wife; and of the* Twelve Cæſars, *we had never had the Hiſtory but of three or four. Were there any thing in this Objection, it would damn all Hiſtory at once; which, being univerſally allow'd to be the moſt uſeful, as well as pleaſant Part of Literature, needs no Defence from us.*

It is great pity Mr. Archdeacon had not inform'd himſelf better of the Duty of an Hiſtorian, before he took upon him that Character. He has not only conſider'd the Stuartine *Kings chiefly according to the* Dignity of their Offices, *he has done the ſame by their Anceſtor* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *whom I have ſpoken of, according to the Truth of Hiſtory, prov'd by Mr.* Anderſon *in his Collection of Records; in defiance of which, Mr.* Echard *aſſerts,* She was a Princeſs of ſingular Piety towards God: *But,*

But, as he ſometimes does, a Line or two after he contradicts himſelf, and ſays, It was believ'd her Misfortunes proceeded from the Vengeance of Heaven, for ſuch ſecret Crimes of her's, *as* Anderſon, *who ſearch'd into the* Receſſes *of her Conduct, has made publick.*

I beg leave to copy from the Critical Hiſtory *a Paragraph or two on this Subject, ſince it very much behoves me to vindicate myſelf for not following Mr.* Echard's *Precept with reſpect to* Decorums, *tho' inſtead of a Vindication, I might have urg'd his not having follow'd it himſelf; but better Authority will be requir'd of me, and better I cannot have, than that of our late Proteſtant Queen* Mary, *whoſe adorable Virtues will make her Memory ever dear to all good* Britons; *who, tho' ſhe had more reaſon to reſent any hard Sayings againſt her Anceſtor* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *than all Mankind beſides, juſtify'd the ſpeaking of her more freely than I have done: for asking Dr.* Burnet, *when ſhe was Princeſs of* Orange, *why King* James *her Father was ſo ſharpen'd againſt Monſieur* Jurieu? *and the Doctor telling her,* It was for ſome Indecencies ſpoken of *Mary* Queen of *Scots,* which caſt Reflections on them that deſcended from her: *That divine Princeſs reply'd, Jurieu* muſt ſupport the Cauſe he defends, and expoſe thoſe that perſecuted it in the beſt way he can; if what he ſays of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* be true, he is not to be blam'd, who made that uſe of it. *Which is a full Anſwer to all that can be ſaid of* [illegible] *ſpeaking freely of that Queen or her Deſcendants; and I ſhall have reaſon to deſpiſe it, till a better Authority, than that Religious and Belov'd Princeſs who ſaid it, is produc'd againſt me. She was pleas'd to add,* If Princes will do ill Things, they muſt expect the World will take Revenge of their Memory, ſince they cannot reach their Perſons. That is but a ſmall Suffering, far ſhort of what others ſuffer at their hands. *Sentiments ſo juſt and angelical, as ſhew how much ſuperiour a true Chriſtian Spirit is to all Humane Wiſdom and Philoſophy. Upon another Occaſion, hearing ſome Hiſtorians blam'd for reflecting on the Memory of certain Princes, ſhe ſaid,* If thoſe Princes were really ſuch as thoſe Hiſtorians repreſented them, they well deſerv'd that Treatment; and others, who tread their Steps, might look for the ſame; for Truth will be told at laſt. *Theſe Leſſons having the Sanction of ſo Wiſe, ſo Virtuous, ſo Illuſtrious a Princeſs, need not be confirm'd by any other. Indeed all other would, after theſe, be poor and languiſhing. Thoſe that demand more, will find enough to convince them, if they are capable of Conviction, in the Introduction to the ſecond Volume of the* Critical Hiſtory, *where I have alſo diſcuſs'd this Matter, and where a greater Freedom of both Thought and Expreſſion than will be found in this Hiſtory, is warranted by both the Precepts and Examples of ancient and modern Criticks and Hiſtorians. A Reflection which will arm me againſt all arbitrary Deciſions, that the Work is too* warm; *for till the Reaſons and Authorities that are urg'd here and there for ſuch Freedom are anſwer'd, I ſhall not reckon myſelf touch'd in any ſuch Charge, nor be concern'd about it, but very reaſonably aſſure myſelf that thoſe who make it know nothing of the matter: eſpecially conſidering, that ſome who have ſeen part of this Hiſtory, have really thought it not* warm *enough; and how to ſteer ſafely between two ſuch Rocks,* not warm enough, *and* too warm, *was equally difficult and dangerous. A Writer in this caſe is to follow the beſt Light that offers; and the Reader will but do him juſtice, if he allows, that probably he who ſeriouſly ſtudy'd both Thought and Expreſſion, may as well be in the right, as he who runs them over curſorily for Amuſement and Pleaſure.*

The next Hold the Enemies to this Deſign will endeavour to take of me, will be from thoſe Paſſages that ſpeak of Epiſcopacy, Biſhops and Clergy, which they will be ſure to call the Church, *in the ſenſe Archbiſhop* Laud *and his Diſciples underſtood it;* Altars, Images, Conſecrations, Tapers, Bowings, Forms, Mitres, Croſiers, Hoods, Titles, Territories, Courts *and* Revenues. *In which ſenſe Biſhop* Burnet *ſays there's a* Charm *in the Word, which gives it all Shapes, and applies it to all Uſes: But I deſire to be permitted to underſtand* Church *in a Primitive Apoſtolical Senſe,* a Congregation of Chriſtian Believers, met together to worſhip God in Sincerity and Truth; *and if I have in any place given offence to that Church, I am inexcuſable, and at mercy. As this Definition is far from excluding Biſhops, who had Paſtoral Care of the* Churches *ſo early as the Apoſtles Days: ſo neither does it* unchurch *foreign Proteſtants, nor thoſe in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *who are not under Epiſcopal Diſcipline; which being the* Eſtabliſhment, *requires the Reſpect and Homage that are due to the Law, when it is exercis'd with Prudence and Moderation, as we have ſeen it ever ſince the* Revolution; *and had the like Epiſcopa l'Diſcipline prevail'd in the* Church, *and had the like Reverend, Pious and Learned Fathers, the Biſhops, had the Exerciſe of it from the Beginning of the Reformation till now; the* Church *had never been in Danger, nor the State in any Trouble about it. But having conſider'd what may be objected on this Article in*

Ep Burnet.

the Preface to the Critical Hiſtory *before cited, I chuſe to borrow what is there ſaid, becauſe I have been inform'd, it has given Satisfaction to ſome who were prepar'd to take Offence at the bare mentioning of the Biſhops and Clergy.*

" *As it was neceſſary to name the ill Inſtruments made uſe of in carrying on* " *the bad Work, during the Reigns after Queen* Elizabeth, *and thoſe ill Inſtruments* " *conſiſting of* Eccleſiaſticks, *as well as* Lay-Men, *I could not avoid making frequent* " *mention of the former; not out of any Diſregard to the Sacred Function, but to* " *anſwer the Truth of Hiſtory, and lay the Miſchiefs which have happen'd to theſe* " *Kingdoms ſince that time, at the doors of thoſe that did them.*

" *I know very well that the Clergy of the Church of* England *are the beſt De-* " *fence and Ornament of the Proteſtant Religion, and that both in City and Coun-* " *try there are many, for whom one cannot have too much Deference. I muſt needs* " *own the Malignity has lain chiefly among the rural Prieſthood; but among them* " *have I alſo met with many Pious and Learned Miniſters, Men of good Senſe and* " *Worth, whoſe Minds have been larger, and more ingenuous, than to give into the* " *rigid Notions of ſuch as have been miſled by Pride, Paſſion, Intereſt, and Igno-* " *rance,* as were the *Laudæan* Perſecuting Clergy, who, and who only, are ſpoken " of in the following Hiſtory with any Diſadvantage to their Character; *and it* " *is with great Pleaſure that I have lately obſerv'd the Number of the latter to* " *be much diminiſh'd.*"

I cannot think any of thoſe good Men will apply to themſelves what is ſaid of ſuch as have not their Virtues and Abilities; or that thoſe who have given no Offence by their Conduct, will be offended at what is ſaid of thoſe who have. Let me have this Quarter from them, and I deſire no more.

I ſhall doubtleſs be cavill'd at by the ſmaller Criticks, for mixing ludicrous Expreſſions with the Gravity of Hiſtory. I know what they have been taught of its Dignity and Majeſty, that comparing it with Muſick, it muſt be all of the ſolemn Cathedral Kind: And as we are told by the Connoiſſeurs, *that Muſick cannot deſcend lower than* the Gay, *ſo alſo Hiſtory cannot deſcend lower than* the Pleaſant; *that neither of them admit of Mirth and Laughter, and conſequently Jeſts ſhould be turn'd out of Hiſtory, as Jiggs out of Muſick. And in the general this is true; but as there are no Generals without Exceptions, ſo the Hiſtory of* England, *during the Period here treated, is an Exception to all Hiſtorical Rules, both Perſons and Things being the moſt out of the way of any that were ever thought worth remembrance.*

Now, as Wickedneſs and Folly are conſtant Companions, among a great many wicked Acts we muſt neceſſarily find a great many fooliſh ones; and 'tis as natural for Folly to excite Mirth, as for Wickedneſs to move Terror.

The Steps which Fools take to carry a Point, will always bear the Marks of their Folly; their Pretences will be vain and poſitive, their Diſguiſes thin and apparent, their Aſſertions bold and abſurd, their Principles falſe and inconſiſtent: In all which is the Ridiculum, *as much as in* Falſtaffe *or* Foppington; *and it is impoſſible to keep them company, and much leſs to ſhew them, without laughing. I need not ſay who are the Fools in this Hiſtory, their Actions will ſufficiently bewray them: and I muſt confeſs I could not help, amidſt ſo much Provocation, being ſometimes merry myſelf, and endeavouring to make the Reader ſo. To be always declaiming againſt cruel and illegal Acts of Government, exorbitant Taxes, Fines, Puniſhments, tyrannous Prelates and their Courts, ravenous Minions, Miſtreſſes and Miniſters, and whatever elſe is peculiar to theſe Reigns, would have been like beginning a Tragedy with the* Cataſtrophe, *and ſtaining every Scene with Blood, without any Relief to the Spectator; for the eaſe of whoſe Mind, it has been found convenient to have a Run of Farce, for which the Heroes of the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *have plentifully ſupply'd us with Materials. I have not avoided making frequent uſe of the* Irony, *tho' I was caution'd againſt it in an Apprehenſion that weak and wrong Heads wou'd not diſtinguiſh* Jeſt *from* Earneſt. *But no Author, I believe, propoſes to himſelf the Entertainment of wrong and weak Heads; if he does, he runs a great risk of entertaining no body elſe, and then I leave it to him to think how laudably he will ſpend his Time, and his Study. I could not be convinc'd that the Stile of Indictment would be always more agreeable and uſeful than that of Raillery, which is the ſureſt way to keep the Reader awake, who will be apt to fall aſleep under perpetual Declamation, and Remonſtrance.*

As to the Scotiſh *and* Iriſh *Affairs, I have not enter'd far into that Hiſtory: I ſhould have gone much farther, eſpecially as to the Affairs of* Scotland, *if I had been ſo happy as to have known ſome worthy Gentlemen, who could and would have aſſiſted me, ſo well before I had finiſh'd this Work, as I have done ſince. And as to* Ireland, *I knew little of the Tranſactions there, but what are in the common Memoirs. Beſides, in the forming of this Deſign, I had in view chiefly the* Hiſtory of *England,*

as the Title ſhews, and intended only to touch the Hiſtory of the other two Kingdoms as it came in my way; not out of Diſreſpect, for I ever regarded them as England's *moſt dear Siſters, but for want of more Room and more Information.*

The Helps I receiv'd towards carrying on this Work, by Manuſcripts and Information, were, as will be eaſily perceiv'd, very conſiderable from Perſons of Ability and Eminence, whoſe Names, tho' they wou'd do honour to my Hiſtory, I dare not publiſh without their Approbation: It wou'd be neither decent nor diſcreet, and might hazard the Loſs of their Good Will, and Good Offices on another occaſion. I do not examine what Reaſon there may be for any Shyneſs in this caſe, becauſe it ought to have affected me more than others, if it has really weight in it. Shou'd I be in an Error, 'tis ſo pleaſing a one, that I am as loth to come out of it, as young People are to awake out of thoſe Dreams, in which their Fancies took pleaſure.

The Aſſiſtance I had by printed Hiſtories, old Pamphlets, and State-Papers, was at leaſt as good as any Hiſtorian cou'd hope for, and it will be allow'd when it is known, that I was aſſiſted by Francis Bennet *Eſq; of* Mereſield *in* Dorſetſhire, *and Dr.* Fraſer *of* London, *who had been fifty Years making Collections of Hiſtories, Pamphlets and Papers proper for my Subject. I might add many other Names of Gentlemen, who furniſh'd me with the like Materials; but many other Names wou'd come ſhort of thoſe two, and are therefore unneceſſary.*

I have mention'd one great Advantage the Ancients had over the Moderns in writing Hiſtory, which was the Liberty of their Genius, and they had another, which was the Credit they were in with their Readers; we do not find the Margents of Thucydides *and* Livy *crouded with Authorities. The Hiſtorian's own Word was taken, but now an Author muſt bring ſomebody to be bound for him; tho' if a Reader cannot truſt a Writer, he had better have no Dealings with him. If a Man's Conſcience will let him lye in Hiſtory, his Diſcretion will hardly reſtrain him. Quotations are no infallible Security againſt the Fraud and Artifice of an Hiſtorian, if his own Honour is not engag'd. However, I have mention'd my Authorities in moſt Places out of Complacency to the Infidelity of the Age; and when I have not ſo done, it is generally when the Facts have not been of much conſequence, or were ſo well known, that they atteſted themſelves.*

There happen in this difficult Period many Events, which may be ſuſpected, and ſeveral Reflections, more proper for others to make than the Author; which has led him to the uſe of ſome Writers, of whoſe Merit he had no great Eſteem, tho' never but in Places where he thought what they ſaid was true, a Rule he ſet himſelf from the Beginning, and purſu'd it to the End of his Work and where they corroborated other Evidence. Of this kind are Peyton, Welden, Walker, Lilly, Coke. *He has here and there not told the whole Truth, it being too ſtrong for weak Stomachs; tho' he ſhou'd have ventur'd to have reported, that Queen* Anne *of* Denmark, *Conſort to King* James *the Firſt, died a* Papiſt, *had he known it in time. It were to be wiſh'd Gentlemen had been earlier with their Communication, and wou'd be ſo for the future, if he writes the ſucceeding Reigns.*

The Hiſtorian has, from the Freedom of his Thoughts and Expreſſion, reaſon to expect various Attacks from various Sorts of Perſons, every one of whom will miſtake him and his Meaning, if they interpret him in any other Senſe than that of the Proteſtant Religion, and Proteſtant Succeſſion; the Rights, Liberties, Properties and Privileges of Britons. *But if any of theſe miſtaken People ſhall treat him as a Man who loves and endeavours to ſerve his Country deſerves to be treated, with Moderation and Decency, he will do his utmoſt to undeceive them; and if he is deceiv'd himſelf, own it, and ſincerely thank thoſe that ſhall ſet him right, where he is wrong. He has no where err'd willingly, or knowingly, and in caſe it ſhould ſo happen by Miſinformation or Miſunderſtanding, he wou'd be ſo far from being aſham'd of owning an Error, that he ſhou'd take a pride in it, as doing a Service to Truth.*

Whatever Criticiſms are made on his Hiſtory, he hopes they will be according to the Rule of Horace *and* Longinus, *thoſe great Maſter Criticks. Horace* ſays,

———non ego paucis
Offendar Maculis; quas aut Incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit Natura——

I will not quarrel with a ſlight Miſtake,
Such as our Nature's Frailty may excuſe. Rosc.

No Author ſhou'd be condemn'd for Slips and Negligences, which may have eſcap'd him thro' Incaution, or the Imperfection of Human Nature. Longinus *explains this farther in his thirtieth Chapter. Of this kind are two or three Repetitions in theſe four Reigns; ſo alſo are* was *for* were, is *for* are, *their Contraries, and the like. Of this*

this kind are Errors in Figures, Dates, *or* Sums, *which, as well as the others, are for the moſt part Print-Faults; and thoſe who wou'd quarrel with him on their account, muſt do it for quarrelling ſake, and be a Sort of People, with whom he wou'd avoid Contention, as much as with a litigious, vexatious* Petty-fogger, *or a ſnarling, cavilling* Pedant. *As theſe Overſights are eaſily perceiv'd, ſo they are eaſily corrected, and a ſmall Portion of Candour will excuſe them, conſidering ſo great a Number of Sheets paſt through the Preſs in little more than three Months. As for the* Common Anſwerers, *ſuch as fell immediately on Biſhop* Burnet's *Memoirs, and wait for the coming out of a Book, as Ravens and Crows hover over a Field of Battle for* Prey; *as for the* Weekly *Scriblers,* &c. *he will not trouble himſelf about them, and probably he'll never hear, as he never will care, what they ſay.*

Some worthy Gentlemen have intimated, they ſhou'd have been better pleas'd, had the Hiſtory been continu'd to the Death of his late Majeſty King George, *or at leaſt to that of Queen* Anne, *as the laſt of the direct Line of* Stuart; *but that wou'd have broken in upon my* Deſign, *which I ſet a ſort of value upon for its Simplicity, it being only an hiſtorical Plan of the Deſign of the* Stuartine *Kings to ſubvert the* Conſtitution, *in which the Female Branches had no Concern, and conſequently cou'd not regularly come into this Hiſtory: Beſides, the Reign of King* Willam, *who had the ſole Exerciſe of the Sovereign Power, put an end to that of the* Royal Houſe *of* Stuart, *which reviv'd again in Queen* Anne, *and again died with her.*

I confeſs I have little hope that the Simplicity *of* Deſign, *which I ſet ſuch a value upon, will have the like Merit with the Readers; for all Hiſtories which have hitherto been publiſh'd in* Engliſh, *have not the Appearance of any. They are for the moſt part a Confuſion of Method and Events,* Journals, Annals, Biography, *without regard to Conduct or Stile. The Stile of the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, *as florid as it is, is as vicious in Hiſtory, as Muſick would be in a Sermon. 'Tis declamatory and verboſe to a Prodigy, and almoſt all other hiſtorical Stiles, are either ſo poor or ſo affected, that it is very plain the Hiſtorians were not Maſters of their Art.*

There is a Difficulty in the firſt Thought of Undertaking the Reigns ſince the Revolution, *which is hard to be got over; and that is, that the Events are recent, and the Perſons who tranſacted them either living, or their Sons, Grandſons, or Great Grandſons, who will take the Alarm at the very Sound of their Names.*

We are all of us ſo jealous of our Glory, that we cannot bear any Report, which touches ever ſo little thoſe we are a-kin to, for fear it ſhou'd be any Diminution of it. A Report being true, is ſo far from juſtifying it, that it adds to the Offence, and if the Heroiſm *does not deſcend with the* Name *thro' every Generation, the Hiſtorian is in peril of making the Race his Enemies. There is ſomething very ſilly and ridiculous in this Vanity, but that does not hinder its prevailing. It is no more a ſhame to me that my Father or Grandfather was a weak or ill Man, than that he was Crooked, or a Cripple, I cou'd no more help the one than the other; and no Man is accountable for what he cannot help: Yet I am afraid the remembring even bodily Infirmities wou'd be conſtru'd to be* Scandal *and* Malice, *and put an Author at variance with a whole* Clan. *Nay, I ſhou'd not have wonder'd if* Banks *the Poet had been proſecuted for bringing Lord* Burleigh's *Humpback upon the Stage, in his* Earl of Eſſex. *True it is, this was not the way of thinking in the Claſſical Ages; if it had, there had been no ſuch thing as Hiſtory: but there being two or three other things, in which we differ from the* Grecks *and* Romans, *we will dwell no longer upon this.*

Will it be any Complement to the Age we live in, for their Underſtanding and Generoſity, that the ſecond Part of Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of his Times is not printed, becauſe ſome Paſſages in it reflect on the Conduct of certain Perſons, whoſe Sons and Grandſons might be offended! Is it poſſible to write the Hiſtory of any Nation and Time without ſuch Paſſages, unleſs one can ſuppoſe it was an Age of Gold, and all thoſe who liv'd in it were Heroes and Demi-Gods? It is a very whimſical Buſineſs, when 'tis a little thought of.*

I have collected Materials for the Reigns of King William, *Queen* Mary, *Queen* Anne, *and King* George; *and if I meet with no other Diſcouragement than this vain Humour, I ſhall continue my Hiſtory in another Volume to the Death of his late Majeſty, and take my Fate with Truth,* which is great, and will prevail. *In thoſe good Reigns there will be little need of* Political Reflections, *they are too full of Action and Glory to ſuffer any Interruption in the Narration, except a cloudy Interval or two in part of King* William's *Reign, and the latter End of Queen* Anne's.

I begin the Year always with the firſt of January, *as it has always been in uſe among Hiſtorians, a few Inſtances of* Engliſh *Writers excepted. The Computation from the* 25*th of* March *is peculiar to Law and Commerce, and that too chiefly in* England; *tho' I know not for what reaſon, it having already occaſion'd great Confuſion, eſpecially in Hiſtory.*

The

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Mr. Nathaniel Newnham, *jun.*
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O.

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William Oaker *Eſq;*
Nathaniel Ogle *Eſq;*
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Mr. John Oldmixon, *Merchant at* Bengal, *Large Paper.*
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R.

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S.

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John Sibbel *Eſq;*
Matthew Stewart *Eſq; of* Newtone.
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Mr. William Sherman.
Mr. John Stevens.
Mr. Walter Scot, *Surgeon.*
Mr. Denham Stiles.
Mr. James Stuart *of* Ormskirk.
Mr. William Shrimpton, *Apothecary.*
Mr. William Sedgwick, *Surgeon.*
Mr. Robert Stuart, *Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy in the Univerſity of* Edinburgh.

T.

Right Hon. the Earl of Tankerville.
Sir John Thompſon *Knight, and Alderman of* London.
Stephen Thompſon *Eſq;*
St. Quintin Thompſon *Eſq;*
John Tracy *Eſq; of* Stenway *in* Glouceſterſhire.
James Theobald *Eſq;*
John Travell *jun. Eſq;*
William Tillard *Eſq;* 2
Rev. Mr. Abraham Taylor, 3.
Rev. Mr. David Tweed *of* Cork.
Rev. Mr. John Tren *of* Colcheſter, 2.
Thomas Taylor *M. D. of* Myton, Yorkſhire.
Aaron Tozer, *jun. of* Exon, *Bookſeller,* 14.
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Mr. Joſeph Tucker.
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Mr. Tomlins *of* London, *Druggiſt.*
Mr. Daniel Turvin.
Mr. Thomas Teaton.
Mr. Samuel Travers, *Merchant.*
Mr. John Terry *of* London.
Mr. Henry Tatam *of* Clapham.
Mr. John Thompſon.

V.

John Venner *Eſq; of* Brentford.
John Vowler *of* Bellair, *Gent.*
Mr. Gerard Van Neck, *Merchant.*
Rev. John Underhill *M. A. of* Great-Dunmow *in* Eſſex.
Rev. Mr. —— Upton, *Rector of* Pendummer.
Mr. Benjamin Voyce.

W.

Right Hon. the Earl of Warrington, *Large Paper.*
Right Hon Hugh *Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham.
Sir Thomas Wheate *of* Oxfordſhire *Bart.*
James Warren *Eſq;*
Henry Walrond *of* Tudwill *Eſq;*
Humphry Wyrley *of the* Inner-Temple, *Eſq;*
John Wright *Eſq;*
John Weedon *Eſq; of* Uxbridge.
George Wanley *Eſq;*
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Samuel Whetcomb *Eſq;*
Thomas Watſon *Eſq;*
Rev. Samuel Wright, *D. D.*
Rev. Mr. Daniel Wilcox.
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Mrs. Knightly Wroth.
Mrs. Mary Wroth.
Mr. William Webb.
Mr. Thomas Wall, *Bookſeller in* Chicheſter.
Mr. H. Whitridge, *Bookſeller.*
Mr. Thomas Wilmott.
Mr. Matthew Wilkins.
Mr. Robert White.
Mr. Thomas Wilſon *of* Bridgnorth.
Mr. John Worſter, *Merchant.*
Mr. R. Whitworth, *Bookſeller in* Mancheſter, 3.
Mr. Henry Watts, *of* London, *Jeweller.*
Mr. Timothy Wild *of* London.
Mr. William Wildman, *Apothecary.*
Mr. Francis Warren.

Y.

Honourable Sir William Yonge, *Knight of the* Bath, *and one of the Lords of the Admiralty.*
E. Young *Eſq;*
Mr. Thomas Young *of* Pool, Dorſetſhire.

ERRATA.

In turning over the Hiſtory, for the *Index*, the Author met with theſe *Errata*, and probably overlook'd others.

PAge 1. line 27. read *without*. p. 3. l. 51. read *the moſt*. p. 84. l. 33. dele *of*. p. 173. l. 7. read *the*. p. 182. l. 7. read *to join with a Committee*. p. 213. l. 36. read *Army*. 214. l. 63. read *leaving*. 215. l. penult. read 20000. 244. l. 6. read *Iriſh War*. p. 313. l. 49. dele *who*. p. 334. l. 32. dele *were*. p. 392. l. 45. read *Head*. p. 419. l. 63. dele *in*. 419. l. 66. read *defended*. 420. l. [illegible] dele *that*. p. 422. l. 50. dele *and*. 432. l. 51. read *and have enjoyed*. p. 433. l. 32. read *muſter*. p. 441. l. 20. dele *for*. p. 443. l. 3. read *have*. p. 444. l. 12. dele *un*. p. 491. l. 42. read *It was*. p. 545. l. 9. read *was not*. p. 561. l. 30. read *that kind*. p. 563. l. 25. read *between*. p. 588, & 592. dele *Lemmas*. p. [illegible] *where* 200000 *Pounds Revenue*, read 2000000 *Pounds*, *King Charles* II's *Revenue*.

INTRODUCTION.

NOTHING has more corrupted the Truth of Hiſtory, than the falſe Repreſentations of the ſeveral *Reforms* which have been attempted in the Chriſtian Church ſince it fell under the Tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*. The *Reformers* have always been charged with Hereſy and Schiſm, Sedition and Fanaticiſm, with broaching new Doctrine and *novel Diſcipline:* It being aſſerted, with the greateſt Aſſurance, by all Writers who uſurp the Character of Orthodox, that the Government of the Primitive Church was by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeacons, Chancellors, and the like, in the very ſame Form as at preſent in the Church of *France* as well as *England*; and that *Presbytery* was not ſo much as known till about the Year 1564.

Ech. *Hindrances to the Progreſs of the Reformation.*

It may ſeem ſtrange to begin a Hiſtory of *England* with Reflections on Eccleſiaſtical Government; but it will appear very natural, when the Reader obſerves, that all the Troubles and Misfortunes during the Reigns I am about writing, were owing ſolely to the Spirit that animated this Controverſy; which is really much more temporal than ſpiritual, and concerns the State much more than the *Church:* For take away the Dignities, Revenues, Courts, Privileges, and Prerogatives, which are all civil Matters, and Proteſtants would ſoon agree in the Eccleſiaſtical, as exhibited in the Apoſtolical Conſtitution.

But the temporal Part, thoſe Dignities, Revenues, Courts, Privileges, and Prerogatives, which were impoſſible to be eſtabliſh'd till the Empire became Chriſtian, are now aſſerted to be the very Eſſence of that Church, which had a Being ſeveral hundred Years before there cou'd be any ſuch Eſtabliſhment: The Powers of the World being then Enemies to the Kingdom of Chriſt; whoſe Subjects did not then underſtand, that Dominion and Lordſhips were the Inheritance he left them.

'Tis very eaſy to conceive, that worldly Things wou'd make a ſtrong Impreſſion on worldly Minds, and that thoſe who were in Poſſeſſion of them, wou'd not be willing to part with them, or to exchange Power for Purity, and Revenue for Reformation. And, on the other hand, that Men of Conſcience and Principle, convinced of the abominable Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, wou'd abhor all her ſuperſtitious Innovations, and be zealous for a *Reformation* agreeable to the Goſpel and the Practice of the firſt Chriſtians. On the Side of the former, were Pride, Avarice, Bigotry, and Ignorance. On the ſide of the latter, were only Knowledge, Piety, and Conſcience. In ſuch a Conteſt, the moſt enlighten'd muſt needs be the leaſt prevalent, as long as Men are governed by their Senſes and Paſſions, more than by their Underſtanding and Reaſon; which, as it was from the beginning, is likely to laſt till the End of all Things.

The Princes of the Earth, from whom the ſpiritual *Hierarchy* derive their temporal Honours and Riches, have always been flatter'd by the moſt corrupt of them, with divine and unlimited Authority; in which they have, in return, been admitted to a Share to the Ruin of Religion, and the Oppreſſion of the People.

There have not in all Ages been wanting godly and zealous Men, who have born their Teſtimony againſt Superſtition and Tyranny: And they have, in all Ages, found Encouragement from thoſe noble and virtuous Perſons, who wou'd ſometimes protect as well as encourage them.

The Aggreſſors, therefore, from the beginning, are thoſe, who, rénouncing the ſacred Liberty of the Goſpel, ſubmitted to the Papal, more grievous than *Egyptian*, Bondage; and when Freedom was offer'd at the *Reformation*, ſtill retain'd thoſe Marks and Blemiſhes of Slavery, which were rejected by the far greater Body of reformed Chriſtians.

Is it not aſtoniſhing, that a Dignitary of our Church ſhou'd know ſo little of eccleſiaſtical Affairs, as to aſſert the *Geneva* Diſcipline to be *novel*, a Thing not heard of in *England* till many Years after the Reformation?

The reformed Church the ancient Church.

Not to inſiſt on the Government of the Primi ive Church, which is ſo fully explained in that admirable Treatiſe, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip of the Primitive Church*, Had this learned Divine and Hiſtorian never heard of the *Waldenſes*, who attempted a *Reform* about 600 Years ago? And the firſt Article of their Religion was, according to Pope *Pius* II. or *Æneas Sylvius*; *Romanum Præſulem reliquis Epiſcopis parem eſſe*; *inter Sacerdotes nullum Diſcrimen*; *Presbyterum non Dignitatem ſed Vitæ meritum efficere potiorem.* Bohemica Hiſt. Waldenſes.

" The Biſhop of *Rome* is equal with other Biſhops;
" there's no Difference of Degree among Prieſts,
" and no Prieſt is to be eſteemed for any Dignity
" of his Order, but for the Worthineſs of his Life."

What was the Opinion of the *Albigenſes*, about the Year 1230, is not ſo well known; but *Fox* informs us, They profeſt chiefly againſt the *wanton Wealth, Pride, and Tyranny of the Prelates*. Yet, like the modern Reform'd, they were for *Epiſcopacy*, ſuch as that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and ſuch as Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Reduction*. For the Sophiſtry of the pretended Orthodox, lies in charging the *Reformed* with renouncing *Epiſcopacy* itſelf; whereas they never renounced any Thing more than what the *Albigenſes* had thrown off long before, tho' they retain'd Biſhops: And there is not a *Calviniſt* in *Chriſtendom*, but wou'd have retain'd the Order on the ſame Terms; it being moſt certain, that there were *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* in the three firſt Centuries, tho' it is not ſo certain what was Albigenſes

the Difference between them; but it is moſt ſure, they were not Dukes and Counts, as in *France* and other Places.

Wicklivists. The next *Reformer* of Note, was our Countryman *John Wickliff*, about an hundred Years after the Attempt of the *Albigenſes*. What his Sentiments in this Matter were, may be conjectur'd by the Charge againſt him: *That plain Deacons and Prieſts may preach without Licence of Pope or Biſhop; That in the Time of the Apoſtles, there were only two Orders, Prieſts and Deacons; and that a Biſhop doth not differ from a Prieſt:* And what is moſt ſhocking of all in Reformation, *That Prieſts of bad Lives ceaſe any longer to be Prieſts.* Again; *That the Church was not endow'd with any immoveable Poſſeſſions before* Conſtantine; *that it is no Sacrilege to take away Things conſecrated to the Church; that all beautiful Buildings of Churches, is blame-worthy, and ſavours of Hypocriſy.* Theſe and many other Articles were preferr'd againſt him by *Thomas Walden*, a noted Doctor at *Oxford*; who, in a Letter to Pope *Martin* V. acknowledges, *he was wonderfully aſtoniſh'd at* Wickliff's *moſt ſtrong Arguments, with the Places of Authority which he gather'd, with the Vehemency and Force of his Arguments*, &c.

Full. *Ch. Hiſt.* 132.

Bohemians What were the Opinions of the *Bohemians*, one may gueſs by their being converted by the *Waldenſian* Refugees firſt, and confirm'd by *Wickliff's* Writings afterwards, which were tranſmitted to *Prague* in ſo great Numbers, that *Subink* the Archbiſhop burnt 200 of them at once, all excellently written, and finely adorn'd with Boſſes of Gold and rich Coverings, as the abovementioned Pope *Pius* II. writes in his Hiſtory; which gives ground to conjecture, that thoſe Books were ſent thither with the Privity of Queen *Anne*, a *Bohemian*, Wife to *Richard* II. then reigning in *England*. That Princeſs is commended even by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in thoſe Days, for having *Wickliff's* Teſtament by her. And it was not only the meaner Sort of People who favour'd *Wickliff*, but Perſons of the higheſt Rank and Diſtinction; as the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Humphry* Duke of *Glouceſter*, and his Dutcheſs; the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Montacute*, &c. As alſo many learned Divines, as *Reginald Pocock* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Redman*, *Philip Repington*, *David Sautre*, *William James*, *Peter Payne*, and others, Men eminent for Learning and Piety. *Polydore Virgil* informs us, that *Wickliff* went himſelf into *Bohemia*, where he was in high Eſteem, *in magno pretio apud Bohemos fuiſſe*; which is no more true, than that he was the Author of *Wat Tyler's* Rebellion, which he is accuſed of by *Cope*, and other ſuch Writers of *Church Hiſtory*; and nothing is more common with them, than to blacken all Principles of *Reformation*, as rebellious or ſeditious; in which they have been imitated by the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*.

Full. *Ch. Hiſt.* 141.

Lollards. About the ſame Time flouriſhed *Lollardus* a *German* Reformer; from him the *Wicklivists* were term'd *Lollards*, according to *Tallent*. Others think the Name was given them by the *Papiſts* from *Lollium*, Tares among the Wheat; or from their calling often upon God, ſaying, *Lord, Lord*; which, tho' it is the Opinion of the *Martyrologiſt*, is not ſo probable, as the Derivation from *Walter Lollard*, the *German* or *Auſtrian*, whoſe Followers were alſo every where ſtigmatiz'd as Sowers of Sedition and Rebellion. For the ſuperſtitious Eccleſiaſticks being never able to prevail againſt Revelation and Reaſon by Argument, have always blended their private Intereſts with the Prince's, and born down all Oppoſition with Power, without which they cou'd never have ſupported their Domination. *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague*, maintain'd *Wickliff's* Opinions in *Bohemia*. The Sentence of the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *Huſs*, ſtiling him, *The wicked Son of* John Wickliff *of damnable Memory*. His Doctrine propagated extremely in ſeveral Parts of *Germany*, as well as *Bohemia*; many of the great Lords embracing it, as did a Multitude of the Commons. Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, Sir *Roger Acton*, and the *Wicklivists* in *England*, deliver'd their Senſe of the Papal Hierarchy in what Sir *John* ſaid, ſomewhat coarſely, to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, touching the Authority of the Keys, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates: *The Pope is very Antichriſt, that is, the Head; the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, be his Members, and the Friars his Tail, &c.* The *Bohemians* publiſh'd an Exhortation to all Kings and Princes, to excite their Zeal in Defence of the Goſpel; wherein is this Article; *When your Biſhops will ordain Prieſts, the Perſon to be ordained muſt have ſufficient Living by Inheritance or Benefice. Chriſt wou'd that Prieſts ſhou'd be poor, in as much as it is enough for the Scholar to be as his Maſter is, and for the Servant to be as his Lrod: But the Biſhops will they ſhou'd be rich upon Earth, which is unjuſt before the Almighty.* This Exhortation was national, and the *Huſſites*, not a rude Rabble only, but of the moſt Noble, Wiſe, and Learned: They were not only the moſt godly, but the moſt brave and warlike among that People. The Pope fear'd them ſo much, that he iſſu'd out a *Cruſade* againſt them; in which the Emperor, the Duke of *Saxony*, and other *German* Princes engag'd; as did alſo a Prince of the Blood Royal of *England*, *Henry* Cardinal of *Wincheſter*. However, the *Bohemians* defended themſelves with equal Bravery and Succeſs, under *Ziſca*, *Procopius*, and *Mainardus*, till the latter betray'd them, and gave the Emperor an Opportunity to ſuppreſs them and their Religion in publick; for in private it ſubſiſted till *Luther* incited the *German* Princes to protect that *Reformation* which ſpread over all *Chriſtendom* ſeventy Years after. If it is pretended, that the *Wicklivists* and *Lollards*, are not look'd upon as orthodox by ſtaunch *Churchmen*, as indeed they are very much villify'd by *Collier*, *Heylin*, and the like: I refer to the Writings of the famous Dr. *James* of *Oxford*, in his *Apology for* John Wickliff, *ſhewing his Conformity with the* now Church of *England*, in anſwer to *Parſons* the Jeſuit, printed at *Oxon* in 1608.

Martyr. 739.

Luther.

Ib. 858.

The *Lollards* continu'd in *England* from their firſt Appearance, to the Vicegerency of *Cromwel*, in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. And what their religious Principles were as to Church-Diſcipline, we have ſufficiently made appear. 'Tis no wonder then, that before the *Reformation* was reviv'd, and after it was promoted by Authority, there were great Numbers of the Reform'd, who ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the retaining any of the Semblances of the Papal *Hierarchy*, Forms and Ceremonies; that there were many who inſiſted on a *thorough* Reformation, and a Conformity to the Proteſtant Churches abroad. Thus we have ſeen, and may ſee ſtill further, in all impartial Church-Hiſtories, of which there are not many, that for four or five hundred Years before King *Edward* VI. or Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, there were reformed Churches in *Chriſtendom*, ſome more publick, ſome more private, who made Profeſſion of the ſame Principles in Doctrine and Diſcipline, as were maintain'd by the Reformed in *Swiſſerland*, *Geneva*, *France*, the *Palatinate*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Poland*, the *Netherlands*, *Scotland*, and the moſt ſincere and pious of *Engliſh* Proteſtants. Few have had the Boldneſs to deny this. Indeed that ingenious and learned Hiſtorian *Sanderſon*, aſſerts, That the Majority of the *Reform'd* abroad, are for *Epiſcopacy* in its Altitudes; and to prove it, he names the Places where it is eſtabliſh'd; which I ſhall repeat as a very great Novelty: The Marquiſite of *Badu*, the Earldom of *Heneberg*, the Earldoms of *Levings*, *Marisfelt*, *Stalburgh*, *Reveſtern*, *Swatenbourgh*, *Wertenbergh*, *Hannaw*, *Oeting*, *Glick*, *Leonſtine*, the Baronies of *Lenebergh*, *Schenckburgh*, *Wildenfield*, &c. beſides thirty Cities, *whoſe Territories*,

Thorough Reformation ſtopt.

tories, ſays he, *are as ample as* Geneva. What an Advantage muſt any Cauſe have, which has ſuch a Champion? And truly the Cauſe he labours had never a better Hiſtorian than this *Sanderſon*, till Archdeacon *Echard* enter'd the Liſts; and has, I doubt not, as many more Names of the like Importance to be us'd on the like Occaſion. We muſt not therefore think it too daring in him to aſſert, That the *Romiſh* Hierarchy was never oppos'd, till a few wretched Enthuſiaſts ſet up Preſbytery in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. It is to be hop'd, that theſe Hiſtoriagraphers do really know no better; and that we muſt impute their Confidence to Ignorance, and not Deſign. It being moſt true, that there are hardly any Names of Eminence among the firſt Reformers abroad, who were not entirely for the *Geneva* Diſcipline. At leaſt nine Parts in ten of the foreign Proteſtant Churches conform'd to it; and that there was the ſame Diſpoſition in *England* in the Dawn of the Reformation, is what muſt next be obſerv'd. And well there might be, if even among the Papiſts there is a truer Notion of Epiſcopacy than among many, who under the Name of Proteſtants are ſome of the beſt Friends to Popery; ſuch as *Bancroft*, *Neile*, *Harſnet*, *Wren*, *Sheldon*, &c. For in an Oration of the Cardinal of *Arles* at the Council of *Baſil*, his Eminence, a Title he truly deſerv'd, ſpoke as follows: *The Chief and Principal of all Divines, St.* Auſtin, *on the Words of St.* Matthew, *where* Peter *ſays to Chriſt*, I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, *notes, that by theſe Words the judicial Power was given not only to* Peter, *but alſo to the other Apoſtles, and to the whole Church, the Biſhops and Prieſts. The famous Doctor St.* Jerom *alſo agrees with St.* Auſtin. *His Words are upon the Epiſtle of St.* Paul *to* Titus: *Before that Difference was made in Religion by the Inſtigation of the Devil, or that it was ſpoken among the People,* I hold of *Paul*, I of *Apollo*, and I of *Cephas*, *the Churches were governed by the common Conſent and Counſel of Prieſts: For a Prieſt is the very ſame that a Biſhop is.* How would Archbiſhop *Laud* have exclaim'd, if any *Puritan* Prieſt had ſaid as much as this Cardinal did? Again; *Wherefore all Biſhops ought to underſtand that they are of greater Power than the Prieſts, rather by Cuſtom than the Diſpenſation of the Truth of God.* Whence then came the Terms of Divine Right, Divine Permiſſion, Divine Providence, and the like? Again; *Biſhops and Prieſts ought to rule the Church together; which we learn out of St.* Paul to Titus, *who makes ſo much Agreement between Prieſts and Biſhops, that he often calls Biſhops Prieſts, and Prieſts Biſhops.* Had ſuch Doctrine as this of St. *Jerom* been preach'd in the Time of the High-Commiſſion Court, the Preacher had doubtleſs loſt his Ears for it, as well as Mr. *Burton*, who did not ſay more againſt the Uſurpations of the then Hierarchy. Can any one think that *Montague*, *Manwaring*, *Sibthorp* in former Times; that *Pelling*, *Hicks*, *Hill*, *Sacheverel*, *Tr---p*, and a whole Hoſt of ſuch Clergy in our own Times, had the leaſt Conception of this Equality between Biſhops and Presbyters, or knew what St. *Paul*, and his Commentators St. *Jerom* and St. *Auſtin*, had ſaid of it? I do not intend to enter into this Debate farther than is neceſſary to prove, that thoſe holy Men who were of St. *Paul*, St. *Auſtin*, and St. *Jerom*'s Opinion in this Matter before and after the Reformation, deſerv'd not to be treated as Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, Fanaticks, and Rebels; and that thoſe who ſacrific'd the Peace of both Church and State to the temporal Dominion of the Prelacy, were neither good Chriſtians nor good *Engliſhmen*: As for Proteſtants, I do not ſuppoſe they valu'd themſelves on the Name, and therefore I omit it.

A Cardinal for Presbytery.

We will now ſee whether the Spirit of *Reformation* was ſo entirely dead when it was reviv'd in *England*, that none of the firſt Reformers were of the ſame Principles with the Reformed in other Parts of *Chriſtendom*; and whether, as *Echard* affirms, Presbytery was never nam'd here till after *Epiſcopacy* was eſtabliſh'd.

The next Man who ſeal'd the Truth of the Goſpel with his Blood, was *Richard Hun*, Citizen of *London*, in the Beginning of *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign. He was murder'd in Priſon, and then ſentenc'd to be burnt for an Heretick. A Charge againſt him being, that he had taught and preach'd that *Biſhops and Prieſts be the Scribes and Phariſees, all things taking, and nothing miniſtring nor giving.* *Engliſh firſt Reformers no Enemies to it.*

It muſt be always remember'd, that theſe good Men do not mean good Biſhops, ſuch as are now the Support and Ornament of our National Church; but ſuch Prelates as *Bancroft* and his Brethren before-mention'd. Sir *Thomas More* thought Mr. *Hun* conſiderable enough to employ his Wit againſt him; but the Subject was too tragical to admit of the Farce into which he would have turn'd it.

An Article againſt Mr. *Bilney*, Fellow of *Trinity-Hall, Cambridge*, was, That he ſaid *the Pope has not* Peter's *Keys, unleſs he lives the Life of* Peter; which I am ſatisfy'd will be allow'd to be ſchiſmatical, and to favour much of the *Presbytery*, by moſt of the Rural Prieſthood. This holy Martyr converted Biſhop *Latimer* to the true Religion, who before was a bigotted Papiſt. There were other learned Men in *Cambridge*, who thought like *Bilney*; as Dr. *Foreman* of *Queen's* College, Mr. *Stafford* Divinity Reader, Dr. *Thiſſel*, &c. The Place of meeting was from them called *Hereticks Wall*; and this was ſeveral Years before there was any *Reformation* by Authority of the State. *Martyr.* 226. Full. *Ch. Hiſt.* 102.

Whoever will turn over Mr. *Fiſh's Supplication of the Beggars*, preſented to King *Henry* VIII. will ſee no Proof indeed of his approving any other Church Government than what was Epiſcopal; but they will ſee alſo how he approved of *Abbots, Prelates, Priors, Deacons, Suffragans, Archdeacons, Canons, Pardoners*, &c. their Temporalities, Prerogatives and Powers. For as to their religious Function, every one will grant thoſe who live like *Peter*, have the Keys as much as ever *Peter* had. This is given up to them entirely; but this they will not be contented with, confounding Chriſt's Kingdom, and the Kingdom of this World, which is all that good Men have to ſay againſt any of them; yet whoever has any thing at all to ſay, is immediately guilty of Sedition, Schiſm, Saucineſs, and what not. *Martyr.* 280.

About the ſame time *Richard Bayfield*, a Friar, who had renounc'd Popery, was charged with Hereſy for ſaying, *Every Prieſt ought to preach the Word of God by the Authority of the Goſpel, without running to the Pope or Biſhops for a Licenſe*; which ſurely is downright Presbyterian Doctrine; eſpouſed alſo by *James Baynham*, Eſq; Son of Sir *Alexander Baynham* of *Glouceſterſhire*, who declar'd, That *whoever preach'd the Word of God, and liv'd accordingly, had the Key that binds and looſes both in Heaven and Earth; which Key is the Scripture.* Ask Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, and he will tell you 'tis the *Prieſt*. Mr. *Baynham* was a Lawyer of the *Middle Temple*, noted for Piety, Learning and Humanity; but more noted ſtill for his patient Martyrdom ſoon after the Death of *Bayfield*. I mention theſe things, to ſhew that the Perſons who deſir'd a *thorough* Reformation, were not obſcure, illiterate Enthuſiaſts, as our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians repreſent them. *Ibid.* 290.

The next Year another Martyr was ſacrific'd to the Rage of the *Romiſh* Prelates, Mr. *Frith* of *Cambridge*, a young Man, but of eminent Abilities and Learning, who was not examin'd as to the Conſtitution of the Church. The Articles againſt him concern'd chiefly the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which he believ'd after the manner of the *Swiſs* Proteſtants. *A. Wood* of *Oxford*, who ſeldom ſpeaks Truth when it makes againſt Popery

or

or Papiſts, ſays *Frith* was converted to *Lutheraniſm* by *Tyndal*. Which is the Reverſe of the Fact; *Frith* being a profeſs'd *Sacramentary*, as the Term was then; and believ'd the *Euchariſt* as did the *Zuinglians* and *Calviniſts*, and not as the *Lu-*
Ibid. 308. *therans:* Adding, *The Church has no Power and Authority to admit any thing as Matter of Faith, which is not agreeable to Reaſon*, Than which nothing can be more ſchiſmatical, according to ſome modern Divines.

Thomas Bennet, A. M. of *Cambridge*, was martyr'd the ſame Year at *Exeter*. His Learning and Abilities were more than ordinary, as appears by his Defence in *Latin*; in which he declar'd, *That Chriſt gave the Keys to all the Apoſtles, as well as to* Peter; *and* Peter *had no more antiently given him than they, or elſe the Churches planted in every*
Ibid. 211. *Kingdom are no Churches.* He added, *The Church which is built upon a Man is the Devil's Church, and not God's: And every Church this Day is appointed to be rul'd by a Biſhop or Paſtor, ordain'd by the Word of God, under the Prince the ſupreme Governor.* To talk at a Country Viſitation of Ordination by the Word of God, would be truly ſpeaking in an unknown Language; as is what follows of the ſame *Bennet: Where they are that confeſs the true Name of Chriſt, and where only Chriſt is the Head, and under him the Prince of the Realm, that is God's Church.* Can any thing be more loyal, more agreeable to our Conſtitution Sacred and Civil? Again; *What Biſhop ſoever he be, who preaches the Goſpel and maintaineth the Truth, is a true Biſhop.* How would *Laud, Sheldon, Mew, Ken, Atterbury, Biſſe, Gaſtrell*, and other ſuch Prelates, have been ſtruck with Amazement and Horror at ſuch a Characteriſtick of a true Biſhop! Some of them indeed did preach, and very well too upon Occaſion; but they plac'd the Epiſcopal Character in the Title, Dignity, Power and Revenue; and wou'd as ſoon have allow'd *Richard Baxter* to have been the *Meſſiah*, as a true Biſhop; tho' he preach'd the Goſpel, and maintain'd the Truth before its mighty and moſt avow'd Enemies. *Bennet*'s aſſerting the Prince to be ſupreme Governor of the Church, was a Year or two before King *Henry* aſſum'd that Title by Proclamation; nay, *Stephen Gardiner*, the Popiſh and cruel Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in his Treatiſe *De vera Obedientia*, writes thus: *The Prerogative was not given to the Fleſh and Blood of* Peter, *but to the better Part, that is, to the Spirit of* Peter. An Interpretation of the Text, which the Diſpenſers of *Abſolution* do not generally ſubſcribe to. *The Pardoners*, as Mr. *Fiſh* call'd them 200 Years ago, apply the Prerogative to their very Perſons, their dear Fleſh and Blood; for if the Application was made only to the Spirit of *Peter* in ſuch as live like *Peter*, we cou'd certainly not be abſolv'd by every Vicar and Curate in *England*, as ſome of them now aſſure us we may be. Let us ſee what another ſuch Popiſh Prelate as *Gardiner*, his Contemporary Biſhop *Tonſtal*, ſaid of it. *The Church is built not upon the Perſon of* Peter, *but the Faith of Chriſt.* All which ſufficiently teaches us, that the *Epiſcopal* Function, and that of *Presbyter*, have the ſame Powers and Prerogatives by the Authority of the Scripture; and that the temporal Emoluments, Prerogatives and Powers are deriv'd ſolely from the Authority of the Laws of the Land, and conſequently are not of the ſame Nature with the Laws of the *Medes* and the *Perſians*.

I might, in the next place, mention Mr. *Tyndal* of *Magdalen-Hall, Oxford*, another of the firſt *Reformers* before the Reformation was eſtabliſh'd; the ſame who tranſlated the Bible; but his Opinions were the ſame with his Friend *Frith*'s: and his
Ibid. 342. Treatiſes of *the Obedience of Chriſtians*, of *Prelates*, the *Parable of the wicked Mammon*, his *Revelation of Antichriſt*, and other Works, ſhew plainly enough what were his Sentiments, as to the Dignities, Lordſhips, and Riches of Eccleſiaſticks. I have often ſaid, and may again ſay here and elſewhere, that the ſpiritual Character and Function are not what theſe pious Divines objected againſt, nor do I find that any Objection was ever made to them by religious and reaſonable Men.

But the moſt remarkable Declaration concerning the lordly *Hierarchy*, was that of the glorious Saint and Martyr Mr. *John Lambert* of *Cambridge*, whoſe Senſe of the Matter was as much *Presbyterian* as *Cartwright* or *Travers*; tho' the Learned and Judicious Archdeacon *Echard* affirms, that no ſuch Senſe was ever utter'd in *England*, till one *Hallingham* and *Coleman*, with two or three other ſuch obſcure Fanaticks, ſtarted it in Oppoſition to the Eſtabliſhment about 40 Years after. *As to the Power of the Keys*, ſaid *Lambert*, *the Power by which Men are loos'd from Sin, is not the Prieſt's Power.* Solus Deus remittit peccata, *ſays* Lambert; *God only forgives Sins: Neither doth the Miniſtry of the Prieſt any whit avail to looſe any Perſon, unleſs he that ſhould be looſed has his Belief in the Word of God.* 'Twere to be wiſh'd, that the Archdeacon laſt mention'd, or any other ſuch Orthodox Archdeacon, would own as much as this bleſſed Man *Lambert* did, *the Miniſtry of the Prieſt availeth nothing.* For it is commonly aſſerted, when the Matter is in Debate, that it availeth every thing As if the Abſolution in our Church-Service was like the binding in the Popiſh Sacrament of Matrimony, either Marriage or Fornication according to the Intention of the Prieſt. Of the Hierarchy the holy *Lambert* ſaid, and what he ſaid he ſeal'd with his Blood; *Nothing ſo cuſtomable as thoſe to be called Prieſts*, Presbyteri, *who are ſet to be Prelates in the Church. And Prieſts thus called* Presbyteri *in the Primitive Church, when there were but few Traditions and Ordinances to lead us from the ſtrait Inſtitution made by Chriſt, were the very ſame, and none other but Biſhops, as I have ſhewn you by the Authority of St.* Jerom. Paul *alſo ſhews the ſame in the firſt to* Titus, where you may ſee that *a Prieſt called* Presbyter, *ſhould be the ſame that we call a Biſhop. Many of the* The Church *Prieſts that do miniſter now are elect by Biſhops,* explain'd. *otherwiſe than after the Manner of Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the Form of the Primitive Church. Was it not preach'd by a certain* Doctor of Divinity *in London*, That the Church is nothing elſe but the Congregation of faithful People? *You all are of the Church, as well as I or any other, if you be of God.* Let us now conſider a little, what a vaſt Difference there is between a Miniſter ſpeaking the Sentiments of his Soul before his Perſecutors, environ'd with Racks and Fire, and another haranging an Audience in Hopes of Benefit and Preferment. What ſurer Way can a young Divine take to be preferr'd, than to court and flatter thoſe that can prefer him. And how hard is it for worldly Minds to give up their Pretenſions to the Things of this World? This Difference conſider'd, what Weight will there be found in every Word of our ſuffering Saint; how light will the Sophiſtry of intereſted and ambitious Men be in the Balance againſt it? And how natural then is this Reflection, That the latter in forcing ſcrupulous Conſciences to ſubſcribe to their Injunctions without Warrant from Scripture, are chargeable with all the Miſeries which have been occaſion'd by it? I hope the Reader will now perceive, that this Introductory Hiſtory is not at all foreign to the Reigns of the Houſe of *Stuart*. We ſhall therefore continue it a little farther.

Contrary to St. *Paul*, St. *Jerom*, *Frith*, *Lambert*, and all the holy Martyrs before-mention'd, the hiſtorical Archdeacon aſſures us, the Beginnings of Presbytery were after a ſchiſmatical Manner in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; and thoſe who ſuffer'd for it, deſerv'd the ſevere Perſecution they met with: It ariſing only from the Offence taken by Mr. *Cart-*

Mr. *Cartwright* of *Cambridge*, for that the Queen did not take ſo much Notice of him as he expected.

To the above Authorities I might add that of Dr. *Barnes* of *Cambridge*, thirty Years before *Cartwright* was heard of there; Mr. *Jerom* Miniſter of *Stepney*, Mr. *Garret* Miniſter of *Honey-Lane*; all Three Martyrs in the Year 1541. *A. Wood* calls *Garret* a *forward, buſy* Man. And indeed that *Oxonian* has hardly a good Word for any of thoſe holy Sufferers, who dy'd for the Goſpel in the bloody Reign of Queen *Mary*. Witneſs what he ſays of pious Biſhop *Farrar*, who was burnt at *Carmarthen*: *One may eaſily perceive, that having a Woman to his Wife, was the chief Motive that drew him to the Proteſtant Religion*, to which one may eaſily perceive, the Univerſity he was a Member of muſt needs be good Friends, by their permitting ſuch infamous Scandal to paſs with Impunity.

Wood *the* Oxonian, *a Hater of* Reformation.

We have ſhewn what was the Opinion of the moſt Learned and moſt Religious Men in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, with reference to the then Hierarchy; and there is no room to doubt of their Deſire to carry the Reformation farther than Dr. *Laud* and his Brethren wou'd have had it. Which Deſire of theirs was as earneſt among the Laity, among the Nobles, and among the People, encourag'd by the Countenance of two Queens, Queen *Anne Bulleyn* and Queen *Katherine Parr*; the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Cromwel*, the Lord *Parr*, the Lord *Liſle*, Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *George Blague*, and many Lords and Gentlemen of the Court; as alſo many Court Ladies, as the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, the Counteſs of *Suſſex*, the Counteſs of *Hertford*, Lady *Herbert*, Lady *Lane*, Lady *Tyrwhit*, and others; whom I remember, to ſhew that the Friends to the *Reformation* at home, according to the *Reformation* abroad, were not of the Dregs of the People only, as they are miſrepreſented by ſome Eccleſiaſtical Writers; not a factious fanatical Rout only, but of the moſt honourable, as well as the moſt knowing. And what Deference was due to the Sentiments of ſuch a Party, founded on Scripture and the Practice of the Primitive Church, will be conceiv'd by all conſcientious and ſober Men.

The Origin of the Troubles in England.

Inſtead of this, the rigid *Prieſthood* ſtickled always for preſerving the old *Mumpſimus*, as King *Henry* VIII. called it, and furiouſly perſecuted all that would not comply with them; which, in truth, occaſion'd that ill Blood, and thoſe Diſtempers, that have been ſo troubleſome and dangerous to both Church and State.

Full. *Ch. Hiſt.* 403.

In the Reign of King *Edward* VI. thoſe that oppos'd the then Hierarchy and Ceremonies appear'd more openly, and ſpoke more directly. *Hooper*, nam'd to the Biſhoprick of *Glouceſter*, refus'd to wear the Epiſcopal Veſtments at his Conſecration; and the Earl of *Warwick* wrote a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to diſpenſe with him in it; but it cou'd not be obtain'd, till the King himſelf commanded that *certain Rites and Ceremonies, offenſive to his Conſcience, might be diſpens'd with*. The Reaſons given by this godly Biſhop and Martyr, and thoſe other Divines of his Opinion, are in *Fuller*'s Church Hiſtory, and prove that they did not think the Work of the *Reformation* compleat. *Latimer*, another holy Martyr, who had been depriv'd of his Biſhoprick of *Worceſter* for Non-Compliance with the *Six Articles* in the former Reign, would not be reſtor'd to his See, nor accept of any other Character than that of a *Preacher*. *Fuller* informs us, that the Diſlikers of the *Liturgy* in this Reign became a *potent Party*, bearing themſelves high on the Judgment of *Calvin* in a Letter to the Duke of *Somerſet*, then Lord Protector; which is all I am contending for. There was a great Number of ſincere, pious Proteſtants, who thought, as the laſt mention'd Hiſtorian obſerves, *there was too much of the Serpent, and nothing of the Dove, to offend thoſe within to invite thoſe without to the Church, driving Proteſtants thence to draw Papiſts thither*. Which was the Advice of Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, Biſhop *Ridley*, and other good Biſhops, who however were very far from eſtabliſhing their Religion by High Commiſſion Courts, and a *Laudean* Perſecution. *P.* 426.

Among the many Errors, ſome of Malice, ſome of Weakneſs, which contributed to the Loſs of the little Reputation Archdeacon *Echard*'s Hiſtories once had, there is none more obvious and ill-grounded than where he boldly affirms, that the *Riſe of Presbytery* in *England* was owing to a Pique of Mr. *Cartwright* of *Cambridge*, becauſe Queen *Elizabeth* did not give him ſo much Money, nor look ſo ſmilingly upon him, as ſhe did on Mr. *Preſton*, ſix or ſeven Years after Epiſcopacy was eſtabliſh'd. Thence he, the Lord *Clarendon*, and other Hiſtorians of the ſame Stamp, take all Occaſions to charge thoſe who preſs'd for a *thorough Reformation*, with Love of *Novelties*. Whereas it is plain from the Writings of good Churchmen, that ſuch a *Reformation* was inſiſted upon before any Eſtabliſhment was made in *Edward* the VIth's Reign.

Dr. *Fuller*, ſpeaking of the Times 26 Years before *Echard*'s *Æra* of the *Riſe of Presbytery*, writes thus: *Come we now to the ſaddeſt Difference that ever happen'd in the Church of* England; *if we conſider either the Time, how long it continu'd, the eminent Perſons therein engag'd, or the doleful Effects thereby produc'd about Matters of Conformity*. The Struggle between *Purity* and *Ceremony* began with the *Reformation*, according to Dr. *Fuller*; and not after its Eſtabliſhment, according to Archdeacon *Echard*. It was carry'd on, not according to him, by Mr. *Cartwright*, and ſuch obſcure Perſons as *Button* and *Benſon*, but by Perſons of *Eminence*, according to Dr. *Fuller*, who repreſents both Parties *openly driving on different Intereſts under their reſpective Patrons*: Not of the Vulgar, as Mr. *Echard* affirms; for they were not able to patronize any thing. He could not but know ſo much of Hiſtory as this; and therefore his Endeavours to aſperſe the Memory of thoſe eminent Perſons, ſome of whom we ſhall particularly name in this Introduction, are equally vain, malicious, and unwarrantable. *Ch. Hiſt.* 401.

If it is true, that thoſe of the *Reform'd*, who were for carrying the Work farther, were encourag'd and confirm'd in their Sentiments and Zeal by the Principles and Practices of foreign Proteſtants, and deſir'd only of their Opponents, if they would not hear them, to hear the Apoſtles; Who then ought to be charged with the Oppoſition and the Miſchiefs of it? Thoſe *Reformers*, who were for leaving nothing in the *Church*, which Scripture had not left there; or thoſe who were for leaving in it ſo many things, not left by Scripture, to tempt the Papiſts to conform to it; which was the beſt Reaſon at that time given for it? *Fuller* mentions ſome of thoſe things, as *Surplices, Ornaments*, &c. 'Twas ſaid *they were indifferent*; that *they were neceſſary to Church Unity*; that *ſome decent Correſpondence with the* Papiſts *ſhou'd be continu'd*; that *removing them wou'd caſt a Slur on the Biſhops who had us'd them*; and that *ſtubborn Wills ought not to be indulg'd*. Dr. *Fuller* gives us to underſtand, that this was all that was, or cou'd be ſaid for them; and what this all is, when put in the Scale againſt what was ſaid by the Reformers, will, we fear, be found to be very light in the Balance. The latter urg'd, *The beſt thing that can be ſaid of them is, they are uſeleſs; otherwiſe they wou'd be* ridiculous *and* ſuperſtitious. *That grant them* indifferent, *left ſo by Divine Wiſdom, it was Preſumption in Man to ſtamp* Neceſ-

ſity upon them. That *as to bringing over the* Papiſt, *it had too much of the* SERPENT *in it, nothing of the* DOVE, *to offend thoſe within, to invite thoſe without, driving Proteſtants out to draw Papiſts in*; that *the Credit of the Biſhops was not to be preſerv'd by deſtroying the Conſciences of others.* As to the laſt, about *indulging ſtubborn Wills*, 'tis the Beginning of the *Sophiſtry* of the perſecuting Spirit. They firſt ſuppoſe the Conſciences of thoſe religious Perſons are not *ſcrupulous*; in a word, that they are Hypocrites and Idiots; and having arbitrarily determin'd their Wills to be *ſtubborn*, they give Judgment againſt a *Toleration*. Good Biſhop *Hooper*, who probably drew up the Anſwer to the notable Reaſons for Ornaments and Ceremonies, cloſes with this: *I put myſelf on the Trial of the* Searcher of Hearts, *that no Obſtinacy, but mere Conſcience made me refuſe the* Ornaments. It is pretended, that foreign Proteſtants diſapprov'd of the Oppoſition their Brethren in *England* gave to the Eſtabliſhment. This Pretence has not prevail'd much; the contrary being as well known, as that there are two ſuch Places as *Rome* and *Geneva*. However, ſince the Lord *Digby* ſaid in Parliament, *That to his Knowledge the Government of the Church of* England *was* admir'd *by the moſt Learned of the Reformed Churches abroad*, I will repeat Part of a Letter written by the Church of *Geneva* to their Brethren in *England*, in Anſwer to ſome Queſtions ſent thither by the latter. 'Twas dated the 24th of *October* 1559, and ſign'd by *Beza, Coladon, Calvet, Dupleix, Simler*, and others; wherein they ſay among other things, *They do in God's moſt holy Name, and with Tears, beſeech thoſe who have ſucceeded in the Place of the* Popiſh Biſhops, *utterly to deſtroy that Tyranny, which hath caſt headlong the* very Church. And tho' they were cautious of naming the Eſtabliſhment, they ſpeak broadly enough about it. *But ſome will ſay, How ſhall we do in this Point?* "Verily, if the Caſe was "ours, we wou'd not receive the Miniſtry upon "theſe Conditions if it were proffer'd; a great "deal leſs would we ſue for it". As to Copes and Ornaments, they ſay, *We therefore flatly reply, That thoſe Men who are Authors thereof, do deſerve moſt Evil of the Church, and ſhall anſwer at the dreadful Bar of Chriſt's Judgment. The ſame being polluted and defil'd with infinite Superſtition.* Of the *Croſs* in *Baptiſm*, they declare, *We judge thoſe Men to have done aſſuredly well, that have driven this* Rite *out of the Congregation.* Of Kneeling at the Sacrament, they ſay, *It hath a Shew of godly and Chriſtian Reverence; yet becauſe out of this Fountain the deteſtable Uſe of Bread-Worſhip follow'd, it ſeems to us that it was juſtly aboliſh'd.* Theſe *Geneva* Divines give their Reaſons and Authorities for what they write; but it is ſufficient for me that they gave their Opinion, ſince I am not entering into the Controverſy. Father *Orleans*, the *French* Jeſuit, aſſures us, *Calvin* complain'd to *Bucer*, that all the Maſs was left in the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and adviſ'd *Bucer* not to conform to it. He adds: *So great was the Deference paid to* Calvin, *that moſt of thoſe things he found fault with were put out of the* Liturgy; and *the Parliament approv'd of it.* We ſee by this, that ſome things which *Calvin* complain'd of, were left ſtill in the Common-Prayer Book; and the *Reformation* was ſo far from going forward afterwards, that Queen *Elizabeth*, ſays the Jeſuit, *who lov'd Ceremonies, reſtor'd what had been ſtruck out. The* Calviniſts *then made a great Stir, but being as yet weak in* England, *there was little Regard had to their Complaints*: Which is true enough. But it is as true, that a great Stir was made, at the firſt opening of the *Reformation*, for perfecting that Work, as Mr. *Cartwright* propos'd; and that Mr. *Echard*'s aſſerting that *Presbytery* ow'd its Riſe to him, is equally partial, falſe, and abſurd; as is the Charge againſt him and his Brethren, that they were for *Novelties* in Diſcipline and Worſhip; which I cou'd eaſily prove, was this a Place for Debate; and was it not ſo well done already in the before-mention'd excellent Treatiſe, entitul'd, *An Enquiry*, &c.

Ruſhw. *Part* iii. 171.

In the cruel Reign of Queen *Mary*, moſt of the Martyrs were of the ſame Judgment with the Proto-Martyr *Rogers*, with *Bradford, Samuel, Careleſs, Philpot*, &c. The latter acknowledg'd before the Prelates, *That the Church of* Geneva *was a* true Catholick *Church*; and it was ever deem'd ſo, till *Laud* and his Brethren deſerted the *Reformation*, and endeavour'd to erect a Papal Tyranny. What do the *Laudeans* think of the Proteſtant Exiles in *Germany, Geneva, Swiſſerland*, and other Parts of *Europe*, during that terrible Perſecution, worſe than thoſe of *Nero* and *Dioclefian*? The Heathen then deſtroying the Chriſtians; who were now deſtroy'd by the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity; ſuch as *Bonner, Gardiner, Brooks, Chriſtopherſon, Capon, Baines, Cotes, Morgan*, all Brethren of the *Popiſh* Hierarchy; who did not ſtrain its Prerogatives more than *Whitgift, Bancroft*, and ſuch Sort of Prelates, before the Civil War, and after the Reſtoration.

Tho' many Worthy Fathers of our Church had at times accepted, as well as refus'd the Epiſcopal Dignity; they were well known to be Favourers of the *Presbytery*, and deſirous of a Conformity with the Reformed Churches in thoſe Parts where they had taken ſhelter: Of which *Fuller* writes thus; *Thoſe that fled hence beyond the Seas, living in Cities of popular Reformation, ſuck'd in both the Air and Diſcipline of the Place they liv'd in, and renounc'd all Ceremonies*, &c. No body, as has been often hinted, renounc'd them, according to *Echard*, till *Cartwright* came from *Geneva* many Years after. P. 404.

Proteſtant Biſhops in England *before* Laud's *Time.*

The moſt Pious and moſt Eſteem'd of the firſt Proteſtant Biſhops were Men of ſo much Moderation, that had the Sees of *England* been always fill'd with ſuch Prelates, there wou'd have been no more Controverſy about Eccleſiaſtical Government. Had Queen *Elizabeth*, otherwiſe a moſt Wiſe and Generous Princeſs, been leſs devoted to the Pomp and Grandeur of Religion, and more moderate in the Adminiſtration of her Supremacy; had not Biſhop *Parker* ſo ſoon forgot the Miſeries of her Siſter's Reign, and Biſhop *Whitgift* not rais'd a Perſecution of another Kind in her own, there wou'd have been no Separatiſts, no Diſſenters, no Diviſion, no Diſturbance, and none of thoſe Troubles, which prov'd ſo fatal to the Royal Houſe of *Stuart*. That Great Queen liv'd long enough to have eſtabliſh'd Purity and Peace in the Church, if the Counſels of rigid and bigotted Prelates had not driven the moſt conſcientious Men out of it.

As renown'd a Writer of Hiſtory as Mr. *Echard* is, he ſurely never heard of ſuch Men as Mr. *Leaver*, Mr. *David Whitehead*, Mr. *Gilpin*, Mr. *Gilby*, Mr. *Crowley*, Mr. *Kingſmil*, Mr. *Withers*, Mr. *Huntington*, Mr. *Eaton*, Mr. *Sutton*, Mr. *Kelke*, Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Kent*, Mr. *Kethe*, Mr. *Wood*, Mr. *Stanton*, Mr. *Cole*, Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Walton*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Spencer*, Mr. *Whetnal*, Mr. *Mullings*, Mr. *Karvile*, and a great Number of Divines more, moſt of whom were Fugitives at *Zurich, Frankfort*, and other foreign Cities. Were none of theſe Brethren of the Presbytery before Queen *Elizabeth*'s Conformity Act? Let us ſee only what was the Form of Diſcipline and Worſhip eſtabliſh'd by the *Engliſh* Church at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1555, long before Mr. *Echard* allows there were any Objections to the Eſtabliſhment in *England*.

They choſe a Miniſter and Deacons for a Time only; they concluded, that the anſwering aloud after the Miniſter ſhould not be uſed.

To omit the Litany, Surplice, and other Ceremonies in Service and Sacraments, as ſuperfluous and ſuperſtitious.

A new Confeſſion of more Effect. Pſalms, &c.

Dr. *Fuller* ſays, they were a true *Communion of Saints*, who invited, by Letters, their fellow Sufferers to partake of it. The Doctor muſt certainly be out, when he tells us, the Exiles at *Zurick* excuſed themſelves on account of the *Engliſh* Common-Prayer, from which *they were reſolv'd not to recede*. Were *Humphry*, *Chambers*, *Leaver*, &c. ſo zealous for the Liturgy, as to break off Chriſtian Communion with their Proteſtant Brethren, rather than conform to the Service of the Church at *Frankfort*?

I need not here repeat the great Names of *Bucer*, *Fagius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Martyr*, *Zwinglius*, *Calvin*, *Bullenger*, *Pellican*, *Bibliander*, *Simler*, *Zanchy*, *Golphius*, *Gualter*, *Lavater*, *Junius*, *Tremellius*, and the Heads of the Reformation on the Continent. They are all well known to have erected their Churches on the *Geneva* Foundation; and if ſome *Lutheran* Dioceſes retained their Biſhops, they were but few in Number, and not of the like Eſteem in the Proteſtant World.

I do not repeat what *Calvin* wrote to the *Engliſh* Divines at *Frankfort*, concerning the Common-Prayer, out of Diſregard to it, or in Approbation of his Judgment; but to ſhew how vain thoſe Writers are, who pretend that no Men of Learning or Note ever objected againſt it, till it was paſs'd into a Law. *I ſee*, ſaid *Calvin*, *there are many tolerable fooliſh Things. By theſe Words I mean, there is not that Purity which were to be deſir'd*, &c. Then allowing that it might have been at firſt tolerated for a Seaſon, he adds, *It behoves* the Learned, Grave, and Godly Miniſters of *Chriſt*, to enterprize further, and *to ſet forth ſomething more filed from Ruſt, and purer*. This *further enterprizing*, is what Archdeacon *Echard*, and many other Archdeacons, have treated as a ſeditious whimſical Buſineſs, which never enter'd into the Heads of ſober, orthodox Men; and when it did, was the Effect of Diſtemper and Sedition, which deſerved to be ſuppreſs'd by Power and Puniſhment.

Had the Hiſtorian dealt with us as ingenuouſly, as might be expected from his Function and Character, inſtead of telling us, that a few nameleſs Fanaticks ſet up Presbytery ſix Years after Queen *Elizabeth*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, he wou'd have told us, that as ſoon as there was a Talk of re-eſtabliſhing the *Reformation*, there were great Endeavours us'd to eſtabliſh the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline, and correct the Liturgy. *Miles Coverdale*, who had been Biſhop of *Exeter*, refus'd to accept again of the Epiſcopal Charge. *Bernard Gilpin*, the northern Apoſtle, did the ſame by the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle*, as the above-mentioned *David Whitehead* did by the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*. But the Diſpoſition of the Queen, who was mightily taken with the Show and Shine of the *Romiſh* Church, with their Forms and Ceremonies, encourag'd ſome of the Prelates, who, no doubt alſo had the Dignities and Revenues in eſpecial Conſideration, to ſtickle for as much of all of them as cou'd be procur'd. However, while every one enjoy'd the Liberty of his own Thoughts, without ſubſcribing to the Thoughts of other Men, there was no Separation from the national Church, as has been already obſerv'd: And happy had it been, if the Jealouſy of thoſe Prelates, leſt the firſt *Reformers* ſhou'd preſs further, had not put them upon procuring Articles, Canons, and Statutes, to compel the Conſciences of ſcrupulous Proteſtants, who were then oblig'd to declare their *Nonconformity*, and worſhip God in their own Way.

Queen Elizabeth *againſt further Reformation.*

No ſooner were the Thirty-nine Articles paſt in Convocation, but, ſays *Fuller*, the Biſhops, conceiving themſelves impower'd by their Canons, *began to ſhow their Authority, in urging the Clergy of their Dioceſes to ſubſcribe to the Liturgy, Ceremonies, and Diſcipline of the* Church: *and ſuch as refus'd, the ſame were branded with the odious Name of* Puritans, as a Company of Hypocrites, who pretended to more Purity than others. But *Fuller* does them the Juſtice to add, *Some of them were ſo far from oppoſing the Liturgy, that they endeavoured, according to the Inſtructions thereof in the Preparative to the Confeſſion, to accompany the Miniſter with a pure Heart*. But prophane Men *quickly improv'd* this Nick-name, *therewith to abuſe pious People*.

P. 76.

Puritan, whence the Name.

Ib. 16.

One of the firſt that was called to an Account by Authority of the Canons, was that eminent Confeſſor, and learned and laborious Antiquary, Mr. *John Fox*, Author of the *Martyrology*, who was ſummon'd by Archbiſhop *Parker* to ſubſcribe, *that the general Reputation of his Piety, might give the greater Countenance to Conformity*. Father *Fox*, as Queen *Elizabeth* us'd to call him, produc'd a New Teſtament in *Greek*, and ſaid, *to this I will ſubſcribe*; and the Canons being offer'd him, he refus'd Subſcription, ſaying, *I have nothing in the Church, ſave a* Prebend *at* Salisbury, *and much good may it do you, if you will take it from me*. However, there was not then Courage enough among the Perſecutors, to exerciſe their Severity on a Divine of ſo much Piety and Merit. But the ſummoning him to do a Thing againſt his Conſcience, when *Smithfield* was ſtill warm with the Aſhes of thoſe Fires that had ſo lately burnt their Brethren, and when they cou'd not but know, that Mr. *Fox* underſtood the Matter much better than themſelves, is a deplorable Inſtance of the bitter Spirit of Perſecution; the Fury of which, if accompanied with Power, may be likened to a Sword in the Hands of a Man who is both mad and blind: An Image which is always preſent to me, when I read ſuch Hiſtories as that of *Bancroft*, *Laud*, &c.

P. 16. Fox *perſecuted.*

We muſt not think that theſe *Canons*, and this Conformity, met with no Oppoſition but from a few ſcrupulous Divines; the moſt leading Members of both Houſes of Parliament, fell in with thoſe who were for indulging their Scruples, and, as *Calvin* ſaid, *enterprizing further* in reforming Church-Diſcipline and Worſhip. To name ſome of them:

The Lord Keeper *Bacon*.	Lord *Howard*.
Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*.	Sir *Francis Walſingham*.
Earl of *Shrewsbury*.	Sir *Francis Knollys*.
Earl of *Kent*.	Sir *Francis Haſtings*.
Earl of *Leiceſter*.	Sir *Anthony Cook*.
Earl of *Warwick*.	Sir *Thomas Bodley*.
Earl of *Eſſex*.	Sir *Richard Moriſon*.
Sir *James Croft*.	Sir *Richard Taverner*.
Sir *Henry Sydney*.	Sir *Thomas Greſham*.
Sir *Philip Sydney*.	Sir *Thomas Roe*.
Sir *Fulk Grevile*.	Sir *Henry Bromely*.
Sir *Peter Carew*.	Mr. *Daviſon*, Secretary of State.
Sir *Richard Knightly*.	Mr. *Beal*, Clerk of the Council.
Sir *Walter Mildmay*.	Mr. *Aſhley*.
Sir *Thomas Lucy*.	Mr. *Knowles*.
Sir *Walter Raleigh*.	Mr. *Morrice*.
Sir *Francis Drake*.	Mr. *Sands*.
Sir *Amias Paulet*.	Mr. *Norton*.
Sir *Drue Drury*.	Mr. *Strickland*.
Sir *Robert Lane*.	Mr. *Wentworth*.
Sir *Henry Gate*.	Mr. *Wroth*.
Marquis of *Northampton*.	Mr. *Stephens*.
Lord *Hunſdon*.	
Lord *North and Grey*.	

Puritans.

To theſe may be added:

Archbiſhop *Grindal*.	Dean *Cole*.
Biſhop *Pilkington*.	Dean *Reynolds*.
Biſhop *Jewel*.	Dean *Nowel*.
Biſhop *Parkhurſt*.	Dean *Sampſon*.
Biſhop *Bentham*.	Dean *Haines*.
Biſhop *Alley*.	Dean *Whitingham*.
	Dean *Humphreys*.
	Archdeacon *Renniger*.

And

And a great Number of other ſuch illuſtrious Names, who, tho' they conform'd to the national Church, abhorr'd Perſecution for Conſcience ſake, and were always willing to hearken to any Propoſitions for promoting Reformation, Purity, Charity, and Peace. We read ſomething particular of Dr. *Nowel* Dean of St. *Paul's*, in the Sermon preach'd by Dr. *Abbot*, afterwards Biſhop of *Sarum*, at *Oxford*; of which, Mention will hereafter be again made; and there being ſome Reflections in it on that ſtupid and wicked Saying, ſo common in the Mouths of Country Curates and Foxhunters, *I had rather be a* Papiſt *than a* Presbyterian, I will repeat it entire. *Now for this Speech, that the* Presbyterians *are as bad as the* Papiſts; *There is a Sting in it which I wiſh had been left out; for there are many Churches beyond the Seas, which contend for the Religion eſtabliſhed among us, which yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery; and this is to make them as bad as the* Papiſts. *Beſides, there have lived among us,* long before *Echard's* Æra, *many reverend and worthy Men, who have not rejected the* Presbytery, *taking it even for* Lay-Elders. *Dr.* Nowel, *late Dean of* Paul's, *in his larger Catechiſm,* p. 29 and 71. *affirms,* That in every well govern'd Church, there was a Presbytery; *and yet this* Catechiſm, by the *late reverend Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *was commanded to be had in every Grammar School; which ſurely he wou'd not have done, if the* Presbyterians *were as bad as the* Papiſts.

Mr. *Morrice*, one of the above-mentioned Gentlemen, Attorney of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, mov'd in Parliament for a Bill againſt *the hard Courſes of Biſhops*; 'tis *Heylin* who ſays it, againſt Ordinaries, *and other eccleſiaſtical Courts, and proſecuting of learned and godly Miniſters and Preachers; againſt Oaths and Subſcriptions.* The Act was ready drawn, as was alſo another Act againſt Impriſonment for Refuſal of Oaths. But Mr. *Coke*, afterwards Sir *Edward Coke* the Speaker, was ſent for, and admoniſhed not to admit of any ſuch Bills; which wou'd certainly have paſt the Houſe of Commons, and was at that Time the Senſe of the Nation. Other Parliaments made ſeveral Attempts to accompliſh ſo pious a Work; but the Protection of the Queen gave the more rigid Prelates a Majority, tho' her Miniſters were very ready to take off the Edge of their Rigor, which was ſo deſtructive to the publick Tranquility, as appears by the Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh's*, and the Lords of the Privy Council's Letters to Dr. *Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who firſt diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by *Perſecution* in a Proteſtant Church: Biſhop *Parker*, tho' rigid enough, ſetting Bounds to his Rigor; whereas *Whitgift's* was only reſtrained by the Laws.

Full. 145. *& ſeq.*

The pious Lectures, and holy Lives of the *Puritan* Miniſters, made them very popular, and the Bent of the People was viſibly on their Side: To deſtroy which, the Prelates of *Whitgift's* Spirit tyranniz'd in the *High-Commiſſion Court*; and by means of that Archbiſhop's long Poſſeſſion of the Metropolitan Chair, there was ſo much Oppreſſion in eccleſiaſtical Government, that it created a general Diſatisfaction among all ſober Men in the Nation. Such another Prelate as Archbiſhop *Grindal* might probably have reſtored Peace to the Church, and quieted the Minds of the Diſcontented. And ſuch another might have been expected from the Education and Wiſdom of King *James* I. if his Wiſdom had really been ſo conſummate as his Flatterers, eſpecially among the Clergy, repreſented it.

We muſt now look back into the Affairs of *Scotland*, from whence we had our Kings of the *Royal Houſe of Stuart*. The firſt of them, King *James*, was of the very ſame Religion with that of the Puritans in *England*; excepting that it was ſtill more pure in the worſt Senſe of the Word. A *Scotch* Author will ſet this Matter in its true Light:

Mem. Ch. Scot. p. 2. "When King *Henry* the VIIIth aboliſh'd the Pope's "Supremacy, his Principle at that Time being ra-"ther politick than religious, he ſet his own Au-"thority up in the ſtead of it, calling himſelf *Su-"preme Head of the Church* in all Things, whe-"ther Eccleſiaſtical or Civil; a Thing ſince made "very ill uſe of, and improv'd to a Tyranny, "which neither in the Divine Original of it, cou'd "find any legal Foundation. When King *Edward* "VI. rejected the Pontificate of *Rome*, he erected "a Proteſtant Pontificate in its ſtead; which be-"ing oppoſed by ſome of the moſt eminent for "Piety and Wiſdom in the Reformation, quickly "begot a Diviſion in the Church."

This is too true, and too well known, to need more Words, how induſtriouſly ſoever ſome artful Perſons, whoſe Function ſhould teach them Simplicity and Sincerity, endeavour to diſguiſe it, and make us believe, that not the Noble and the Wiſe, the Sober and the Learned, but if any, which they hardly grant, the Ignorant and Obſcure, the Diſtemper'd and Illiterate, made the Oppoſition.

Duke *Hamilton* was at the Head of the *Reformation* in *Scotland*, where the *Reformers* went *thorough* with their Work at once; and it is well they did, for one may perceive by the Difficulties they met with in accompliſhing and preſerving it, that had they ſtop'd where the *Engliſh* did, they wou'd never have been able to go further afterwards: For even in *Scotland*, where *Presbyterian* Government was at firſt eſtabliſh'd, ſome Superintendents retain'd the Title of Biſhops, and the Title prevail'd generally in the ſeveral Dioceſes, after King *James* was advanced to the Throne in the Life-time of his Mother, the hereditary Poſſeſſor of it; yet they had no more Eccleſiaſtical Authority than Miniſters, being equally ſubjected to the Presbytery, Synod, and Aſſembly; and the Superintendency was under all the eſſential Articles of a Parity. This Subjection of Superintendents and Biſhops to the Preſbytery, was, with other Church Polity, regulated in their general Aſſemblies, and ſign'd by the greateſt Part of the Nobility and Gentry, before it had a Civil Sanction. Fourteen Years after, under the Regency of the Earl of *Mar*, there was an Attempt to reſtore the Government of Biſhops; which, ſays my Author, was *brought in by the Head and Shoulders; but ſo fetter'd and ſhackled with Limitation of Power and Caſtration of Stipends, that there was little in it more than there was before in the Miniſters, who were called Superintendents, the Name and Dignities excepted; as appears by the Reſolution of the Aſſembly of the Kirk*, A. D 1575. *Biſhops ſhall not appoint Miniſters of the Province, nor Elders and Deacons, without the Peoples Conſent.* The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld, Galloway, Brechen, Dumblaine*, and the Iſles, were Members of this Aſſembly; and Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*, tho' a partial Writer on the Side of Prelacy, owns, *Thoſe Biſhops did not ſo much as open their Mouths againſt this Reſolution.* Two Years after it was ordain'd, *That all Biſhops, and all other Eccleſiaſticks, be call'd by their own Names or Brethren only:* Which Act was to continue, ſays *Calderwood*, till the *Corruption of the State of Biſhops be utterly remov'd out of the Church.* The next Year, in an Aſſembly at *Sterling*, the ſame Law was made perpetual, and all Biſhops then elected, were required to ſubmit. Thus, ſays the *Memoir Writer*, That *Infant Mongrel Epiſcopacy*, ſo it was then called, *was voted out of the Church as a Nuſance.* Yet in almoſt all our orthodox Writers, we are aſſur'd, that *Presbytery*, even in *Scotland*, is a *novel Diſcipline*, and that at the *Reformation Biſhops* were originally eſtabliſh'd in that Church: Nay, this Opinion is ſo univerſally receiv'd, that I queſtion whether there is one in an hundred of our Eſtabliſhment, but who thinks *Presbytery* an Innovation in the *Kirk*: I do not ſay of the bigotted Prieſthood only, I mean it of the Laity alſo, ſuch as the before-mentioned *Sanderſon*, a Writer much

ib. p. 17. Scots *Ch. Government.* *Ib.* 73. *P.* 76. *p.* 78. *p.* 38. *p.* 278. *Hiſt. p.* 82. *Mem. Ch. Scot. p.* 87. *Life of* Mary Q. Scots. *p.* 110

Life of Mary *Q. of* Scots, *p.* 112.

much admir'd and follow'd by Archdeacon *Echard*: *Let any Hiſtorian tell me*, ſays he, *when, and how they ſtarted into ſuch a ſincere Reformation, as to have no Biſhops, as many wou'd pretend.* You ſee how boldly he defies *Calderwood*, and every one of the *Kirk* Writers. Indeed he, and his Brother Authors, are the ſtouteſt Champions that ever enter'd a Liſt, when there is no Body to oppoſe them: But with all his Stoutneſs, his Parts and Credit are ſo ſmall, that he is not worth taking notice of. The Temper of this worthy Gentleman, and his Fellow-Labourers, is ſeen in the next Page or two, where he tells us, that Reverend Divine Mr. *Gilby*, before ſpoken of, of *Chriſt's-College Cambridge*, a Confeſſor for the Proteſtant Religion, and an Exile at *Geneva, was gone to the Devil.* This is the ſame learned *Gilby*, who is ſo highly commended by Biſhop *Bale*, his Companion in Baniſhment for the Truth of the Goſpel.

Sanderſon *a Champion againſt the Reformation.*

Calderwood, *p.* 86.

In the Year 1580, the Aſſembly of the *Kirk* paſs'd an Act, entirely abrogating the Office of a Biſhop, *as unſcriptural, and having no Warrant or Foundation in the Word of God*, but, in the Words of the Act, *as brought in by the Folly and Corruption of Mens Invention.*

I am not myſelf at all concerned in this Debate. My Intention is only to relate the plain Matter of Fact, and leave the Reflections to the Reader. I might add, that I do not think there is ſo great Streſs to be laid upon Church-Government, either as to *Biſhops* or *Presbyters*, as to juſtify a Diviſion about it among Proteſtants; and that the Law is the *jus & norma*, the Right and the Rule in this Caſe as well as others. But ſince every one cannot think in this manner, the Blame lies on thoſe who wou'd force other Men to do what they wou'd have them, tho' againſt their Conſcience; and rather than not impoſe their *Non-Eſſentials* on thoſe who agree with them in the *Eſſentials* of Religion, wou'd ſet the two Nations in a Flame; which they have done more than once ſince the *Reformation.*

K. James I. *bred a Presbyterian.*

'Tis evident, that King *James* I. of *England*, and VI. of *Scotland*, was bred up in that Kirk, tho' he had been baptiz'd by the Popiſh Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who was hang'd for murdering his Father the Lord *Darnly*. 'Tis true, the Example of his Mother, and many of his Courtiers, gave him too favourable an Opinion of Popery; yet it is ſuppos'd he took the main of his Diſguſt to *Preſbytery*, which was approv'd and often confirm'd by his Authority, purely on Account of ſome Reproof the Miniſters ſolemnly gave him with regard to his Morals. There was a Deputation ſent from the Aſſembly to the King, to admoniſh him, *in the Name of the Eternal God, to have Reſpect, in time, to the Eſtate of true Religion, to the many Murders and Oppreſſions daily multiplied thro' Impunity and lack of Juſtice, and to diſcharge the kingly Office in both, as he will eſchew the fearful Challenge of God, and avert his Wrath off himſelf and the whole Land*, &c. The King never forgave them this Freedom, yet ſo well diſſembled he his Zeal for the *Presbyterian* Diſcipline, that he made this formal Speech to the Aſſembly, taking off his Bonnet, and lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, *I praiſe and thank God that I was born into the World at a Time when the Light of God's Word ſhone clearly forth, eclips'd neither with the Miſts of Ignorance, or the falſe Lights of Superſtition. I bleſs God that has honoured me to be a King over ſuch a* Kirk, *the* ſincereſt Kirk *in the World*; which he repeated three times; and to ſtrengthen it, fell out into very warm Expreſſions againſt other Proteſtants: *The Church of* Geneva, *What are they? They keep* Paſche *and* Yule. *What Authority have they in God's Word?* and *Where is their Inſtitution? As for our Neighbour Church in* England, *their Service is* an evil-diſpoſed Maſs *in* Engliſh; *they want nothing of the* Maſs *but the* Liftings. *I charge you, my gude People*, turning himſelf to every Side of the *Kirk*, Miniſters, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, Barons, and Gentlemen, *to ſtand to your Purity, and to exhort my People to do the ſame.* And I, forſooth, *as long as Life and Crown be left to me, ſhall maintain the ſame againſt all deadly.* Upon which, the Hiſtorian tells us, *there was nothing heard for a Quarter of an Hour in the Aſſembly, but praiſing God, and praying for the King*, who was at this Time ſo zealous a *Presbyterian*, that when Mr. *Udal* and Mr. *Cartwright*, two eminent Non-conforming Miniſters, were furiouſly perſecuted by *Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the former being condemn'd to die, and the latter in Danger, King *James* wrote this Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* in their Behalf, before it came to Extremity. "*Hear-*
"*ing of the Apprehenſion of Mr.* Cartwright *and*
"*Mr.* Udal, *and certain other Miniſters of the E-*
"vangel *within your Realm, of whoſe good Eruditi-*
"*on and faithful Travels in the Church, we hear*
"*a very credible Commendation*; *howſoever that*
"*their Diverſity from the Biſhops, and others of*
"*your Clergy, in Matters touching them in Conſci-*
"*ence, hath been a Mean, by their Dilation, to work*
"*them your diſliking at this preſent. We cannot,*
"*weighing the Duty which we owe to ſuch as are*
"*afflicted for their Conſcience in that Profeſſion, but*
"*by our moſt affectuous and earneſt Letter, inter-*
"*pone us at your Hands, to ſtay an harder Uſage*
"*for that Cauſe*, &c."

Fuller, *p.* 224.

His Letter to Q. Elizabeth *againſt Perſecution.*

How does the Speech to the Aſſembly, agree with the Dialogue at the *Hampton-Court* Conference, where the King ſpoke againſt the *Kirk*, if you will believe Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, by the *Spirit of God*? And how does this Letter agree with his ſuffering Archbiſhop *Bancroft* to tread in the Steps of *Whitgift*, and ſilence and ruin many hundred Proteſtant Miniſters and others on Account of Conſcience only?

I do not delight ſo much in the Hiſtory of this Monarch, as to enter further into it than is neceſſary for the Hiſtory of *England* during his Reign; therefore, with reference to the *Scottiſh* Affairs, I ſhall only add, that upon the *Kirk*'s excommunicating ſome *Popiſh* Lords, and others of the *Spaniſh* Faction, he took them into his Protection, to give a ſolid Inſtance of his Wiſdom and Piety. Thoſe Lords being charged with *Idolatry, Hereſy, Blaſphemy, Apoſtacy, and Perjury*; and the Aſſembly directing a new Admonition to the King, with Complaints *of his Conduct*, his perſonal *Sins, and the Sins of his Family*, it was as ill-reliſh'd as the former; and the King, to be reveng'd of them, never gave over till he procur'd the Title of *Biſhops* to be reſtor'd and given to ſuch Miniſters as were impower'd to give their Vote in Parliament. This Point being gain'd, and the King in Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England* ſoon after, thoſe Biſhops daily encroach'd on the Privileges of the Presbytery, in which they were encourag'd by the King, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the Majority of the People, who, for about forty Years, had known no other Church Government but that of their Paſtors, in their Congregations and Aſſemblies.

Mem. Ch. Scot. 128, 132.

We have ſeen what was the Conſtitution of the *Kirk*, that it was on the *Geneva* Bottom; that King *James* I. was not only a zealous Member of it, but a Favourer of their Brethren the *Puritans* in *England*. We had ſeen before, that thoſe *Puritans*, being a numerous Body of *Engliſh* Proteſtants, earneſtly deſir'd a greater Conformity with the Church of *Scotland*. And we ſhall now ſee, that when the ſame King *James* became Monarch of *Great-Britain*, inſtead of ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt in both Nations, by an Eccleſiaſtical as well as political Union, he not only deſtroy'd the Conſtitution of the *Kirk* in his *antient* Kingdom, but protected the Prelates in perſecuting and ruining their Brethren of the Reformation in his *new* one; which fine Stroke of Politicks acquir'd him the

Mem. Ch. Scot. *p.* 103

P. 125.

Calderw. *p.* 245.

K. James *condemns the Church and Common-Prayer.*

glorious Title of a ſecond *Solomon*, from many of our moſt orthodox Writers: For that it cou'd not be with reſpect to his Conduct in State Matters Civil or Military, will appear in the Hiſtory.

A *Scotchman* tells us, that on the Sunday before he left *Scotland* to go for *England*, he made this Speech to the People in the great Church, *As God hath promoted me to a greater Power, ſo I muſt endeavour to eſtabliſh Religion, and to take away Corruption in both the Countries.* He promis'd *to viſit them every three Years, that every one from the greateſt to the meaneſt, might have Acceſs to his Perſon*; *but*, ſays my Author, *he ſcarce ever perform'd one Word of it all.*

Mem. Ch. Scot. p. 155.

Before I cloſe this Introduction, I muſt obſerve, that it was King *James*'s Misfortune not to have been very well belov'd in his own Country, while he liv'd there. His Double-dealing with the *Kirk*, gave them a Diſreliſh of his Government, inſomuch, that they refus'd to give God Thanks for his Deliverance from *Goury*'s Conſpiracy, which wou'd have been a moſt unchriſtian, as well as uncharitable Act, if they had believ'd it to be true. Their Anſwer was, *Nothing ought to be deliver'd in the Pulpit, where the Truth was not well known.* The Murder of the Earl of *Murray* by *Huntley*, was ſaid to be with his Conſent. Not only Biſhop *Burnet*, but almoſt all Authors, intimate as much; and the Death of that popular Lord remaining unpuniſh'd, made very ill Blood in *Scotland*.

M. S. J. M. F.

I have it from the beſt Authority, that this King, who tho' born of the handſomeſt Couple in *Europe*, was far from being handſome, conceiv'd a mortal Hatred againſt the Earl of *Murray*, for an Expreſſion of his Wife Queen *Anne*, who, looking out at at Window, and ſeeing that Lord entering the Court, ſaid, *He was the handſomeſt Man ſhe ever ſaw. What*, ſaid the King, *handſomer than I?* And then ſwore he wou'd have his Life. Accordingly, to uſe Biſhop *Burnet*'s Terms, *he ſet on the Marquis of* Huntley, *who was* Murray's *mortal Enemy, to murder him: and by a Writing all in his own Hand, he promis'd to ſave him harmleſs.* Huntley *ſet the Houſe, in which the Earl was, on Fire, and* Murray, *flying, was follow'd and murder'd. Soon after, all who were concern'd in that Fact, were pardon'd, which laid the King open to much Cenſure. And this made the Matter of* Gowry *to be the leſs believed. Huntley*, the Murderer, thought to be as well with King *Charles* I. as he had been with his Father, and came to *Whitehall* in the firſt Year of his Reign; but that King wou'd not ſee him, having been inform'd what a baſe, barbarous Murder he had committed to pleaſe King *James*; upon which *Huntley* produc'd a Warrant under the King's own Hand for that Murder, and the Matter was huſh'd up. The *Gordons* have that Warrant ſtill in their Archives, tho' probably they are too good Catholicks to give one a ſight of it. Sir *Edward Peyton* miſtakes the Earl of *Murray* for one Mr. *Stuart* a Relation of that Earl's, and tells us, *he haunted the Queen's Chamber too ſedulouſly, which bred ſuch a Jealouſy in King* James, *as to get the Marquis of* Huntley *to diſpatch* Stuart *out of the way, who burning his Houſe*, &c. *After whoſe Death the Queen found others.* Such was the Prince of whom Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, a few Years after, ſaid, *he was inſpir'd by the Spirit of God.* If Mr. *Echard* had had the Eloquence and Perſuaſion of a *Tully* or a *Salluſt*, cou'd he have impos'd ſuch a King upon us as a Bleſſing to a Chriſtian Church, or have made any Church the more happy for having ſuch a Head? We have elſewhere prov'd his Hiſtory to be ſtuft with bold Aſſertions, Hearſays, Reports, and trifling Tales. He ſays all at once: *We are not to give Credit to* Buchanan's *Account, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the Earl of* Murray, *wrote moſt ſcandalouſly againſt the Queen; of all which he earneſtly repented, and acknowledged before his Death.* Every Word of which is as falſe as the falſeſt Tale in his Hiſtory; and we cannot ſay any thing worſe of it. Let the Reader obſerve his Tone here; *We are not to give Credit*; whereas, in truth, we are to give Credit to what *Buchanan* ſays. And tho' I was well ſatisfy'd before of the Arrogance and Falſhood of this Aſſertion, yet now there are a hundred Records publiſh'd, proving that Queen to have been concern'd in the Murder of her Husband, more plainly than any one Fact ever was prov'd, which was endeavoured to be kept ſecret; and it is given up even by Papiſts, and ſuch ſort of Clergy as *T--p*, *Biſſe*, *Swift*, &c. who were the more loth to part with it on account of her Son's great Favour to ſuch a ſort of Prieſthood; and they wou'd be aſham'd of it, if they had Shame in them. There are extant three Letters of hers to the Duke of *Norfolk*, wherein ſhe herſelf owns that ſhe was acceſſary to the Death of her Husband: How then is it poſſible that *Buchanan* ſhou'd, at his Death, repent of having told the Truth, and die with a Lie in his Mouth, as he muſt do, if he ſaid ſhe was not? *Buchanan*, Lib. 18. Fol. 895. ſays, *Cum ad ſecundum aciem perveniſſet concors ab omnibus clamor ſublatus eſt, ut meretricem ut Parricidam cremarent, erat in Militare quodam vexillo depictus* Henricus *Rex Mortuus, & juxta Filius Infans vindictam Parricidii adeo expoſcens. Id Signum duo Milites inter duas haſtas diſtentum quoque ſe verteret, ob oculos ei objiciebant.* The Queen having "ſurrender'd herſelf to the Lords; the ſecond Line "of the Army us'd her very barbarouſly when "ſhe came among them, and cry'd out, a Har"lot, a Parricide, let us ſlay her; bearing in their "Standard the Picture of the murder'd King, and "his little Son lying by him, and diſplaying it be"fore her wherever ſhe turn'd her Eyes." This Fact, which *Buchanan* repented of telling, was, it ſeems, ſo well known, that the Soldiers carry'd about the Picture of it in their Colours. *Buchanan*, in another Place, aſſures us, *She had before that given him Poiſon, which working before its Time, broke out all over his Body, and ſo Nature expell'd it.* Whoever will give himſelf the Trouble to caſt an Eye on *Anderſon*'s Collection of Records, where thoſe that are for her are printed, as well as thoſe that are againſt her, he will preſently be convinc'd ſhe was ſo wicked as to encourage *Bothwel* in his unlawful Love to her during her Husband's Life-time, and to encourage *Norfolk* in the like unlawful Love during the Life-time of *Bothwel*: And that what is ſaid of her lewd Commerce with *Rizio* the *Italian* Fidler, is too well grounded to be thrown by as a Fable. Father *Orleans* the Jeſuit, who does not a little flatter this King for ſuffering the Laws to be broken in favour of the Papiſts, owns, that the Concern *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was in at the ſight of *Rizio*'s Murder, affected her Son then unborn ſo much, that 'twas the Cauſe of his Cowardice. Yet *Echard*, very piouſly, makes a Panegyrick on her *ſingular Piety*, out of Complement to her pious Son, for renouncing and perſecuting the Proteſtant Church he was bred in. If ſuch Things as theſe are thought partial, I ſhall give Reaſon enough to the Reader to think me ſo: But as in this, and all other the like Caſes, I am ready to prove them to be true when call'd upon; ſo I ſhall not alter my Method out of Complacency to thoſe who cannot, or do not diſtinguiſh *Partiality* from *Truth*. It is very happy for the Lovers of Truth, that Mr. *Anderſon* liv'd long enough to collect and publiſh his *Records*, for he dy'd ſoon after; and all that *Buchanan* ſays of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, is prov'd to Demonſtration by thoſe Records. Yet the *French* Jeſuit above-mention'd, who had never ſeen any other Authorities than the Writings of Papiſts, and Eccleſiaſticks popiſhly affected, poſitively aſſerts, That the Matter contain'd in the authentick Collection of *Anderſon*, which is the ſame Authority that *Buchanan* had, is falſe; and that Poſterity *will ne-*

Anderſon's *Collections.*

ver forgive King James *the Lenity he ſhew'd to an inſignificant Fellow*, the great *Buchanan* his Preceptor. This Jeſuit's notable Book is introduced into the *Engliſh* World, with a Reccommendation by LAURENCE ECHARD *M. A.* Archdeacon of *Stow*; as if he had not had Falſities enough to anſwer for in his own Hiſtories, but muſt needs adopt that Popiſh Prieſt's Hiſtory, which contains hardly any thing elſe but Falſhood from the Beginning to the End, as I have prov'd, and can prove beyond Exception.

The Tragical Hiſtory of K. James's *Family.*

Before King *James* I. left *Scotland*, the Miniſters had ſo great Influence, that the Nation had generally no great Affection for his Perſon; yet what he did for the Proteſtants, made the Papiſts jealous of his Favour to them: And having no Dependance on his Sincerity, their Loyalty and Love were as little to be depended upon. True it is, his Friendſhip to them was much leſs affected, than his Kindneſs to the *Kirk*. But he was naturally ſo timorous, that he never ventured upon Extremities towards either Party. Whatever Prince gives his Subjects Reaſon to believe he wants Courage, he will certainly find they want Fear; and that Monarch who is not eſteem'd, will ſurely never be belov'd: The neceſſary Conſequence of which, is Oppreſſion on one ſide, and Oppoſition on the other.

The Writers of this Reign keep no Meaſures in their Panegyricks. I hardly know one of them who ſeems to have had the Facts before him when he was forming K. *James*'s Character. I will avoid Flattery and Prejudice alike, and foreſee, that with all my Care in expoſing the naked Truth from the moſt authentick Hiſtorians, who ſhall every where be named, I ſhall be condemn'd as partial, for not putting it in the ſame Light as our Eccleſiaſtical Writers have done: Some of whom, and ſome Lay Authors too, have not ſtuck, among other Encomiums, to extol the Piety of this Prince, ſo agreeable to the ſeveral Admonitions he receiv'd from the Clergy of the Church in which he was educated, and to thoſe Execrations and Prophanations of the Sabbath, which are the Complaint and Lamentation of the Times we are about to write of.

The Subject of the following Hiſtory, is not that of the *Stuarts*, but the Hiſtory of *England* during their Reign here; ſo I ſhall not enter into the Genealogy of that Houſe, nor trace them from *Banco* down to *Elizabeth Mure*, and from that Lady to King *James* I. King of *Great-Britain*. There are too many Tragedies in that Story, and the Facts are of too little Importance, and are not free enough from Barbariſm to render it entertaining.

Before the *Stuart* Line was heard of in that Kingdom, there had been a long Succeſſion of Kings, ſome of them brave and great, and others of them no better than the Poſterity of *Elizabeth Mure*. Of the bad Kings, *Dardanus* the 20th from *Fergus*, *Romachus* the 36th King, and *Alpinus* the 68th, were all beheaded; and of the Poſterity of *Elizabeth Mure*, her Son *John Stuart*, called *Robert* III. broke his Heart, and dy'd of *voluntary Abſtinence and Sorrow*; and his Son *James* was kill'd in his Wife's Arms, *A. D.* 1436. *James* II. was ſhot dead by his own Soldiers, *A. D.* 1460. *James* III. was kill'd in a Battle againſt the Confederate Lords, *A. D.* 1488. *James* IV. was ſlain by the *Engliſh* at the Battle of *Flowden* Field; *James* V. died of Grief after a Rout. His Daughter *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was beheaded; and her Son *James* I. of *England*, brought along with him the ill Conduct and ill Fate of his Family.

My Deſign is to ſhew how much the Condition of this Kingdom was alter'd by that Prince's Acceſſion to the Throne; and how he and his Poſterity, by hearkening to the Counſels of Minions and Bigots, made this once flouriſhing and famous Kingdom, a Scene of Miſery and Diſgrace. In order to do this, let us take a ſhort View of the glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and conſider her as ſhe was the ſupream Head both of Church and State.

As ſhe was Head of the Church, tho' there were ſome Things in her Government which were exceptionable, yet her Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion was moſt exemplary. She not only baniſh'd Popery out of *England*, but earneſtly endeavoured to promote the *Reformation* in foreign Parts, by powerfully aſſiſting the *French* and *Belgick* Proteſtants, and expoſtulating with *Henry* IV. upon his Apoſtacy, after ſhe had done him ſo many good Offices, and ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported him in his Succeſſion to the Throne of *France*.

Then as to her Management of the State, ſhe acquir'd more Glory than any of the Kings that had worn this Crown ſince the Reign of *Henry* V.

Queen Elizabeth's *glorious Reign.*

Her Siſter Queen *Mary* had loſt what was left of the *Engliſh* Conqueſts on the Continent. *Calais* was recover'd by the *French*, and by the firſt Treaty Queen *Elizabeth* made with them, ſhe oblig'd them to pay 500000 Pounds for it, which was as much as two Millions now.

She took upon her the Protection of the *United Provinces*, and enabled the *Dutch* to throw off the *Spaniſh* Yoke. The Cities of *Brill*, *Fluſhing*, and *Ramekins*, were yielded up to her as a Caution for the vaſt Sums ſhe lent them. *Havre de Grace*, in *Normandy*, was alſo ſurrender'd to her for the like Reaſon by the *French*, and the Terror of her Arms was ſo great upon the Ocean, that ſhe was ſtil'd the *Queen of the North-Sea*.

Nor did our own Seas confine her Dominion, ſhe made very ſucceſsful Enterprizes by her Admirals in *America*, overthrew the *Spaniſh* invincible *Armada*, and deſtroy'd the vain Hopes of *Philip* II. of *Spain*, who aſpir'd to the Univerſal Monarchy: She attack'd him not only in the *Indies*, but even in *Spain* itſelf, and reduc'd the ſtrong City of *Cadiz*.

She drove the *French* out of *Scotland*, and ſettled the Affairs of that neighbour Kingdom, as ſhe thought beſt for the Proteſtant Intereſt, to ſtrengthen which, ſhe enter'd into Alliances with the Princes of *Germany*.

She procur'd Peace for the *Poles*, diſtreſs'd by the *Turks*. She ſuppreſs'd the Rebellions of the Papiſts in *England* and *Ireland*, and brought the *Scots* Queen to Juſtice, in Defiance of the Menaces of all the Papal Powers.

As ſhe provided thus for the Security of Religion and Liberty, ſo ſhe extended her Royal Care to the promoting of Trade and Manufactures. She invited the *Belgick* Say and Serge Men into *England*. She eſtabliſh'd the *Ruſſia* Trade, the *Portugal* Trade, the *Turkey* Trade, and the Trade in both *Indies*, which commenc'd all in her Reign. She deſtroy'd Monoplies; and tho' ſhe was at an immenſe Charge in carrying on ſo many neceſſary and glorious Deſigns, ſhe was never in Debt.

The contrary to all which, are the Reigns we are entring upon; which, as inglorious as they be of themſelves, appear ſtill to be more ſo, by a Compariſon with that of this incomparable Princeſs.

Many againſt the Succeſſion of the Stuarts.

But before we enter farther upon this Hiſtory, it is convenient to remember, that there were many illuſtrious Perſons in *England*, who were ſo jealous of the Glory of the Nation, that they wou'd have prevented the Succeſſion of the *Scots* King, and had it ſecur'd to the Proteſtant Line in the Houſe of *Suffolk*; the Founder of which, *Charles Brandon*, had marry'd *Mary* the *French* Queen, younger Siſter to *Margaret*, Wife of *James* the IVth, King of *Scotland*; in whoſe Heirs remain'd the Hereditary Right, which has been ſo much to the Glory and Happineſs of *England* ſince they ſucceeded to this Crown.

The

The Lord Keeper *Bacon*, the Lord Treaſurer *Cecil*, and the wiſeſt Heads in the Adminiſtration, made the ſame Judgment of King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland* and Firſt of *England*, as did *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, who put a very great Affront on his *Capacity*, as will be mention'd in his Hiſtory. The Diſtractions in the Government of *Scotland* during his Reign in that Kingdom, his Inconſtancy and Diſſimulation, were ill Preſages of his governing this. The Misfortunes of the *Royal Houſe of Stuart*, of which, as has been obſerv'd, but two Kings dy'd a natural Death, ſeem'd to be attach'd to the Crown they wore; and it is no wonder, if wiſe Men were willing to prevent the Diſgrace and Danger with which they were threaten'd.

John Hales, Eſq; of *Coventry*, a very learned and polite Gentleman for his Time, wrote a Treatiſe in Favour of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, eſpecially of the Children of *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, eldeſt Son of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerſet*, according to *A. Wood*; whereas he had an elder Son, another *Edward Seymour*, from whom thoſe of that Name in *Devonſhire* are deſcended. The Earl of *Hertford* marry'd the Lady *Katherine Grey*, Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, nearly ally'd to Queen *Elizabeth*, who diſcountenancing all Mention of a Succeſſor, Mr. *Hales* was ſent to the *Tower* for writing that Treatiſe. The Lord Keeper *Bacon* was near loſing the Seal for being privy to it, as was alſo the Lord Treaſurer *Cecil*; tho', ſays *Wood*, the *Matter* was ſo wiſely laid upon *Hales* and *Bacon*, that Sir *William Cecil was kept free*, and procur'd Pardons for the others. The Senſe of theſe great Miniſters was, one wou'd think, ſufficient to alarm the Nation; but the People ſo heartily wiſh'd the Life of the Queen, that they ſeem'd to believe ſhe was immortal, and troubled themſelves very little about a Succeſſor. Thus had our Firſt King *James* a very eaſy Poſſeſſion of the Throne; and had not fate there many Months before the People felt, as well as ſaw, the Effects of the Alteration.

Vol. I. 176.

Mr. Hales *of* Coventry *writes againſt it.*

Others favour it.

'Tis no Miracle, that the nearer Queen *Elizabeth* drew to the End of her Reign and Life, the Courtiers turn'd their View to the *North*, and endeavour'd to ingratiate themſelves with the *Scots* King. Sir *Robert Cecil*, Secretary of State, and Son to the late *Treaſurer*, was one of the firſt who made his Addreſſes to him; informing him of the Diſcourſe between the *French* Ambaſſador and himſelf; wherein the former attempted to intimidate the Secretary, by putting him in mind of the Death of the Queen of *Scots*, that King's Mother, which Sir *Robert*'s Father had a great Hand in, and inſinuating the Danger of admitting her Son to the Succeſſion of *England*; which the Secretary not taking as the Ambaſſador wou'd have had him, the latter ſaid his Maſter *did not intend to impeach the King of* Scotland's *Intereſt*. This Information procur'd a kind Anſwer from King *James*; *I lov'd your Virtues long before I knew you wou'd deſerve my Love of your Perſon:* Which was ſome of the Cunning that was term'd *King-Craft*. Another Inſtance of his correſponding with the King of the *Scots*, was his concealing a Diſpatch he receiv'd from him in Preſence of the Queen; who taking the Air on *Blackheath* near *Greenwich* heard a Poſt-Boy's Horn, and enquiring from whence he came, it was ſaid from *Scotland*. Upon which ſhe commanded to ſtop the Coach to receive the Pacquet. *Cecil* being in the Coach with her, and apprehenſive of a Diſcovery of his Correſpondence, calls ſuddenly for a Knife to cut open the Pacquet, leſt Delay might beget Suſpicion; and having open'd it, told the Queen 'twas in a filthy Pickle, ſmelt ill coming out of ſeveral naſty Budgets, and ſhou'd be air'd before it wou'd be fit for her Majeſty to turn over. The Queen being very delicate as to Scents, enquir'd no farther about it; and the Secretary had time to ſhew what Part of the Diſpatch he pleas'd.

W. S. 258.

Wilſon, 2.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, the King's Neighbour in the *North*, gave him early Advice of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Sickneſs, that he might make ſure of his Title, and be ready to take Poſſeſſion when the Time came; which was the 24th of *March* 1602. that Excellent Princeſs paſſing then from an earthly to a heavenly Kingdom. The News of her Death was firſt brought to *Scotland* by Sir *Robert Cary*, a younger Son of the Lord *Hunſdon*, the late Queen's Couſin-German, Son of *Mary* Siſter to Queen *Anne Bullen*. The Lords of the Council in *England* had commanded the Gates of the Palace to be ſhut, that they might be the firſt to give Advice of the Death of their late Sovereign by a Meſſenger of their own: But the Lord *Hunſdon*, Lord Chamberlain, found Means to let out his Son, who, ſays Sir *A. W. moſt ungratefully caught her laſt Breath* to carry it to the *Scots* King; and he was rewarded with a Barony for his Expedition, and afterwards made Governor to the Duke of *York*. The Privy Council hearing he was gone, complain'd to the King *that he had done what in him lay to anticipate their Duty*. They ſent their Letter by Sir *Charles Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*; and not *Thomas Somerſet*, Son to the Earl of *Worceſter*. As ſoon as the King had read it, and knew that he had been proclaim'd King of *England* in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, his Countenance chang'd, and the Lords who were with him fear'd he was taken ſick; when on a ſudden he left off reading, and lifted up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, as if he pray'd; and giving the Letter to the Lord that was next him, ſaid, *Read it, Man; the Queen is dead.* After theſe Gentlemen came *Lewis Pickering*, Eſq; of *Northamptonſhire*, one of the Heads of the *Puritan* Party, who arriv'd within a few Minutes of the former, in hopes of recommending his Friends to his Majeſty's Favour. But Dr. *Neville*, Dean of *Canterbury*, who was ſent by that Archbiſhop, ſucceeded better in his Errand, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Mem. Ch. Scot. 55.

Full. *Ch. Hiſt.*

On *Sunday*, *April* 3. the King made the Speech in the great Church at *Edinburgh*, which has been already mention'd. And in Anſwer to the Letter of the Lords of the Council, acknowledg'd their dutiful Affections, and confirm'd all Officers Civil and Military. The Letter was carry'd to the Council by Sir *Roger Aſton* his Majeſty's *Barber*, whom he advanced afterwards to be Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Maſter of the Wardrobe, having employ'd him in the Queen's Time as a Letter-Carrier between the two Courts. The Lords enquiring of him how he had liv'd in *Scotland*, being of good Extraction in *England*, tho' mean in Fortune? he reply'd, *Like a poor Man wandering above forty Years in a Wilderneſs and barren Soil, now arrived at the Land of Promiſe.*

On the fifth of *April* the King ſet out from *Scotland*, attended by thoſe *Scottiſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen, whoſe Company was moſt grateful to him; as the Duke of *Lenox*, whoſe Conduct in *Scotland* had render'd him *odious* to the Proteſtants; the Earls of *Hamilton*, *Argyle*, *Mar*, *Kinloſs*; the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume*, Sir *John Ramſey*, &c. Of the latter, more will be ſaid in the following Hiſtory, which begins with this King's Entrance into the Kingdom of *England*; where he was receiv'd with as much Acclamation and Joy, as if he had brought in his Train, Piety, Riches, and Glory.

I.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

During the REIGN of

King *JAMES* the First.

*A.D.*1603.

K. James *begins his Ill-Conduct at* Berwick.

JAMES STUART, the first of that Royal House who reign'd in *England*, arriv'd at *Berwick* in his Way to *London*, to take Possession of the Throne, on the 7th of *April*, *A.D.* 1603; where, among other Lords and Gentlemen, there met him *Henry Howard*, Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was beheaded for his treasonable Correspondence with *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, King *James*'s Mother. This Lord was immediately sworn one of his Majesty's Privy-Council; a very wise Act, considering he was a Papist, and the King just come out of a *Presbyterian* Country into a Land of *Puritans*. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Duke's Brother, another Papist, was also made a Privy-Counsellor.

To *Berwick* came the Lord *Cobham*, who three Months after was imprison'd for a Conspiracy against him. Here his Majesty did the only military Act he ever perform'd in his Life, *for he gave Fire to, and shot off a Piece of Ordnance*; which *Stow*, the Chronicler, records as an heroick Action in so peaceable a Monarch, who, as Pere *Orleans* says, *cou'd not see a naked Sword with swooning*. Several other Persons of Quality paid their Complements to the new King at this Place, and many more waited on him at *Durham* and *York*; where he was receiv'd by the Lord *Burghley* President of the North, and a numerous Attendance of Noblemen and Gentlemen; the chief of whom was Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State, that Lord's Brother; but his Train was so incommoded by the vast Concourse of People crowding every where to see him, that at *York* he issued out a Proclamation to prevent the Multitude's encumbring him in his Progress. The Inconstancy of the Great Vulgar, and the Small in so soon forgetting their belov'd Queen, was observ'd with Sorrow by Men of Ingenuity and Foresight, the Reason for their extravagant Joy having no Foundation in the King's Government of his antient Kingdom of *Scotland*; and it is very probable, that what a *Scotsman* said of the Adoration paid to his Master by the *English*, *This People will spoil a gude King*, was as much Flattery as the other. *Ch. Hist. p.* 114.

*A.D.*1603.

He shoots off a Gun.

P. 2.

His Cowardice.

His Journey to London.

Fuller tells us he was amaz'd at the Equipage of the Northern Lords who repair'd to him at *York*, especially the Earl of *Cumberland*'s, admiring there shou'd be so many *Kings* in *England*; for less he cou'd not take them to be by the Number and Gallantry of their Attendants. If his Revenue in *Scotland* was in the whole but 50000 Pounds a Year, as we are told, the two northern Earls of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, had together an Income not much short of it. But, according to my Author, he soon found a Way, by Advice of the *English* Secretary *Cecil*, to abate the formidable Greatness of the *English* Nobility, by conferring Honours on many Persons. Thus was Nobility so spread abroad, that it became very thin, and lost much of its ancient Esteem. Instead of such sober Reasoning, Archdeacon *Echard* thinks it was for the Glory of the Kingdom, *It was thought*

Reybold *Ch.* 1.

Fuller.

A.D.1603. *thought fit*, thro' an Immenſity of Wiſdom, *to give a free Courſe to the Paſſage of Honour, which during Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign had been ſo ſtopp'd.*

His Majeſty ſtaid three Days at *York*, and then proceeded to Sir *Edward Stanhope*'s Seat at *Grimſton*; thence to *Pontefract*, *Doncaſter*, and *Newark*, where he arriv'd the 21ſt of *April*, and exercis'd his kingly Office on a Cutpurſe, whom he commanded to be executed without Form of Trial; a very early Inſtance of that Wiſdom which acquir'd him the Character of a ſecond *Solomon*. However wiſe it was, the Juſtice of it was much queſtion'd, and it was hoped, when he had acquainted himſelf better with our Laws, he wou'd not have violated them ſo notoriouſly. Yet after he was ſettled at *Whitehall*, a Cutpurſe being taken in the Preſence, he commanded the Lord *Garret*, Knight Marſhal, to hang him up immediately, which was done; but the Knight fearing to be hang'd himſelf for ſo doing, eſcap'd by a Pardon under the Great Seal. The King was the longer on his Journey, for that he hunted all the Way, and banquetted at moſt of the Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, every one ſtriving to gain his good Graces by Profuſion and Luxury.

Breaks the Laws.

Sir E. P. *p.* 109.

On the 22d of *April* he arriv'd at *Belvoir* Caſtle, a Seat of the preſent Duke of *Rutland*'s, and the next Day at *Burleigh* near *Stamford*, a noble Seat of the preſent Earl of *Exeter*'s. He tarry'd there two or three Days, and was royally entertain'd by the late Lord-Treaſurer's Son, the Lord *Burghley*. From thence he remov'd to *Hinchinbrook* near *Huntington*, a Seat of Sir *Oliver Cromwel*'s, Uncle to the Protector, who has been often vilify'd for his baſe Extraction, by ſuch Hiſtorians as *Heylin*, *Dugdale*, *Nalſon*, &c. At *Hinchinbrook* his Reception was ſuch, as, ſays *Fuller*, *in a manner made all former Entertainments forgotten, and all future to deſpair to do the like.* All the Pipes about the Houſe ran with the choiceſt Wines, and every thing anſwer'd the Greatneſs of Sir *Oliver*'s Fortune, then one of the greateſt in *England*. Hither came the Heads of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in their Scarlet Gowns and Corner Caps; and their Orator Mr. *Robert Naunton*, afterwards a Knight and Secretary of State, made an eloquent Latin Oration, requeſting a Confirmation of their Privileges, which his Majeſty readily granted, and took particular Notice of Dr. *Montagu* Maſter of *Sydney* College, with whom he held much Diſcourſe.

P. 157.

At *Godman-Cheſter*, in the ſame County of *Huntington*, the Bayliff preſented him with ſeventy Teams of Horſes finely traced to as many new Ploughs, in Honour of Tillage; a Cuſtom of great Antiquity when the King paſſes through that Town, whoſe Inhabitants hold their Land by that Tenure. His Majeſty told them he lik'd their Air ſo well, and took their Gift ſo kindly, that he wou'd often viſit them, were it not ſo expenſive to them: And being told the Homage was only paid for the firſt Viſit, he perform'd his Promiſe to the Advantage of both Town and County.

Royſton was the firſt Place where he paid his own Expence. From thence he proceeded to *Standon*, the Seat of Sir *Thomas Sadler*; thence to *Broxborn*, the Houſe of Sir *Henry Cook*, Cofferer to Queen *Elizabeth*; where he was met by the Great Officers of the Crown, the Lord Chancellor *Egerton*, the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, the Lord Admiral *Howard*, and moſt of the Lords of the Privy Council. At *Ware* the King came to *Wiggen*, ſo baſe a Cottage, that it begat a Saying, when a Thing was refus'd, *You ſhall have it when the King comes to* Wiggen.

On the 3d of *May* he arriv'd at *Theobalds*, Secretary *Cecil*'s Seat, where he was moſt magnificently entertain'd for four Days, and added, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Hume*, the Lord *Elphinſton*, and the Lord *Kinloſs*, to his Privy-Council, another wiſe Act in the Infancy of his Government, to let the *Engliſh* ſee that his Favour, and the Nation's Riches, were to run in other Channels. Nor was it leſs an Act of Wiſdom, to dub twenty-eight Knights in Sir *Robert Cecil*'s Houſe, to ſhew betimes how different his Conduct wou'd be from Queen *Elizabeth*'s, who ſcarce ever made ſo many Knights in ſo many Moons. A few Days after he dubb'd eighty more at the *Charter-Houſe*, and near two hundred before he reach'd *Whitehall*; by which he gain'd no more Love than the Knights got Honour, Knighthood being render'd too cheap to be in the Eſteem Queen *Elizabeth* left it. The Jeſt that was made of it, appears by this Queſtion, *What need of ſo many* Milites, *when there's no War?* But Mr. *Echard*, who is infected with the Wiſdom of this Reign, excuſes his Prodigality on account of the want of Knights to make Jury-Men at *Aſſizes*. Higher Dignities were diſpos'd of with anſwerable Profuſion. He created the following *Scots* Lords and Gentlemen, Peers of *England* and *Scotland*, as Sir *John Ramſay*, who murder'd Earl *Gowry* at the King's Inſtigation, Earl of *Holderneſs*, Sir *James Hay* Earl of *Carliſle*; Sir *George Hume* Earl of *Dunbar*, Sir *Thomas Ereskin* Earl of *Kelley*; and Sir *Richard Preſton* Earl of *Kildare*: And to qualify them for theſe Honours, the publick Treaſures were waſted in a moſt ſcandalous manner. *Nothing*, ſays *Osborn*, was *made penal by Law in Church or Commonwealth, but was by the King granted to his Countrymen, and by them exacted to the uttermoſt Farthing. Many, in the mean time, venting their Spleen in Songs; of one of which I remember two Lines.*

A.D.1603.

Makes Knights.

Sir E. P. *p.* 21. *Sir* A. W. *p.* 9.

P. 482. *Prodigal of Honour and Treaſure.*

In Scotland *he was born and bred,*
And though a Beggar, muſt be fed.

Which caus'd a *By-word*, That *the Exchequer reach'd from* London *to* Edinburgh. The Grievance was the more crying, for that this King choſe thoſe of his own Nation for his Favourites, who had not one good Quality to recommend them to him, and were in no more Eſteem in their own Country than in *England*. One of the beſt of them was Sir *George Hume*, the new Earl of *Dunbar*, who was the reigning Favourite when the King came to *England*; and it is ſaid, he procur'd that Favour by concealing what he knew of *Gowry*'s Conſpiracy. Sir *Anthony Welden* ſays, the Scots *gave little Credit to that Story, and the wiſeſt of that Nation ſpoke ſlightly and deſpitefully of it.* Sir *Edward Peyton* writes thus: *The Queen found others to ſatisfy her unruly Appetite, as namely, the Earl of* Gowry, *a Lord of a comely Viſage, good Stature, and of an attracting Allurement; who, upon King* James's *Suſpicion of often Society with the Queen, converted the Friendſhip and Love of the Earl to the Poiſon of Hatred,* cauſing *Ramſey and others to murder* Gowry *in his own Houſe, giving it out for a Stale, that the Earl with others wou'd have kill'd him. And to make this Falſhood appear odious in Shape of Truth, the Fifth of* Auguſt *was appointed a ſolemn Day of Thankſgiving for his ſuppos'd Delivery, and in this he mocked the God of Heaven.* *Sir* J. H. has this Expreſſion upon it, *he blaſphemed God for his pretended Deliverance once a Year all his Life after.* Mr. *Osborn*, who frequented his Court, tells it thus: "Among a Number of "other Novelties, he brought a new *Holyday* in- "to the Church of *England*, wherein God had "publick Thanks given him for his Majeſty's De- "liverance out of the Hands of *Gowry*; and this "fell out upon the 5th of *Auguſt*, on which many "Lies were told either at Home or Abroad, in the "Quire of St. *Paul*'s Church, or the Long-Walk; "for no *Scotſman* you cou'd meet with beyond Sea, "but did laugh at it, and it was ſaid, the printed "Relation of it murder'd all Poſſibility of Credit." *Wilſon* is a little more cautious; *Whether the* Gowries *attempted on the King's Perſon, or the King upon theirs,*

P. 9.

P. 21.

Hiſt. Stu. *p.* 291.

Gowry's *Plot falſe.*

A.D.1603. *theirs, is variouſly reported. I will not ſay, the Celebration of this* holy Day *was Profaneneſs for Fame may be a Slanderer.* Dr. *Welwood,* who was a *Scotſman* himſelf, a diſcreet Author, and well inform'd of the Fact, writes; *Gowry's* Conſpiracy *was in itſelf ſo improbable, and attended with ſo many inconſiſtent Circumſtances, that 'twas disbelievd at the time it was ſaid to have been attempted.* He then reflects on the Effects of the *holy Day,* which *Bantroft* and his Brethren celebrated ſo devoutly, and for which they had ſolemn Prayers: *Poſterity has ſwallow'd for Truth what their Anceſtors took for a mere Fiction.* Another Hiſtorian ſpeaking of the printed Relation upon which the *Holiday* was founded, ſays, *I will not deſcant upon the many Abſurdities and incoherent Circumſtances couch'd under this Relation; but only tell you, moſt Authors who have mention'd it ſeem to turn the Tables, and lay the Aſſaſſination at the King's Door.* Notwithſtanding all this, ſhall I be reckon'd partial by the inferior Clergy, and their Followers, for inſinuating, that a Prince, ſaid to have the *Spirit of God in him,* ſhou'd turn Religion into a Farce, and be capable of acting ſuch a Part in it.

Hiſt. Stu. 291.

On *Saturday* the 7th of *May* the King proceeded to *London,* being met on the Road by Sir *Robert Lee* Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen and Sheriffs. The Recorder, Sir *Richard Martyn,* made a florid Speech ſuitable to the Occaſion. His Majeſty ſtopp'd four Days at the *Charter-houſe,* a Palace of the Lord *Thomas Howard's,* where the Revellings and Rejoycings were continu'd; with which one wou'd think both Court and City might in much leſs time have been ſurfeited.

From the *Charter-houſe* he went privately to *Whitehall,* and thence by Water to the *Tower;* where on the 17th of *May* he made fourteen Serjeants at Law, and three Days after created four *Engliſh* Peers, Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Eſſindon,* Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penſhurſt,* Sir *William Knolles* Baron of *Grays,* Sir *Edward Wooton* Baron of *Morley.* The Lord *Henry Howard* was created Earl of *Northampton,* and *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurſt* Earl of *Dorſet. Henry Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton,* who had been condemn'd for the Earl of *Eſſex's* Treaſon, and had been kept a Priſoner upon Reprieve in the *Tower* four Years, was diſcharg'd, and ſome time after made Knight of the Garter, Privy-Counſellor, and Governor of the Iſle of *Wight.*

The King had left the Queen and Royal Family in *Scotland;* and as ſoon as he was ſettled in *England,* he diſpatch'd *John Spotſwood,* afterwards Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews,* to conduct her into *England,* with a Train of *Engliſh* Lords and Ladies, who valu'd themſelves very much on the Honour of the Employment; as the Earl of *Suſſex,* the Earl of *Lincoln,* the Lord *Compton,* the Lord *Norris,* and Sir *George Carew;* the Counteſs of *Worceſter,* the Counteſs of *Kildare,* the Lady *Anne Herbert* Daughter to the Earl of *Pembroke,* the Lord *Scrope's* Lady, the Lord *Rich's* Lady, and the Lady *Walſingham,* one of the late Queen's Bedchamber: Theſe went by his Majeſty's Appointment. The Counteſs of *Bedford,* the Lady *Haſtings,* the Lady *Cecil,* the Lady *Hatton,* the Lady *Harrington,* and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, went voluntarily to fill up the new Queen's Court, that ſhe might break forth from the *North* amidſt a new Conſtellation of Beauties, herſelf indeed not the moſt beautiful. *Spotſwood* had no Order to bring Prince *Henry,* bnt ſhe wou'd not ſtir without him. The Perſons with whom the Earl of *Mar,* his Governor, had left him in Charge, refus'd to deliver him without poſitive Command from the King, which threw her into a Fit of Sickneſs; which his Majeſty hearing of, diſpatch'd the Lord *Mar* to preſent the Prince to the Queen; who had ſuch an Averſion to that Lord, that when the King, to reconcile her to him, wrote her how much he was oblig'd to his Wiſdom and Negotiations for his peaceable Reception in *England,* ſhe ſaid to her Ladies, *I had rather never ſee* England *than be beholden to him.*

Queen ſent for from Scotland.

A.D.1603.

Such are the Events of this triumphant Reign; ſuch the Facts that are to inſtruct the Reader in the Hiſtory of King *James* the Firſt. The Queen, with Prince *Henry* then about 9 Years of Age, and the Lady *Elizabeth,* arriv'd at *York* the 11th of *June.* They reſted there a few Days; and on the 27th arriv'd at *Eaton* in *Northamptonſhire,* a Seat of Sir *George Fermour's,* where the King met them in Perſon, and having left the Princeſs *Elizabeth* to the Government of the Lord *Harrington,* they paſs'd from thence to Sir *J. Forteſcue's* in *Buckinghamſhire:* A very worthy Gentleman, who was ſo jealous of the Liberty of his Country, that he mov'd to have King *James* oblig'd to Articles before he was admitted. So did Sir *Walter Raleigh,* and other generous Spirits; but the Earl of *Northumberland* ſwore he wou'd bring him in by the Sword; and *Cecil* the Secretary, to have the Merit of his eaſy Admittance, fruſtrated all Motions of Articles.

Propoſals of Articles before he came.

The King's younger Son *Charles* Duke of *Albany* being not above three Years of Age, was thought too young to endure ſo long a Journey; but young as he was, and as much an Infant, he already diſcover'd a ſtrange Perverſeneſs and Obſtinacy of Temper; ſo incorrigible and inflexible was his Nature, that his Nurſes, and thoſe Gentlemen who attended him, cou'd very rarely deviſe how to pleaſe him, much leſs *to reclaim that Intemperature of his natural Conſtitution; which, as the Gentlewomen themſelves have both often related and proteſted, ſo are there yet enough alive who will juſtify it,* ſays my Author, *as a known Truth, and of which his Mother Queen* Anne *wou'd often complain, uſually calling him her perverſe and obſtinate Son.* This is told us by a Servant of his Father's, who liv'd in his Court *till he was weary of it;* and is confirm'd by his Actions, as will be ſeen in the Sequel of our Hiſtory. In the following Year, the young Prince was taken ill of a Fever; but recover'd by the Care and Skill of Dr. *Atkins,* one of the King's Phyſicians, who was ſent on purpoſe to *Scotland;* and in *October* conducted him to *Windſor,* where the Court then reſided.

Life Ch. I. *printed by* Reybold.

A Plague.

As yet there is little Buſineſs done, but what conſiſted in Royal Progreſſes and Entertainments, Sports and Jollities in the midſt of a ſevere Plague, which had till then rag'd in *England,* no leſs than 3000 a Week dying in *London* and *Weſtminſter.* Theſe Feaſtings were follow'd by the Ceremonies of Embaſſies. The firſt that came was a ſolemn one from the States of the *United Provinces,* who flatter'd themſelves much with Hopes of his Friendſhip; and to do him Honour, ſent *Frederick Henry de Naſſau,* Brother to Prince *Maurice,* Counſellor of State, and General of the Horſe; *Walrave de Broderode, John Olden Barneveldt,* and *James Valk,* with a magnificent Train and Equipage. They arriv'd at *London* the 14th of *May,* and had Audience of his Majeſty the 27th, when they repreſented to him the Neceſſity of continuing the War with *Spain* and the Archdukes. They demanded the ſame Succours which Queen *Elizabeth* had furniſh'd them with, and Permiſſion to raiſe Recruits for the *Engliſh* Troops in the Service of the States. They propos'd to the King of *Great Britain,* as he was then ſtil'd, to enter into a League againſt the *Spaniards,* with other Powers of *Europe,* to hinder their acquiring the Univerſal Monarchy, to which they had a long time aſpir'd. They alſo inform'd him, that the late Queen having deſir'd them to ſet out a Squadron of Ships to join her Fleet, and act againſt *Spain;* they had accordingly equipp'd nine Men of War and two Brigantines, which were ready in the *Downs.* King *James* return'd them an Anſwer in general

Embaſſies to him.

*A.D.*1603. Terms only, That he was but newly come to the Crown, and cou'd not yet reſolve upon any thing; that he thought Peace was to be preferr'd to War: however, he was deſirous to preſerve Friendſhip with the States General. The Ambaſſadors eaſily enough gueſs'd his Meaning, and that no Succours were to be expected from him; whoſe Reign, ſays Monſieur *Le Clerc*, was a *Series of Weakneſſes*; *he being a very timorous Prince, who minded nothing but his Pleaſures, tho' he made a Shew of Knowledge and Learning.* Inſtead of *Wiſdom*, he is here charg'd with *Weakneſs*; inſtead of *Learning* and *Knowledge*, with a *Shew* of it; which, it ſeems, was as well known abroad as at home. Add to this his Inclination to Popery, which was very ſtrong; not, I believe, out of the leaſt Conviction that the Idolatry and Superſtition of the *Romiſh* Church were more agreeable to Scripture, than the Piety and Purity of the *Reform'd*; but either out of Fear of the Papiſts, or thinking their Religion the eaſieſt and beſt ſuited to a Life of Pleaſure, which he intended to lead. Father *Orleans* tells us, *he had ſome Inclination to the Catholick Religion, and made ſome Steps towards being converted.* A Prince in ſuch a Diſpoſition was not likely to be a hearty Friend to a *Presbyterian* Republick, as was that of the United Provinces. The foreign Negotiations in this Reign are ſo weak and inglorious, that they are not worth mentioning. Mr. *Echard* knew but little of them: Beſides, to relate them was not for the Credit of a King, whom he makes not only the Head, but the Support and Ornament of our Church.

Cold to the Dutch.

Hiſt. Pays Bas.

Le Clerc's *Character of him.*

P. 5.

In *June* an Embaſſy arriv'd from the Elector *Palatine*, who probably had ſo early an Eye towards an Alliance with his Majeſty, by marrying his Son to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. From the Archduke, Governor of the *Netherlands*, came Count *Aremberg*, whoſe coming prov'd fatal to Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The King of *Spain* ſent the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, a Grandee of the firſt Rank; and his Errand was the moſt important, it being to make Peace with the Crown of *England*, which had been at War with the *Spaniards* almoſt thirty Years. Pere *Orleans* ſays, *he immediately gave Order to conclude a Peace with* Spain. And himſelf, and the Princes of his Race, from that time to the End of their Reigns, always took as little Care to maintain the Glory of *England*, as the Proteſtant Religion, which owes to it its beſt Protection. The Duke *de Sully* was Ambaſſador from *Henry* the IVth of *France*. The Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Senate of *Venice*, ſent Embaſſies of Congratulation; and for their Reception with the more Pomp and Order, a new Officer was inſtituted by the Name of *Maſter of the Ceremonies*, who had more Buſineſs on his Hands than the *Maſter of the Ordnance*. Sir *Lewis Lewkner* was the firſt who held that Office.

Careleſs of the Honour of England.

Sir *Robert Manſel*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, was order'd to *Graveline*, to convoy the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and Sir *Jerom Turner* to *Calais*, to bring over the *French*; who underſtanding Sir *Robert Manſel*, a ſuperior Officer, was order'd to receive the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, refus'd to go aboard Sir *Jerom Turner*, but put himſelf into the *Calais* Pacquet-Boat with a Flag a-top. Sir *Jerom* ſent to Sir *Robert* for Orders what to do; and he directed him to ſhoot, if he did not ſtrike the Flag. *Turner* ſhot accordingly, and the Flag was taken down; but the Ambaſſador made great Complaints, which however were not much hearken'd to, the Action being generally approv'd of by the *Engliſh* Nation.

Sir A. W. 26.

His Ambaſſadors abroad.

The King ſent Ambaſſadors abroad to return the Compliments he receiv'd. The Earl of *Rutland* carry'd the Garter to the King of *Denmark*, and ſtood Godfather to his firſt Son. The Lord *Spencer* preſented the Order to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and Sir *Henry Wotton* had the Embaſſy to *Venice*, where at that Juncture a Miniſter, who had more of his Maſter's boaſted Wiſdom, was wanted. *A.D.*1603.

Pope *Paul* the Vth had ſo highly provok'd the State of *Venice*, that at the Inſtigation of Padre *Paulo*, the learned Author of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, they ſeem'd reſolv'd to ſeparate totally from the Court and Church of *Rome*. King *James* promis'd *Juſtiniani* the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, not only to aſſiſt them with all the Forces of his Kingdom, but to engage all his Allies in their Defenſe. At Sir *Henry Wotton*'s Arrival, the Breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Criſis. The Ambaſſador at his Audience offer'd all poſſible Aſſiſtance in his Maſter's Name, and accus'd the Pope and Papacy of being the chief Authors of all the Miſchiefs in *Chriſtendom*. This was receiv'd with great Deference and Reſpect to King *James*. And when the Pope's Nuntio objected ſomething as to that King's *Orthodoxiſm*, the Doge took him up briskly, and ſaid, *The King of* England *believes in Jeſus Chriſt, but I do not know in whom ſome others believe.* King *James* had ſent with *Wotton* his *Premonition to all Chriſtian Princes and States*, tranſlated into *Latin*, to be preſented to the Senate; which Padre *Paulo*, and the ſeven Divines of the State, more zealous for the Reformation than our *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, preſs'd might be done at his firſt Audience, telling him they were confident it wou'd have a very good Effect. But now for another bright Inſtance of this Monarch's immenſe Wiſdom, and that of the Miniſters he made uſe of: Sir *Henry Wotton* cou'd not be prevail'd with, alledging he had poſitive Orders to wait till St. *James*'s Day, which was not far off. This Conceit of preſenting the King's Book on St. *James*'s Day ſpoil'd all; for before that Day the Difference was made up, and that happy Opportunity loſt. When he had his Audience on St. *James*'s Day, and preſented the Book, all the Anſwer he got was, *They thank'd the King of* England *for his Good-will; but they were now reconcil'd to the Pope, and were therefore reſolv'd not to admit of any Change in their Religion, according to their Agreements with the Court of* Rome. Becauſe the King was St. *James*'s Nameſake, the Buſineſs muſt be deferr'd to be done on the Day of the two *James*'s. Women and Children cou'd hardly have been guilty of any thing more whimſical. We ſhall find in a Year or two what Archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſaid of him.

*A.D.*1603.

Venice inclin'd to fall off from Popery.

Welwood, *p.* 30.

A Conceit of King James *and his Envoy hinders it.*

In *July* were ſolemnly perform'd the *Rites* of St. *George* at *Windſor*, where Prince *Henry*, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, were inſtall'd Knights of the Garter. Then alſo were created the Lord *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonſhire*, Sir *Robert Cecil* Baron of *Eſſindon*, Viſcount *Cranbourn*; Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellor, Baron of *Ellesmer*; Sir *William Ruſſel* Baron of *Thornhaugh*, Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Grobie*, Sir *John Petre* Baron of *Writtle*, Sir *John Harrington* Baron of *Exton*, Sir *Henry D'Anvers* Baron of *Dantſey*, Sir *Thomas Gerard* Baron of *Gerard Bromley*, Sir *Robert Spencer* Baron of *Wormleighton*. Thoſe noble Dignities were beſtow'd ſo plentifully, that a *Paſquil* was put up in St. *Paul*'s, to direct weak Memories to a competent Knowledge of the Nobility. My Author adds, *By a Multiplicity of them, he made them cheap and invalid in the vulgar Opinion: For nothing is more deſtructive to Monarchy, than leſſening the Peerage; upon their Decline the Commons ariſe, and Anarchy increaſes.* The Merit of the Lord *Mountjoy*, the new Earl of *Devonſhire*, was however diſtinguiſh'd from others. He brought over the old *Iriſh* Rebel *Tyrone*, who had ruin'd and maſſacred ſo many *Engliſh* Proteſtants; but having given his Word that he wou'd do ſo no more, he was not only pardon'd, but a Proclama-

Knights of the Garter, and Lords made.

Wilſon, *p.* 7.

The Iriſh *Rebel* Tyrone *favour'd.*

*A.D.*1603. tion was publiſh'd, commanding all Perſons to ſpeak reſpectfully of him, and carry themſelves civilly towards him; which is not to be imputed to his Majeſty's Fear of a conquer'd Rebel, but to his Love of Peace and good Manners.

Lord Cobham *and Sir* W. Raleigh *in Diſgrace.*

Soon after his Majeſty's Arrival at *London*, the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* were forbidden the Court; their Diſgrace being owing, as ſome ſuppos'd, to the Malice and Suggeſtions of Secretary *Cecil*, who without any one of his Father's good Qualities had all his bad ones.

Raleigh's *Plot.*

The Plague continuing to rage at *London*, the King retir'd to *Wilton*, a fine Seat of the Earl of *Pembroke*'s in *Wiltſhire*. While he was in this Retirement, a Diſcovery was made of that Conſpiracy, which goes by the Name of *Raleigh*'s Treaſon, Sir *Walter Raleigh* being one of the chief Conſpirators. What the Treaſon was, no body cou'd then give a very good Account of; and much leſs now that it has been almoſt 130 Years a brewing by thoſe who hated Sir *Walter*'s Memory for his making free with the Lands of the Church. There was no Foundation for it in Probability, whatever Fact was pretended to be prov'd on the Plotters. Was it likely that the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and three or four Gentlemen more, ſhou'd attempt to alter a Government with which the People were ſo tranſported, or that a Man of ſo great a Genius as Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſhou'd give into ſo impracticable a *Scheme*? He was for binding King *James* to Articles, as has been obſerv'd; and that was a Crime not eaſily to be forgiven by a Prince, who lov'd Power as much as he hated War.

No Foundation for it.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* was doubtleſs diſguſted at the little Regard the King ſhew'd to his Merit; and being a Man of Spirit, might vent that Diſguſt in raſh and dangerous Expreſſions, before Perſons who made their Market of the Confidence he had in them. Sir *Anthony Welden* ſays, *What the Treaſon was no Man cou'd tell; and it is left with ſo dark a Comment, that Poſterity will never underſtand the Text. It is true, ſome loſt their Lives; yet the World was never ſatisfy'd of the Juſtice.* Dr. *Welwood* compares this Conſpiracy to that of *Gowry*'s, ſaying, 'twas *no leſs a Myſtery*. Mr. *Oſborn* writes of it thus: *A Treaſon ſo improbable to hurt others, or benefit themſelves, that if ever Folly was capable of the Title or Pity due to Innocence, theirs might claim a large Share.* Another Hiſtorian; *It was ſuch a Mixture, that nothing cou'd be viſible in it.* Yet after the Lord *Cobham*'s Brother Mr. *Brook*, and two *Romiſh* Prieſts, *Watſon* and *Clerk*, had been put to Death for it, Mr. *Echard* cries out, how *uncommonly tender and merciful was this* King?

P. 28.

P. 473.

Hiſt. Stu. 293.

Begins ill.

Such a Beginning of a Reign promis'd very little Good in the Courſe of it; but ſo much Care was taken to gild the Appearances that the Darkneſs had not its full Effect on the Minds of the People. It was not probable that two Churchmen, the Lord *Cobham* and his Brother, and the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a Puritan, ſhou'd join with Sir *Walter Raleigh* a reputed Atheiſt, and two *Romiſh* Prieſts, to reſtore Popery, and ſet up a *Spaniſh* arbitrary Government; eſpecially conſidering what an advantageous Treaty the Conſtable of *Caſtile* was upon concluding with the King's Miniſters, of whom *Cecil* was the Chief. *Welden* obſerves, *It was indeed thoſe that made the Peace, not thoſe that endeavour'd the breaking of it, that were the Traytors, and are to be curſt by all Poſterity.* Sir *Walter Raleigh* oppos'd this Negotiation as detrimental and ſcandalous to the Intereſt and Honour of *England*. *Cecil*, amongſt all his Politicks, cou'd not penetrate ſo far as *Raleigh*, tho' the thing lay ſo near the Surface, or he was taken off by *Spaniſh* Money. *As this Peace*, ſays *Osborn*, *was of infinite Conſequence to the* Spaniard, *ſo he ſpar'd for no Coſt to procure it.* *Howard* Earl of *Northampton built his Palace in the* Strand *with the Gold that came to his Share.* And *Cecil*'s Portion cou'd not be leſs, conſidering he was Prime Miniſter; but it is all huſh'd up; and one Reaſon of it may be his joining with the King againſt the *Presbyterians* at the *Hampton-Conference*, which was about this time.

Anill Peace with Spain.

P. 472.

A.D. 1603.

Fuller, 21.

For this Peace, and others of the ſame happy Effect, King *James* had the amiable Title of *Rex Pacificus* beſtow'd upon him; and had the Peace he ſo inculcated been as much for his Honour as his Eaſe; had not his Fear of War been ſtronger than his Love of Peace, that Title wou'd have been as illuſtrious as thoſe of the *Victorious* and *Invincible*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was a military Man, and therefore very unfit for a Favourite in this Reign; yet *Cecil*'s Jealouſy of his Parts and Worth ſunk him deeper in the Conſpiracy than was in Reaſon, as well as Truth. Was it not extremely likely that Count *Aremberg* ſhou'd treat with *Cobham* for a *Rebellion* againſt the King, while the Conſtable of *Caſtile* was treating with *Cecil* for an Alliance between him and his Maſter the King of *Spain*; againſt which *Raleigh* wrote a Treatiſe, which he preſented to the King? Be it as it will, *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, his Brother *George Brook*, *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, Sir *Edward Parham*, *Bartholomew Brokeſby*, and *Anthony Copley*, Gent. were all ſeiz'd and impriſon'd about the Beginning of *July* for conſpiring the Death of the King, the Subverſion of the State, and ſetting up the Lady *Arabella Stuart* on the Throne. The latter a very wild Imagination, to deſtroy King *James*'s Hereditary Right for the ſake of another female Reign. The Lord *Grey* was to raiſe 2000 Men under pretence of aſſiſting the *Hollanders*, and with theſe to ſeize both the King and Prince. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was to procure Supplies of Money from *Aremberg* out of the Archduke's Treaſury. *Cobham* was to go to *Spain* for the ſame Supplies; and when they had ſettled the Lady *Arabella* on the Throne, *Watſon* the Popiſh Prieſt was to be made Lord Chancellor; *George Brook*, the Churchman, Lord Treaſurer; the Lord *Grey*, a Puritan, Maſter of the Horſe, and Earl Marſhal of *England*; Sir *Griffith Markham*, a Papiſt, Secretary of State; and the others were to have the Places in the Kingdom upon the new Queen's Acceſſion to the Crown. But tho' they were apprehended in *July*, they were not brought to Trial till *November*; the Peſtilence raging ſo violently at *London*, that above 30000 dy'd of it this Year. The Term was deferr'd and kept at *Wincheſter*; as were the *Exchequer Court*, Court of *Wards* and *Liveries*, and that of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter* at *Richmond*.

A.D 1603.

K. James *call'd* Rex Pacificus.

The Plot.

But the Plague did not prevent the Royal Ceremony of the King and Queen's Coronation on St. *James*'s Day: To prepare for which, beſides the above-mention'd Lords, the King made ſixty two Knights of the *Bath*; and dubb'd at once all the Judges, all the Serjeants at Law, all his Gentlemen Uſhers, and many others.

Coronation.

On the 25th of *July*, the King and Queen were crown'd at *Weſtminſter* by Archbiſhop *Whitgift*. The Lord-Mayor Sir *Robert Lee*, and twelve principal Citizens, were admitted to attend the Solemnity, but all other Citizens were ſtopp'd from paſſing either by Land or Water, for fear of Infection. Indeed ſome thought it an improper Seaſon to celebrate ſo glorious a Feſtival, and that it wou'd have been more decent, if not more religious, to have put off the Rejoicings for the *Coronation*, till there had not been ſo many Mourners in the Streets, and ſo many Doors ſhut up by the Deſolation of the Peſtilence. However, the Charge of the Ceremony amounted to thirty-ſeven thouſand Pounds. The King at his Coronation did not take the uſual Oath which all Kings were wont to do, *Whitgift* ſinking ſome Parts of it, as favouring too much

Oath abridg'd.

*A.D.*1603. the Rights and Privileges of the People, as we are told by Dr. *Cowel*, Vicar General to Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, in his Treatiſe intitul'd the *Interpreter*; which was ſuppreſs'd by Proclamation for an Expreſſion in it, *That the King's Prerogative was in ſome Caſes limited*: tho' the Intent of the Book was to eſtabliſh arbitrary Power.

This great Expence, that of his Majeſty and Train in his Journey from *Scotland*, and on his Arrival at *London*, gave no Check to his Royal Bounty, much more boundleſs than his Treaſury; which, while he was in *Scotland*, receiv'd its beſt Supply from a Penſion the late Queen gave him of 15000 Pounds a Year. The Gentlemen he brought from *Scotland* with him, had a fair Harveſt in the Beginning of his Reign, and it laſted with very little Intermiſſion to the End, the King ſeeming not to diſtinguiſh between *Engliſh* and *Scots* Pounds.

King always giving.

What State-Affairs, other than ceremonial, were tranſacted in the Court of *England*, conſiſted chiefly in Proclamations, of which there were eleven iſſu'd in a few Months; the chief of them were that for *quieting Mens Minds* as to religious Matters, and that for ſuppreſſing Captain *Thomas Tomkins* the Pyrate, who robb'd near the Streights of *Gibraltar*.

Proclamations.

The 5th of *Auguſt* was the firſt *Holy Day* in *England* to thank God for his Majeſty's Deliverance from Earl *Gowry*, of which enough has been ſaid already. There were two Earl *Gowrys*, Father and Son, who were put to Death by this King, rather out of Hatred to their Principles, being *Presbyterians*, than Fear of their Deſigns. Earl *Gowry*, the Father, join'd with the Earls of *Mar*, *Lyndſay*, and other Noblemen, in the Year 1582, to deliver the King from his *Popiſh* evil Counſellors; ſuch as the Duke of *Lenox*, who, as the Biſhop of *Salisbury* aſſures us, was a *known Papiſt*; which *Echard* tells us, is ſaid *out of Malice*, and that he dy'd a good *Proteſtant* at *Paris*. Beſides the Anniverſary for the King's Deliverance from *Gowry*, there were *Tueſday* Sermons every Week for ſome Time; and can one, without Horror, think of the prophaning the tremendous Name of God in ſo ſolemn a Manner, to countenance a Caſt of State Policy. It is true, the *Puritans* imitated their Brethren in *Scotland*, who before the King left that Kingdom refus'd to give God Thanks for a Deliverance which they did not believe. What I read in another Hiſtorian, gives one a ſhocking Idea of all *Anniverſaries* ſet apart for Worſhip where the Foundation is not in Truth as ſure as that of the Goſpel. *I pray God*, ſays my Author, *that the Effect of theſe Sermons in the Father's Time for that Service, produce no ill Effects, or be not one Cauſe of God's Anger with us in the Son's Reign.*

Hiſt. Times p. 350.

Sir A. W.

Sir Walter Raleigh *try'd.*

We are now come to the Arraignment of Sir *Walter Raleigh* and his Fellow Conſpirators at *Wincheſter*, on the 4th of *November*. The Indictment was manag'd by the Attorney General Sir *Edward Coke*, Serjeant *Hele*, and Serjeant *Philips*. In the Management of it, Sir *Edward Coke* ſet a baſe Example to thoſe Lawyers, who have ſince ſupply'd the Deficiency of Evidence with Railery and Invective, and made the Fact foul by their foul Words and falſe Gloſſes. He may truly be ſaid to bait Sir *Walter* to Death; for after a very long Trial, wherein he defended himſelf with great Strength of Argument and Spirit, he was tir'd with the Length of the Proceedings, or fearing the Court was tir'd, threw all the Merits of the Cauſe on this ſingle Iſſue, Whether the Lord *Cobham*, as was urg'd againſt him, had given it under his Hand, that Sir *Walter* was guilty of Treaſon. *Raleigh* being conſcious of his own Innocence, inſiſted upon it, that *Cobham* had not done, and cou'd not do ſuch a Thing. This was what his Enemy *Cecil* wanted, for he had provided Proof to the contrary. *Wade*, the wicked Governor of the *Tower*, was *Cecil*'s Creature, and he had employ'd him to tamper with his Priſoner *Cobham* to accuſe *Raleigh*, which *Cobham* refus'd with great Conſtancy, beyond what cou'd be expected from a Perſon of his weak Intellect: But *Wade*, impoſing on his Weakneſs, got him, by Surprize, to ſet his Name to a Blank, over which he himſelf wrote ſuch an Accuſation as *Cecil* wou'd have him. Being furniſh'd with this Evidence, the Secretary often demanded of *Raleigh*, at his Trial, Whether *he wou'd ſubmit, if* Cobham *had really ſo accuſed him.* *Raleigh* for ſome time ſtood out againſt this, ſaying, *He knew not how far the Lord* Cobham's *Weakneſs might be wrought upon, therefore he wou'd not put his Life and Fortune on his Honour or Prudence.* Yet, in the End, about nine a-Clock at Night, depending on the Impoſſibility of *Cobham*'s knowing any ſuch treaſonable Matter of him, he conſented to be determined by what he had ſubſcrib'd concerning him, which was no ſooner ſaid, than *Wade*'s counterfeit Paper was pull'd out, and the Contents of it proving the Treaſon, Sir *Walter* was convicted and condemn'd; but ſo little to the Satisfaction of the Jury, that many of them afterwards begg'd his Pardon on their Knees. *Cecil* and *Raleigh* had for many Years been in ſtrict League againſt the Earl of *Eſſex* and his Party; and *Cecil*, like his Father, did not at firſt publickly appear over-zealous for the *Scots* King's Succeſſion, to which Sir *Walter* never wiſh'd well, forſeeing that it muſt be attended with perpetual Diſadvantages and Diſgraces; and that nothing cou'd be more prepoſterous, than to ſet the Crown of *England* on the Head of a puſilanimous Prince: But *Cecil* having, by Treachery and Intrigue, ſecur'd an Intereſt in that King before he came to *Whitehall*, and being the greateſt Favourite of the *Engliſh* Courtiers, began to neglect, and afterwards to abandon his old Friends, which created Enmity between *Raleigh* and him; and that naturally produc'd *Cecil*'s Endeavours to get rid of a Man of a much greater Soul and Abilities than himſelf, Court Craft and an extenſive Conſcience excepted. In Sir *Walter*'s Trial there was a Book urg'd againſt him, which concern'd *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; wherein ſomething was ſaid derogatory to her Son King *James*'s Title. *Cobham* confeſs'd he had the Book from *Raleigh*, and *Raleigh* ſaid he found it in *Cecil*'s Father, the Lord *Burghley*'s, Study, which he had ſearch'd for Coſmographical Manuſcripts of the *Weſt-Indies*, with leave of his Son. At his ſaying this, *Cecil*, who was upon the Bench, roſe up, and ſaid, *I wou'd then have really truſted him as any Man*, tho' ſince, for ſome Infirmities of Sir *Walter*, *the Bonds of Affection were crack'd, and yet preſerving my Duty to the King, which may not be diſpenſed withal*, by God, *I love him, and have a great Conflict in myſelf, that ſo compleat a Member has fallen from the State.* We muſt not wonder to hear a Secretary of State in King *James*'s Reign ſwear in a Court of Juſtice: The King's Example made Swearing ſo faſhionable at Court, that hardly any one came thither who made a Conſcience of it. *Cecil*'s Malice ended not here: He confirm'd his Creature *Wade*'s Forgery with a like Fraud of his own. The Sentence, paſs'd on Sir *Walter*, was generally diſlik'd, the Nature and Proof of the Treaſon very much ſuſpected; and not long after, Queen *Anne* being cur'd of a deſperate Diſtemper by a Preſcription of *Raleigh*'s, who was a learned and an experienc'd *Chymiſt*, he wou'd receive no other Reward than that his Majeſty wou'd cauſe certain Lords to be ſent to examine *Cobham*, Whether he had in Fact accus'd *Raleigh* of Treaſon, which the King commanded at the Queen's Deſire. This alarm'd *Cecil*, who, to prevent the ill Conſequence of ſuch an Examination, took upon him to be one of the Lords that were to examine him; the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earls of *Worceſter* and

*A.D.*1603.

P. 35.

Condemn'd.

K. James *a Swearer.*

Cecil's Treachery.

Cecil's Treachery.

*A.D.*1603. and *Suffolk*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Julius Cæſar*, being the other Examiners. *Cobham*, in anſwer to their Interrogatories, declar'd that he did never, and cou'd not accuſe Sir *Walter Raleigh* of Treaſon, adding, *That Villain*, Wade, *often ſollicited me, and not prevailing, got me, by a Trick, to write down my Name on a Piece of Blank Paper, which I, thinking nothing, did; ſo that if any Charge came under my Hand, it was forged by that* Raſcal, a great Confident of *Cecil's, who muſt write ſomething above it without my Conſent and Knowledge.* The Lords making their Report to the King, not only Sir *Anthony Welden*, but another Hiſtorian aſſures us, *Cecil*, their Spokeſman, ſaid eluſively, *Sir, My Lord* Cobham *has made good all that he ever ſaid*, which was nothing. Sir *Anthony Welden* proceeds: "By which you ſee the Baſeneſs of "theſe Lords, the Credulity of the King, and "the Ruin of Sir *Walter Raleigh*. I appeal now "to the Judgment of all the World, Whether "theſe ſix Lords were not the immediate Mur-"derers, and no queſtion ſhall be called to a ſad "Account for the ſame, unleſs *Cecil* atton'd by his Merit at the *Hampton-Court* Conference. But what Account muſt theirs be, who thirteen Years after put that Gentleman to Death by virtue of that Sentence fraudulently and wickedly obtain'd? As to the reſt of the Criminals in this formidable Conſpiracy, the Lords *Cobham* and *Grey*, *George Brook*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, *Watſon* and *Clarke*, were condemn'd; *Parham* and *Brookesby* were acquitted by the Jury. *Watſon* own'd he had drawn in all the reſt, holding *the King to be no Sovereign till he were crown'd, and was himſelf drawn in by the Jeſuits*, againſt whom, as a ſecular Prieſt, he had written. *Watſon, Clarke*, and *Brook*, were executed at *Wincheſter*. King *James* in his Warrant to Sir *Benjamin Tichbourn*, then High-Sheriff of *Hampſhire*, telling him in the *Scottiſh* Brogue, *They vaire the principal Plotteris and Intiſaries of all the reſt to the embracing the ſaidis treaſonable Machinations.* In the ſame Letter is a Warrant to reſpite Execution of the Sentence againſt the Lords *Cobham* and *Grey*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to ſuperſede the Execution *of the ſaidis two Noblemen, and bringe them back to their Priſon again qwhile our further Pleaſure be knowne; the like Courſe be alſo taken with* Markham. However, *Markham, Cobham*, and *Grey*, were brought to the Scaffold, and paſt thro' all the Forms of Execution except the laſt dreadful one, the Blow; when, in the midſt of their Terrors and Agonies, the Reprieve was produc'd, and the Criminals remanded to Priſon, to the great Joy of the Spectators; but the Cruelty of keeping them in Suſpence to the very laſt Minute of Life, took off much from the boaſted Clemency and Tenderneſs in reprieving them; the Crime, make the worſt of it, having more Folly than Treaſon, and more Talk than Action. Some Time after Sir *Griffith Markham* was releaſed from Impriſonment, and going into voluntary Exile, dy'd beyond Sea in a mean Condition. The Lord *Grey* ended his miſerable Life in the *Tower*; the Lord *Cobham* was indeed releas'd, but his Liberty was no great Bleſſing to him, having nothing to ſubſiſt on but the Charity of a Fellow who had been once a Servant to him, in whoſe ſorry Cottage he dwelt, being forc'd to creep up a Ladder thro' a little Hole, to his Chamber; and not having Apparel and Linnen enough to keep him from Lice, tho' his Eſtate eſcheated to the King was 7000 Pounds a Year, and 30000 Pounds in Money. The Excuſe for the Inhumanity in ſuffering ſo great and rich a Lord to ſtarve, was, that his Majeſty had been cheated of the Forfeiture by his Officers, and had nothing to ſpare, except 'twas out of the Revenue of the Crown, which was ſquander'd away on his *Scotſmen*, the moſt odious and worthleſs of his Nation. Sir *Walter Raleigh* was ſhut up in the *Tower*, and remain'd there twelve or thirteen Years, improving his Confinement to the Advantage of Learning, by writing his *Hiſtory of the World*, the beſt of the Kind till the learned Dr. *Howell's* Univerſal Hiſtory appear'd. We have been the more particular in the Account of this *Conſpiracy* to ſhew the Juſtice, Prudence, and Piety of this Adminiſtration: If the Facts we relate are poor and diſagreeable it is the Fault of the Reign to afford us not better. A.D.1603.

Sir Anth. Weld. *p.* 39

Hiſt. Stu. *p.* 296.

Plotters condemn'd and executed.

Fuller, *p.* 6.

Lord Cobham's *Poverty.*

We muſt now take a View of the State of Religion, which is not in ſo flouriſhing a Condition as our Eccleſiaſtical Writers repreſent. King *James* had forgotten the *ſincereſt Kirk in the World* before he came out of *Scotland*, and was grown much in Love with the *Pope* and his Hierarchy, tho' he cou'd not on a ſudden renounce his *Calviniſtical* Opinions. The *Puritans* flatter'd themſelves with Hopes of his Friendſhip when he was King of *England*, for that he pretended to be their Friend when he was King of *Scotland*; but his Majeſty ſoon undeceiv'd them; and being captivated with the Pomp and Luſtre of the *Laudean* Hierarchy, he gave himſelf up entirely to the Counſels of the Biſhops, who, unhappily for our Conſtitution Sacred and Civil, happen'd at that Time not to be the beſt that ever govern'd the Chriſtian Church. The Biſhops, in return, gave up the Liberty of the Subject to his arbitrary Will and ſovereign Authority. Unlimited Power was the Compliment they and their corrupt Clergy paid him. The *Puritans* talk'd of Law and Conſcience: Which of theſe Diſcourſes muſt be moſt grateful to a Monarch who doated on Empire as much as thoſe that cou'd acquire it by Conqueſt, is eaſy to imagine. *State of Religion.* Hampton-Court Conference. *K.* James *turns for Epiſcopacy.*

The firſt Occaſion his Majeſty took to humble the *Presbyterians*, and give the Prelates a Triumph over them, was at the *Hampton-Court* Conference between the *Epiſcopal* and *Presbyterian* Clergy; wherein the latter were only ſent for to be expoſed to the Inſults of the Biſhops; for the Cauſe was plainly decided againſt them before by the King and his Prelates. This Conference is repreſented as the moſt deſpicable Colloquy that ever was among Men of Learning to turn the Preſbytery into Ridicule; which however was attempted without either Argument or Wit. The Authority of the King, who talk'd more than all the Biſhops, and as little to the Purpoſe, bore down whatever was ſaid by the *Presbyterian* Miniſters. 'Tis ſuppos'd we have no fair Repreſentation of the Matter; but that written by Dr. *Fuller*, an orthodox Divine of the Church of *England*, ſeems to be the faireſt and moſt impartial.

Before this Conference was ſet a foot, the reverend and eminent Mr. *Cartwright* had preſented his *Comment* on the *Eccleſiaſtes* to the King, who had written to Queen *Elizabeth* in his Behalf; but his Reception at Court did not anſwer his and his Friends Expectation. He dy'd about a Fortnight before the Colloquy, or doubtleſs he wou'd have made another ſort of Figure there than his Brethren did. He had had a long Controverſy with Dr. *Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when the latter was Maſter of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, and *Cartwright* was Lady *Margaret* Profeſſor. *Fuller* tells us, that the Offence taken by *Whitgift*, was, *becauſe his own Lectures and Sermons were not frequented, while all flock'd after* Cartwright, *inſomuch, that when he preach'd at* St. Maries, *the Clerk was forc'd to take down the Windows*. However, *Whitgift*, when he was Vice-Chancellor, made uſe of his Authority, theſe Men cou'd never do any thing without it, and *flatly* depriv'd *Cartwright* of his Lecture. Indeed I have obſerv'd, that ever ſince the *Reformation*, and long before in the Days of Popery, ſuch Prelates as *Whitgift* have always ſucceeded better by Power than by Argument, and better by Force than by Truth. Dr. *Fuller* confeſſes frankly, *That the*

P. 142.

Ib. p. 7.

A.D.1603. *the* Biſhops *were confident of their Cauſe*; and well they might be by the Inequality of the Conference; where, beſides the Biſhops and Deans, there appear'd againſt the *Presbyterians* the King, the Lord *Cecil* Secretary of State, the Lord *Buckhurſt* Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Chancellor *Egerton*, and moſt of the Privy-Counſellors; for one or two of them ſpoke in Favour of the *Presbyterians*.

There were ſummon'd,

For CONFORMITY,

Dr. *Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Bancroft* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Matthew* Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Babington* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Rudd* Biſhop of *St. Davids*, Dr. *Watſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Robinſon* Biſhop of *Carliſle*; Dr. *Dove* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Andrews* Dean of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Overal* Dean of *St. Paul's*, Dr. *Barlow* Dean of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Bridges* Dean of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Field*.

For NONCONFORMITY, only

Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewſtubs*, Mr. *Chadderton*.

A.D.1604. The King nominated the *Presbyterian* as well as the *Epiſcopal* Clergy, and tho' theſe four Divines were Men of Eminence, yet there were many others who were able and ready to have appeared in this Cauſe, had his Majeſty been more equal in his Nominations. The Place of Meeting was the *Withdrawing-Room* within the Privy-Chamber, and the firſt Time, the 14th of *January* 1604, preſent the King, Prince *Henry*, and all the Lords of the Council. His Majeſty open'd the Conference with a Speech, too long to be repeated, but eloquent to Aſtoniſhment, as the *Eccleſiaſticks* teach us to believe. The King began with exclaiming againſt that *Church* which, in *Scotland*, he thank'd *God he was bred in*. Now it is, *Bleſſed be God's* gracious Goodneſs, *who hath brought me into the Promis'd Land, where Religion is purely profeſs'd, where I ſit amongſt grave, reverend, and learned Men; not as before, elſewhere, a King without State, without Honour, without Order, where beardleſs Boys would brave us to the Face.* This is *Ciceronian*. And *I aſſure you, we have not called this Aſſembly for any Innovation; for we acknowledge the Government Eccleſiaſtical, as now it is, to have been approv'd by manifold Bleſſings from God himſelf.* If ſo, What need was there for his Majeſty's exerciſing his Faculty *of a good Phyſician to cure the Occaſions of Complaints*? He declares before there *are no Occaſions*, and that he will *cure* nothing; *curing* and *innovating* being the ſame thing. Then comes more of *Cicero*'s Eloquence: *And if the Complaint be frivolous, he will caſt a Sop into* CERBERUS's *Mouth, that he bark no more.* This is the very Eſſence of Oratory; and Archbiſhop *Whitgift* cry'd out, *His Majeſty ſpeaks by the Spirit of God.* This Archbiſhop fell down upon his Knees, and as to the firſt Point, *Confirmation*, aſſur'd his Majeſty, that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and all the Apoſtles, were wont to *confirm* in the very ſame Manner himſelf and his Brethren practis'd *Confirmation*; which holy Biſhop *Bancroft* prov'd from that *Text* in the *Hebrews*, where the Apoſtle ſpeaks of Baptiſms, Laying on of Hands, the Reſurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Judgment. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* urg'd the ſame *very learnedly and gravely*; and the Biſhop of *Durham* ſaid there was ſomething in St. *Matthew* for *Impoſition of Hands upon Children*. This Matter ſo admirably clear'd up, the Archbiſhop proceeded to *Abſolution*, proving it to be free from all Superſtition, by ſaying *It was ſo:* And the *Confeſſion* and *Abſolution* being read, his Majeſty was inſpir'd to ſay, *I like and approve both.*

Fuller's *Ch Hiſt.* p. 8 9, & *eq.*

Short and pithy. And next comes the Argument; *What you ſay is true.* A.D.1604.

This Article being ſo unanſwerably demonſtrated to the great Satisfaction and Comfort of the Lords of the Council, the next concern'd *Private Baptiſms*; and here the King did not appear ſo thoroughly convinc'd as the Biſhops were, his Majeſty ſaying, *The Words cannot but intend a Permiſſion for private Perſons to baptize.* And thus all the *Baptiſms* of the *Baptiſts* wou'd be lawful, it it had not been added, *in Caſe of Neceſſity.* Now there can be no Caſe of Neceſſity, where an orthodox Miniſter is at hand; which reſtores Matters to the State the Archbiſhop wou'd have them in.

As to *Excommunication*, all Sides agreed to have it alter'd, but it remains as it then was to this Day, in the Hands of vicious and greedy Laymen.

The next Day, the 15th of *January*, the Conference was renew'd, and the *Nonconformiſts* were allow'd to ſpeak. Dr. *Reynolds* ſpoke firſt, but offer'd Things ſo unreaſonably, that Dr. *Bancroft* Biſhop of *London* cou'd not forbear calling him *Schiſmatick* even in the Preſence. Dr. *Reynold*'s humble Propoſal was,

That the Doctrine of the Church might be preſerv'd in Purity according to God's Word.

That good Paſtors might be planted in all Churches to preach the ſame.

That the Church Government might be ſincerely adminiſter'd according to God's Word.

That the Book of Common-Prayer *might be fitted to more Increaſe of Piety.*

Biſhop Bancroft's *Ribaldry.*

Theſe monſtrous Demands ſet pious Biſhop *Bancroft* in a Flame; and he was not contented to call Dr. *Reynolds Schiſmatick*, he added, *I wou'd feign know whether you do not think as Mr.* Cartwright *did, that we ought rather to conform to the* Turks *than the* Papiſts? *I doubt you do, by your* Turkey *Gown inſtead of Scholaſtick Habit.* The King and his Nobles heard this Ribaldry without the leaſt Cenſure. *Bancroft*'s Pun coming ſo ſoon after his calling Names, ſhews his Wit as well as his Piety, either of which I do not find was ever laid to his Charge. But for Ratiocination Dr. *Reynold*'s cou'd not come near him, as appears by his Anſwer to the *Doctor*'s ſecond Propoſal about good Paſtors. *His Objection is vain*, ſays Biſhop *Bancroft, it being the Doctrine and Practice of the Church, that none but a licens'd Miniſter may preach, and conſequently every licens'd Miniſter is a good Miniſter.* There was no ſtanding againſt ſuch forcible Reaſoning, eſpecially when it was ſeconded by the King, as thus: *I diſſent from the Judgment of St.* Jerom, *that Biſhops are not of divine Ordination.* Again; *I approve the Calling and Uſe of Biſhops, and it is my Aphoriſm,* No Biſhop, no King. *It is* becauſe *it is.* Here's the Argumentation. The *French* King's Reaſon at the End of his Charters is exactly like it; *Car Tel eſt notre Plaiſir*, For ſuch is our Pleaſure. This is a Conference with a witneſs. To what Purpoſe cou'd four grave Miniſters argue againſt, *I diſſent, I approve,* in the Mouth of a King.

Upon Dr. *Reynold*'s Complaint of *Popiſh Books*, the Lord-Chancellor *Egerton*, the Lord-Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, and Secretary *Cecil*, extenuated the Matter, and ſcreen'd the Biſhop of *London* for his Neglect in ſuppreſſing them. Mr. *Knewſtubs* ſaying, *If the Church has Power to add ſignificant Signs, the Scruple is how far the* Order *of the Church bindeth*; which was admirably well explain'd by his Majeſty, *I will have one Doctrine, one Diſcipline, one Religion in Subſtance and Ceremony, never ſpeak more to that Point, How far you are bound to obey.* Wou'd not a Proclamation with an *I will have*, &c. have done the Buſineſs better than a Colloquy?

Sir *Philip Warwick*, who underſtood Divinity as well as Hiſtory, or any thing elſe, aſſures us, He *ſhewed* P. 3.

A.D.1604. *ſhewed his great Learning in over throwing the Arguments of learned Proteſtant Diſſenters, and his great Wiſdom in maintaining Biſhops*; *which made him appear a great Divine.* Now let us ſee how he overthrew thoſe Arguments. The King again: *If this be all your Party hath to ſay, I will make them conform themſelves, or elſe I will* harrie *them out of the Land, or elſe do worſe,* only hang them, that's all: The very Language of the Holy Spirit, according to Biſhop *Whitgift.*

Such was the End of this famous Conference; in which it was remark'd, that Dr. *Reynolds* loſt much of his Character, and the other Miniſters came off ſtill worſe. True it is, they were Brow-beaten by both King and Biſhops; and it was complain'd, that Dr. *Barlow* Dean of *Cheſter*, who publiſh'd this *Conference*, did it partially and to their Diſadvantage. He is known to have been their Enemy; and, as *Fuller* obſerves, *No wonder if he ſet a ſharp Edge on his own, and a blunt one on his Adverſaries Weapons.* Tho' excepting the King's Laconicks and Menaces, and the Inſults of ſome of the Biſhops, I have not ſeen any thing that looks like *ſharp* from one end of the Colloquy to the other. If this King was one of the wiſeſt Princes that ever ſate on a Throne, as our Church Hiſtorians characterize him, and this was one of the wiſeſt Actions of this wiſe King, as they wou'd have us believe, how much is *Osborn* out in his Reflections upon it? "The *Puritan* Schiſm was "not any way dangerous till King *James*, more it "may be thought out of Oſtentation, to ſhew "ſuch Parts as are nothing neceſſary, than Reaſon "of State, only requiſite in a Prince, made it conſiderable, by putting it in Competition with the "Doctrine generally profeſs'd, in the *Hampton-Court* Colloquy. *Till that diſhonourable* Diſpute, "*in which*, ſays *Echard*, *he ſhew'd ſuch Knowledge "and Readineſs, as rais'd no ſmall Admiration*, who "ſhou'd command the *Dioceſan* or *the Prieſt*; none "did boggle at the Surplice, Croſs, Ring, and ſo "by conſequence the Common-Prayer Book, but "out of pure Conſcience, and therefore unlikely "to hurt any Body but themſelves; till the Number increaſing to ſuch a Proportion, made a viſible Profit appear to ſo many, as, wanting better Employment, cou'd but conform their Mode, "Words, and Looks, to theſe *Preciſians*. Nor "did the notorious Debauchery of the *Epiſcopal* "Clergy, add a little to the Breach." *Wilſon* tells us, that the *Puritans* were for a more *clear Reformation*; *which the Biſhops oppos'd, as trenching too much upon them*; *and the King thought their diſſenting from the eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, was but to get that Power into a great many Hands, which was now but in one, and that one had Dependance upon him. The Prelates diſtilling this Maxim into him,* No Biſhop, no Monarch; *ſo ſtrengthning the Mitre by the ſame Power that upholds the Crown.* Sir *Edward Peyton* tells us, Dr. *Reynolds* and his Brethren *had not Freedom of Speech, for all went on the Biſhops Side*; *a Cauſe* England *in all Parts after were depriv'd of pious Men, which were ſilenced, impriſon'd, and put out of their Lectures and Livings*; *ſo that want of teaching caus'd Prophaneneſs to get the Pre-eminence.*

P. 490, & ſeq.

P. 7.

P. 117.

What is moſt to be lamented in this Conteſt, is, that tho' the Subject of it be ſpiritual, and concerns entirely the Salvation of Souls, and Life or Death Eternal, yet it turns wholly on Temporal Powers, worldly Riches, and temporary Greatneſs, which are ſo many Nothings in Compariſon with Peace of Conſcience and Piety of Mind. 'Tis great Pity ſuch ſimple and uſeful Sentiments ſhou'd eſcape thoſe Men who are by their Function ſet apart to inſtruct and direct us. The King perform'd his Menaces very punctually, and by *Bancroft* and his Brethren, *harried* the beſt Men in the Kingdom out of the Land; in which he was the *wiſer*, for that the People did generally love and reſpect them. This Diſpoſition prevail'd ſo far over the whole Nation, that a Parliament being ſuddenly to aſſemble, Archbiſhop *Whitgift* pray'd that he might not live to ſee it, fearing to be called to an Account for his Severities againſt the *Puritans*; and it muſt needs be an Inſtance of the King's almoſt infinite Wiſdom, to begin his Reign with giving Offence to the moſt ſober, induſtrious, and valuable Part of his Kingdom; and even in his Proclamation againſt *Jeſuits*, to expreſs himſelf ſo much devoted to the Pope, that no good Proteſtant can read it without a ſecret Indignation *We acknowledge our ſelf perſonally ſo much beholden to the* now Biſhop *of* Rome *for his kind Offices, and private temporal Carriage towards us in many Things, as we ſhall be ever ready to requite the ſame towards him.* Queen *Elizabeth* wou'd have kiſs'd his Toe as ſoon as ſhe wou'd have paid the Pope ſuch a Compliment.

A.D.1604.

The King compliments the Pope.

To balance the Proclamation againſt *Jeſuits*, another was iſſu'd againſt *Nonconformiſts*, who were *unblameable in their Converſation*, and therefore the more likely to make Enemies in a Court, where the Converſation was in every thing blameable.

His Court vicious.

About three Weeks after the *Hampton-Court* Conference, dy'd Dr. *John Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and, as another Inſtance of conſummate Policy, the King advanc'd the moſt obnoxious Prelate in *England*, Dr. *John Bancroft*, to that Metropolitan Chair. This Biſhop imitated St. *Peter's* military Faculty, and us'd the temporal as well as ſpiritual Sword. He arm'd his Servants and others when he was Biſhop of *London*, to oppoſe the Earl of *Eſſex*, and was never at Peace with the *Puritans*. We ſhall ſee how well he imitated St. *Peter* in his apoſtolick Capacity. Yet neither he, nor his Brethren cou'd be ſo wary, but ſome Courtier or other wou'd recommend a Preacher to the King, if they knew any one of excellent Parts: by which means ſome preach'd before him, who were only occaſional Conformiſts, ſuch as Mr. *Burgeſs*, who in his Sermon compar'd *Ceremonies to the* Roman *Senator's Glaſſes, not worth a Man's Life or Livelihood: For*, ſays he, *this Senator invited* Auguſtus Cæſar *to a Dinner, who, as he was coming to the Feaſt, heard a horrid Outcry, and ſaw a Company drawing a Man after them who made the Noiſe. The Emperor demanded the Cauſe of that Violence, and was anſwer'd, their Maſter had condemn'd a Man to the Fiſhponds for breaking a Glaſs which he ſet a high Value and Eſteem upon.* Auguſtus *commanded a Stay* of the Execution, *and when he came into the Houſe, ask'd the Senator*, Whether he had Glaſſes worth a Man's Life? *Who reply'd*, He had Glaſſes he valu'd at a Province. *Let me ſee them, ſays the Emperor*; "Accordingly he was brought into a Room "well furniſh'd: The Emperor allow'd them to "be beautiful to the Eye; but conſidering they "might be the Cauſe of much Miſchief, broke "them all, ſaying, *Better all theſe periſh than one "Man.*" *I leave*, ſaid Mr. *Burgeſs*, *to your Majeſty to apply.* The Biſhops for this, and ſome other the like heinous Crimes, got him ſilenc'd; but he was reſtor'd again to his Miniſtry, and dy'd in a good old Age at *Sutton-Cofield* in *Warwickſhire.*

The King had been almoſt ten Months in *England*, but had not been ſeen much abroad. He naturally did not love to be look'd at; for, as has been ſaid, he was not very handſome, and had no Reliſh of the Formalities of State. Some attribute it not to the Diſagreeableneſs of his Perſon, but to the Shyneſs of his Temper, and ſome to his Timerouſneſs, there being more Danger in a Crowd than in a few Attendants.

Dr. Fuller, *p.* 25.

Having ſummon'd a Parliament to meet the 19th of *March*, he went on the 15th with his Queen and the Prince to the *Tower*, riding through the

*A.D.*1604. City amidſt the continu'd Acclamations of the Multitude, which did not affect him as they affected his Predeceſſor Queen *Elizabeth*. Whether it was that the Noiſe diſturb'd him, or that he did not think them real, 'tis moſt certain, when the People have been impatient of Acceſs to him, he has often had them diſpers'd with Force, and ſometimes with Curſes.

It was taken notice of, that in the Proclamation for ſummoning this Parliament, his Majeſty gave the Nation a Taſte of his Inclination to Arbitrary Power. Before his coming to the Crown, the Election of Members for the Houſe of Commons was ſo free, that Letters from the King, or any Nobleman, to chuſe a Knight, Citizen, or Burgeſs, was judg'd Cauſe ſufficient to render the Election void: But the King, by this Proclamation, gives order what ſort of Men, and how qualify'd, ſhou'd be choſen, concluding thus; *We notify by theſe Preſents, that all Returns and Certificates of Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, ought and are to be brought to the Court of* Chancery, *and there to be filed upon Record; and if any be found to be made contrary to this Proclamation, the ſame to be rejected as not lawful, and inſufficient, and the City or Borough to be fin'd for the ſame: And if it be found that they have committed any groſs or wilful Default or Contempt in the Election, Return, or Certificate, that then their Liberties, according to the Laws, are to be ſeiz'd as forfeited. And if any Perſon take upon him the Place of Knight, Citizen, or Burgeſs, not being duly elected and ſworn according to the Laws and Statutes in that Behalf provided, and according to the Purport and true Meaning of this our Proclamation; then every Perſon ſo offending to be fin'd and impriſon'd for the ſame.* This was ſo bold a Stroke againſt the Rights of the People, and Privileges of *Parliament*, that it cou'd be little expected from a Prince of a pacifick Diſpoſition. But we have been taught, by woful Experience, ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that thoſe Kings who are leaſt qualify'd to make Conqueſts on their Enemies abroad, make the moſt terrible Invaſions on the Laws and Liberties of their Subjects at home.

Coke, *f.* 52.

The King arbitrary.

From the *Tower* the King rode triumphantly, for ſuch were all the Triumphs of his Reign, to *Weſtminſter*; and open'd the Parliament with a long Speech, longer than many Sermons by our moſt eminent Preachers. The moſt remarkable Paſſage in it, is another needleſs Compliment to *Popery*; as much out in Fact, as in Policy: *I acknowledge the* Roman *Church to be our Mother Church, tho' defil'd with ſome Infirmities.* The Church of *Rome* can no more be Mother of our *Proteſtant* Church of *England*, than Chriſt can be Father of Antichriſt, or the *Spouſe* be the *Whore* of *Babylon*. This was a very wiſe Saying too, and produc'd in the Hearers, the ſage Senators of *England, an Admiration of his Majeſty's Abilities*, if we may believe *Echard*; and in Return for this gracious Declaration to them, they recogniz'd his Title to the Crown, and oblig'd themſelves, their Heirs and Poſterity to maintain it. In Compliance alſo with his Majeſty's earneſt Deſire for a Union between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, they paſt an Act for appointing Commiſſioners to treat with ſuch Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Scotland*, as ſhou'd by their Parliament be appointed for that Purpoſe. This Project came to nothing; and one Reaſon of it is thought to be the Offence which many took at a Paſſage in the King's Speech, where he ſeem'd to ſet up a ſort of Parity between the two Kingdoms. To promote this good Work as far as in him lay, the King caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King of *Great-Britain*. *Scots* Money was made current, and the *Engliſh* Ships had St. *George*'s and St. *Andrew*'s Croſſes quarter'd together in their Flags.

The Parliament.

The Reverence due to Parliaments wore off betimes in this Reign; ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons coming to hear the King's Speech in the Houſe of Lords, had the Door ſhut upon them, particularly Sir *Herbert Croſts*, who was repuls'd by a Yeoman of the Guard, with the uncivil and contemptible Terms of *Goodman Burgeſs, you come not here.*

*A.D.*1604.

We have ſeen how the King ſtretch'd the Prerogative in the Proclamation for calling the Parliament; and in their Proceedings he let them know in the Caſe of the conteſted Election between Sir *Francis Goodwin* and Sir *John Forteſcue*, to be Knight of the Shire for the County of *Bucks*, that he wou'd have Differences determin'd by his abſolute Power; and tho' the Commons voted Sir *Francis* duly elected, yet the King commanded them to let the Matter be heard before the Houſe of Lords and the Judges: But Sir *Francis Goodwin*, fearing it might cauſe a Rupture between the King and the Houſe of Commons, petition'd that a new Writ might be iſſu'd to elect a Knight for that County in his Stead; and accordingly *Chriſtopher Pigott* Eſq; was choſen, and ſoon after expell'd the Houſe. Mr. *Brown Willis* makes *Goodwin* to be unduly elected, which is contrary to the Vote of the Houſe, and to Sir *Francis Goodwin*'s Petition. This happen'd about a Week after the Opening of the Seſſion, at the End of which, on the 16th of *June*, the Commons preſented the King with an humble Apology, ſetting forth the Breaches that had been made in their Privileges, and wherein they conceiv'd themſelves aggriev'd. This was a hopeful Beginning of the Royal Houſe of *Stuart*; and the King took their Apology ſo ill, that he never heartily lov'd our Conſtitution afterwards. The plain Truth from the Houſe of Commons little agreed with the Flatteries he was us'd to at Court; and he afterwards did his utmoſt to eſtabliſh an unlimited Authority founded on *Jure Divino*, in which fatal Enterprize he was flatter'd by the Clergy, whoſe Sermons were Lectures to teach Obedience rather to the Will of the Prince than the Goſpel of Chriſt. Mr. *Osborn*, who heard ſome of thoſe Sermons, writes of them thus: "The *Court* Sermons informing his Majeſty he might, as Chriſt's Vicegerent, command all; and that the People, if they deny'd him Supplies, or enquir'd after the Diſpoſure of them, were preſumptuous Peepers into the *ſacred* Ark of the State, not to be done but under the ſevereſt Curſe, though it appear'd likely to fall through the Falſhood or Folly of thoſe at the *Helm*." Can any thing be more plain, more ſelf-evident, than that it was ſuch ſort of Preaching which animated this mean-ſpirited Monarch in the bold Deſign to invade the Rights and Privileges of his Subjects: And his Son *Charles* I. imbibing this fatal Doctrine as it were with his Mother's Milk, the Luſt of deſpotick Power became as natural to him, as the Love of Liberty is to all true *Engliſhmen*; which Oppoſition cou'd not end otherwiſe than it did, in a Rupture between King and People, to prove which is the Deſign of this Hiſtory, that the Guilt and Folly of that Rupture may be laid at their Door who were the Occaſion of it. The Hiſtorian *Echard* overlooks this firſt Riſe of our Troubles in *England* ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, and takes great Solace in the Act which paſs'd now to ſecure Church Lands; and the excellent Canons that were made at the ſame Time, being in Force even at this Day, as *Echard* ſays; and as Dr. *Welwood*, *Theſe Canons did never receive the Royal Approbation, and therefore are in the ſame Caſe* as if *they had never been*; which is a Diſpute that relates not to me, who am not ſollicitous whether they were or were not royally approv'd, as not looking upon them to be what *Echard* will have them, for *the Honour and Eſtabliſhment of the Church*, of which this King took

*A.D.*1604.

P. 79.

Complaint of Grievances.

Clergy preach up an abſolute Power.

P. 494

P. 32.

A vicious Court.

A.D.1604. *took a religious Care*, by ordering the Profanation of the Sabbath, by a Habit of prophane Swearing, by Riot and Luxury, and other ſuch Enormities, enough to corrupt Hiſtory, as they corrupted the Age he liv'd in. Dr. *Fuller*, ſpeaking of the ſame *Honour* and *Eſtabliſhment*, writes, *Wiſe and moderate Men ſuppos'd ſo many Laws too heavy a Burden to be long born; and that it had been enough for the* Epiſcopal *Party to have* triumph'd, *not inſulted over their Adverſaries in ſo numerous Impoſitions.* Theſe very *Impoſitions*, condemn'd thus by moderate and wiſe Men, drove the moſt conſcientious Miniſters out of the Church; and they were follow'd by the moſt conſcientious of their Flocks; which increaſs'd the Separation to a Degree, that in the next Reign produc'd a new Eſtabliſhment.

The Riſe of the Troubles.

A Motion was made in this Convocation for an Oath againſt Simony, which was warmly oppos'd by Dr. *Rudd* Biſhop of *St. David's*. His Reaſon was, he thought it unequal for the *Incumbent* to ſwear, and not the *Patron*; a moſt unreaſonable Thing. But might not the good Biſhop have conſider'd, that the *Incumbent* had his Vocation from the Holy Ghoſt, and therefore muſt be ſafe in ſwearing, whereas the Patron had nothing ſpiritual in his Compoſition, and therefore might bargain and ſell with a ſafer Conſcience? 'Twas demanded of him, Whether he wou'd have the King ſwear when he made a Biſhop or Dean? To which Biſhop *Rudd* had nothing to ſay.

Archbiſhop Bancroft's *Character*, *p.* 60.

Having made ſome mention of *Bancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was the firſt and great Mover in Convocation-Buſineſs, let us repeat what *Coke* writes of him; "He was a Man of a rough "Temper, a ſtout Foot-ball Player, a zealous Aſ"ſertor of the Rights of the Church of *England*, "or rather a Faction of *Churchmen*, who arroga"ted to themſelves the Title, *which is the Truth*: "*And it was King* James's *encouraging this* Faction, "*in Oppoſition to his Proteſtant Subjects*, Puritans "*and* Presbyterians, *that put him upon ill Terms* "*with his Parliament and People. Bancroft* exhi"bited twenty-five Articles in the Name of the "Clergy, call'd *Auriculi Cleri*, which were deſir'd "to be reform'd in granting Prohibitions. Theſe "Articles were preſented to the King and Coun"cil, the Parliament, and even the Convocation "then ſitting: And as *Bancroft* in doing it, aſcri"bed an abſolute Power to the King, ſo it ſtruck "directly at the Conſtitution of Parliaments. The "Judges gave ſo clear and diſtinct an Anſwer to "them all, that the King did not think fit to "meddle in them; yet did not *Bancroft* reſt here." This Prelate's Zeal is the more extraordinary, for that his Morals were ſo very ordinary as to make him the common Subject of Satyr.

Here lies my Lord's Grace *at ſix and at ſeven,*
And, if I don't lie, his Soul is in Heaven;
I wiſh, from my Heart, it may be to his leeking,
Since all the World knows it was never his ſeeking.

Again;

Bancroft *was for Plays,*
Lean Lent, and Holidays;
But now undergoes their Doom;
Had Engliſh *Ladies Store,*
Yet kept open a Back-Door,
To let in the Strumpet of Rome.

Theſe Rhimes are in *Osborn*; and it is not below the Dignity of Hiſtory to inſert them, ſince they let us into the Character of a Biſhop who was at the Head of the *Faction* mention'd by *Coke*; and one may ſee very plainly, that whatever his Actions were, Religion and Piety cou'd not be the true Motive of them. We read in the *Menagiana*, that *Satyrs* and *Lampoons* are neceſſary to be read by an Hiſtorian who wou'd write ſincerely. *Un Recueil des Vaudevilles eſt un piece de plus neceſſaire a un Hiſtorien qui veut ecrire ſincerement*: Which will be ſome Information to thoſe who have no Conception of any ſuch Neceſſity. A.D.1604.

King *James*'s firſt Parliament having for the firſt Seſſion ſate about fifteen Weeks, it was on the 7th of *July* prorogu'd to the 7th of *February* following.

This pacifick Reign was not ſo full of Bleſſings, that no Miſchiefs cou'd break in upon them. *Our inbred Diſtempers*, ſays *Wilſon*, *lay upon the Lee, intermix'd with other groſs Dregs, which the Prince's Lenity, and the Peoples Luxury produc'd. The King minding his Sports, many riotous Demeanours crept into his Kingdom. The Sunſhine of Peace being apt for ſuch a Production upon the Slime of the late War. Divers Sects of vitious Perſons appear'd under the Title of* Royſters, Roaring Boys, Bravadoes, *&c. who committed many Inſolencies; and the Diſcontents in the Country between the Gentry and the Commonalty about Incloſures, grew in ſome Places to a petty Rebellion.* Theſe Felicities, with the Tyranny and Oppreſſion exercis'd every where in *Spiritual Courts*, a perpetual Scandal to Religion and Law, the Waſte of the publick Treaſure on *Scotiſh*, and afterwards on *Engliſh* Favourites, cou'd not but expoſe this Nation to the Envy of all Nations, according to Archdeacon *Echard*, under the Government of ſo wiſe and ſo pious a Prince. *Wicked and troubleſome Times.*

Something has been ſaid of the Embaſſies from and to foreign Potentates, in the beginning of this Reign, and ſomething ſtill muſt be added concerning the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, the *Conde de Villa Mediana*, Mynheer *Rabidius*, and the Miniſters ſent by the Archduke Governor of the *Netherlands*, the Count *d'Aremberg*, the Preſident *Richardot*, and Secretary *Warreskin*, by whoſe joint Negotiations with the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Nottingham*, *Devonſhire*, *Northampton*, and *Cecil*, Lord *Fſindon*, a Peace with *Spain* was concluded, or rather ſold; for there was hardly a Courtier of Note who did not taſte of the Catholick King's Bounty either in Gold or Jewels; of which Sir *Anth. Welden* writes thus: *It was ſo advantagious for* Spain, *and ſo diſadvantagious for* England, *that it and all* Chriſtendom *have ſince both ſeen and felt the lamentable Effect thereof.* Mr. *Osborn* ſays, *The King caſt himſelf as it were blindfold into a Peace with* Spain, *far more deſtructive to* England *than a War.* The wonderful Wiſdom of it! And then the Honeſty. *Hence all Princes may calculate the vaſt Difference that lies between a Counſel ſuborn'd and one free from Corruption.* Sir *Anthony Welden* informs us further, that of all the Money taken for this bad Bargain, the Counteſs of *Suffolk* was the greateſt Gainer, who ſhar'd not only in her Lord's Intereſt, but in Secretary *Cecil*'s; and from what both of them gain'd by the *Spaniſh* Treaty, ſhe rais'd the famous Palace of *Audley-End*, and other ſtately Structures. This Counteſs was Mother to the Lady *Eſſex*, and by her Gallantry ſet ſuch an Example to her Daughter, as has ſtain'd their Names with indelible Infamy. *Peace with* Spain. *Diſhonourable to* England. *P.* 26. *P.* 479.

In *March* following, the old Admiral the Earl of *Nottingham* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, attended with the prime Noblemen and Gentlemen of *England*, and a Train of above 600 Servants and others, who made ſo fine an Appearance, that the *Spaniards* were ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment, having receiv'd ſuch ill Impreſſions from the Reports of the Jeſuits, that they thought the *Engliſh* were all like the Picture they had made of Sir *Francis Drake*, half Man, half Dragon; and believing they were turn'd into Monſters, as a Puniſhment for caſting off the *Pope*'s Supremacy. They now ſaw them with Looks rather of *Angels* than *Devils*; and their Beauty was magnify'd ſo much the more, by how much they had had a falſe and vain Conception of their Deformity. Sir *Robert Manſel*, Vice-Admiral, who convoy'd the Earl of *Nottingham*, A.D.1605.

A.D.1605. *ham*, had two or three Opportunities to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his Valour and Prudence: And his Behaviour did Honour to the Nation, whoſe Sovereign had ſent him to *Spain*. The *Spaniards*, ſays Mr. *Echard*, *manifeſted great Satisfaction in the* Engliſh *Amity*; and truly they had very great Cauſe ſo to do, having turn'd it all to their own Advantage, and made a faſt Friend of an Enemy, in whoſe Power only it was to deſtroy their ambitious and tyrannical Projects both in *Europe* and *America*, and ſecure the Liberty of Commerce in both the old World and the new. The Earl of *Hertford* was ſent Envoy to the Archduke *Albert*; and Sir *William Monſon*, who convoy'd him, meeting a *Flemiſh* Man of War in his Paſſage to *Flanders*, made a Signal to ſtrike, which the *Fleming* refus'd; and being fir'd at, fir'd again: the firſt Affront of this Kind offer'd to the Royal Ships of *England* in Time of Peace. But *England* is to learn to accuſtom herſelf to Affronts during the Reigns we are writing of. *Monſon* did not fight the *Flemiſh* Ship, giving for Excuſe that the Earl of *Hertford* charg'd him on his Allegiance to land him firſt; and being appointed to attend him, he thought it his Duty ſo to do; but afterwards he ſo repented it, that he wiſh'd he had been hang'd, rather than have been recorded for the firſt *Engliſh* Sea-Officer, who ſuffer'd ſuch an Indignity to paſs with Impunity. Sir *A. W.* who heard him ſay this, aſſures us 'twas all Affectation; that he was a Creature of the Houſe of *Suffolk*, of the *Spaniſh* Faction, and let the *Flemiſh* Ship go out of Reſpect to the King of *Spain*.

England *in Diſgrace.*

We ſee by this how ſoon the *Engliſh* Nation began to ſink in Reputation, after the Acceſſion of the Houſe of *Stuart* to the Throne; and how much they are indebted to the Caution and Indolence of a King, who, ſays *Echard*, *was now truly ſtil'd* Rex Pacificus, *being now in Friendſhip with all the Princes of* Chriſtendom: *A Happineſs which few of his Anceſtors ever enjoy'd.* And few of his Anceſtors wou'd have accepted of on Terms ſo diſadvantageous and ſo diſhonourable. He proceeds: *In theſe peaceable Times this munificent King open'd the Fountains of Honour*, and made Duke *Ulrick*, the Queen's Brother, and the Earl of *Northampton*, a Confident of the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, Knights of the Garter; Secretary *Cecil*, Lord *Eſſingdon*, Viſcount *Cranburn* and Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil*, Lord *Burghley*, Earl of *Exeter*; Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Montgomery*; Sir *Robert Sidney*, Baron of *Penſhurſt*, Viſcount *Liſle*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Lord *Stanhope* of *Harrington*; Sir *George Carew*, Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundel* of *Cornwal*, Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*; Mr. *William Cavendiſh*, Lord *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*.

Honours conferr'd.

The Papiſts obſerving that the Prodigality of the *Scots* render'd them odious to the *Engliſh*, endeavour'd to increaſe the Animoſities between them with Calumnies and Scandal, ſome true, ſome falſe. The *Scots* gave them too much Occaſion; ſome of them being ſo daring, as to counterfeit the King's Privy-Seal, and make Addreſſes by it to foreign Princes; as to the Archbiſhops of *Cologne*, *Triers*, and *Mentz*; the Duke of *Cleves*, and Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; of which one *Thomas Douglaſſe* was convicted, and being condemn'd as a Traytor, was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd in *Smithfield*.

Wilſon, *p.* 28.

The King's Miniſters, eſpecially *Salisbury*, on whoſe crooked Shoulders the Burthen of the State lay, were well pleas'd with the King's frequent Diverſion of Hunting, for that it kept him out of Town, and left the Court clear to themſelves. *Royſton* and *Newmarket* Houſes were purchas'd for him, and *Theobalds* ſoon after. In which *Salisbury* made a fine Market, exchanging that Palace at 50 Years Purchaſe, for Lands and Houſes of the King's; and to preſerve his Station at *Theobalds* ſtill, he got himſelf and his Heirs to be appointed perpetual Keepers of the Houſe and Parks adjacent, while he rais'd the magnificent Pile at *Hatfield* for the Reception of himſelf and his Poſterity, when they were weary of Attendance at Court, and ſurfeited with Royal Favours. A.D.1605.

Cecil's *good Bargain.*

At the latter End of the Summer, the King and Queen viſited the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and were entertain'd with Feſtivals and rhetorical Speeches. Several of the Courtiers had Academical Degrees beſtow'd upon them; particularly Sir *George Calvert*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, who was then created Maſter of Arts.

Papiſts conſpire againſt the Government.

There is nothing more unaccountable in the Conduct of the *Romiſh* Faction, than their Plots againſt the Princes of the Houſe of *Stuart* who have reign'd in *England*, there not having been one of them who did not love or favour them. King *James*, the firſt of them, let no Occaſion ſlip to ſhew either his Fear of, or his Affection to them. But while he and his Succeſſors found themſelves under a Neceſſity to temporize with their Parliaments, and execute the Laws againſt them, tho' with viſible Regret and Moderation, they were always reſty and impatient, and hoping any Change of their own making wou'd be for their Advantage, they frequently enter'd into Conſpiracies to accompliſh it, to which they were doubtleſs inſtigated by the Leſſons and Promiſes they receiv'd from *Rome*, and the Hopes of Aſſiſtance from the Popiſh Princes.

Gun-Powder Plot.

Their firſt Conſpiracy in this Reign, (for I do not take *Raleigh*'s to be theirs, or worth the Name) was the infamous *Gun-Powder Plot*, which I ſhall endeavour to trace from its Original, according to the beſt Helps I am furniſh'd with. It is ſaid, the Papiſts petition'd for a Toleration; and having depended entirely on the Good-will of the King, were extremely exaſperated at their being put off; and the moſt deſperate of them reſolv'd to be reveng'd on the whole Nation for their Diſappointment in the Conduct of the King. I do not believe this deviliſh Machination was ſo old as Pope *Clement*'s Brief in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, to have the *Scots* King excluded in the Succeſſion. There was no Prince in the *Engliſh* Succeſſion, who was fitter for their Purpoſe than this King; and the *Powder-Plot* muſt be rather the helliſh Device of the *Deſperado's* of Popery, than the general Senſe of thoſe of that Religion.

Plotters.

The chief of the Conſpirators was *Robert Cateſbie*, a Gentleman of a fair Fortune in *Northamptonſhire*, deſcended from that *Catesbie*, who was the wicked Inſtrument of *Richard* the Third's Tyranny and Cruelty. To him were join'd *Thomas Piercy* of the *Northumberland* Family, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Francis Treſham*, *Robert Winter*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *Robert Keys*, *John Grant*, and *Guido Vaux*. The Names of two of theſe Conſpirators, *Rookwood* and *Keys*, are the more remarkable, for that we find them again in the *Popiſh Aſſaſſination* Plot againſt King *William* 90 Years after. Moſt of the Plotters were Gentlemen of good Eſtates, ſet on by *Garnet* and *Tiſmond*, two Jeſuits; and the Plot was to blow up the Parliament Houſe with *Gunpowder*. Upon a Scruple at one of their Conſultations, that their Friends in both Houſes of Parliament wou'd be deſtroy'd with the reſt, *Garnet* the Jeſuit ſaid, *It is lawful in ſuch a Caſe to kill Friend and Foe together*. Other Difficulties lay in their way. *Charles* Duke of *York* wou'd not be preſent by reaſon of his Minority, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was in keeping of the Lord *Harrington*, by which means two of the Blood Royal wou'd eſcape, after the King and Prince *Henry* were blown up with the two Houſes of Parliament. To remove theſe Rubs, *Piercy* promis'd to poſſeſs himſelf of the Perſon of the Duke of *York*; and *Catesbie* under pretence of a Hunting-

Ch. Hiſt. Full. 34.

*A.D.*1605. Match at *Dunſmore-Heath* in *Warwickſhire*, undertook to ſeize the Princeſs *Elizabeth* at the Lord *Harrington*'s Houſe, which was not far from *Aſhby*, where himſelf dwelt. Then they conſider'd what ſhou'd be done when the Blow was ſtruck. And to turn off the Guilt of it from themſelves, it was reſolv'd to lay it on the *Puritans*. " Thus, " ſays *Fuller*, by transferring the Fact upon the " Innocent, they hop'd not only to decline the O- " dium of ſo execrable a Deſign, but alſo to a- " muſe all Men, that begetting a Diſtruſt one of " another, they might in that Perplexity work the " Deſtruction of all their Opponents, Confor- " miſts or Nonconformiſts". This horrid Contrivance of the Papiſts was imitated to Perfection in the Reign of King *Charles* II. when the Lord *Clarendon* and his Fellow-Miniſters laid ſo many ſham Plots on the Diſſenters, as will be ſhewn in the Hiſtory of that King. The Conſpirators drew up a formal Proclamation, charging the *Puritans* with the Plot. It was printed and ready to be publiſh'd, as we are inform'd by *Du Moulin*; but ſuppreſs'd on the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy. Dr. *Parker* Dean of *Lincoln*, Sir *William Ellis* Recorder of that City, and others, ſaw and read that Proclamation. Mr. *Pickering* of *Tichmarſh* in *Northamptonſhire*, probably the ſame who rode Poſt to *Scotland* with the News of the Queen's Death, was to have been brought into this Plot, being a noted Puritan. One of the Plotters, perhaps Mr. *Keys*, his Brother-in-law, was to have borrow'd Mr. *Pickering*'s Horſe; and when the Blow was given to have kill'd it in his Flight, and left it by the way as a Proof of the Owner's Guilt and Fear. Father *Weſton*, a Jeſuit, who was active in this Plot, ingenuouſly confeſs'd 30 Years after to Mr. *Wilſon* the Hiſtorian then in *Flanders*, that the Plotters deſign'd to father it on the *Puritans*. *Fuller* has an odd Story on this Occaſion. A few Days before the intended Blow, Mr. *Keys* being at *Tichmarſh* ſuddenly whipp'd out his Sword, and as in Jeſt made ſeveral Paſſes at the Head, Neck and Breaſt of ſeveral Gentlemen and Ladies then in Company. It was at that time thought an apiſh Frolick; but when the Treaſon was diſcover'd, thoſe who remember'd his Monkey-like Freak, imagin'd he meant to do what he mimick'd, to ſtab, wound, and kill the Hereticks of all Sexes, Ages, and Qualities.

Papiſts *wou'd throw the Plot on the* Puritans.

The Deſign being form'd, they bound themſelves to Secrecy by taking the holy Sacrament, *Garnet* the Jeſuit being their Confeſſor. Every one of the Plotters had his Share in the Plot aſſign'd him. Some were to provide Money, ſome Materials. *Piercy* was to hire the Cellar under the Parliament Houſe, to lay Wood and Coals in it for his Winter Store, which *Guy Faux*, who went for his Man by the Name of *John Johnſon*, was to lodge there, and to give Fire to the Train. The Gunpowder was bought in *Flanders*, brought to *Catesbie*'s Houſe at *Lambeth*, and from thence by Night to the Cellars, where 'twas hid under the Wood. They deſign'd to perpetrate their Wickedneſs on the 7th of *February*, when the Parliament was to meet; but it being prorogu'd to the 5th of *November*, they were obliged to defer it, and diſpers'd themſelves with a Reſolution to meet again when the Parliament met the next Winter.

They had in the Interval ſeveral private Cabals, in which it was reſolv'd to kill the Duke of *York*, *Piercy* undertaking that bloody Work. When the King, Prince *Henry*, and the Duke were deſtroy'd, the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was to have been proclaim'd Queen under Tuition of the moſt rigid Papiſts; and in order to ſeize her, the Hunting Match at *Dunſmore-Heath* was fix'd to be the 5th of *November*. In this dangerous and dreadful Poſture ſtood things, when on a *Saturday*, ten Days before Execution was to be, an unknown Fellow deliver'd a Letter ſeal'd to a Footman of the Lord *Monteagle*'s, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*. *A.D.*1605. The Contents were:

My LORD,

OUT of the Love I bear to ſome of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preſervation; therefore I wou'd adviſe you, as you tender your Life, to deviſe ſome Excuſe to ſhift off your Attendance this Parliament; for God and Man have concurr'd to puniſh the Wickedneſs of this Time. And think not ſlightly of this Advertiſement; but retire your ſelf into the Country, where you may expect the Event in Safety. For tho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This Counſel is not to be contemn'd, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the Danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter; and I hope God will give you the Grace to make good uſe of it, to whoſe holy Protection I recommend you.

This Letter was deliver'd to the Lord *Monteagle* at his Houſe at *Bednal-Green*. He cou'd not tell what to make of it, unleſs it was an Artifice made uſe of to hinder his going to Parliament; yet he cou'd not be eaſy till he had communicated it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Secretary of State. *Saliſbury* ſaid, *he was a Fool or Madman who wrote it: By this Expreſſion, The Danger is paſt as ſoon as the Letter is burnt.* If the Danger is paſt when the Letter is burnt, what needs any Warning? In which he miſconſtru'd the Writer's Meaning, whoſe Deſire was to have the Letter burnt, and then the Danger wou'd be over both to him who wrote, and him who receiv'd it. The King at that time was hunting at *Royſton*; as ſoon as he return'd to *Whitehall*, the Earl of *Salisbury* ſhew'd him the Letter.

It has been obſerv'd of Love, that it is ingenious in finding out Expedients to gain the deſir'd Object; and Fear is not leſs ingenious to diſcover Danger, and avoid it. This Paſſion being natural in King *James*, he ſaid immediately, *It is no mean Man's Writing. There is a Blow to be given. They ſhall not ſee it that feel it. Some ſecret Miſchief is meant by it*; which on a ſecond reading of the Letter his Majeſty interpreted to be *Gunpowder*. *Wilſon* ſays upon it, *Many times Fear is a profitable and an active Servant, if it does not domineer and grow maſterly.* The King commanded the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain, to make Search about the Parliament Houſe; who under pretence of ſearching for ſome Hangings ſtolen out of the Wardrobe, enter'd the Cellar under the Houſe accompany'd with the Lord *Monteagle*. They found the Cellar ſtuff'd with Billet, Faggot, and Coal. And asking *Whinyard* of the Wardrobe, who was Houſe-keeper, to whom they belong'd? he reply'd, To Mr. *Piercy*, *one of the Gentlemen Penſioners to the King, the Wood and Coal being for his Winter Fuel.* The Earl of *Suffolk* caſting his Eye aſide, diſcover'd a tall, raw-bon'd, ill-looking Fellow in the Corner of the Vault; and asking who he was, underſtood 'twas Mr. *Piercy*'s Man *John Johnſon*, whoſe true Name was *Guy Faux*. The Lord Chamberlain thought fit to make this Report to the King before he proceeded farther in his Search; and his Majeſty conceiving ſtill greater Cauſe of Suſpicion, order'd the Coal and Wood to be remov'd. Accordingly Sir *Thomas Knevet*, a Juſtice of the Peace at *Weſtminſter*, with Conſtables and other Attendants, aſſiſted *Whinyard* in a ſtricter Search after the pretended Hangings. They came to the Cellar about Midnight the fourth of *November*, and found *Faux* in Cloak and Boots at the Entrance into the Vault. Sir *Thomas Knevet* apprehended him immediately; and entring the Cellar, caus'd the Billets, Faggots and Coals to be thrown aſide, under which they diſcover'd the

The Plot diſcover'd.

*A.D.*1605. Magazine of Powder, 36 Barrels, prepar'd to blow up the King, Prince, and Two Houſes of Parliament; and ſearching the Villain *Faux*, who waited to ſet fire to it, they found about him a *Watch*, very rare at that time, a Dark Lanthorn, three Matches, a Tinder-Box, and other Inſtruments, to have given fire to the Train at a certain Minute. He was ſo far from relenting, that he ſwore, *if he had been in the Houſe, he wou'd have blown himſelf and them up together*; adding, *he was ſorry it was not done*; *and it was not God, but the Devil that diſcover'd the Plot*. About four a-Clock in the Morning *Knevet* went with his Priſoner to ſome Lords of the Council, who waited his coming; and having given them an Account of his Succeſs, the Earl of *Suffolk* and other Lords haſten'd to the King, and awak'd him with crying, *The Treaſon is found out, and the Traytor taken*. *Faux* was at firſt very obſtinate, and wou'd confeſs nothing in particular; but own'd the Plot in general, juſtifying it by the Principles of his Religion, himſelf being a *Catholick*, and the King an *Heretick*. He was committed to the *Tower*, and threaten'd with the Rack; which brought him to a better Senſe of his Condition, and by degrees to Repentance and Confeſſion.

Before the Diſcovery of the Plot, the Plotters had Intimation of the Letter which was ſent to the Lord *Monteagle*, who upon hearing *Piercy* nam'd imagin'd the Letter came from him, there having been ſome Intimacy between himſelf and *Piercy*; tho' in truth the Letter was written by *Francis Treſham*, Son of Sir *Thomas Treſham*, who was ſo active in this wicked Buſineſs, that he lent 2000 *l.* for the carrying it on. Sir *Everard Digby* lent 1500 *l.* and *Piercy* promis'd to ſeize the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Rents, which wou'd bring them in 40000 *l.* They all forſwore the Letter, but *Treſham* was ſuſpected to be the Author. Himſelf, *Catesbie*, *Piercy*, *Winter*, and the younger *Wright* were lodg'd in the City; and when they heard of the Diſcovery, got out of Town as faſt as they cou'd; only *Treſham* ſtaid behind, and ſhifted his Lodging, in hopes of making his Eſcape beyond Sea. *Piercy* and *Catesbie* went firſt, *Winter* and others follow'd them to *Dunchurch* in *Warwickſhire*, the Seat of Sir *Everard Digby*, where they had appointed to meet for the before-mention'd Hunting Match. *John Grant* of *Northbrooke* in *Warwickſhire*, Eſq; broke open the Stable of one *Benock*, a Manager of great Horſes, and took away eight; on which he mounted ſo many reſolute Papiſts; and not doubting of the Succeſs of their diabolical Deſign, he was prepared to ſeize the Princeſs *Elizabeth* at the Hunting Match. The Conſpirators broke open ſome Stables in *London*, and ſeiz'd ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen's Horſes, in hopes of raiſing a good Body of Horſe to head a general Inſurrection of the Papiſts. Their *Powder-Plot* having miſcarry'd, a Rebellion under Colour of Religion was to ſerve in its ſtead; but with all their Zeal and Activity they cou'd not draw 100 Men together. A Proclamation to apprehend them was iſſu'd at *London*; but it was not come into *Warwickſhire* when *Grant* alarm'd the Country by breaking open *Benock*'s Stable. Sir *Fulk Greville* the Elder, a Deputy-Lieutenant of that County, caus'd Hue and Cry to be made, and a Party of Men was rais'd to purſue the Rebels; one of whom, *Winter*, was ſeiz'd by a Smith at *Coventry*, but reſcu'd by his Fellows. Sixteen others of them were taken by the Citizens, and ſent Priſoners to *London* by Sir *Richard Verney*, High-Sheriff of *Warwickſhire*. *Catesbie*, *Piercy*, *Grant*, *Rookwood*, the two *Winters* and the two *Wrights* ſeiz'd Arms at the Lord *Windſor*'s, and ſhut themſelves up at *Halbach*, the Houſe of *Stephen Littleton* in *Staffordſhire* on the Borders of *Worceſterſhire*; of which Sir *Richard Walſh*, High-Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire*, having notice, he took what Help was at hand; and coming to *Halbach*, *A.D.*1605. ſent a Trumpet and Meſſenger to them. The Rebels being ſummon'd in his Majeſty's Name to ſurrender, they anſwer'd with Diſdain, *If he cou'd not get more powerful Aſſiſtance, he wou'd not be able to defend himſelf*. During the Parley, the chief Conſpirators were buſy in drying Powder far off from the Chimney; yet a Spark of Fire flew out, and falling amongſt it blew up a Bag-full that was near it, and a good Part of the Houſe. *Catesbie*, *Rookwood* and *Grant* were ſo wounded, that they cou'd make little Reſiſtance. They were all in a terrible Conſternation, and expecting no Pardon, reſolv'd to open the Gate, and ſell their Lives as dearly as they cou'd. *Catesbie* and *Piercy* fighting Back to Back were kill'd with one Shot. The two *Wrights* were alſo ſlain. *Thomas Winter* receiv'd ſeveral Wounds, and was taken Priſoner; as were *Robert Winter*, *Littleton*, *Grant*, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Faux*, *Keys* and *Bates*, who were all committed to the *Tower*; where *Thomas Winter* made a full Confeſſion of this helliſh Conſpiracy, by which it appears to have been contriv'd ſoon after King *James* came into *England*. For *Winter* went to *Flanders* before the Conſtable of *Caſtile* landed in *England*, to deſire him, in the Name of the Papiſts, to procure them Favour; and in *Flanders* he met with *Faux*, who ſo early as *Eaſter* 1603. communicated this curſed Deſign to him; which was contriving at the ſame time that *Watſon* and *Clarke*, the two Popiſh Prieſts before-mention'd, were engag'd in *Raleigh*'s Plot. *Digby* extenuated his Crime by the Deſpair to which they were driven, upon the King's deceiving them in their Hopes of a Toleration. *Treſham* nam'd *Garnet* the Jeſuit as privy to the Plot; tho' afterwards he deny'd it, or that he had ſeen him in ſixteen Years; which was prov'd to be falſe by *Garnet*'s own Confeſſion after he was apprehended, they having been together ſeveral times in the laſt half Year. *Treſham*'s Wife, who had as much Zeal as her Husband, tempted him to clear *Garnet*, tho' againſt his Knowledge, even when Death look'd him in the Face. He dy'd of a Strangury in the *Tower* two Months before the Conſpirators were try'd by a Commiſſion directed to ſeveral Lords and Judges.

Thomas Winter, *Robert Winter*, *Guy Faux*, *John Grant*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Keys*, and *Thomas Bates*, *Winter*'s Man, were convicted and condemn'd. *Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Grant* and *Bates* were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd the 30th of *January* at the Weſt End of St. *Paul*'s Church in *London*; as were *Thomas Winter*, *Keys*, *Rookwood* and *Faux* the next Day in the Parliament-Yard at *Weſtminſter*. I cannot imagine why Archdeacon *Echard* has ſo much Compaſſion for Sir *Everard Digby*, as to miſrepreſent his Caſe. He *little imagin'd Treaſon, and was bound to Secrecy by Oath*. What rare Authorities that Reverend Hiſtorian takes his Facts from, and what rare Reflections he makes upon them, when he has a mind to do Honour to the Papiſts and their Faction? *Digby* frankly lent 1500 *l.* to the Buſineſs, as *Winter* ſaid in his Confeſſion. If it is true that Sir *Everard* dy'd very penitently, in that caſe Humanity admits Compaſſion. But as to *Digby*'s not knowing it to be *Treaſon*, 'tis equally falſe and abſurd. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us he wrote ſeveral Letters in Priſon, *wherein he expreſſes great Trouble, becauſe he heard ſome of their Friends blam'd their Undertaking. He highly magnifies it, and ſays, if he had many Lives he wou'd willingly have ſacrific'd them all in carrying it on*; adding, *They had taken care that there were not above two or three worth ſaving, to whom they had given notice to keep out of the way*. As to his Penitence, the Biſhop adds, *he did not expreſs any Sort of Remorſe* in his Letters. *Winter* and his Man *Bates* were very penitent; but *Grant* was more obſtinate than

*A.D.*1606. *Plotters executed.*

W. S. 316.

A.D.1606. any of the reſt, excepting *Keys*. *Faux*'s Repentance appear'd to be moſt ſincere; they all declared themſelves Members of the Church of *Rome*; and conſidering how little in Life and Death they did Honour to that Church, ſhe had no great Cauſe to boaſt of their Memberſhip. *Francis Treſham* did not live long enough to be hang'd, his Head was cut off after his Death, and ſet upon *London-Bridge*, with the Heads of his Fellow-Conſpirators.

As ſoon as the Parliament met, which was on the 9th of *November*, four Days after the Diſcovery of the Plot, the King made a Speech to them, wherein he did not only take Pains to clear the whole Body of the Catholicks from the Guilt of it, but to ſweeten them for the little Aſperity which this Treaſon had put into the Speech, he did not forget to have a Fling at the *Puritans, who deſerv'd to be burnt for allowing no Salvation to Papiſts*. The Parliament congratulated his Majeſty on his Deliverance, and at the Motion of Sir *Edward Montagu*, Anceſtor to his Grace the Duke of *Montagu*, paſt an Act to have the *Fifth Day of* November for ever ſolemniz'd with Publick Thankſgivings.

Notwithſtanding the general Joy that appear'd every where on the Detection of this horrid Conſpiracy, there were ſome who inſinuated that the Plot was of the King's own making, or that he was privy to it from firſt to laſt: *A Fancy inconſiſtent with his Majeſty's Piety*, ſays Dr. *Fuller*. I wiſh the Doctor and his Brother Divines, had explain'd what they mean by *Piety*, when they ſpeak of this King's, or wou'd teach us how to reconcile Piety with *Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Luxury, Wantonneſs*, &c. Certain it is, 'twas inconſiſtent with what the Doctor calls *his Fearfulneſs to dally ſo long with Deſtruction*. Others tell us, King *James* had Information of the Plot from *Henry* IV. of *France*, before he ſaw the Lord *Monteagle*'s Letter. If ſo, one need not hold up one's Hands with Aſtoniſhment at his Majeſty's great Wiſdom in diſcovering *Gunpowder* in the very Words of that Letter. *Welwood* is of this Opinion, "That P. 19. "Letter was a Contrivance of his own, the Thing "being diſcover'd to him before by *Henry* IV. of "*France*, through the Means of Monſieur *de Rho-*"*ny*, after Duke of *Sully*. King *Henry* paid dear "for his Friendſhip to King *James*; and there is "Reaſon to believe it was upon this Account, a-"mong others, that a Party of the Church of "*Rome*, employ'd *Ravillac* to murder that great "Man." *Osborn* thinks the Information came firſt from *France*, on account of the ſmall Notice that was afterwards taken of the Lord *Monteagle*; and that the *French* King did not give King *James* Advice of this *Gunpowder-Plot*, out of any Affection to his Perſon, but fearing a more heroick Prince ſhou'd come in his Place; and, to uſe my Author's Words, *He ſhou'd exchange* Herb John *for* Colloquintida.

Among the many Compliments which were paid his Majeſty on this Occaſion, that of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was moſt extraordinary, being accompanied with a Preſent *of a fine Coat with Golden Taggs, two Gold Chains, a Velvet Cap, a Gold Baſon*, &c. as you may read at large in *Echard*, who is wonderfully delighted with the Deſcription of it. This Farce was the more ridiculous, for that the very Plot was hatch'd in *Spain*, and the Flattery ſo groſs, that the Pope cou'd not help laughing in the Face of Cardinal *d'Oſſat*, when he told him the Story, as the Cardinal informs his Maſter *Henry* IV. in one of his Letters; ſo eaſily was the *Britiſh Solomon* impos'd upon by the Addreſs of the *Spaniards*, tho' ſo ill diſguis'd, that there was no need of good Eyes to ſee thro' it.

Spaniſh *Ambaſſador impoſes on King* James.

Garnet *the Jeſuit hang'd.*

The Execution of Father *Garnet*, Provincial of the Jeſuit's Order in *England*, clos'd the Tragedy of the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*. This Jeſuit was not only privy to it, but active in it by Exhortation and Counſel. *Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Dr *Overal* Dean of St. *Paul's*, and other Divines, examin'd him about it when he was in the *Tower*; but he inſiſted upon it, that having receiv'd Information of the Conſpiracy in Confeſſion, he cou'd not by the Laws of his Religion diſcover it. He was told that he had talk'd with *Catesbie* concerning it out of Confeſſion; to which he reply'd, *In via ad Confeſſionem*, in order to Confeſſion. Dr. *Overal* anſwer'd, *Confeſſion was of Things done, not to be done*; and that even the *Romiſh* Caſuiſts allow'd Diſcovery, *when a greater Good accru'd by revealing than concealing ſuch Secrets*. *Garnet* then own'd that he was *minded to diſcover the Plot, but not the Plotters*. The Earl of *Salisbury* demanded *what hinder'd him? Yourſelf*, ſays *Garnet*; *for I know full well, ſhou'd I have reveal'd the Plot, and not the Plotters, you wou'd have rack'd me to Pieces to make me confeſs*. He was arraign'd at *Guildhall* before the Lord-Mayor Sir *Leonard Holiday*, and the Lords of the Council, Sir *Baptiſt Hicks*, afterwards Viſcount *Cambden*, being Foreman of the Jury, by whom he was ſoon convicted of High-Treaſon, for which he was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd at the Weſt-End of St. *Paul's* Church, being the laſt that ſuffer'd for this Treaſon, which Monſieur *de Thou* calls *ſuch a Monſter of* Conſpiracies, *as no Age or Country did every produce*.

We have been the longer on the *Gunpowder-Plot*, that it might be made clear beyond queſtion, being, as *Welwood* terms it, an *uncontroverted Treaſon*. But he is miſtaken, notwithſtanding all the undeniable Proofs of all the Circumſtances, and all the Confeſſions of the Criminals, the *French* Jeſuit *Orleans* controverts it in his *Hiſtory of Revolutions*, of no other Value than as the Book was approv'd by our abdicated King *James* II. and is recommended by Archdeacon *Echard*. He begins with Doubts: All Men do not *agree about the Circumſtances of it*. All Men, Proteſtants and Papiſts, do agree that there was a Plot to blow up King, Prince, and the two Houſes of Parliament; that the Gunpowder was found under the Houſe that was to be blown up, and the Villain who was to do it, taken with the Implements about him. What other Circumſtances were wanting to prove the Treaſon, and hang the Traytors? Again; *The Inventions of our Days ſhew what might have been invented then*. Whether he refers to the Invention of the *Rychouſe Plot*, or the Invention of the *Pretender*, or what other *Popiſh* Invention I ſhall not enquire. But there has not been in our Days, nor in any Days, according to the illuſtrious Hiſtorian *De Thou*, ſuch a *Monſter* as the *Gunpowder-Plot*. P. 37. Again; *The Crime cou'd not be imputed to the Catholicks alone, for a conſiderable Number of the Conſpirators were Proteſtants:* So impudently falſe, that not one of them was a Proteſtant. *Fuller*, they *all crav'd Teſtimony that they died* Roman *Catholicks*. The Contrivers and Heads of the Conſpiracy were to a Man *Papiſts*, and I never heard of one Proteſtant nam'd in it. Again; *Some of them were Prieſts, who had no other hand in it, than that they were accus'd without ſufficient Proof of having been told it in Confeſſion*. The Prieſts are *Garnet*, for no other Prieſt was queſtion'd for it. This good Man *Garnet* had no leſs than four *Names*, four *Alias's*, to cover him againſt Proſecutions for his Crimes. Beſides what he had been told in Confeſſion, Dr. *Fuller* aſſures us it was P. 37. prov'd, *that he frequently and publickly diſcourſed of it* with *Catesbie, Gerard*, and *Greenwood*. Again; the others were *two or three Incendiaries*; thoſe two or three were in all two or threeſcore, tho' not above nine or ten were executed for it; *ſet on by Cecil*. What does the Reader think now of Mr. *Echard*'s Jeſuit and his Hiſtory?

Orleans *falſe.*

The chief Conſpirators having had their Reward, ſome who wiſh'd well to them were puniſh'd, as

*A.D.*1606. as *Henry* Lord *Mordaunt*, and *Edward* Lord *Stourton*, who had both neglected to come to Parliament, and were therefore ſuſpected to be in the wicked Secret, and ſo far prov'd guilty of *Miſpriſon* of Treaſon, that the Court of Star-Chamber fin'd the Lord *Mordaunt* 10000 Marks, and the Lord *Stourton* 6000, both of them to remain in Priſon during his Majeſty's Pleaſure. The Earl of *Northumberland* was thought more guilty on account of his Kinſman *Piercy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the King's Gentlemen Penſioners, without adminiſtring to him the Oath of Supremacy, tho' he knew him to be a rank Papiſt; for which the ſame Court fin'd him 30000 Pounds, and condemn'd him to Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure.

The Puniſhment of the Traytors and their Accomplices, was ſcarce over, before the People were alarm'd with a Rumour of the King's being aſſaſſinated at *Ockingham* in *Berkſhire*. But the Conſternation laſted not long, his Majeſty coming to *London* two or three Hours after. The Impreſſion the late Plot had made on Mens Minds, render'd them very apt to be terrify'd with ſuch Rumours; and when their Terrors were paſt, their Joy was equal to what their Fear had been. Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, had a Gold Chain given him by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, for bringing him News of his Majeſty's Safety. 'Twas thought he was ſo generous to take off the Odium of the late Conſpiracy from his Maſter the King of *Spain*, who was ſuſpected to have fomented it.

Wilſon, *p.* 32.

On the 27th of *May* the Parliament was prorogued to the 18th of *November*, having paſt ſeveral Acts beſides that for *the Fifth of November*, particularly an *Act* granting the King three entire Subſidies, and ſix Fifteenths; and an Act enjoining a *new Oath of Allegiance*, in which 'twas aſſerted, *That the Pope cou'd not depoſe the King, nor diſpoſe of his Kingdom, nor authorize any other Prince to invade him, nor diſcharge his Subjects from their Fidelity*, &c. It alſo bound the Perſon who took it, *to bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, to diſcover all Treaſons and Conſpiracies, and declar'd that the Pope had no Power to abſolve this Oath*; the Form of which was ſo order'd, that it might not offend the Conſcience of thoſe who, without renouncing their Religion, wou'd pay that Duty to their Sovereign, which they rightfully ow'd him. The Thing appear'd ſo reaſonable to the *Engliſh* Papiſts, that the Nobility, Gentry, Prieſts, and all others, ſwore in this Form. *George Blackwell* nominated Arch-Prieſt of *England* by Pope *Paul* V. not only took the Oath, but wrote in Defence of it, which the Pope underſtanding, ſent a Brief immediately to forbid the taking it, as *inconſiſtent with the Salvation of Souls*. The *Papiſts* in *England* treated this Brief as ſpurious, and his Holineſs was forc'd to ſend a ſecond to confirm it. He alſo directed Cardinal *Bellarmine* to write to *Blackwell* about it; in which Letter were ſome Expreſſions which ſo anger'd his Majeſty, as to put him upon anſwering it himſelf, in an *Apology* for the Oath: Wherein, ſays Dr. *Fuller*, he *effectually confuted the Pope's Brief*. And another Author writes, the King gave a very learned Anſwer to a Brief, which cou'd not but have been anſwer'd without one word of Learning. However, ſuch was the Language of certain Writers, whenever they ſpoke of his Majeſty's Parts and Performances. Let us therefore ſee what Foreigners, who had no Biaſs of Hope or Fear, ſay of him and his Learning. *Vaſſor* writes thus, *Had not a King better have forborn writing at all, and have left this Care to another? A little Jeſuit, made a Cardinal by ſcribbling, was not an Adverſary for a Monarch. The Pope behav'd himſelf like a King, and King* James *acted the Part of a Doctor. The Pope commanded, and King* James *diſputed. Except a Prince wrote like* Julius Cæſar, *or* Marcus Aurelius, *he is in the wrong to become an Author*. The Jeſuit *Orleans*, who ſpeaks well of him in ſome Places for his Inclination to Popery, cannot help ſaying of his boaſted Learning, *He was commended by learned Men as a Patron of Literature; for which, if we may judge by his Works, it will appear he had rather an Affection than any good Taſte; and that he, who, during his Life, call'd him the* learned King, *rather did it becauſe he was a* King, *than becauſe he was really* learned. What his Genius was, we have from *Buchanan* his Tutor; which *Mezeray* and *Juſtel* often told in their Aſſemblies at *Paris*. King *James* I. at his *Levee* in *Scotland*, wou'd have the *French* Ambaſſador talk *Latin*; which he complying with, and happening to break *Priſcian*'s Head, the Laugh was againſt him; upon which he running out of Court, met *Buchanan* on the Stairs, and reproach'd him for having made a *Pedant* of his *Pupil*. *Pedant*, ſaid *Buchanan*, lifting up his Hands and Eyes, *I thank God I have made any Thing of him*. And a noble Author, ſpeaking of this very Incident, ſaid, the *Scotch* Solomon *had not one good Quality in him*. This was confirm'd to me by a Perſon of that Dignity and Character, as leaves no room to doubt its Veracity, and I ſhall name him when I am put to it. The King was at firſt ſo ſenſible of the Indiſcretion in his anſwering *Bellarmine*, that he did not own his *Apology*. *Bellarmine* wrote againſt it under the Name of *Tortus*: Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* reply'd to him. But a little Flattery on the Value of the Work, made his Majeſty put his Name to it, and a very pompous Preface before it in the Nature of a *Manifeſto*, addreſs'd to all Kings, Princes, and States of *Chriſtendom*, vindicating the Rights of Sovereigns againſt the Uſurpations of the Pope. *Vaſſor* ſays, *The Popiſh Princes durſt not read, and the Proteſtant Princes did not need it.* *Henry* IV. of *France*, who had been a zealous Proteſtant, forbid the tranſlating it into *French*, which however was done ſoon after; and *Coeffeteau*, a *French* Hiſtorian and Refiner of that Language, anſwer'd it, tho' poorly enough, as allowing the *Independence* of the Kings of *France*. Cardinal *Bellarmine* reply'd to the King's Preface, addreſſing his Reply alſo to the Emperor, the Kings and States of *Chriſtendom*. The Parliament of *Paris* condemn'd *Bellarmine*'s Book; but ſome Years after, *Mary de Medicis*, King *Charles* the Firſt's Mother-in-law, then Queen-Regent of *France*, order'd their Decree to be ſuperſeded; and all the Glory that redounded to King *James* by this *Controverſy*, was, according to Mr. *Coke*, *that he cou'd wrangle and cavil as well as* Bellarmine. 'Tis the Fault of the Reign, as has been obſerv'd, if the Matter is ſo trivial. *Coke* writes, *The King gave himſelf wholly up to* Hunting, Plays, Maſques, Balls, *and writing againſt* Bellarmine. *Thus ſtood the Caſe for four Years after, wherein I ſcarce find any thing worth mentioning.* *Echard* indeed mentions the Arrival of the King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, but he does not mention what he read in Sir *Edward Peyton*, p. 63. *If we examine the King of* Denmark, *Brother of Queen* Anne, *the firſt time he was entertain'd in* England, *what Debauchedneſs was exercis'd in his Welcome to King* James, *who both were ſo drunk at* Theobalds, *as our King was carried in the Arms of the Courtiers*, &c. I can tell no more of it; the Delicacy of *Engliſh* Readers being ſuch, that Truth itſelf gives Offence when it breaks in upon Decorums. No ſooner was the King of *Denmark* gone, than another princely Viſitor, the Count *de Vaudemont*, Son to the Duke of *Lorain*, arriv'd at Court with a numerous Train of Servants and Attendants, and was entertain'd with the like Magnificence, Profuſion, and Luxury.

*A.D.*1606.

Paradox, *part* 2. *p.* 17.

Vol. I. *p.* 177.

P. 62. *King of* Denmark *in* England.

Prince of Vaudemont.

On the 18th of *November* the Parliament met, and Sir *Francis Bacon*, Sollicitor-General, made a Motion for an Act to naturalize all *Scotſmen*; but

Parliament.

it

*A.D.*1607. it met with ſo much Oppoſition, that the King was forc'd to interpoſe, and in *March* following he ſent for both Houſes of Parliament, to whom he made that notable Speech which *Echard* is ſo fond of for its Jingles, *Unus Rex, Unus Grex, Una Lex*, one King, one People, one Law. But all that cou'd be gotten for the *Scots* was an Act to repeal all Laws of Hoſtility antiently made between *England* and *Scotland*. The Parliament neglected the Affair of the Union of the two Kingdoms, yet the King in ſome meaſure carry'd his Point, by a Determination of the Lord Chancellor *Elleſmer*, and moſt of the Judges in the famous Caſe of *Calvin*, by which the *Poſtnati Scots*, born after the King's coming to the Crown of *England*, were declar'd to be free, to bring real Actions, to purchaſe and inherit in this Kingdom.

Scots Poſt-nati.

Sir *Francis Bacon* made a very long Speech in the Houſe of Commons for a general Naturalization, another for the *Poſtnati* before the Lord-Chancellor *Elleſmer* and the Judges in the Exchequer; and another in the Houſe of Commons for a Union of Laws in *England* and *Scotland:* Three Speeches full of Learning and Eloquence. But that before the Houſe of Commons for a Naturalization had no Effect on the *major* Vote; that before the Lord-Chancellor ſucceeded better, the King being Maſter of his and the Judges Opinions. The Motion for a cloſer Union with *Scotland*, was not then popular; his Majeſty's profuſe Bounty to the *Scots* Favourites, gave the *Engliſh* a Diſguſt to the Nation, to which the Inſolence which generally accompanies Favour, did not a little contribute. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *That King* James *loſt the Union of* England *and* Scotland *by an unreaſonable Partiality in pretending that* Scotland *was the third Part of the Iſle of* Great-Britain, *if not more*. So very politick was his Majeſty in an Affair which he had moſt at heart.

Before the Parliament broke up, there was a kind of Inſurrection in *Northamptonſhire, Warwickſhire*, and *Leiceſterſhire*, the Rabble getting together under one *John Reynolds*, (whom they call'd Captain *Pouch*, from a large Leather-Pouch he wore by his Side,) to pull down Incloſures. A Proclamation was iſſu'd, commanding them to diſperſe, which they took no notice of; but the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Exeter*, the Lord *Zouch*, and the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Coke*, being ſent againſt them with an arm'd Force, they were ſuppreſs'd. Their Leader Captain *Pouch* was hang'd, and the chief of them, who cou'd pay for the Riot, were fin'd.

The Earl of *Tyrone*, who had been ſo well receiv'd by his Majeſty, the Lord *Tyrconnel*, the Lord *Dungannon*, and other *Iriſh* Peers, fled into foreign Parts to ſollicit *Popiſh* Princes againſt their own Sovereign. *Tyrconnel* dy'd in *Spain*, and his Son was made Page to *Philip* the IIId's Queen, ſo careful was the *Spaniſh* Court to cultivate a good Intelligence with the *Iriſh* Papiſts, who were continually caballing againſt the *Engliſh* Government, at the ſame time that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors were more careſs'd at the Court of *England*, than the Miniſters of any other Princes or States. His Majeſty had always ſhewn a particular Tenderneſs to *Popiſh* Offenders, and from his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England* to his Death, puniſh'd none but thoſe he was afraid of, ſuch as the *Gunpowder* Plotters, whoſe Heirs were ſuffer'd to enjoy their Eſtates, particularly *Digby*'s Son, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, a great Favourite of the Queen's, if not of the King's in the next Reign. He reſtor'd all the Forfeitures and Confiſcations, to which he was moſt juſtly intitl'd by *Tyrone*'s Rebellion in *Ireland*. This Lenity, inſtead of obliging them to grateful Obedience, embolden'd them to renew their traiterous Deſigns, and *Tyrone* drew the whole Province of *Ulſter* into a Confederacy againſt the *Engliſh*; which being diſcover'd before 'twas brought to a Head, and the other Provinces not joining with him, he and the chief of his Adherents fled to *Spain*, from whence he never return'd; ſo welcome were all theſe Rebels and Traytors to the Catholick King, at the ſame time that King *James* was ſo fond of his Friendſhip. *A.D* 1607.

Ireland.

On the 4th of *July* the Parliament was prorogued to the 16th of *November*, and then to the 9th of *February*, in the Year 1609. In the Interval, the King ſpent his Time very jollily, always ſporting or feaſting. His Majeſty din'd with the Lord-Mayor Sir *John Watts*, and was made free of the *Clothworkers* Company. Soon after he dined at *Merchant Taylors* Hall, and Prince *Henry* was made free of that Company; of which Archdeacon *Echard* tells us, a Queen and an Archbiſhop had been free before. Such Events as theſe muſt needs be very ornamental in Hiſtory: But if I had had others to put in their Place, I ſhou'd have left theſe Ornaments for Mr. *Echard*'s, which is capable of no better. About the ſame time Sir *Thomas Knevet*, of whom mention was made for his Service in the *Gunpowder-Plot*, was created Baron of *Layton-Bromeſwold*; the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viſcount *Bindon*, had been made Knights of the Garter the laſt Year; and *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, were now advanc'd to that Honour. Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was ſworn of the Privy-Council, and bountiful was his Majeſty in the Diſpoſal both of his Honours and Treaſures.

In the midſt of this Time of Peace and Joy, this fair Outſide of Government, there was growing within a Rottenneſs, which turn'd to a Mortification in the ſubſequent Reign. *Coke* coarſely expreſſes it: *Whilſt the King was wallowing in Pleaſure, he wholly gave himſelf up to be govern'd by Favourites, to whom he was exceſſively prodigal, not only of Honours and Offices, but of the Revenues of the Crown, and Aids given in Parliament; and theſe being of both Nations,* Scots *as well as* Engliſh, *made them to be the more intolerable. All Things being in Peace abroad, publick Affairs were neglected, and ſcarce thought of: And in this Lethargy of State, the Prerogative Clergy ſwell'd the* High-Commiſſion *to ſuch a Weight, that it was complain'd of as a Grievance in Parliament; one* Blackwood *publiſh'd a Book, wherein he endeavour'd to prove, That the* Engliſh *were Slaves by Reaſon of a Conqueſt; and when the Parliament was about to proceed againſt him, his Majeſty interpos'd and put a Stop to it, by iſſuing a Proclamation to call in the Book.* P. 62.

Another Inſtance of King *James*'s Politicks, was his Proclamation prohibiting *the Increaſe of Buildings* in the City of *London*, which has been ſtill increaſing theſe 120 Years, and by collecting the Strength and Riches of the Kingdom into a Body, has render'd the Nation more ſafe at Home, and more formidable Abroad, than ever it was before. King *James*'s ſtrongeſt Reaſon referr'd to his own Perſon, for fear a Crowd of People ſhou'd bring in the Plague again, and infect *Whitehall*; whereas the Plague ceas'd at that Time, and the Danger was over. *Many Men,* ſays *Wilſon, that did not ſo well heed the Proclamation, laid out their whole Eſtates upon little Hovels, and building fair Houſes upon new Foundations, tho' but two Yards from the old, they became Treſpaſſers, and muſt either purchaſe their Houſes, or pull them down, both ways tending to their Ruin.* However, Mr. Archdeacon aſſures us, *it was done with mature Deliberation of the Council*; and if we will not take ſuch Counſels as this, to be the Effect of mature Deliberation, we muſt look for them in other Hiſtories and other Reigns.

This Incident is miſplac'd by the reverend Hiſtorian in the Year 1609, whereas it was publiſh'd in *October* 1607; and the Reaſon which was given for *reſtraining* the *new Buildings* to prevent Infection,

*A.D.*1607. was found afterwards to be a Reaſon for enlarging the Buildings, that by having more Room, the Inhabitants might not be too much crowded, and conſequently the Air in Time of Peſtilence be leſs liable to be infected: *So that what the* Wiſdom *of one Time doth decry*, ſays *Wilſon*, *the Experience of another may advance*. Yet this is the Time when Counſels were maturely deliberated, and the wiſeſt Monarch of the Age ſate on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, to whoſe Wiſdom is always join'd the Character of merciful, which did not however appear in this Inſtance.

A Judge at the Aſſize at *Northampton*, condemn'd a Felon, but repriev'd him on account of the Weakneſs of the Evidence: Judge *Nicholls*, who went that Circuit this Year, continu'd the Priſoner's Reprieve, for which he was complain'd of. The King, without enquiring into the Strength or Weakneſs of the Evidence, commanded the Judge, by Letter, to direct Execution of the Sentence, which that good Magiſtrate refus'd to do, ſaying, *His Predeceſſor, who had heard the Witneſſes, thought it Juſtice to reprieve the Felon, and his Conſcience wou'd not let him direct Sentence to be executed, ſince he never had heard the Evidence: Beſides, his Oath oblig'd him to do right*, notwithſtanding the King's Letter.

Sand. *p.* 341.

The Affair of the *Union* had better Succeſs in *Scotland*, than it had had in *England*. The Parliament there allow'd all the Articles which were concluded by their Commiſſioners, provided the ſame were ratify'd by the Parliament of *England*, who took no Notice of what the *Scots* did in the Matter; ſo the Deſign fell, and came to nothing.

'Twas not likely that a King of King *James*'s Diſpoſition ſhou'd be much conſider'd abroad, his whole Conduct, with reſpect to foreign Affairs, neceſſarily drew upon him the Neglect of all *Europe*. We ſhall ſee preſently how he deſerv'd it.

Le Clerc. The Preſident *Jeannin*, and Monſieur *Roiſſy*, the *French* Ambaſſadors at the *Hague*, offer'd a ſtricter Alliance between their Maſter and the States-General. The States notify'd this Offer to King *James*, who promis'd to diſpatch Mr. *Richard Spencer*, and Mr. *Ralph Winwood*, who had been his Agent in *Holland*, to join in the Negotiation, but he found Means to evade it, and remain Spectator of the War. *Richardot* wrote from *Bruſſels* to *Jeannin*, that the King of *Spain*, his Maſter, was the more difficult in the Article of the Treaty of Truce, which related to the declaring the States-General to be a Free State, becauſe King *James* had written to King *Philip*, That he believ'd the States might be brought to conſent to the leaving out of the Treaty what related to the Acknowledgment of their being free; which ſhews how little he underſtood the Intentions and Reſolutions of the States, and the true Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *Europe*; or at leaſt how little he concern'd himſelf about them. The Preſident *Jeannin* writing to his Maſter from *Holland*, told him King *James was never ſincere with the* Dutch: Henry IV. reply'd, *I know his Capacity, and the Inclinations of his People*; the moſt contemptible Thing that ever was ſaid of the Genius and Abilities of a Monarch.

Neglected abroad.

*A.D.*1608 In the beginning of the Year 1608, dy'd *Thomas Sackville* Earl of *Dorſet*, in an apoplectick Fit, which ſeiz'd him and carry'd him off at the Council-Table. He was made Lord-Treaſurer 10 Years before by Queen *Elizabeth*; he was Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and of Eminence in his Time for a poetical Genius, as his Tragedy of *Ferrex* witneſſes, and *for his rare Wiſdom and careful Providence*, to uſe the Words of an old Author. The Earl of *Salisbury* ſucceeded him as Lord-Treaſurer; and tho' he had the Dexterity to raiſe one of the greateſt Fortunes in *England*, it is ſaid he gave a Check to the King's prodigal Bounty to others; which does not agree with what *Osborn* tells us, *He was a Seducer of the King, perſuading him this Nation was ſo rich, it cou'd be neither exhauſted nor provok'd.* 'Tis certain he was very looſe in his Morals, as by the Satyrs on him. *A.D.*1608.

But now in Hatfield *lies the old Fox,*
Who ſtank while he liv'd, and dy'd of the——
In another;
Till Atropos *clapt him, a Pox on the Drab,*
For Spight of his Tar-box, *he dy'd of the Scab.*

Osborn, *p.* 154.

Echard ſays, after *Osborn*, who is here miſtaken, or the Archdeacon wou'd not have made uſe of him, *He might have enrich'd his Family more, had he not look'd upon low Things with Contempt*; which is not true. There is nothing in the World ſo low as a Bribe; and that he took *Spaniſh* Money for the Peace, is as well known, as that he was a Speaker at the *Hampton-Court* Conference againſt the *Preſbyterians*. As to his Contempt of low Things, ſee Sir *Anthony Welden*: Salisbury *had one Trick to get the Kernel, and leave the* Scots *but the Shell, yet caſt all the Envy upon them*; *he wou'd make them buy Books of Fee-Farms*; *ſome* 100 *Pounds* per Ann. *ſome* 100 *Marks*; *and he wou'd compound with them for* 1000 *Pounds*; *which they were willing to embrace, becauſe they were ſure to have them* paſs without *any Controul*; *and* 1000 *Pounds appear'd to them that never ſaw* 10 *Pounds before, an inexhauſtible Treaſure*; *then would* Salisbury *fill up this Book with ſuch prime Land, as ſhould be worth* 10 or 20000 *Pounds, and which was very eaſy for him being Treaſurer*, &c. Theſe were his *admirable Abilities*. *P.* 60.

The Remembrance of the *Gunpowder-Plot*, kept the Sword of Juſtice keen againſt *Popiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, and the King ſuffer'd two of them, *George Jervis* a Seminary Prieſt, and *Thomas Garnet* a Jeſuit, to be executed: A Pardon was offer'd the latter, if he wou'd take the Oath of Allegiance, but he utterly refus'd it.

We have mention'd the Pyracies of one *Tomkins* in the beginning of this Reign, and now the Seas were infeſted by a Pyrate of an honourable Name, Sir *Francis Verney*, together with *Ward*, *Biſhop*, *Glanville*, and others, ſome of whom were Renegadoes, and liv'd as *Turks* at *Tunis* in great State. Nineteen of theſe Robbers being taken, were brought to *England*, and executed at *Wapping*.

Earl of Northampton's *bad Character.*

The Earl of *Northampton* was about this Time made Lord *Privy-Seal*, who, beſides his being a reputed Papiſt, had a worſe Character, a Man of no Morals nor Conſcience, who ſtuck at nothing to gratify his Paſſions, and pleaſe his Appetite. Sir *Anthony Welden* ſays, *he was the groſſeſt Flatterer in the* World, *of ſo venomous and canker'd a Diſpoſition, that he hated all Men of noble Parts, nor lov'd any but Flatterers*. An Inſtance of his Hatred to brave Men, was what he ſaid of Sir *Robert Manſell*: *Body of God, I will be content to be damn'd perpetually in Hell, to be reveng'd of that proud Welſhman*. The ſame Knight, ſpeaking of one *Lake*, whom he calls a Fellow of mean Birth, afterwards Secretary of State, ſays, he roſe by *Tale-telling*: "He let the King know the Paſſages at "Court, and great Men, as who was *Salisbury*'s "Miſtreſs, and govern'd all, who govern'd *Nor-"thampton*, and diſcover'd the Bawdry which did "infinitely pleaſe the King's Humour." We ſee what Sort of Miniſters King *James* employ'd; and *Echard* informs us, *That upon this Earl of* Northampton's *Shoulders*, the King laid the main Burden of all his Affairs. *Northampton*'s Affection to *Popery*, appears by a Letter he wrote to Cardinal *Bellarmine*, wherein he ſaid, *Howſoever the Condition of the Times compelled him, and his Majeſty urg'd him to turn* Proteſtant, *yet nevertheleſs his Heart ſtood with the* Catholicks, *and he wou'd be ready to further them in any Attempt*. The Archbiſhop *P.* 15. *P.* 20. *P.* 22. *K.* James's *Miniſters.* *P.* 57. *P.* 386. 14 *Year K.* James I.

*A.D.*1608. biſhop of *Canterbury* produc'd this Letter in the *Star-Chamber*; and told that Court *he had harbour'd ſuch about him, as wrote in Defence of the* Gunpowder Plot. The wiſe King laid the Burthen of the State on this Lord's Shoulders; as *Car* Earl of *Somerſet*, and his lewd Counteſs, did the Burthen of their adulterous Luſt, as will be ſeen in the Sequel of this Reign.

The Viſcount *Bindon*, now Earl of *Suffolk*, had been made Lord Chamberlain ſome time before. *Lewdneſs.* He was Father to the Counteſs of *Somerſet*, and his Wife the Counteſs of *Suffolk* had an Employment at Court, which was the moſt beneficial of any in the Reign of King *Charles* II. King *James*'s Grandſon. Sir *Thomas Overbury* did not ſtick to call her *Bawd*, too homely a Word for Hiſtory. Sir *A. W.* joins *Northampton* in this gallant Employment, *Copinger*, ſays he, *being a Bawd to* Car, *and the Counteſs of* Eſſex's *Luſts made him a Friend to* Northampton *and* Suffolk, *tho' he was but a Servant to* Car.

*A.D.*1609. Being ſupported by theſe Counſellors, to uſe the Archdeacon's excellent Words, the King join'd with *Henry* the IVth of *France* in the Mediation of a Peace between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*. The Account he gives us of this Negotiation is alone a ſufficient Proof of the Inconſiſtency of his Panegyricks on King *James*'s Wiſdom with the Truth, and even with his own Relation of it. *P.* 386. *In this Treaty the States were acknowledg'd Free and Independent. This was the firſt Scene in which King* James *appear'd abroad, either as a Party or Moderator, ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne of* England; *and tho' the Treaty prov'd of extraordinary Conſequence, yet it is ſaid that his Part in it was as mean as that of the King of* France *was glorious; and his Conduct towards the States for whom he mediated, and towards* France *with whom he join'd, was quite different from the Methods and Maxims of his renown'd Predeceſſor.* So different, that even the Jeſuit *Orleans*, who writes on the *P.* 2. ſame ſide with Archdeacon *Echard*, owns ELIZABETH *had been a great* King, *and* JAMES *was a good* Queen. The Archdeacon proceeds: *For beſides ſeveral unuſual Condeſcentions to the* French *in the Perſons of their Ambaſſadors, which gave Foreigners a mean Idea of his Government, he was tax'd with being inſincere in the Treaty, which he appear'd to promote and encourage. And what Opinion the* French *Miniſters had of him in this Affair, appears from the printed Negotiation of* Jeannin, *the chief Agent for* France; *who in ſeveral Letters to the* French *King his Maſter wrote,* That King *James* was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the *Hollanders* for throwing off the Sovereignty of *Spain* upon the account of its bad Example. *In Anſwer to one of which Letters,* Henry IV. *whoſe Opinion of King* James *was never very great, own'd his Knowledge of that King's ill Intentions towards the States; and withal told* Jeannin, that his Carriage did not break his Sleep; *and concluded his Letter with an Expreſſion of Contempt rarely us'd among Princes of that Rank,* which has been already repeated. All this is ſaid of a Monarch, whom the ſame Reverend Hiſtorian a few Pages after characterizes in the moſt fulſome manner. *As to his Mind he has receiv'd the higheſt Applauſes and Commendations, that for Learning and Wiſdom he was the* Solomon *of the Age.* The *K.* James *not wiſe.* above-mention'd *Henry* IV. of *France* ſo term'd him, but not exactly in the ſame Words, nor with the ſame Meaning; for taken in a literal Senſe, he might as well have call'd him the *Hercules* of the Age. The Author of a Letter to King *State Tracts.* *William* has ſome judicious Reflections on his Majeſty's Wiſdom, the Subject of ſo much Eulogy in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. *His Thoughts ſeem'd to be ſet on his own Power, and the Flattery of the Court was more pleaſing to him than the general Intereſt of his Kingdom. He had got ſome* ſuperficial Skill *in the Arts and Sciences, and a profound Knowledge,* *A.D.*1609. *as he thought, in Divinity. He made his Court to the Clergy, that they being appriz'd of his great Learning might in their Writings celebrate his Fame; and truly they have not at all been deficient in ſuitable Returns. They inſinuated to the People his great Knowledge in all Sorts of divine and human Learning. Hereupon at his firſt coming to the Crown he induſtriouſly aſſiſted the* Biſhops *againſt the* Puritans; *for which they almoſt ador'd his deep Learning, comparing him to* Solomon. Sir *A. W.* of him: *He was crafty and cunning in petty things; inſomuch as a very wiſe Man was wont to ſay, he believ'd him the wiſeſt Fool in* Chriſtendom. *Welwood* ſpeaks of him thus: *He writ and ſpoke in a Stile that border'd too much upon Pedantry.* Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *his Reign in* England *was a continu'd Courſe of mean Practices. I have ſeen the Original of his Letters to the Prince and Duke in* Spain, *which ſhew a Meanneſs that renders him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of* England *had made in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time was ſo much eclips'd, if not quite darken'd, during this Reign, that King* James *was become the Scorn of the Age.* Now for Archdeacon *Echard: He knew how to catch the Inclinations of the People at the firſt Rebound, not ſuffering them to mount higher than he could reach them; nor grow ſo ſtrong, but he cou'd either alter or divert them. He had an admirable Pregnancy of Wit,* &c. It is too ſurfeiting to be repeated: *His Knowledge hath been by ſome thought fitter for the Head of a Society than the Governor of a Kingdom.* Why all this Panegyrick without Ground or Modeſty? We may be aſſur'd of the Reaſon from what the ſame Writer tells us; *He acted very laudably, and with great Reputation with reſpect to the* Eſtabliſh'd Church, *both as to the Settlement of the Revenues,* &c. Another ſuch Writer in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign having for the ſame good Reaſon given him the ſame Praiſe, an Hiſtorian who wrote the *Life* and *Reign* of King *Charles* the Iſt, animadverts upon it thus:

Why the Clergy call'd him ſo.

He is the Scorn of Age.

Printed by Reybold.

" With no Colour at all of Sincerity the Writer
" talks at random, palpably and ridiculouſly ren-
" dring King *James* for the only politick, peace-
" able and pious King of his Time. A Prince,
" as he wou'd have it believ'd, the *Paragon for*
" *his Wiſdom and Care,* the Fruits whereof no ra-
" tional Man cou'd ever yet diſcern; when the
" plain Truth was, the right Meaſure of his
" peaceable Reign was well known to all *Europe*
" to be the only Occaſion of all the After-Wars
" throughout *Germany*, and the Root of all thoſe
" of his Succeſſor throughout his Dominions.
" Thoſe in *Germany* to the utter Undoing of his
" Son-in-law the Elector *Palatine*. He ſat mu-
" ſing at home how to improve his Sovereignty,
" to deviſe Projects how to raiſe Moneys to ſatiate
" his needy and greedy *Scots* Courtiers by *Privy-*
" *Seals, Benevolences,* Sale of *Foreſt Lands, Woods,*
" *Crown Lands,* &c. waſting treble the Treaſure
" in an idle Peace, which his Predeceſſor the
" Queen ſpent in a continu'd foreign War".

I have enlarg'd here on King *James*'s Character, that the Reader might take it along with him thro' the Sequel of his Reign, and comparing it with his Actions, be convinc'd of the Truth of it, tho' directly contrary to the Writings of ſome Eccleſiaſticks.

While his Majeſty's Actions were ſo laudable to the Church of *England*, he condemn'd the *Dutch* for defending themſelves againſt Popery and a *Spaniſh* Inquiſition. We ſhall be oblig'd frequently to obſerve, that Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, in Return for the Care King *James* took of their *Revenues*, complimented him with a divine, unlimited Prerogative; of which he was extremely fond, and left an Example of arbitrary Government to his Son, which ended in the moſt terrible Cataſtrophe that is to be met with in any Hiſtory. In ſe-

veral

*A.D.*1609. veral of his Proclamations, and moſt of his Speeches, he gives Intimation of his good Diſpoſition to abſolute Power, as in his Proclamation of the 8th of *May*, prohibiting all foreign Nations to fiſh on the *Britiſh* Coaſt without Licenſes. *Tho' we do ſufficiently know by our Experience in the Office of Regal Dignity, (in which by the Favour of Almighty God we have been plac'd, and exercis'd theſe many Years) how far the Abſoluteneſs of ſovereign Power extendeth; and that in regard thereof we need not yield Account to any Perſon under God for any Action of ours.* What is moſt ſtrange in this is, that a Prince ſhould have ſo ſtrong an Appetite for Power, who, according to *Henry* IV. of *France*, had ſo little Capacity to make uſe of it.

Licenſes for fiſhing were to be taken out at *London* and *Edinburgh* every Year, and Commiſſioners were appointed to grant them. But this Proclamation had no great Effect; and indeed Proclamations were too common in this Reign to be ſo much reſpected as they were in Q. *Elizabeth*'s.

P. 116. *Echard* remembers this Proclamation for the Fiſhery, to ſhew his Majeſty's wiſe Adminiſtration and paternal Care of his People; whereas if we may believe Sir *Edward Peyton*, it was all Grimace: *For he took a ſmall Rate only of the* Hollanders, *and granted them the Iſle of* Lewis *in* Scotland, *and other Iſles in* Ireland *to dry their Fiſh, by which they have enrich'd themſelves above* 40 *Millions Sterling. He alſo permitted the* French *to fiſh on the Coaſt of* England, *who carry'd away the very Earth and Spawn of the Fiſh of* Roches, Gurnet, Cunger *and* Hadduck *to* Diep; *where they have abundance, and we want.* The Proclamation to confiſcate all foreign *Allum* was a very conſiderable one in the Opinion of the Reverend Hiſtorian, that Commodity having been brought to Perfection in *England* by Sir *John Bourchier*.

His Reign mean, and without Action. P. 50.

It is a moſt unpleaſant Labour to write a Hiſtory without Facts; or if any offer, they are ſuch as are not worthy Remembrance. Dr. *Fuller* ſays juſtly enough, *The Reign of King* James *was better for one to live under than to write, having nothing to entertain Poſterity.* The hiſtorical Archdeacon takes no notice of this Defect in all his Hiſtory of this King, which he writes with as much Pride and Pleaſure, as if he was writing the Reigns of *Edward* III. or *William* III.

Hiſt. Pays Bas.

About this Time, according to *Le Clerc*, the Account of the Debt owing from the States of the *United Provinces* to *England* was adjuſted 818408 *l.* and the States engag'd to begin the Payment of it two Years after the Concluſion of the Peace; but a Truce being now concluded, King *James* was contented with the Payment of 40000 Florins, or about 3000 *l.* every ſix Months during the Truce; which wretched Bargain was obtain'd for the States by the good Management of *Barneveldt*, as he ſet forth in his Remonſtrance in 1618. The *States General* of the *United Provinces* ſome time after ſent *John de Bork* Penſionary of *Dort*, *Albert Vere* Penſionary of *Amſterdam*, *Elias Olden-Barneveldt* Penſionary of *Roterdam*, *Albert Joachim* Deputy of *Zeland*, Ambaſſadors to King *James*. They arriv'd at *London* the 24th of *April*, and had Audience the 27th. They had afterwards Conferences with the Miniſters about the Proclamation which the King had publiſh'd concerning the *Dutch* Fiſhery on the *Britiſh* Coaſts; to which theſe Ambaſſadors alledg'd, they had a Right according to the *fourth* Article of the Treaty concluded with the Archduke *Philip*, Sovereign of the *Netherlands* in 1495. In effect the King ſuſpended the Execution of his Proclamation, and knighted the Ambaſſadors; ſo very well pleas'd was he with the Payment of the Florins before-mention'd.

Makes a wretched Bargain with the Dutch.

Ibid.

*A.D.*1610. The Reverend Hiſtorian opens the next Year with another of King *James*'s peaceful Triumphs in the Perſon of his Son Prince *Henry*, who was belov'd by every Native of *Great Britain* better than by his Father. He diſcover'd ſo much of an heroick Genius, that it gave Occaſion for Suſpicion, which ought never to enter into Hiſtory; and therefore I omit what Sir *Edward Peyton* ſays of his Birth, and what the Lord *Sinclair* ſaid at the Court of *Denmark*. He was much given to Tiltings, Barriers, and other martial Exerciſes on Horſeback; while his Royal Father contented himſelf with hunting the timorous Hare. Sometimes the Sport was more generous, as a Stag-Chace, in which the young Prince accompany'd him; and it is ſaid the King conceiv'd the firſt Jealouſy of him at the End of ſuch a Chace: For the Stag being kill'd 15 Miles from the Place where they were to lodge, the King did not care to go ſo far, and took up his Quarters much ſhort of it. But the Prince reſolving to lye where they firſt intended, went forward, and took away with him almoſt all the Company, who attended him out of Affection and Reſpect, and left only ſuch Attendants with the King, as were oblig'd by the Duty of their Offices to attend him. The Prince was now ſixteen Years of Age; and the King, either to raiſe Money, or do his Son Honour, receiv'd an Aid of his Subjects for the Prince's Knighthood. *And to add new Splendor to this glorious Youth,* continues the Archdeacon with his wonted Eloquence, "he "not long after created him Prince of *Wales* after "this ſolemn manner: *Garter* King at Arms bore "the Letters Patents, the Earl of *Suſſex* the Robes "of Purple Velvet, the Earl of *Huntington* the "Train, the Earl of *Cumberland* the Sword, the "Earl of *Derby* the Rod, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* "the Cap and Coronet. The Earls of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* ſupported the Prince, "who was only in his Surcoat and bare-headed. "Being conducted to the King, and attended by "25 Knights of the *Bath* of eminent Families, Secretary *Salisbury* read the Letters Patents, while the "Prince continu'd upon his Knees before the "King, and at the accuſtom'd Words the King "inveſted him with the Robe, the Sword, the "Cap and Coronet, the Rod and Ring; and then "with a Kiſs the Ceremony ended". After this it was thought proper that he ſhould keep his Court by himſelf. It is worth mentioning, that in this Seſſion of Parliament the King was pleas'd to command that the Lords and Commons ſhould ſit together in the *Court of Requeſts*, the Lords ſitting on the right Hand by themſelves, and the Commons on the left Hand. The Prince's Tutor, Sir *Thomas Challoner*, was made his Chamberlain; Sir *Edward Philips* his Chancellor: And his Houſhold being eſtabliſh'd, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* was ſent to *Spain*, to treat with that King for his eldeſt Daughter to be a Wife for him; which never took Effect: and the Infanta was given in Marriage to *Lewis* XIII. the *French* King. But King *James*'s being baulk'd in this Treaty, did not diſcourage him from entring afterwards into a long and fruitleſs Negotiation at the ſame Court for the Marriage of his ſecond Son Prince *Charles* with a ſecond Infanta of *Spain*.

*A.D.*1610.

Prince Henry.

P. 28.

His Father jealous of him.

Elſing. 84.

The Murder of *Henry* IV. of *France* by Procurement of the Jeſuits, occaſion'd a Conſternation in the Court of *England*; and the King in a *Pannick* commanded by Proclamation, all *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits to quit the Kingdom, and all Papiſts not to come within ten Miles of *London*. The Oath of Allegiance was alſo reviv'd, and ſolemnly taken by both Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty's great Satisfaction. This Seſſion of Parliament began the 16th of *October*; and, ſays *Wilſon*, "though they were willing to ſecure their "Allegiance to the King out of Piety, yet they "were ſo ſtout, which he term'd obſtinate, that "they

*A.D.*1610. Coke, 64. "they wou'd not obey him in his Encroachments "upon the publick Liberty, which he began then "to practiſe; and the Parliament being willing to "diſcover by the Light of Law and Reaſon what "was the King's and what theirs, he diſſolv'd them "by Proclamation; ſetting forth, *That he had propos'd many things far differing the Graces and Favours of former Times both in Nature and Value, in Expectation of a good Concluſion, not only for the Supply of his Neceſſities, but for the Eaſe and Freedom of his Subjects; but theſe being the two laſt Seſſions little taken notice of,* &c. he put an End to the Seſſion. The Parliament had lately been very ſparing of their Subſidies. They had alſo complain'd of his governing by Proclamations, and of the *High Commiſſion Court*, where the Biſhops exercis'd an intolerable Tyranny; tho' *Echard* with his uſual Judgment and Sincerity tells us, it was a *Preſervation againſt Popery, and a Curb to the Lewdneſs of great Men*, when *Bancroft* beforemention'd was at the Head of it. *Wilſon* judges otherwiſe of it, and lets us know why it was complain'd of in Parliament thirty Years before it was aboliſh'd. *The* High Commiſſion Court *alſo began*
P. 46. *now to ſwell into a Grievance, every Man muſt conform to the* Epiſcopal *Way, and quit his Hold in Opinion or Safety. That Court was the Touchſtone to try whether Men were Metal for their Stamp; and if they were not ſoft enough to take ſuch Impreſſions as were put upon them, they were made malleable there, or elſe they cou'd not paſs current. This was the Beginning of that Miſchief, which when it came to a full Ripeneſs made ſuch a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms, as never will be got out of the Biſhops Lawn Sleeves.*

The Cauſers of the Civil War. This is the main of my Deſign. This ſhews who were really the Cauſe of the *Civil War*, and all the Blood and Treaſure that were conſum'd in it; tho' the Lord *Clarendon* has in vain endeavour'd to impoſe the quite contrary upon us, and load the *Presbyterians* with what the Biſhops were the Occaſion of. The *Thirtieth* of *January* Sermons, *Cathedral* Sermons, *Oxford* Lectures and Sermons contain little elſe; as contrary as it is to the plain Truth told us by Mr. *Wilſon*, who was contemporary with theſe things, and knew them and felt them, as did all good and ſober *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants.

A Speech of the King's. Before his Majeſty parted with this Parliament he made a Speech to them, wherein he enlarg'd again on the *high Prerogatives* of Royalty, he compar'd the Power of Kings to that of the Almighty: "For as God can create and deſtroy, make and "unmake at his Pleaſure; ſo Kings can give Life "and Death, judge all and be judg'd by none; "they can exalt low things and abaſe high things; "making the Subjects like Men at *Cheſs*, a Pawn "to take a *Biſhop* or a *Knight*.

To this Eloquence is added ſome Argument, which has juſt as much Strength as the other has Beauty.

"As it is Blaſphemy to diſpute with God, ſo it "is Sedition in Subjects to diſpute what a King "might do in the Height of his Power".

The very Eſſence of Wiſdom this, to talk thus before the moſt auguſt and the moſt free Aſſembly in the World; a great Body of Nobility and Gentry well read in the Conſtitution, and very tenacious of their Liberties, to be thus documented by a Prince, who in ſeven Years Reign had acquir'd no other Glory than the Conqueſts his Miniſters Spiritual and Temporal had made for him in the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion Courts*. Our hiſtorical Archdeacon aſſures us, this Speech had many *obliging Expreſſions*; but his Majeſty wou'd not ſtay to have the good Effects of the Obligations he had laid upon them. He informs us alſo that the Parliament paſs'd *many good Laws*.
P. 56. Dr. *Fuller* ſpeaking of this very Seſſion ſays, *It may be found in the Records, though it be loſt in the* Statute *Books, becauſe nothing was enacted.*

About this time dy'd Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, to whoſe Pride and Severity may be imputed all the Evils which occaſion'd the Murmurs in this and the following Reigns: The Prelates, who afterwards follow'd his Example, continuing the Grievances in the *High Commiſſion Court* as long as the Tyranny of that Court laſted, which was as long as it had a Being. Dr. *George Abbot* ſucceeded him in the See of *Canterbury*, and by his Piety and Prudence put a Stop for a while to the Rage of Perſecution, and a Calm ſucceeded the Storm in which periſh'd ſo many religious and conſcientious Proteſtants. *A.D.*1610. Dr. Abbot *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

By the Death of *William* Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, the Succeſſion to his Eſtates was like to have caus'd a general War in *Europe*. The Houſe of *Auſtria* eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Elector of *Saxony*, who pretended a Right to it by Virtue of a dormant Grant from the Emperor. Accordingly the Archduke *Leopold*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, ſeiz'd the City of *Juliers* in Prejudice of the Rights of the Elector of *Brandenburg* and Duke of *Newburgh*, who both had Pretenſions to the Succeſſion of *Cleves*. *Mary de Medicis*, then Queen Regent of *France*, was adviſ'd to ſupport the Pretenſions of *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh* in Oppoſition to *Saxony*, who was ſupported by the Emperor. The States of the *United Provinces* were jealous of any new Acceſſion of Power to the Crown of *Spain* in their Neighbourhood, and therefore declar'd for *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh*. King *James*, who had never yet ſuffer'd his military Sword to be drawn in any Quarrel, cou'd not in Honour let two Proteſtant Princes, *Brandenburgh* and *Newburgh*, be oppreſs'd, when the States had ſo generouſly offer'd to aſſiſt them. Thus was his Majeſty drawn into a kind of War, which laſted but a few Weeks: For *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* and *French* Troops, inveſted the City of *Juliers* the 18th of *July*, and had it ſurrender'd to him the firſt of *September*. Sir *Edward Cecil*, Brother to the Earl of *Salisbury*, commanded 4000 *Engliſh* at that Siege, who behav'd with great Gallantry very much to the Honour of the Nation. Sir *Hatton Cheek* was Lieutenant-General, between whom and one of his Captains Sir *Thomas Dutton* there happen'd a Diſpute, which ended in a Duel on *Calais* Sands, where Sir *Hatton Cheek* dy'd of his Wounds, and Sir *Thomas Dutton* with much Difficulty recover'd of his. After the Surrender of *Juliers*, the Princes of *Germany* met at *Cologne* to accommodate that Affair. The *French* Ambaſſador aſſiſted at this Congreſs, but the King of *England* was not concern'd in it. And indeed conſidering the little Good that came of it, his Honour was not touch'd by loſing that Negotiation. Cleves *and* Juliers. Vaſſor.

College at Chelſey. In this Year a Deſign was ſet on foot to erect a College at *Chelſea*, for a Provoſt and twenty Fellows, who were to employ their Studies in controverſial Learning, eſpecially in the Controverſy between Papiſts and Proteſtants. The College was built on a Piece of Ground call'd *Thame-Shot*, containing about ſix Acres, then in Poſſeſſion of *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, who ſold it for a Reſerv'd Rent of 7*l.* 10*s.* a Year. The King laid the firſt Stone, and gave all the Timber requiſite for the Building, which was fetch'd out of *Windſor-Foreſt*. His Majeſty alſo named the firſt Provoſt and Fellows; and the Parliament paſt an Act to enable them to *dig a Trench out of the River* Lee, *to erect Engines, Water-Works*, &c. to furniſh the City of *London* and Suburbs with Water, *the Revenue of which was to be for their perpetual Suſtentation*. There was a Brief for a Collection in all the Pariſhes of *England* to carry on the Work, and Dr. *Matthew Sutcliffe* Dean of *Exeter* gave 300*l.* a Year, and 4000*l.* in Money to endow it, which he rais'd by Contributions. Others alſo contributed largely to this Foundation, yet not ſufficient

*A.D.*1610. to make it lasting. His Majesty named the following Persons to be the first Provost and Fellows.

Provost and Fellows.

Dr. *Matthew Sutcliff* Dean of *Exeter*, Provost.

FELLOWS.

Dr. *Overal* afterwards Bishop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Morton* afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Abbot* afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Howson* afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Smith* afterwards Bishop of *Glouceſter*, Dr. *Fotherby* afterwards Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *John Spencer* Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College, Dr. *William Covitt*, Dr. *Richard Field* Canon of *Windſor*, Dr. *John Layfield*, Dr. *Benjamin Charrier*, Dr. *John Boys*, Dr. *Richard Brett*, Dr *Peter Lilye*, Dr. *Francis Burley*, *William Hellyar* Archdeacon of *Barnſtable*, *John White* Fellow of *Mancheſter-College*: *William Cambden* Clarencieux, *John Haywood* L. L. D. Hiſtorians.

The beſt Reaſon that is given for the Obſtructions this Deſign met with, is in *Fuller*, The *Patriots in Parliament ſuſpected that this College wou'd be too much* Courtier; and tho' they conſented to an Act in its Favour, *they retarded Peoples Charities* when they return'd into their Countries by their private Inſtructions: And truly when we conſider how forward the Clergy were to advance the Authority Royal above the Laws, the Gentlemen of *England* might well be jealous of a Society ſet apart to preach and write in a manner as the King wou'd have them; or, what was ſtill worſe, as *Bancroft*, the main Inſtrument in this Matter, ſhou'd inſpire them. *Fuller* adds, *They conceiv'd this Foundation ſuperfluous, to keep Men to confute Popiſh Opinions by Writings, whilſt the Maintainers of them were every where conniv'd at and countenanc'd, and the Penal Laws not put in any effectual Execution againſt them.* Thus do we ſee that his Majeſty's conſummate Wiſdom and Care of the Proteſtant Religion, lay under Suſpicion in thoſe very Inſtances where he intended they ſhou'd be moſt conſpicuous. This College fell into Confuſion even in its Infancy, and at laſt was ſo entirely diſſolv'd, that in the Provoſtſhip of Dr. *Daniel Featly*, the third Provoſt, a good Part of the Eſtate with which it was endow'd by Dr. *Sutcliff*, was decreed back by the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, to Mr. *Halce*, *Sutcliff*'s Heir general; and the Lord *Munſon*, who marry'd the Counteſs Dowager of *Nottingham*, on whom the Site of the College was ſettled for Life, ſued for it, and 40 Years after recover'd it. He ſold it to Duke *Hamilton*, by whoſe Delinquency it fell to the State, and conſequently to the Crown, and is now the Spot on which ſtands the Royal Hoſpital of Invalids, the moſt magnificent and beautiful of any in *Europe*.

K. James *connives at Popery.*

Now it was that the *Eaſt-India* Company got their Pattent to be renew'd and enlarg'd. They built a great Merchant-Ship of 1200 Ton, call'd the *Trade's-Increaſe*. The King and Prince *Henry* went aboard it, and were entertain'd by Sir *Thomas Smith* Governor of the Company, to whom his Majeſty gave a fair Chain of Gold, with a Jewel, in which was his Picture. This Ship was caſt away on the Coaſt of *Batavia* in her firſt Voyage. The King himſelf built alſo a very large Ship, the largeſt that had till then been ſeen in *England*. As poor as theſe Events are, they are far from being the pooreſt in the Compoſition of King *James*'s Hiſtory.

His Hiſtory poor.

There were at this Time three Courts kept with the utmoſt Splendor, and at an immenſe Charge; the King's at *Whitehall*, the Queen's at *Somerſet-Houſe*, which ſhe fain wou'd have had to be called *Denmark-Houſe*, the Prince's at *St. James*'s. The latter was ſo frequented by the moſt noble Youth, that it appear'd always as full, but more gay than the King's.

*A.D.*1611. His Majeſty was never without a Favourite, whom he was wont to careſs and fondle in a manner which gave Offence to the moſt religious and chaſte of his Attendants. Sir *Edward Peyton* ſays, *He wou'd tumble and kiſs them as a Miſtreſs.* The Earl of *Montgomery*, younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was the firſt *Engliſh* Man who was in ſpecial Favour with him; as it is ſaid his elder Brother the Earl of *Pembroke* was with the Queen. He made *Montgomery* Knight of the *Garter*, and 'tis thought he might have got much more by the Affection the King had for him, if he had more minded his Majeſty's Pleaſures, and his own leſs. *Hay* Earl of *Carliſle* took Advantage of *Montgomery*'s Negligence, and ſupply'd his Place always when he was wanting: However, the King never ſhook off *Montgomery*, but to his Death gave him as many Marks of his Good-will as the Earl ſeem'd to deſire.

*A.D.*1611. *P.* 31.

His Minions.

It is a general Opinion, that the *Scots* gather'd in the Harveſt of his Majeſty's Bounty, and that the *Engliſh* had only the Gleanings; which however is ſo far from Truth, that three or four *Engliſh* Peculators in this Reign, got more than the whole *Scots* Nation, excepting the Earl of *Dunbar*, who in nine Years time did not receive above 20000 Pounds in ready Money. The Earl of *Montgomery*, and the Earl of *Dunbar*, were both forced to give way this Year to a new Favourite *Robert Car* a young *Scots* Gentleman, who came into *England* with the King as one of his Pages; but when, according to the Cuſtom of the *Engliſh* Court, Footmen were appointed to walk by the King's Coach inſtead of Pages, *Robert Car* went to travel, and liv'd ſome Years in *France*, where he acquir'd that Elegance of Breeding, which had a particular Charm with King *James*. Mr. *Wilſon* ſays *he was a Man of no Parts nor Birth*; in which he injures him, for he was of as antient a Family in *Scotland* as moſt in that Kingdom, and his Father had ſo eminently ſerv'd the Crown, that when, in the Cataſtrophe of his Fortune, he apply'd to his Majeſty for Relief, he makes uſe of his Father's Services as an Argument to plead for him. As his Parts were not the moſt extenſive, ſo neither were they contemptible for his Age, being ſcarce twenty Years old when the King took him firſt into Favour upon this Occaſion. On the *Coronation*-Day, there was a Tournament to be at the *Tiltyard*, and Mr. *Car* riding in with Sir *John Preſton*, Lord *Dingwell*, his Horſe fell with him, and broke his Leg. He was immediately carry'd to Mr. *Rider*'s Houſe at *Charing-Croſs*; and the King being inform'd of the Accident, went thither to viſit him as ſoon as the Tilting was over. Pity has a very eaſy Paſſage to Love. Mr. *Car*'s Youth, Beauty, ſoft Temper, and engaging Air, ſo won the Heart of the King, that he continu'd to viſit him daily, and took all Care for his Recovery, which was retarded by the great Number of People of Quality, who, following the King's Example, crowded to ſee him, and make their court to him. His Majeſty commanded a Reſtraint upon thoſe Viſits, that he might not ſpend his Spirits He was no ſooner well, than he appear'd at *Whitehall*, as it were, in the Arms of the King, and all the Courtiers ador'd this Riſing-Sun, who was knighted and made Gentleman of the Bedchamber. His Majeſty himſelf inſtructed him in the *Latin* Tongue, which he attain'd ſo perfectly as to write the King's Diſpatches in it. His good Fortune was the leſs envy'd, for that he ſhew'd more Kindneſs to the *Engliſh* than to his own Countrymen, having no Friends nor Servants but were *Engliſh*. The Earl of *Dunbar* dying ſoon after, Sir *Robert Car* was made Lord High-Treaſurer of *Scotland*. This Staff was follow'd by the Garter of *England*, with the Title of Baron of *Branſpeth* and Viſcount *Rocheſter*; *Charles* Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Arundel*, being at the ſame time inveſted with that moſt noble Order to do the Favourite the more Honour. The Perſon for

Sir A. W. *p.* 58.

Robert Car's *Riſe.*

*A.D.*1611. whom the Viſcount *Rocheſter* had moſt Affection, was Mr. *Thomas Overbury*, a Gentleman of the *Temple*, who left the Study of the Law to ſhare the Fortunes of the new Favourite, whoſe quick Riſe, and the King's immoderate Love for him, cou'd not but raiſe the Indignation of Prince *Henry*, which was inflam'd by a little Jealouſly, that *Rocheſter* was better than himſelf with the young Counteſs of *Eſſex*, of whom we ſhall ſay much in the Sequel of our Hiſtory.

The King complains of Vorſtius's *Book.*

It was in this Year that King *James* met with a Book of *Conradus Vorſtius*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Leyden*, intitl'd *Exegeſis Apologetica*, and dedica to the States. His Majeſty wou'd not loſe the Opportunity to ſhew his Skill in Divinity; and having read that Book, he diſpatch'd his Commands to Sir *Ralph Winwood* his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to complain to the *States-General* of certain blaſphemous Tenents and atheiſtical Notions which he had diſcover'd in it; and to deſire that he might not be elected *Divinity* Reader in the Univerſity of *Leyden*. It ſeems *Vorſtius* had publickly recanted his ſceptical Opinions, and had been a Profeſſor fifteen Years in the County of *Tecklenburgh* in *Germany*, which firſt threw off the *Papal* Yoke in the Empire. He was recommended by the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; and the *States* wrote to the King, that the Univerſity of *Leyden* had ſent for him out of his own Country by that Prince's Recommendation. Prince *Maurice* alſo ſeconded the *States* Letter, and *Vorſtius* was advanc'd to the Profeſſor's Chair, notwithſtanding his Majeſty threaten'd to ſeparate from the Union with the *Dutch* Proteſtant Churches if he was choſen. Sir *Ralph Winwood* deliver'd to the *States-General* a Memorial againſt the Election of *Vorſtius*; which having no more Effect than his other Negotiations, he made a ſolemn Proteſtation, which clos'd thus: *His Majeſty is ſo ſenſible of the Violation of his Alliance with them, that if Reparation be not ſpeedily made, he will further declare it in Print*; which accordingly he did, and fell upon *Vorſtius*'s Books, with as much Succeſs as he had fall'n upon *Bellarmine*. The Profeſſor kept his Chair to his Death, which happen'd not long after. Men of Senſe thought this unequal Controverſy below the Majeſty of a Monarch; and had it ſucceeded better, 'twou'd have been but a poor Triumph for the King of *Great-Britain* to have been too hard for a *German* Pedant.

Sand. *p.* 363.

Wightman *burnt.*

King *James* came off more glorioufly in an Affair of the like Nature in *England*; for one *Edward Wightman* having broach'd erroneous Doctrine in *Warwickſhire* and other Places, he was proſecuted by *Neile* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, who was afterwards queſtion'd in Parliament, and canonically condemn'd by him. Upon which the King iſſu'd his Warrant to the Sheriff of *Litchfield* to burn *Wightman* in that City, which was executed. About the ſame Time Dr. *King* Biſhop of *London*, proſecuted one *Bartholomew Legat* in like manner, and condemn'd him according to the Canons of Holy Church: Upon which a like Warrant was directed by the King to the Sheriffs of *London*, Sir *Edward Barkham* and *John Smith* Eſq; to burn *Legat* in *Smithfield*, and he was burnt accordingly. *Fuller* tells us, *He was excellently ſkill'd in Scripture, and his Converſation very unblameable.* How prepoſterous, how monſtrous does it ſeem for a Prince, whoſe Converſation was very blameable, to put a Man to Death for a Principle only, which he himſelf had often diſcours'd with him about? *Legat* deny'd the *Divinity of our Saviour in the Terms* of the *Athanaſian* and other Creeds. When he was brought before Biſhop *King* and his Brethren in the Conſiſtory of St. *Paul's*, he diſown'd their Authority, which, tho' a heinous Crime, did not deſerve *Burning*. He continu'd firm in his Opinions, and his Death was not ſo well taken by the People, as to induce the King to let the Biſhops make more ſuch Examples. *He preferr'd*, ſays *Fuller*, *that Hereticks hereafter, tho' condemn'd, ſhould ſilently and privately waſte themſelves away in Priſon, rather than to amuſe others with the Solemnity of a publick Execution.* *Thomas Sutton*'s Hoſpital may be thought too particular an Event for a *General Hiſtory*; yet the general Good that has accru'd by it to Perſons of all Ranks in this Kingdom, renders it worthy our Remembrance. This Gentleman *Thomas Sutton* Eſq; was in his younger Years a Soldier; he afterwards turn'd Merchant, and the Tradition is, that he found in the Hold of a Pyrate Ship purchas'd by him, a prodigious Sum of Money, which by Uſury produc'd that vaſt Treaſure which enabled him to endow his Hoſpital with twenty Manors, to the Value of 8000 *l.* a Year, beſides 13000 *l.* which he paid the Earl of *Suffolk* for the *Charter-houſe*, and 10000 *l.* he laid out in Building. His Foundation was for 80 decay'd Gentlemen, Soldiers and Merchants, and 40 Boys; in whoſe School has been bred ſome of the moſt eminent Wits and Scholars of our Age. The Founder dy'd the 12th Day of *December* 1611, which is an Anniverſary Feſtival at the *Charter-houſe*.

A.D. 1611.

Sutton's *Hoſpital.*

Baronets created.

This Year, tho' *Wilſon* and after him *Echard* places it in the Year 1614, was the Order of Knights Baronets eſtabliſh'd. The Pretence was to raiſe Money to maintain Forces in the Province of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*. Every Gentleman who purchas'd this Honour, paid down 1095 Pounds in three yearly Payments, for the Maintenance of thirty Foot Soldiers; and it has been cuſtomary for thoſe Knights who have ſince been admitted into this Order by the King's Favour without Money, to have a Receipt endors'd on their Patent for the above-mention'd Sum, to be appropriated to the ſame Uſes; and for Want of ſuch Endorſement, King *Charles* II. in Reſentment of ſome Misbehaviour, as 'twas term'd, of certain Baronets, compell'd them to pay the 1095 Pounds, as particularly Sir *Thomas Pope Blount* of *Hertfordſhire*. Of the firſt ten Baronets, no leſs than ſix Families are now enobled. Sir *Richard Molineux* Lord Viſcount *Molineux* in *Ireland*; Sir *Thomas Manſel* Lord *Manſel*; Sir *Francis Leak* Earl of *Scarſdale*; Sir *Thomas Pelham* Duke of *Newcaſtle*; Sir *John St. John* Lord *St. John*; Sir *John Savage* Earl *Rivers*. The King promis'd to make but 200, which induc'd many honourable Perſons to buy this *Knighthood*, it being to be hereditary in their Families; and every Knight was to poſſeſs Lands to the Value of at leaſt 1000 Pounds a Year; but both the Number and Value of the Knights were ſoon broke in upon by King *Charles* I. tho' King *James* did not exceed 204. Theſe Knights brought him in 200000 Pounds, which enabled him to be ſo prodigal in his Bounty to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, to whom he gave 20000 Pounds at one time, and would have given him another 20000 Pounds, had it not been for *Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, and Lord-Treaſurer, who imputing this Prodigality to his Majeſty's not knowing the juſt Value of ſo many *Engliſh* Pounds, a twelfth Part of which would make 20000 Pounds *Scotch*, ſo order'd the Matter, that the King ſhou'd paſs thro' the Room where the Treaſure was laid on four Tables, 5000 Pounds on a Table, to be carry'd thence to *Car*. His Majeſty ſtarted at the Sight of ſo much Money, and ask'd *What it was to do?* The Treaſurer reply'd, *'Tis your Gift to Sir* Robert Car. *Swounds, Mon*, the King's uſual Oath, *'tis too much, let* 5000 *Pounds ſerve his Turn*. His Majeſty rais'd Money by ſelling all Sorts of Honours. *A Knight-Batchelor* 300 Pounds, an *Engliſh Baron* 10000 Pounds, an *Engliſh Viſcount* 15000 Pounds, an *Engliſh Earl* 20000 Pounds. Vaſt Sums were collected by Compoſitions for defective Titles and Aſſart Lands, for Prince *Henry*'s Knighthood, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*'s Marriage, by Benevolences, Privy-Seals never repaid, Sales of Mannors,

And Legat *p.* 62.

Mean Ways of raiſing Money.

Coke, *p.* 66.

*A.D.*1611. Manors and Fee-Farm Rents, which were waſted as extravagantly as they were acquir'd illegally. The King being one Day in the Gallery at *Whitehall* with no body near him but *Henry Rich* afterwards Earl of *Holland*, and *James Maxwell* of the Bedchamber, ſaw ſome Porters paſs by with 3000 *l.* for the Privy Purſe; *Rich* whiſpering *Maxwell*, his Majeſty turn'd upon them, and cry'd, *What ſaid he*, Maxwell? The latter reply'd, *He wiſh'd that Money was his.* The King ſaid, *Marry ſhalt thou have it*, Harry; and commanded the Porters to carry it to his Lodgings, with this Expreſſion, *think you have a great Purchaſe, but I am better pleas'd with giving than you can be with receiving it.*

*A.D.*1612. *L.* Sanquir *hang'd.* The Execution of the Lord *Sanquir*, a *Scots* Peer, for the Murder of *John Turner* a Fencing-Maſter, is recorded as a tranſcendent Act of Juſtice; and we will not leſſen the Merit of it, by imagining that the Inſolence of the *Scots*, which was then a crying Grievance, contributed to the fulfilling of it on the Perſon of this Lord who was hang'd. *Sanquir* was at *Turner*'s Fencing-School ſome Years before, and valuing himſelf on his own Skill thought to put an Affront on *Turner*'s. The latter parry'd ſo dextrouſly with the Baron, that he puſh'd out one of his Eyes. The Lord *Sanquir* being ſome time after at the Court of *France*, King *Henry* IV. ask'd him, *How he loſt his Eye?* The Baron reply'd, *'Twas done by a Sword.* And *does the Man live who did it?* ſaid the King. Which ſo awaken'd the Lord *Sanquir*'s Revenge, that coming to *England*, himſelf, one *Gray* and *Carliſle*, two of his Countrymen, went to *Turner*'s Houſe in *Blackfriars*, and with Piſtols ſhot him dead. They were all three taken, try'd, condemn'd, and executed; the Lord *Sanquir* at *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, and the others at *Tyburn*. One *Ramſay*, a *Scotſman*, had lately ſwitch'd the Earl of *Montgomery* at a Horſe-race, and he tamely bore it, tho' he was much intreated to reſent the Affront by the *Engliſh* who were then in Company. *Sanderſon* aſſures us, *Montgomery* by his Tameneſs loſt the Favour of King *James*, *who*, ſays he, *hated a Coward.* Which are both falſe: the King did not hate a Coward, nor did *Montgomery* loſe his Favour.

Car's *Friendſhip to* Overbury. We have mention'd the great Friendſhip and Intimacy between Sir *Robert Car*, now Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas Overbury*; for he had now receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood, and was look'd upon as a Man who cou'd do any thing at Court by means of his Friend *Car*. Accordingly Addreſſes were made to him by Men of much ſuperior Condition; and the moſt Noble and Powerful thought they cou'd not make a better Uſe of their Intereſt than by obliging Sir *Thomas Overbury*. His Father, *Nicholas Overbury*, Eſq; was made a Judge in *Wales*, and himſelf was offer'd a Poſt of Honour and Profit; which he ſlighted, as having Aims higher than any of thoſe Offers, his Friendſhip with *Rocheſter* making him in a manner Maſter of all the Places the King had to diſpoſe of. The Earl of *Salisbury* to ſtrengthen his Family had made an Alliance with the Houſe of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldeſt Son the Lord *Cranburn* to the Lady *Catharine Howard*, eldeſt Daughter to the Earl of *Suffolk*. The youngeſt Daughter, Lady *Frances Howard*, was about thirteen Years of Age, and *Salisbury* to ingratiate himſelf with the young Earl of *Eſſex*, then almoſt fourteen Years old, to whoſe Father he had been a fatal Enemy, negotiated a Match between him and the Lady *Frances*; which was accompliſh'd, and the Earl went to travel, till both himſelf and his Counteſs were of a mature Age to conſummate their Nuptials. The young Lady was in her Bloom, and her Beauty attracted the Eyes of all the Youth of the Court. It made an Impreſſion on the Heart of Prince *Henry*: but ſhe was too fond of making Conqueſts, to preſerve that glorious one.

Earl of Eſſex *marries Lady* Frances Howard.

*A.D.*1612. The Counteſs, who was under the Influence of her Mother, appear'd in all her Charms to captivate the Favourite *Rocheſter*, by whoſe Intereſt ſhe and her Family flatter'd themſelves they ſhou'd reap more ſolid Advantages than by a Dream of being belov'd by the Prince; who obſerving ſhe met *Rocheſter* in his Approaches to her, beſtow'd on the Lady a Portion of the Contempt he had conceiv'd for her Lover. As he was once dancing with the Ladies, the young Counteſs letting her Glove fall, it was taken up and preſented to him by a Courtier, who thought it wou'd have been an agreeable Preſent; but the Prince refus'd it, ſaying, *I will not have what another has ſtretch'd.* The Earl of *Eſſex* was three or four Years upon his Travels, and then return'd with impatient Deſire to poſſeſs that Beauty which was his own by the Laws of God and Man. He found her ſo little inclin'd to receive his Love, that ſhe induſtriouſly avoided him, as one reſolv'd to be for ever a Stranger to his Bed. The injur'd Lord took it for a maiden Shineſs, which wou'd wear off with Time; but his Impatience thinking every Minute an Age till ſhe knew the Duty of a Wife, he apply'd to her Father the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was not acquainted with her Undutifulneſs, and deſir'd him to reduce his Daughter to conjugal Obedience, he having no Diſtruſt of his Ability or Vigor in the Performance of the Duty of a Husband. The Earl of *Suffolk* oblig'd the Counteſs of *Eſſex* to cohabit with him; who ſoon after their Cohabitation was ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper of a poiſonous Nature, which brought him ſo near the Grave, that it had like to have been his Marriage-Bed. This Poiſon was ſuppos'd to be given him by Procurement of the Counteſs, it having a Quality which diſabled him in the Enjoyment of her, that ſhe might reſerve herſelf entirely for the Viſcount *Rocheſter*, now Earl of *Somerſet*. Her wicked Counſellor and Aſſiſtant was one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Phyſick's Widow, who carry'd her to one Dr. *Foreman*, a pretended Conjurer, who by waxen Images, Philters and Drugs promis'd to captivate and invigorate *Somerſet*, and at the ſame time debilitate *Eſſex*. But in the midſt of all her wanton Hopes, ſhe is flung into the deepeſt Deſpair by being carry'd down to *Chartley Caſtle* in *Staffordſhire*, where it was thought ſhe might be wean'd from the Follies of the Town, and reconcil'd to a very fond and a very faithful Husband; which had a contrary Effect. *Chartley* was 100 Miles from her Happineſs. 'Twas in the pleaſanteſt Seaſon of the Year; yet ſhe ſhut herſelf up in her Chamber, and liv'd in perpetual Darkneſs. She never ſtirr'd out of it but in the Dead of Night; and her Behaviour to her Husband was ſuch as might make him as weary of her as ſhe was of him; yet he bore all her Slights without murmuring for ſome Months; but at laſt his Patience was quite worn out, and he wou'd break out into a little Paſſion; which ſhe preſently repreſented to her Father and Uncle the Earl of *Northampton*, as an intolerable Sowreneſs of Temper, which made her Life a Burthen to her, and render'd her the moſt unhappy of Women. Her wicked Confidents furniſh'd her with Compoſitions to make her Husband impotent; and when the Effects ſhew'd their Power, ſhe ſeem'd ready to admit of his Embraces; but as ſoon as by Abſence he recover'd Spirits, ſhe grew refractory, and wou'd not ſuffer him to enjoy her. Thus did they live together for ſome time; he in the Torment of ſlighted Love, and ſhe in the Rage of adulterous Luſt: In which ſad State we muſt a while leave them to continue our Hiſtory.

She poiſons him.

Hates him.

Mary Q. *of* Scots *rebury'd with Pomp.* The King had been ten Years in *England* before he remov'd his Mother's Corpſe from *Peterborough* to *Weſtminſter* Abbey, where ſhe was bury'd with much Pomp and Expence. If ſhe was really

*A.D.*1612. ly privy to the Murther of his Father, as is generally allow'd, there was no Reaſon for ſuch expenſive Honours to be paid to her Remains, which had been about 30 Years rotting in a Grave. Many Noblemen, and eſpecially Biſhops, aſſiſted at this Ceremony. Her having been a bigotted Papiſt, an inveterate Enemy to the belov'd Queen *Elizabeth*, a marry'd Wife to the Murtherer of her Husband, and a contracted Wife to another in the Life-time of that Murtherer, her dying without any Signs of Contrition for ſo many enormous Crimes, were of no Weight with theſe Prelates againſt her being Mother to the King, who had by Inſpiration pleaded their Cauſe ſo ſtoutly at *Hampton-Court*.

Shirley *the* Perſian *Ambaſſador.*

On the 26th of *June* arriv'd at *London* Sir *Robert Shirley*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Perſia* to King *James*. There were three Brothers, Sons of Sir *Thomas Shirley* of *Wiſton* in *Suſſex*, who were all three knighted, as Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, and this Sir *Robert Shirley*. The elder Brother Sir *Thomas* was the laſt of the three who put themſelves upon Adventures in foreign Parts. The ſecond Brother Sir *Anthony Shirley* went firſt, and ſerv'd with Sir *Philip Sidney* in the *Low Countries*. He was knighted by the Earl of *Eſſex* in *Ireland*, made a Voyage to *America*, enter'd into the Service of the King of *Spain*, who gave him a conſiderable Command in his Fleet; and King *James* recalling him, he diſobey'd his Mandate, and was number'd among the *Engliſh* Fugitives. He behav'd well in the *German* Wars, for which the Emperor created him a *Count of the Holy Empire*. He alſo travell'd into *Perſia*, and paſs'd thro' *Ruſſia* to the *Caſpian* Sea, which himſelf wrote an Account of. He liv'd in *Spain* to a great Age. Sir *Robert Shirley* was taken into Favour by the King of *Perſia*, who gave him his Niece in Marriage; and that ſhe turn'd Chriſtian, appears by admitting a Son ſhe was deliver'd of in *England* to be baptiz'd, the Queen being Godmother and Prince *Henry* Godfather. Sir *Thomas Shirley* the elder Brother hearing of the Succeſs of his two younger Brothers in their Travels, left his aged Father and a fair Inheritance in *Suſſex* to ſhare with them in the like Honours. But his Fortune was not equal with theirs, and his Voyages only qualify'd him to write a Book of them. The Travels of theſe three Knights were the Subject of a Comedy, entitul'd, *The Travels of three* Engliſh *Brothers*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Anthony*, and Sir *Robert Shirley*. The latter before he came to *England* had been ſent Ambaſſador from the King of *Perſia* to *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*. He ſtaid about a Year in *England*, and then leaving his Son behind him took ſhipping with his Lady for *Perſia*. The Grandſon of Sir *Thomas Shirley* was that Dr. *Shirley*, whoſe Diſpute with Sir *John Fogg* caus'd a Diviſion between the Two Houſes of Parliament in King *Charles* the IId's Reign. Archdeacon *Echard*, who is very fond of Stories of Ghoſts, Apparitions, Blazing Stars, and every thing that has the *marvellous* in it, ſpeaks of theſe three Brothers, as of Perſons whoſe Adventures were an Ornament to the Hiſtory of King *James*, whereas they are to be noted for nothing but their rambling Heads. The *Dutch* who judg'd ſoberly of Sir *Robert Shirley*, look'd upon him as a Tool of the King of *Spain*'s, in whoſe Court he had made ſome Stay before he arriv'd in *Holland*; where he gave out he had a Commiſſion from the King of *Perſia* to treat with the *States General* about a War with the *Turks*; but *Shirley* producing no Letters from the Sophi *Scha Abas* I. authoriſing him to enter into a Treaty with them, the *States*, ſays *Le Clerc*, *refus'd to give him Audience, ſuſpecting he was ſuborn'd by the* Spaniards, tho' Shirley brought a Wife with him whom he had marry'd in *Perſia*.

Purch.

We are now coming to the End of a Life, which was the moſt valuable to the *Engliſh* of any other in the World, that of their darling Prince *Henry*, whoſe admirable Qualities, as they endear'd him to all good *Engliſhmen*, ſo they render'd him terrible to their Enemies. He was adorn'd with Wiſdom and Piety above his Years, had Strength and Agility of Body equal to any Man, was of an heroick Diſpoſition, and an Hater of Flatterers and Flatteries; which made him reject the Courtſhip of *Rocheſter* with Diſdain, not once giving him any Countenance, or admitting him into his Company. We are told as an Inſtance of his Piety, Coke, 71. that being once a Stag-hunting, and the Stag when he was almoſt ſpent croſſing the Road where a Butcher was travelling with his Dog, the Dog kill'd the Stag, which was ſo large the Butcher cou'd not carry it off. When the Prince and his Company came up, the latter did what they cou'd to incenſe him againſt the Butcher; to whom the Prince mildly reply'd, *What if the Butcher's Dog kill'd the Stag, the Butcher cou'd not help it.* The Company ſaid, *If your Father had been ſo ſerv'd, he wou'd have ſworn ſo that no Man cou'd have endur'd it.* The Prince anſwer'd, *All the Pleaſure in the World is not worth an Oath.* If *Echard* cou'd produce ſo pious an Expreſſion that came from the Mouths of his *Beckets*, his *Lauds*, and his other Saints, we ſhou'd have a much better Opinion of them than we have at preſent. This being a tacit Rebuke of the King his Father's prophane ſwearing, to which he was extremely addicted, was thought to have made ill Blood on the King's Side. The *French* Ambaſſador coming once to take his Leave of the Prince, and asking what Service he had to command him to his Maſter? *Tell him*, ſays the Prince, *what I am doing.* He was then toſſing a Pike. 'Twas a generous Saying of his concerning Sir *Walter Raleigh*, for whom he had a high Eſteem, *No King but my Father wou'd keep ſuch a Bird in a Cage* His Court was more frequented than his Majeſty's, and by another Sort of Men, the moſt religious and worthy Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Years, agreeable to his own; which the King being often told of, he was heard to ſay, *Will he bury me alive?* The Prince, as all generous Minds ever do, abhorr'd Perſecution for Conſcience Sake, and had Compaſſion for the *Puritans*, who in Return expreſs'd a grateful Senſe of his Favour; and this is one Reaſon why his Highneſs's immature Death is not ſo much ſuſpected of foul Play by the rigid Eccleſiaſticks, as by Proteſtant Writers. Some who knew the Offence the Prince had taken at *Rocheſter*, and *Rocheſter*'s Reſentment of it, talk'd hardly of it, as if *Car* had got him poiſon'd, being afraid of his martial Spirit, tho' temper'd with as much Virtue as ever dwelt in human Breaſt. Sir *James Elphington* obſerving Prince *Henry*'s Averſion to *Car* offer'd to kill him; but the Prince reprov'd him with equal Piety and Gallantry, *If there was a Cauſe to juſtify it I wou'd do it myſelf.* And he ſaid once upon ſome Offence given him by *Rocheſter*, *If ever I am King I will not leave one of that Family unpuniſh'd*; meaning the *Howards*, who were of the Cabal with *Rocheſter*, and under Engagements to ſupport one another againſt all Oppoſers.

A.D. 1612. *Prince* Henry's *Death.*

His Highneſs was not ill above five Days. *Some ſay he was poiſon'd with a Bunch of Grapes*; others, *that it was with the Scent of poiſon'd Gloves.* After his Death he was open'd by the King's Command. The Phyſicians preſent at the Diſſection were Sir *Theodore Mayhern*, Dr. *Atkins*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Palmer*, Dr. *Gifford*, and Dr. *Butler*, who reported that his *Liver was pale, the Gall full of Wind, the Spleen black, the Lungs ſpotted with Corruption, the Midriff blackiſh, the Head full of Blood and Water, which was given out to clear the Suſpicion of Poiſon*; *as if*, ſays *Wilſon*, *no Venom cou'd produce ſuch Effects.* Sir *A. W.* writes, *Prince* P. 84.

*A.D.*1612. *Poiſon'd.* Henry *dy'd not without vehement Suſpicion of Poiſon; and I wiſh I cou'd ſay Suſpicion only.* Sir *Edward Coke,* Lord Chief Juſtice, ſaid on the Bench, *God knows what became of that ſweet Babe Prince* Henry; *but I know ſomewhat.* "Surely, ſays Sir *P.* 123. "*A. W.* ſearching the Cabinets *concerning* Over- "bury's *Murther,* he lighted on ſome Papers that "ſpake plain in that which was ever whiſper'd, "which had he gone on in a gentle way wou'd "have fall'n in of themſelves not to have been "prevented; but this Folly of his Tongue ſtopp'd "the Breath of the Diſcovery of that ſo foul a "Murder, which, I fear, cries ſtill for Vengeance". *P.* 27. Sir *Edward Peyton: Prince* Henry *falls mortally ſick of a ſuppos'd Fever, but not without Suſpicion of Poiſon.* And as to the Diſſection; *When he was cut up to be imbalm'd, his Brain was Liver-hu'd and putrify'd; an Argument of Poiſon as was affirm'd by a moſt learned Phyſician Dr.* Butler *of* Cambridge. *Welwood* judging by the Opinion of *Mayerne* and the other Doctors is doubtful in this Matter, but owns *it was the general Rumour at that time that this Prince was poiſon'd*; and adds, *P.* 20. "Whatever was in it, there is yet in Print a Ser- "mon preach'd at St. *James*'s upon the Diſſolu- "tion of his Family, which boldly inſinuated "ſome ſuch thing. And alſo Sir *Francis Bacon,* "Lord Chancellor of *England,* in his Speech at "the Trial of the Earl of *Somerſet,* had ſome Re- "flections upon the Intimacy of that Lord with "Sir *Thomas Overbury,* which ſeem to point that "way, inſomuch that there were ſeveral Expreſ- "ſions left out of the printed Copy that were in "the Speech". Biſhop *Burnet* writes thus of it: *Colonel* Titus *aſſur'd me, that he had it from King* Charles *the Firſt's own Mouth; He was well aſſur'd he was poiſon'd by the Earl of* Somerſet's *Means. Whether his Averſion to* Popery *haſten'd his Death or not, I cannot tell.* I think this melancholy Incident is the moſt fairly repreſented of any thing in Mr. *Echard*'s Hiſtory; for notwithſtanding Prince *Henry*'s Averſion to Popery and Affection to the *Puritans,* he ſeems to allow the Suſpicion of his being poiſon'd to be juſt.

The Death of this hopeful Prince made the whole Kingdom but as one Houſe of Mourning, *Whitehall* the King his Father's Court only excepted. Never was Grief ſo ſincere and ſo gene- *P.* 63. ral, tho' his Majeſty, according to *Wilſon,* commanded that no body ſhou'd come near him in Mourning. His Highneſs dy'd the 6th of *November,* and was carry'd in a Hearſe to *Weſtminſter* the 7th of *December,* the Pomp of the Funeral being fully compleated by the People's Tears and Lamentations.

Vaſſor informs us, that *France was not ſorry to hear of Prince* Henry's *Death; he ſeeming rather to have the Inclinations of the antient* Engliſh *Kings, than of the Kings of the* Scottiſh *Race.* Thus we ſee how happy Foreigners thought us in the Government of the Royal Houſe we are writing of. *Vaſſor* again: *One can but very badly interpret the Sentiments which the Prince ſhew'd, when he heard of the Death of* Henry IV. I have loſt, *cry'd he,* my ſecond Father. *The common Opinion is, that young* Henry *had reſolv'd to ſteal from the* Engliſh *Court, and go learn the Trade of War in* France, *as ſoon as that King march'd at the Head of his Army.* Dr. *Welwood* explains this Matter farther: "I have ſeen ſome Papers that make it more "than probable, that Prince *Henry* was not only "acquainted with the Secret of *Henry* IV. but "was engag'd in the Deſign for which his great "Army was prepar'd". *Vaſſor* again: *The Prince of* Wales *lamented the tragical End of* Henry IV. And one of his Courtiers taking that Opportunity to tell him *his Death wou'd be a Means to ſtrengthen the King of* England's *Pretenſions to the Crown of* France; "Get you gone, you idle Flatterer, *re-* "*ply'd the Prince.* Dare you talk to me of ma- "king War againſt an Infant? I am ready to de- "fend him againſt all who ſhall venture to attack "him". Sentiments ſo truly heroical, that one cannot think he was inſpir'd by King *James.* The *French* Author proceeds: "Some ſaid the Father "had a mind inſenſibly to efface the Memory of "his Son, who a little before charm'd all *England.* "Inſtead of taking Pains to diſcover the Secret of "the haſty Death of the Prince, the King heap'd "new Favours upon his unworthy Favourite, who "was thought to be the Author of it. Shou'd I "make a raſh Judgment, if I ſhou'd ſay that his "Majeſty look'd upon himſelf as a Man happily "rais'd from the Dead after the Death of his Son, "whoſe Court had for ſome time been fuller than "his own; and his ſaying, *What will they bury me "alive,* was much reflected on, when the Prince "of *Wales* dy'd a little after". This Prince's Affection to his Siſter the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was no doubt the warmer for her Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; as no doubt the Perverſeneſs of his Brother *Charles*'s Temper, and his early Bigotry caus'd the Coldneſs that was between them. *Osborn* tells *P.* 42. us, *Prince* Henry *wou'd often make him weep*; and tell him, *he ſhou'd be a Biſhop, a Gown being the fitteſt to hide his Legs,* ſubject in his Childhood to be crooked.

There was at that time in the Court of *England* *Elector* Pal. the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine,* who came to *Marriage with Princeſs* Elizaſolemnize his Marriage with the fair and pious beth. Princeſs the Lady *Elizabeth,* which was ſet a foot at firſt by the Encouragement Prince *Henry* gave *Ibid.* it. A Marriage that has been productive of the greateſt Bleſſing that ever happen'd to this Nation, in the Succeſſion of that Princeſs's Poſterity to the Throne of *Great Britain,* our preſent Sove- *A.D.*1613. reign King *George* II. being her great Grandſon. The Elector was inſtall'd Knight of the Garter in *February,* together with the Proxy of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*; and a Week after marry'd to one of the moſt lovely Princeſſes in the World. She was led to Church by her Brother Prince *Charles* and the Earl of *Northampton* both Batchelors, her Train ſupported by young Ladies. Her Robes were white, the Emblem of Virgin Innocence; her Hair diſhevel'd, hanging down a Length upon her Back. She had a Crown of pure Gold on her Head glittering with the Luſtre of Diamonds, and other precious Stones. Her Ladies were all in white, and ſo adorn'd with Jewels, that in the Imagination of the Spectators they form'd another milky Way. The King gave her in Marriage, Dr. *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* perform'd the Ceremony, and Dr. *Montagu* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* preach'd the Wedding Sermon. There appear'd in the enchanting Looks of the Royal Bride ſome ſudden Flaſhes of Joy; which, ſays *Echard* after *Wilſon,* were interpreted to be like Lightning before a Storm, Preſages of her future Misfortunes. She return'd from Church between the Duke of *Lennox* and the Earl of *Nottingham,* two marry'd Men. The Feaſtings and Maskings which follow'd are, as *Wilſon* juſtly obſerves, *fitter to appear in a Prince's Court than in Hiſtory.* But our hiſtorical Archdeacon not thinking ſo juſtly as *Wilſon,* has enter'd into the Detail of them, to which I refer; and ſhall only add, that their Highneſſes the Bridegroom and Bride were ſplendidly treated by the City of *London,* who preſented the beauteous Bride with a Chain of Oriental Pearl, by the Hand of the Lord Mayor Sir *John Swinnerton.* The *Engliſh* Nation in general were ſo well pleas'd with this Proteſtant Alliance, that they contributed largely to the Marriage Portion and Expence, notwithſtanding the collecting it was a Revival of an old obſolete Cuſtom. The Portion was but 40000 *l.* whereas the *Expence.* Profuſion in the Marriage Expences amounted to almoſt 60000 *l.* The Charges of the Elector's Inſtalment were 6000 *l.* the Wedding Feaſt 2000 *l.* the

*A.D.*1613 the Naval Fight on the *Thames* 5000 *l. &c.* Which is another Proof of the little Value the King put upon Money, tho' he made Grants of ſo many Monopolies to raiſe it; and they were ſuch Grievances, that he was forc'd to buy back ſeveral of them of the *Grantees* at large Sums of Money to eaſe Trade and Traders. He paid 6000 *l.* to the Earl of *Dunbar* for the Manor of *Harrington* in *Derbyſhire*, which he had before given him. He paid 1500 *l.* to Sir *Patrick Murray* for relinquiſhing a Grant of Concealments; 18000 *l.* to Lord *Aubigny* for relinquiſhing a Grant of ſome Lands he had given him; 6000 *l.* to the Earl of *Montgomery* for giving up his Grant of Cuſtodies; 2000 *l.* to the Earl of *Dunbar* for relinquiſhing his Grant of Logwood; 20000 *l.* to Sir *Robert Car* for the Manor of *Shirburn* which he had given him; 15000 *l.* to the Earl of *Mar* for relinquiſhing his Grant of the Manors of *Minden* and *Chipley* in *Suffolk*; 21000 *l.* to Sir *William Wade* and others, for relinquiſhing their Grants for Money out of Recuſants Eſtates; 6000 *l.* to the Lord *Sheffield* for ſurrendring his Grant of a Penſion; 11000 *l.* to the Earl of *Nottingham* for relinquiſhing his Grant of Wine Licenſes; 1300 *l.* to Sir *James Hamilton* for ſurrendring his Grant of Cuſtoms in ſeveral Ports of *Ireland*, &c. Thus did this wiſe Monarch diſpoſe of the Treaſure which he compell'd his unwilling Subjects to pay him.

About the latter End of *April*, the Elector and Electreſs were convoy'd by the Lord High Admiral the Earl of *Nottingham* with a Royal Navy to *Fluſhing*. They were attended to *Heidelbergh* by the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, the Lord *Harrington*, and ſeveral Ladies and Perſons of Quality. They were receiv'd in almoſt every City of *Holland*, particularly at *Amſterdam*, with a Magnificence anſwerable to the Wealth of that City. And met with the like Reception in all the Cities thro' which they paſs'd, till they arriv'd at *Heidelbergh* the Elector's Capital, where the *Palatine* Court exerted themſelves to compliment the *Engliſh* Princeſs and her Train, in a manner ſuitable to the Honour that was done them by this Alliance. The Lord *Harrington* dy'd in *Germany* to the great Grief of the Princeſs, who had liv'd many Years under his Tutelage.

The Earl of *Salisbury* ſurviv'd Prince *Henry* about ſix Months, and then gave way to Fate on the Road from *Bath* to *London*. He dy'd as little lamented as he had been belov'd; his beſt Quality being, that he was loth any one ſhou'd plunder his Maſter but himſelf. We have ſpoken of him more at large in the preceding Pages. His Death put *Somerſet* in the entire Poſſeſſion of the King's Favour. He took to himſelf the Office of Secretary of State; tho' he was no more qualify'd for it by his Learning, than what ten or twenty Romances, of which his Library was compos'd, cou'd furniſh him with. He receiv'd all Pacquets, and anſwer'd them himſelf without acquainting either King or Counſellors; who were doubtleſs the wiſeſt that cou'd be, by ſuffering ſuch an unfit Secretary to rule as he liſted.

Eſſex *and his Wife.*

We left the Counteſs of *Eſſex* in a languiſhing Condition with her Husband at *Chartley*; whence ſhe got to *London* again in a few Months, and enter'd farther ſtill in the criminal Correſpondence between her and *Car*. The Earl of *Northampton* her Uncle was privy to it, and ſo was Sir *Thomas Overbury*; but ſo far from approving of it, that he wou'd call her *Strumpet*, and her Mother *Bawd*; which Language he aggravated with many odious Circumſtances to irritate him againſt her; and when he underſtood that *Rocheſter* deſign'd to marry her, he oppos'd it with his moſt powerful Arguments, urging to him the Folly as well as Injuſtice of his marrying a Woman who had been diſloyal to a moſt noble and worthy Husband. *Car*'s Paſſion made him deaf to his Friend's good Counſel, which inſtead of weaning him from his Miſtreſs, ſet him againſt his Friend; and the Counteſs being informed of *Overbury*'s Endeavour to break off the intended Marriage, ſhe rail'd at him with all the Rage of a lewd Woman interrupted in her Lewdneſs, and complain'd of him to her Unkle *Northampton*, who provok'd *Car* more and more daily, by the falſe Colours he put upon *Overbury*'s Actions and Diſcourſes, till at laſt he agreed with the Earl and the Counteſs to rid themſelves of him by Poiſon. Mrs. *Turner*, the Counteſs's Confident, told her, *'twas Pity* Overbury *ſhou'd live after he had defam'd ſo honourable a Lady; and rather than he ſhou'd not die, ſhe wou'd kill him herſelf*; accordingly ſhe was the Agent to treat with *Weſton*, her late Husband Dr. *Turner*'s Servant, to poiſon him for 200 Pounds. But the Difficulty was how to come at him; it is therefore reſolv'd to get him lodg'd in the *Tower*, to remove the preſent Governor Sir *William Wade*, and in his Place put Sir *Jervas Elways*, whom they cou'd confide in. To accompliſh this, *Somerſet* and *Northampton* move in Council, that Sir *Thomas Overbury* might be ſent Ambaſſador to the Archduke in the *Netherlands*, which *Somerſet* was to diſſwade him from accepting, and conſequently he wou'd for his Diſobedience be immediately ſent to the *Tower*. *Somerſet* found it no hard Matter to gain his Ends upon *Overbury*, who look'd on the intended Employment as an honourable Exile, to loſe him his Intereſt at Court by *Somerſet*'s Means; who, pretending he cou'd not live without his Company, nor ſerve his Majeſty in his Offices without his Advice, encourag'd *Overbury* flatly to refuſe going abroad, and for his Refuſal he was ſent to the *Tower*, *Somerſet* incenſing the King againſt him, by repreſenting his Diſobedience as a Contempt of his Royal Perſon and Authority. The Warrant for impriſoning Sir *Thomas*, did not confine him to a Chamber, but the Earl of *Northampton* and *Car*, both of the Privy-Council, wrote to Sir *Jervas Elways*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to keep him cloſe Priſoner; and Sir *Thomas Monſon* brought him a verbal Meſſage, that he ſhou'd ſuffer no Letters, Tokens, or other Things, to be deliver'd to him. *Weſton* is recommended to Sir *Thomas Overbury* as a very proper Perſon to attend him in his Confinement. *Franklyn* was immediately taken into Employment, and having ſome Knowledge of Drugs and Phyſick, his Buſineſs was to provide the Poiſon, which *Weſton* was to adminiſter. Mrs *Turner* prepar'd the Tarts, Jellies, and other Vehicles, to convey the Venom, the Counteſs of *Eſſex* and *Car* receiving daily Informations of their Proceedings, and animating them in the diabolical Deſign by Rewards and Promiſes. The Counteſs ſent the firſt Poiſon in a Glaſs of Blue Water, which ſhe wrapp'd up in a Paper, and deliver'd to *Weſton*'s Son to carry to his Father, who meeting with Sir *Jervas Elways* as he was carrying it in one Hand, and Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Supper in the other, *Weſton* ask'd him, *Whether he ſhould give it now?* The Lieutenant, who was not yet let into the whole Secret, demanded *What? Sir*, ſays *Weſton, do not you know what's to be done? Elways*, ſurpriz'd at the Diſcourſe, ſifted the Matter out of him, and then only charg'd him to defer it for that time. The next Day *Northampton* ſent for Sir *Jervas*, and communicated the Plot to him at large, but cou'd not in two Hours prevail with him to give into it; at laſt, what with Flattery, and what with Threats, the Lieutenant, who had gone too far to be innocent, and knew too much to be ſafe, without going farther, bound himſelf by an Oath of Secrecy, to connive at *Weſton*'s and *Franklyn*'s Doings; for which the Earl aſſur'd him he ſhould receive 1000 Pounds. This is the ſame Earl, on whoſe Shoulders, the reverend Hiſtorian tells us, King *James* laid a great Part of the Burden of the State.

Sir A. W. *p.* 66.

Sir Thom. Overbury.

*A.D.*1613. Sir *Jervas Elways* returning to the *Tower*, viſited Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and then wrote a Letter to the Earl, giving him an Account of their Converſation, cloſing it thus; *I ſee the Event, I deſire it may be ſafely carried; what Service I may do in this, or any thing elſe, I will be faithful to your Lordſhip.* *Weſton* had now 8o Pounds in Money ſent him by the Counteſs to haſten his Operations, and Mrs. *Turner* checks him for delaying them: Upon which he furniſhes himſelf with *Roſater, White Arſenick, Mercury Sublimate, Cantharides, Red Mercury*, and three or four more poiſonous Ingredients, which were given *Overbury* with his Meats and Broths, according as the Poiſon cou'd be beſt conceal'd, and as he was adviſ'd by *Franklyn*. Tarts and Jellies were ſent by *Somerſet* to Sir *Thomas Monſon*, whoſe Servant *Simon Maſters* carry'd them to *Weſton*, and he adminiſter'd them to *Overbury*, whoſe Sauce, Salt, Drink, and whatever he ſwallow'd, had Poiſon in it of one kind or another. By this Means he began to grow extreme ſickly, but having naturally a ſtrong Conſtitution, and the Doſes being in too ſmall Portions, for their better Concealment, he ſeem'd to be in a likely way of getting through it, eſpecially when conceiving a Jealouſy of foul Play, he demanded to have Phyſick, and by the Help of a Bribe, got the Aſſiſtance of an Apothecary, who order'd him a cold Bath, adviſ'd him to eat ſparingly, and be cautious of his Diet, which alarm'd the Conſpirators, and freſh Orders were ſent to the Lieutenant, to ſuffer no Body to have Acceſs to him but *Weſton* and his Accomplices, his own Servants not being admitted to ſpeak with him at a Window. In this ſolitary languiſhing Condition, was the poor Gentleman left at the Mercy of Traytors and Murderers; and the Conſpirators having Hopes of being ſoon rid of him, *Somerſet* haſtens to the Accompliſhment of his wicked Will in the Marriage of the Counteſs of *Eſſex*. There was now no body to check them in their lawleſs Loves; and they cou'd not be contented with a ſlight Taſte of future Joys, they want a Surfeit of them; and weary of a tranſient Fruition at *Copinger*'s and other Places of Aſſignation, to riot in a kind of perpetual Enjoyment by the Liberties of Marriage. To effect this, there muſt be a Divorce for the Counteſs, and the ſhameleſs Pretence was the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Impotence, the Counteſs herſelf making a Complaint in Form; and her Father the Earl of *Suffolk* join'd with her in a Petition to the King, to appoint a Court of Delegates to hear and redreſs her great Grievance. What follows is the moſt ſcandalous Part of this Story, which is made important by the Share his Majeſty had in it, as that is a Proof of the Piety and Wiſdom ſo much extoll'd by Archdeacon *Echard* and other Eccleſiaſtical Writers. A Commiſſion was thereupon granted to Dr. *George Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *John King* Biſhop of *London*, one of the *Hampton-Court* Conference, Dr. *Thomas Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, another of them; Dr. *Lancelot Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, another; Dr. *Richard Neile* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Dr. *John Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Sir *Thomas Parry*, Sir *Daniel Dunn*, Civilians, to hear and determine this vile Cauſe. The Lewdneſs of the Trial exceeds all the Obſcenities of Farces and Lampoons; and the Sentence of the Prelates is not to be repeated by the chaſte Pen of an Hiſtorian. The *Earl and the Counteſs lying in one Bed*, Nudus cum Nuda, Inſpection *of her Body, apt for Copulation*, in the pious Sentence of Divorce, are Terms which immediately precede the invocating the *Name of Chriſt, and ſetting God before their Eyes*, Expreſſions which coming ſo very cloſe after the Bawdry, have ſomething ſo very ſhocking in them, that Poſterity wou'd not believe there were four Biſhops Names to the Decree of Divorce, was it not extant, and ſign'd by *Thomas Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Lancelot Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Richard Neile* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *John Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. The obſcene Decree was founded on the pretended Nullity of the Marriage, the Counteſs having never been enjoy'd by the Earl, which was certify'd by a Jury of Matrons, the Lady *Martha Tyrwhit*, the Lady *Alice Carew*, the Lady *Dalliſon*, the Lady *Anne Waller*, &c. aſſiſted by two Midwives, who reported, that upon Inſpection, *they found the Lady fitted with Abilities*, &c. 'Tis not to be ſuffer'd in Hiſtory. In ſhort, they ſign'd to it, that ſhe was a *Virgin uncorrupted*; ſo very bare-fac'd a Fraud, that there was not a modeſt Man or Woman in *England* but was aſham'd of it. The Counteſs's Character renders the Cheat as abſurd as it is abominable; and it is no Excuſe for the Ladies, that they were impos'd upon by a falſe Counteſs one Mrs. *Finit*, who was then too young to be other than *Virgo intacta*. The Counteſs pleaded her maiden Baſhfulneſs as well as Purity, that ſhe might be veil'd when the Ladies made their Inſpection; accordingly 'twas order'd ſhe ſhou'd have a Vail, under which Mrs. *Finit* eaſily paſt for her Ladyſhip, being alſo dreſs'd in the Counteſs's Cloaths. Sir *Anthony Welden* aſſures us he had this Information from Sir *W. B.* the very Gentleman who handed Mrs. *Finit* into the Place of Inſpection. I will not remember what *Welden* ſays of Biſhop *Neil*'s Speech concerning the Proof of the Impotency in the Earl, and the Ability in the Counteſs, only that the Concluſion was; *Ariſtotle*'s Problems *was a modeſt Diſcourſe to the* Biſhop's, *who appear'd to be better ſtudy'd in that than in Divinity*. Dr. *Bilſon* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was ſo zealous for the Divorce and the *Nullity* of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Marriage, on account of his Impotency, that when afterwards King *James* knighted his Son, he was generally call'd Sir *Nullity Bilſon*. *A. Wood* aſſures us, that this Prelate *was as reverend a one as ever* England *bred*, and a great *Upholder of the Church*. And *Echard* ſays of Biſhop *Neile*, That *for his Merits he paſt thro' all Degrees and Orders of the Church*; which ſhews us plainly enough, that theſe Gentlemen do not put *Piety* and *Purity* in their Scale of Merit, with the ſame Weight as Bigotry and falſe Zeal. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* refus'd to be concern'd in this Bawdy Buſineſs, for which he *ever after liv'd in Diſgrace, excluded from the Council Table, and the Favour of the King on Earth, tho' he was favour'd by the King of Kings*. His Majeſty took upon him to convince *Abbot*, in a Treatiſe dedicated to the *Unbelieving Thomas*. The Biſhop of *London* wou'd not agree to the Divorce, and told Biſhop *Overal, He ſhou'd not have been ſo earneſt againſt it, but that he was perſuaded in his Conſcience the Counteſs's Witneſſes ſwore falſly*. The only Colour of Juſtice from the Beginning of it to the End, is, *That the Earl himſelf, to get rid of ſo horrid a Miſchief, acknowledg'd he had attempted to enjoy her many Times, but never did*; which was imputed to her wicked Practices upon him, and her ſhunning his Embraces when ſhe believ'd he was capable of Enjoyment. The *Earl* was oblig'd by the Biſhops modeſt Decree, to pay back the Counteſs's Portion, being 5000 Pounds, which he cou'd not have done without ſelling his Lands, had he not been help'd by his Grandmother the Counteſs of *Leiceſter*. That his Majeſty was a Well-wiſher to the Divorce, and *Car*'s intended Marriage with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, appears by his heaping more Honours and Riches upon him; for now it was that he made him Earl of *Somerſet*, and giving her to him at the Solemnization of their Nuptials in *Preſence of the Queen, and a great Confluence of Biſhops*. The Pomp and Expence of this Wedding, for which the ſober Part of the Kingdom had an Abhorrence, were equal to thoſe of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*'s; the Revellings, Maskings and profuſe Entertain-

Poiſon'd.

Counteſs of Eſſex's *Divorce.*

*A.D.*1613.

Sir A. W. *p.* 81.

P. 78.

P. 79.

Echard, *p.* 389.

*A.D.*1613. ments laſting as long; and to the Shame of the City, the new marry'd Couple, whom the Archdeacon very gallantly calls the *Happy Pair*, were invited to a Feaſt at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, to which they rode as triumphantly, as if their Triumph had not been over Religion and Virtue, Modeſty and Chaſtity.

At the ſame Time that King *James* had ſo great a Hand in this odious Marriage, he buſy'd himſelf alſo in the religious Controverſy now carrying on with Warmth in *Holland* between the *Arminians* and their Opponents. *Le Clerc* tells us, *He alter'd his Mind ſtrangely with Reſpect to the* Arminians, *depending entirely on ſuch Informations as were given him, which were very various*, and a wiſe Man wou'd therefore not have depended upon them entirely.

A.D 1614. As ſoon as Sir *Thomas Overbury* heard the before-mention'd Marriage was to be to-morrow, he told the Meſſenger, *You had almoſt as good have ſaid, I muſt die to-morrow, for I am ſure now not to live long.* He added to this ſome Reproaches againſt *Somerſet* for uſing him ſo ill, and endeavour'd afterwards by Letter to prevail with him to perform his Promiſe, and procure his Deliverance, which the Earl gave him Hopes of; and Sir *Thomas* was ſo well pleas'd with it, that he began to recover Strength, and as Comfort increas'd ſo did his Health. *Weſton* applying to Mrs. *Turner* for more Pay, ſhe told him, *He muſt do his Buſineſs firſt, and he ſhou'd then want nothing*; upon which he applies to a certain Apothecary, whom he hir'd to give Sir *Thomas* Poiſon in a Cliſter, which work'd as thoſe Ruffians wou'd have had it, throwing *Overbury* into a languiſhing Diſeaſe, with racking Pains in his Bowels, of which he dy'd in *September*; and *Weſton* gave the Apothecary Money to go beyond Sea, himſelf being amply rewarded by the Counteſs. To murder Sir *Thomas*'s Fame, as they had murder'd his Perſon, the Earl of *Northampton* gave out he dy'd of the venereal Diſeaſe, tho' the Sores and Ulcers that appear'd on his Body, were the Effects of the poiſonous Meats they had fed him with. *Northampton* did not long ſurvive this Villany, and one may form a Character of him, by his being a Party in this Murder, by his mocking God and the World in profeſſing the Proteſtant Religion, and yet correſponding with the Court of *Rome*, by the groſs Flattery with which he abus'd the good Will of the King, and by ſo many other immoral Acts, that 'tis a wonder the reverend Hiſtorian cries him up for his *capacious Mind*. Sir *Anthony Welden*, who knew him intimately, ſays, *He was no wiſe Man*; yet the wiſeſt of our Kings made him his prime Miniſter. Prince *Henry* was ſo irritated againſt him and his Couſin *Suffolk*, that he often ſaid, *If ever he were King, he wou'd not leave one of the Family in a better Condition than that of a Footman. Northampton* with all his Faults, was choſen by the Univerſity of *Cambridge* to be their Chancellor, in which Office he was ſucceeded by the Earl of *Suffolk*; that learned Body having too great Value for his Majeſty's Judgment to doubt the Qualifications of any Man whom the King delighted to honour.

The riotous Expences, and prodigal Bounty of the Court, exhauſted the vaſt Sums which were illegally rais'd by Monopolies, Benevolences, raiſing the Value of Gold and Silver Coin Two Shillings in the Pound, and a hundred Schemes of Projectors; all which being ſtill too little to ſupply that Profuſion, a Parliament was ſummon'd, the Court Flatterers having aſſur'd the King they had Intereſt enough in the Counties to get ſuch Members choſen, as wou'd do the Buſineſs for which he wanted them; inſtead of which, the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, return'd thoſe Gentlemen who were moſt likely to do the Buſineſs for which the Country wanted them. The Courtiers ſhew'd their Wiſdom, by ſuffering *Harſnet* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* to put the Parliament out of *A.D.*1614. Humour, by a Sermon he preach'd, preſſing the Duty *of rendring to* Cæſar, as if what was paid to the King, was his Due before it was given by Parliament; and Biſhop *Neile* mended the Matter much, by ſpeaking deſpitefully of a leading Member of the Houſe of Commons, for his Moderation and Charity to Proteſtant Diſſenters, whom the Superſtition and Rage of ſuch Prelates had driven not only out of the Church, but out of the Kingdom; which was ſo deſtructive to the Peace and Trade of the Nation, that the Biſhops were forc'd to get a Reſtraint put upon Peoples removing beyond Sea. Thus they wou'd not let them enjoy Peace at home, nor give them Liberty to ſeek it abroad. Indeed they were allow'd afterwards to tranſport themſelves to *New-England*, and the *malicious Proceedings of the furious Biſhops*, did not hinder the Eſtabliſhment of that Colony. There's no need of reflecting to gather from theſe Events who were the Men to whom we are to impute all the Diſcontents and Murmurs which now diſturb'd, and afterwards inflam'd the Kingdom. The Parliament complain'd of the King's waſting the Publick Treaſure, eſpecially among the *Scots*; *Somerſet*, beſides Money, having had to the Value of 100000 Pounds in Crown-Lands; and deſir'd his Majeſty to ſtem the Current of the future Acceſs of that Nation to his Preſence and Bounty. They alſo enquir'd into the Cauſes of the unexpected Increaſe of *Popiſh* Recuſants ſince the *Gunpowder-Plot*; the Deteſtation of which they thought ſhou'd have utterly extinguiſh'd the whole Party, and this they found was owing to his Majeſty's admitting *Popiſh* Lords into his Council. This is the Prince of whom *Echard* ſays, *He acted very laudably and with great Reputation in Reſpect to the eſtabliſh'd Church.* The Parliament complain'd of the *ſilencing of many diligent and watchful Miniſters*; moſt laudably done indeed. We read in Sir *Edward Peyton*, how laudable his Actions were in reſpect to Religion, and Virtue; "Strictneſs of Life, "which our Saviour requires, was imputed a Diſ- "grace, and the vaineſt counted the wiſeſt; ſo "that it was difficult to hear profitable Sermons. "Preachers were fitter for a Stage than a Pulpit. "A *Puritan* was ſtil'd a Devil. Thus began Good- "neſs to dwindle, and Vice to ſpread far and near." The Parliament made Complaint of ſeveral Treaties for the Marriage of the deceas'd Prince *Henry*, and the preſent Prince *Charles*, with the Daughters of *Popiſh* Princes, all which diſhearten'd the Proteſtant, and encourag'd the Recuſant. The remonſtrating theſe and other Miſcarriages, to which the King and his Council had no other Anſwer, than the Leſſons of *Neile*, *Harſnet*, and ſuch like Prelates; and the Parliament's Backwardneſs to part with their Money, ſo diſguſted his Majeſty, that he reſolv'd to part with them, and a Diſſolution ſoon follow'd, to the great Grief of the People, which was heigthen'd by the arbitrary Proceedings againſt the chief Patriots in the Houſe of Commons, whom the Archdeacon calls the tumultuous *Members*, many of whom were thrown into Priſon. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Henry Yelverton*, Sir *John Savile*, Serjeant *Glanvile*, and Mr. *Noy*, were popular Members in this King's Reign, and not only frown'd upon but impriſon'd. They were all bought off in the next, and thoſe diſintereſted Patriots who were above Corruption, as Mr. *Selden*, Sir *John Elliot*, and others, continu'd their Oppoſition to the Male-Adminiſtration till King *Charles* the Firſt left the Parliament, and rais'd an Army to maintain it.

Puritans leave the Kingdom.

The King favours Popery.

P. 43.

A vicious Court.

Popular Members.

The Parliament among other Monopolies, voted Alderman *Cockain*'s Patent for *dying and dreſſing* Engliſh *Cloth*, to be a Grievance, upon which the Patent was recall'd and cancell'd. The Impriſonment of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, was the greateſt Violation and Invaſion of

Coke, p. 74.

*A.D.*1614. their Privileges, that had ever been done by any King of *England*. But tho' it began, it did not end here. This King's Son, *Charles* the First, follow'd his Father's Example and Leſſons; for after King *James*'s Death, there was found in his Cabinet at *Theobalds*, Inſtructions to his Son to quit himſelf by Degrees of all Parliaments, *as too bad Copartners in the Government with their Kings*. A noble Lord talking once of the Deſign the *Stuart* Family had to ſubvert our happy Conſtitution, which was firſt form'd by this King *James*, obſerv'd with Indignation, that the Luſt of Power was monſtrous in him, who was capable of no other Ambition than that of deſtroying the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects. *Charles* I. violated the Privileges of Parliament in or after every Seſſion. Like his Father too he had Recourſe to odious Methods of extorting Money from the People. King *James* compell'd them now to pay a *Benevolence*, and thoſe that refus'd to pay, were to have their Names return'd to the Council, who prick'd them for Sheriffs, or ſent them for Soldiers, or otherwiſe oppreſs'd them, as a Puniſhment for their Refractorineſs, in not obeying his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, as their Fathers obey'd an Act of Parliament. The *Benevolence* ſucceeded ſo ill, that it brought in no more than 52909 Pounds; for, ſays *Wilſon*, the moſt *knowing Men ſupported their Neighbours tottering Reſolutions, with aſſuring them that thoſe Kinds of raiſing Money were againſt Law, Reaſon, and Religion.*

Reybold.

Illegal Government. The Earl of P.

Sand. Wilſon, 78,79.

This Summer the King of *Denmark* re-viſited his Siſter the Queen of *England*, and he was doubtleſs the more welcome for his delighting ſo much in Sporting and Drinking, which he did to Exceſs. He landed at *Yarmouth* with about forty Lords and Gentlemen in his Train, and came to *Somerſet-Houſe*, the Queen's Palace, before ſhe heard of his Arrival in *England*.

King of Denmark *in* Engl.

Now was reviv'd the diſſolute Way of Life which gave great Scandal to religious and virtuous Perſons. When this King viſited King *James*, his Brother-in-law ſome Years before, Sir *Edward Peyton* aſſures us the two Monarchs were ſo drunk at *Theobalds*, that the *Briton* was carry'd off in the Arms of his Courtiers, and the *Dane* was very rude with the Counteſs of *Nottingham*. King *James* was apt to be intoxicated with Wine, the ſtrongeſt *Greek* Wines being moſt grateful to him. *Coke* tells us, when he was a hunting, he was attended by a ſpecial Officer, who was always at hand to fill him a Cup of Wine, ſo ſtrong that a ſmall Portion of it got up into *Coke*'s Father's Head, and ſpoil'd his Sport. It is well known that the King of *Denmark* gave *Walleſtein*, the Emperor's General, many Advantages in the *German* War, by his Drunkenneſs and Negligence. How the Time muſt be ſpent by two ſuch Princes, who did not meet often, one may eaſily imagine: *But ſuch Happineſs*, ſays the reverend Hiſtorian, *is rare among Kings*: For notwithſtanding all this Luxury, notwithſtanding King *James's prophane Swearing even in his uſual Converſation, whereby he became contemptible, and his Example debauch'd the Manners of the* Engliſh *Nation*; yet he was *inſpir'd with the Holy Spirit*, in his Zeal for Epiſcopacy, if we may believe Archbiſhop *Whitgift*. There is a pleaſant Story in *Peyton*, which runs thus in his own, not very elegant, Words: "Give me leave to repeat, that "this King of *Denmark* ordinarily wou'd be drunk, "and once when he was ſo, he bad Sir *John Pooly*, "then his Servant, ask what he wou'd of him to "the Value of half his Kingdom, and he ſhould "have it. Sir *John* finding his Maſter ſo beaſtly "out of Tune, demanded a great Pair of Stags "Horns, for which, when the King recover'd his "Senſes, he gave him 3000 Dollars." A Writer of the ſame Kidney with the Archdeacon, owns *he often had his Load*; and tho' he ſtaid here but a Fortnight, there were more rioting and revelling during that ſhort Stay in the Court of *England*, than had been known in ſo little time ſince the Reign of *Canute*. *A rare Happineſs*, of which the *Puritans* were not ſenſible. *Coke* writes, "As King *James* gave himſelf up to Pleaſure, ſo he did to "Favourites and Flatterers, and ſcarce heard any "Thing without the Prelude of *Sacred, Peaceful, Wiſe, Moſt Learned*, &c. Theſe made him careleſs both of his domeſtick and foreign Affairs, "the Thoughts of which diſturb'd his Pleaſures; "and if at any time he was thoughtful or penſive, his Favourites made it their Buſineſs to mimick or ridicule thoſe Things, eſpecially the *Puritans*, whom the King hated; and for that Hatred the Eccleſiaſticks dawb their Hiſtories with ſo much groſs Paint, repreſenting him as the moſt ſage and moſt orthodox Prince in the World. 'Tis true, his Majeſty did affect much to ſhew his Skill in Divinity. No *Dutch* Theologue cou'd have more of the Cant, nor with more Zeal maintain any Doctrine he eſpous'd. We have ſeen how he concern'd himſelf in the Affair of *Vorſtius*; but his Prejudice againſt him and his Party did not laſt long. The moſt rigid of the Biſhops being profeſs'd *Arminians*, he was prevail'd with to write a Letter to the States of *Holland*, to tolerate the *Remonſtrants*, who were the *Arminian* Party. The *Contra-Remonſtrants* ſent him a Memorial, to induce him to abandon the oppoſite Intereſt; but the King taking Offence at ſome ſtrong Expreſſions in it, ſent a Copy of it to the States, who diſpatch'd the famous *Grotius* to give his Majeſty fuller Information of what concern'd this Controverſy. He was favourably receiv'd by the King and many Biſhops, but Dr. *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, gave him as much Oppoſition as he cou'd, and his Negotiation produc'd no other Effect than a Confirmation of his Majeſty's former Exhortation to the States, to forbid further Preaching or Writing upon the controverted Points, which were to be determin'd by a Synod.

*A.D.*1614

P. 78.

Grotius *Ambaſſador from* Holland.

Vaſſor.

The moſt conſiderable foreign Tranſactions this Year relating to King *James*, was his Envoy's aſſiſting at the Conference at *Santheim* in *Germany*, for accommodating Matters between the Elector of *Brandenburg* and Duke of *Newburg* about the Succeſſion of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; and his Ambaſſador *Carlton*'s Credit with the Republick of *Venice*, where, at the Requeſt of *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, he procur'd Audience for that Duke's Miniſter *Piſcina*, which the Senate had till then refus'd.

*A.D.*1615.

The Earl of *Suffolk* being made Lord-Treaſurer on the Death of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Somerſet* ſucceeded *Suffolk* as Lord-Chamberlain, and he and his Father-in-law engroſs'd the King almoſt wholly to them, inſomuch that the Queen herſelf ſeem'd to have the leaſt Share of him. *Somerſet* rul'd without a Rival, and no body pretended to Favour at Court but by his Means, and in what Proportion and what Manner he pleas'd. Having reſign'd his Office of Secretary of State, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, King *James*'s Ambaſſador in *Holland*, was recall'd and preferr'd to it, *Car* ſtill aſſuming the Management of it as much as if he was ſtill Secretary. *Winwood* was a Man of Parts, and too much Spirit to brook the Slavery *Somerſet* wou'd have impos'd upon him; and the Queen obſerving the Secretary's Diſcontent at *Car*'s Conduct, did what ſhe cou'd to increaſe it. *Winwood* acquainted her Majeſty with the Favourite's Miſcarriages and Weakneſſes, and did not give the beſt Turn to his Words or Actions. This private Correſpondence grew at laſt into a Combination, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, hoping Affairs cou'd not be worſe by a Change, enter'd into it with a Reſolution to have *Somerſet* outed, and a new Favourite put in his Place; for King *James* cou'd no more be without a Minion, than his Grandſon King *Charles* cou'd be without a Miſtreſs.

P. 63. *Two Kings drunk.*

Coke, 35.

P. 67.

Sand. 313.

It

*A.D.*1615. It continu'd to be whiſper'd about every where, that Prince *Henry* was poiſon'd by *Somerſet*, which coming to the Queen's Ear, who was enough provok'd againſt him before, by his alienating the King's Affections from her, and engroſſing them to himſelf, ſhe openly encourag'd *Winwood* and other Courtiers to talk freely againſt him, in which they were not ſparing, eſpecially when they ſaw the King began to caſt a friendly Eye on Mr. *George Villiers*, a young Gentleman newly come to Court from his Travels. He was a younger Son of Sir *George Villiers* of *Leiceſterſhire*, by his ſecond Wife *Mary Beaumont*, a Woman of *a mean* Family, according to Sir *Anthony Welden*; and *Coke* tells us, *She was entertain'd in Sir* George Villiers's *Family as a Cook-Maid, but her ragged Habit cou'd not ſhade the beautiful and excellent Frame of her Perſon, which Sir* George *taking notice of, prevail'd with his Lady to remove her out of the Kitchen into her Chamber.* The Earl of *Clarendon*, or whoever wrote the Hiſtory which has his Name to it, makes *Villiers* the eldeſt Son of Sir *George*, by *Mary Beaumont*; which is not true, for ſhe had an elder Son *John* Viſcount *Purbeck*, Son of the ſame *Mary*. There is ſomething very whimſical in the Vanity of this Sett of Men; they will not only be the wiſeſt, the braveſt, the handſomeſt, but they will alſo be the eldeſt, as *Buckingham* is made to do Honour to the Friend of *Laud*.

Buckingham's *Riſe*.

P. 80.

I am ſenſible that to enter into the Particulars of a private Man's Life, is too biographical for a general Hiſtory, but there is no avoiding it in ſuch a Reign as this, where the greateſt Events, ſuch as they are, turn upon the Paſſions and Vices of Minions and Favourites. Sir *George Villiers* abovemention'd, was of an antient Family, but having ſettled his Eſtate in Jointure on his firſt Wife and their Iſſue, there was ſo little left for his Wife *Beaumont* and her Children, that *George Villiers* their Son had but an Allowance of 50, ſome ſay 30 Pounds a Year, even after he came to Court. He was very handſome, and had the Glittering of a *French* Education, having liv'd ſome Time at *Paris*. But his higheſt Ambition, when he made his firſt Appearance at Court, was to marry the Daughter of Sir *Roger Aſton*, who had been King *James*'s Barber in *Scotland*; and if he cou'd but have made her a Settlement of 80 Pounds a Year, he might have had her to the Ruin of his future Fortune: For before the Marriage was concluded, it was obſerv'd, that the King look'd favourably upon him, which being a Promiſe of his growing Greatneſs, he gave over all Thoughts of the Match, and wedded himſelf to the Favour of his Maſter. There was no body more inſtrumental in his Advancement, than good Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who had an Averſion to *Somerſet* for his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Eſſex*, and a vicious Courſe of Life. The Archbiſhop being inform'd of the Dawn of Favour which ſhone upon *Villiers*, and taking him to be of an Age and Diſpoſition fit to receive ſuch Impreſſions as the Queen ſhou'd give him, he propos'd to her the recommending him to the King, as a Means to ſet aſide *Somerſet*, who had behav'd very inſolently towards her Majeſty. The King affected to have the Queen believe that her Recommendation was the greateſt Merit his Favourites cou'd have, which he pretended to give a Colour to his Fondneſs of them, and that ſhe might not complain of his Affection to Perſons whom he lov'd for her ſake. Her Majeſty ſaw thro' this thin Diſguiſe, and had been ſo ill us'd by Minions, that it was a long time before the Archbiſhop cou'd prevail with her to ſpeak in behalf of *Villiers*. At laſt ſhe conſented, but told his Grace, *You will live to repent it, for I ſee ſomething in this young Man, that will render him more intolerable, if he becomes a Favourite, than any of his Predeceſſors.* *Somerſet*'s Pride and Avarice made the Archbiſhop conclude, that let the Change be as bad as it wou'd, it muſt be for the better; and he took upon him to inſtruct *Villiers* himſelf, as to his Conduct towards the King and Queen. The young Gentleman learnt his Leſſons ſo perfectly, that he repeated them to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and promis'd to obſerve them. *A.D.*1615.

Sir A. W. *p.* 90.

In the Beginning of his Fortune he was affable and courteous, and ſeem'd to court all Men as they courted him. He obtain'd Suits of the King *gratis*, for which *Somerſet* made all Suitors pay extremely; and did good Offices for all thoſe from whom he had receiv'd any, which were not a few. The Proſpect of his Riſe having excited ſeveral Perſons of Rank to be aſſiſting towards it; ſome in ſo low a degree as to contribute to his Dreſs, which was equally rich and gorgeous, his Majeſty's Eye being attracted by Shew much more than his Judgment was by Genius. Sir *A. W.* ſays, *one ſent to his Mercer and Taylor to put good Cloaths on him; another to his Sempſtreſs for curious Linnen; others took upon them to be his* Bravos, *and all Hands help'd to piece up the new Minion.* The King's firſt gracious Look was follow'd with a Preſent of 1000*l.* and the Place of Cupbearer, that he might be near in Attendance. *Somerſet* took the alarm, and did his utmoſt to give a Check to the Growth of this riſing Favourite, and gave his Rival great Advantages by his Preſumption, and an Imagination that the King wou'd not, nay durſt not countenance that Rivalſhip, if he appear'd to reſent it. Whatever Reaſon there was for it is uncertain; but ſure it is that his Majeſty was deſirous that *Villiers* ſhou'd ſeem to owe his good Fortunes as well to *Somerſet* as to the Queen; and order'd Sir *Humphry May* to let *Car* know Sir *George Villiers*, newly knighted, wou'd deſire his Protection; which if he granted, it wou'd do himſelf a Pleaſure. Sir *George* waited on *Somerſet* half an Hour after, and paid him this Compliment: *My Lord, I deſire to be your Servant and Creature, and to take my Court Preferment under your Favour, aſſuring your Lordſhip you ſhall find me as faithful a Servant to you as ever did ſerve you.* The Earl turn'd quick upon him with this ſhort Anſwer, *I will have none of your Service, and you ſhall have none of my Favour. I will if I can break your Neck, and of that be confident.* This Defiance put *Villiers* more on his Guard, and he and his Friends never reſted till they had remov'd *Somerſet* from the King's Preſence for ever; and they met with an Opportunity to do it much ſooner than they expected. *A.D.*1615.

Somerſet's *Fall*.

Secretary *Winwood* in Diſguſt at *Somerſet*'s engroſſing the Powers and Benefits of his Office, and leaving him an empty Name only, having receiv'd ſome Intimation of *Overbury*'s being poiſon'd, he never left ſearching into that dark Conſpiracy till it came to Light, and diſcover'd it to the King. It is ſaid, Sir *Ralph Winwood* receiv'd the firſt Information of this wicked Buſineſs from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who detected it by ſome Papers found in a Trunk, which was brought to him by a Servant of *Overbury*'s. It is alſo ſaid, that one of his Servants petition'd the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* to examine *Weſton* as to what he knew of his Maſter's Death, which had been conceal'd near two Years. The Apothecary who fled beyond Sea being ill paid, confeſs'd that a poiſon'd Cliſter had been given *Overbury*; and his Confeſſion being deliver'd to *Winwood*, he ſhew'd it to the King; which was ſo ſtrong a Confirmation of the other Diſcoveries, that his Majeſty cou'd not refuſe giving the Earl up to Juſtice; tho' to prevent its having Effect againſt him, the King had granted him a *Pardon* ſo full, that had he committed a hundred Murders it wou'd have clear'd him. The Clauſe was taken by Sir *Robert Cotton* out of a Pardon granted by the Pope to Cardinal *Wolſey* to this Purport: *That the King out of his mere Motion and ſpecial Favour did pardon all, and all*

A.D.1615. *all manner of Treaſons, Miſpriſions of Treaſons, Murders, Felonies and Outrages whatſoever by the ſaid* Robert *Earl of* Somerſet *committed, or hereafter to be committed:* As the *Romiſh* Bulls pardon all Sins paſt, preſent, and to come. The ſtrongeſt Terms were us'd to make it the more firm; and when it was engroſs'd the Earl carry'd it to the King, who ſign'd it; but the Lord Chancellor *Elleſmer* refus'd to affix the Great Seal to it; and gave his Majeſty ſuch Reaſons for it as ſatisfy'd him, and contributed much to the Diſgrace of *Somerſet*, who retir'd penſive to *Whitehall* in diſmal Apprehenſion of the Diſcovery of *Overbury*'s Murder, which he juſtly ſuppos'd was the Occaſion of the Lord Chancellor's Scruples about paſſing his Pardon. By Virtue of his own Warrant as Privy-Counſellor, all Trunks, Cheſts, Boxes, Studies, and every Place where he ſuſpected any Letters might be depoſited which concern'd the Conſpiracy, were diligently ſearch'd, that they might be made away with: But ſome Papers eſcap'd the Search, and fell into thoſe Hands that knew how to make the beſt Uſe of them. The King being inform'd of the Murder by Secretary *Winwood*, gave Orders to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke* to proſecute the Matter; and as his Cuſtom was when any troubleſome Affair happen'd, went himſelf into the Country to be out of the Noiſe of it; which however follow'd him where-ever he went. He ſent for all the Judges to *Theobalds*; and in the midſt of a Circle of Court Lords and Gentlemen kneeled down, and ſpoke to this Effect:

Sir A. W. *p.* 99. *My Lords the Judges, It is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in Examination a Buſineſs of poiſoning. Lord, in what a moſt miſerable Condition ſhall this Kingdom be, if our Tables ſhou'd become ſuch a Snare, as none wou'd eat without Danger of Life, and that* Italian *Cuſtom ſhou'd be introduc'd amongſt us; therefore I charge you, my Lords, as you will anſwer it at the great and dreadful Day of Judgment, that you examine it ſtrictly without Favour, Affection, or Partiality. And if you ſhall ſpare any of this Crime, God's Curſe light on you and your Poſterity: And if I ſpare any that are found guilty, God's Curſe light on me and my Poſterity.*

K. James *curſes himſelf and Poſterity, if he pardon'd the Murderers of* Overbury.

How well this agrees with theſe Words in the Pardon, which he ſome time after granted to the Counteſs of *Somerſet*, who was the greateſt Criminal: *We have of our ſpecial Grace and mere Motion pardon'd, remitted, and remiſ'd; and by theſe Preſents for our ſelves, our Heirs, and Succeſſors, do pardon, remiſs, and releaſe* Frances Carre *late Counteſs of* Somerſet, *the Slaughter, Killing, Poiſoning, Bewitching, Death, Felony, and felonious Murther of Sir* Thomas Overbury. The Effect of his Majeſty's moſt dreadful Imprecation fell heavy on the Princeſs *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, and her royal Family, as was then particularly obſerv'd. How viſible it was in the Fate of King *Charles* the Firſt her Brother and his Offſpring, needs no farther Obſervation; and it is impoſſible to read this Speech and Execration without trembling, whatever Archbiſhop *Whitgift* and Archdeacon *Echard* have been pleas'd to ſay of King *James*'s Piety. From *Theobalds* his Majeſty went to *Royſton* accompany'd with *Somerſet*, who took his Leave of him there, and never with more ſeeming Affection than at this time. When he kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, the King hung about his Neck, ſaying, *For God's ſake when ſhall I ſee thee again. On my Soul, I ſhall neither eat nor ſleep till you come.* Then lolling about his Neck he ſaid, *For God's ſake give thy Lady this Kiſs for me*; which he repeated at the Stairs-head, at the Middle of the Stairs, and at the Stairs-foot. But the Earl was ſcarce in the Coach, when his Majeſty turn'd about and cry'd, *I ſhall never ſee his Face more. What a Comedy is this?* ſays *Vaſſor*. *Good God! Are Princes, whoſe high Birth and Station ought to inſpire them with noble and ſincere Sentiments; I ſay, Are Princes capable of ſuch a Baſeneſs; nay, to give it its right Name, of ſo black a Perfidiouſneſs!*

Sir A. W. *p.* 102.

His Diſſimulation.

A.D.1615.

The firſt who was try'd for the Death of *Overbury* was *Richard Weſton*, who was convicted, condemn'd, and executed; as was alſo Mrs. *Turner*. Sir *Jervas Elways* the Lieutenant's Turn was next. At his Trial a Letter was produc'd written by the Earl of *Northampton* to *Somerſet*, ſo full of Bawdry, that the Lord Chief Juſtice cou'd not read it. *Elways* being convicted and condemn'd, was hang'd on *Tower-hill*. *James Frankley* was for the ſame Crime executed at *Tyburn*. But Sir *Thomas Munſon*'s Trial was put off, after he had been arraign'd at *Guildhall*.

Overbury's *Murderers puniſh'd.*

A.D.1616. In *April* the next Year, the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Counteſs were brought to their Trial. The Counteſs pleaded guilty, but the Earl was try'd by his Peers, convicted, and both of them condemn'd. The great Eſtate he had heap'd up by the King's Prodigality and his own Parſimony was given to ſome of the Courtiers. The Earl and Counteſs liv'd many Years after. The latter dy'd miſerably, and the Charms of her Perſon were ſo entirely loſt, that at her Death it was as loathſome as it had been bewitching in the Bloom of her Youth. They had one Daughter, who marry'd the Earl, afterwards Duke of *Bedford*. A Lady as diſtinguiſh'd by her Virtue as her Rank; and ſuch Care was taken to conceal from her the odious Character of her Mother, that ſhe had heard nothing of this Story till a Year or two before ſhe dy'd; when a Hiſtory of thoſe Times happening in her way, ſhe read what concern'd the Counteſs of *Eſſex*'s Divorce; upon which ſhe exclaim'd againſt the Malice and Falſhood of the Author, and was perſuaded by the Lady who gave me this Information, that no other Writer had ever mention'd it; and it was a Lye invented out of Envy to the Earl of *Somerſet*'s Favour and Fortune. *MS.*

Sir A. W. *p.* 22.

The Whiſper of Prince *Henry*'s being poiſon'd was reviv'd upon the Trial of *Somerſet*, and continu'd as long as this King liv'd; and his giving *Car* 4000*l.* a Year after he was condemn'd, and keeping Correſpondence with him to his dying Day, was not the way to put a ſtop to it.

Vaſſor. *p.* 14.

Tho' King *James* wou'd not aſſiſt the Prince of *Conde* and the *French* Proteſtants, who offer'd in ſuch Caſe to prevent the double Marriage between *France* and *Spain*; yet the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Venice* propos'd a League between his Maſter and that Republick againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*: But *the Senate*, ſays *Vaſſor*, *underſtood very well the Character of King* James, *and thank'd him with as much Civility as poſſible, tho' they cou'd not rely on the Promiſes of a Prince, who cou'd patiently ſuffer the Archdukes of the* Netherlands, *in Sight of* England, *to take Poſſeſſion of the Dutchies of* Cleves *and* Juliers, *in wrong to the Elector of* Brandenburgh, *a Proteſtant Ally*. Doubtleſs this Negotiation wou'd have been mention'd by *Echard*, as an illuſtrious Inſtance of his Majeſty's Wiſdom, had it come to his Knowledge. The King undertook the Affair of an Union among Proteſtants of all Nations, and wrote to the Reform'd Churches of *France* aſſembled at *Tonneins*. He alſo invited that Eminent Divine Monſieur *Du Moulin* to his Court, where he was well receiv'd for about three Months, but the Project came to nothing; tho' according to *Vaſſor*, *it was more becoming his Royal Dignity than to ſcuffle with* Perron *and* Bellarmine. He adds, *'Tis true King* James *very ſeldom took the right Side, or elſe ſlightly forſook it whenever he had taken it; and inſtead of applying himſelf to pacify the Troubles in the* United Provinces, *he increas'd them out of a Deſign to be reveng'd of* Barneveldt, *whom he hated* probably for over-reaching him in the Bargain for the Cautionary Towns. Indeed he hardly ever did any thing conſiderable for a Proteſtant or publick Intereſt abroad; and when *Bonnivet* the Envoy from the *French* Proteſtants

*A.D.*1616. deſir'd his Aſſiſtance as Queen *Elizabeth* was wont to aſſiſt them, he left them to the Reſentment and Power of the *French* King; ſaying, *All I can do for the Prince of* Conde *is to endeavour to reconcile him to the King his near Kinſman.* Upon which *Vaſſor* reaſons thus juſtly: *Shou'd he not in good Politicks have threaten'd* France, *that the Proteſtant States wou'd not care much to cultivate her Alliance, if ſhe enter'd into too ſtrict Ties with* Spain *their greateſt Enemy.* He adds, *His* Britannick *Majeſty was ſo ignorant of his Intereſt, that he was decoy'd with Hopes of marrying his Son to the* Infanta. We ſee by theſe wiſe Steps what Foundation there is for *Echard* and other Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians to extol the Wiſdom of this Reign, and place a ſecond *Solomon* on the *Britiſh* Throne. The King by Sir *Thomas Edmunds* his Ambaſſador offer'd his Mediation to accommodate Matters between *Lewis* the XIIIth and the Prince of *Conde*; but the *French* Miniſters wou'd not ſuffer *Edmunds* to ſign the Treaty. This Slur on his Majeſty's Mediation was not ſo inglorious to him, as his delivering up the before-mention'd Cautionary Towns, which *Le Clerc* places ſome Years before. Thoſe Cities, *Brill*, *Fluſhing* and *Rammekins* are look'd upon as the Keys to the three famous Rivers, the *Maeſe*, the *Scheld*, and the *Rhine*; and were put into the Hands of the *Engliſh* for the Money Q. *Elizabeth* lent the *States*, which with the Intereſt amounted to ſome Millions. *Barneveldt*, one of the moſt able Miniſters of that Age, being well inform'd of the low Eſtate of King *James*'s *Exchequer*, occaſion'd by his prodigal Bounty and extravagant Expences, and of his Favourite's Readineſs to take Money, thought the Juncture proper for the *States* to recover thoſe Towns at a cheaper Rate than the Payment of what they ow'd upon them. Accordingly he ſet himſelf at the Head of a pompous Embaſſy from *Holland*, and beſtow'd his Flattery and Bribes ſo well, that he obtain'd Reſtitution of the three Cities for a tenth Part of what was due to the Crown of *England*. Upon
P. 233. which *Vaſſor* writes thus: *The* Engliſh *loudly cry'd out againſt their weak and covetous King, who had ſully'd his own Reputation, as well as diſparag'd the whole Nation, by his ſo ſhameful a Treaty. They publickly reproach'd him for having been ſo ſcandalouſly put upon by the* Dutch, *or betray'd by his Favourites and Miniſters.* Mr. *Echard* tells us, he freed himſelf from thoſe Towns to prevent Propoſitions from *Spain*, where he was beginning a Treaty by his Ambaſſador Sir *John Digby*, to marry his Son *Charles* Prince of *Wales* to the *Infanta*; which Treaty tended viſibly to the weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt, and expos'd the King's Honour to the Inſolence and Caprice of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters. The new Favourite roſe ſo faſt, that the People had hardly time to remember the Honours that were conferr'd upon him. Not long after he was knighted, the King created him Baron *Whaddon*, Viſcount *Villiers*, and made him Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen; then Gentleman of his Bedchamber, Privy-Counſellor, and Knight of the Garter. He was ſoon after created Earl of *Buckingham*, and made Juſtice in *Eyre*, Maſter of the King's *Bench-Office*, Steward of *Weſtminſter*, Conſtable of *Windſor* Caſtle, and Lord High Admiral of *England*. The Lord Chancellor *Elleſmer* having incurr'd his Diſpleaſure, the Seals were taken
Sir A. W. *p.* 125. from him; and to mortify him the more, Sir *Francis Bacon* his intended Succeſſor, whom the Lord Chancellor hated, was ſent to demand them of him; but the old Chancellor refus'd to deliver the Seals to him, and ſent them to the King by a Servant of his own. Sir *Edward Coke* was diſcharg'd
Coke, 91. from his Office of Lord Chief Juſtice, and Sir *Henry Montagu* put in his room. Sir *Edward Coke* had highly diſguſted the Court and the rigid Churchmen, by his oppoſing Archbiſhop *Bancroft*'s Articles againſt granting *Prohibitions* at Common Law; as alſo by oppoſing the Favourite *Buckingham* in the Diſpoſal of a Law Patent. He might have been reſtor'd, if he wou'd have given a Bribe; but he anſwer'd, *A Judge ought not to take one, nor give one.* The Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Treaſurer, having loſt his main Supporter the Earl of *Somerſet*, ſtood in a very tottering Condition, till he fell under a Fine of 30000*l.* for his and his Lady's Miſdemeanors. *Suffolk*'s White Staff was given firſt to Sir *Henry Montagu*, and then to Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, afterwards Earl of *Middleſex*: *A Man of ſo mean Birth, that*, to uſe *Welden*'s Words, *none but a poor-ſpirited* Nobility *wou'd have endur'd his perching on that high Tree of Honour.* Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court, was *now diſcharg'd for Bribery*, and Sir *William Byrde* put in his Place. Sir *Henry Yelverton*, Attorney-General, was alſo remov'd for adding ſome Clauſes to the Charter of *London*, and Sir *Thomas Coventry* made Attorney in his room. His Majeſty came in Perſon into the Court of *Star-Chamber*, and made a Speech like a Sermon, in which are theſe moſt eloquent Expreſſions: *Another Sort* Wilſon, *are Gentlemen of great Worth in their own Conceit,* 101. *and cannot be content with the preſent Form of Government, but muſt have a Kind of Liberty in the People, and muſt be gracious Lords and Redeemers of their Liberty; and in every Cauſe that concerns Prerogative give a Snatch againſt Monarchy, thro' their Puritanical Itching after Popularity.* The next Words ſhew us what it was that gave the King ſuch Offence. *Some of them have ſhew'd themſelves too bold of late in the Lower Houſe of Parliament.* We ſee here that King *James* made a Jeſt of the People's *Liberty*, and what Opinion he had of the Purity of the Reform'd Religion, appears by his comparing it to the Itch. 'Tis true, he intimates that the Piety and Virtue of the *Puritans* had made them popular; and it was therefore an Exceſs of Wiſdom in him to frown upon and oppreſs them in favour of bigotted Eccleſiaſticks, who were hated by the People, and careſs'd by him only for advancing the Prerogative above thoſe Laws, which the Patriots in the Lower Houſe of Parliament aſſerted and endeavour'd to maintain.

About this Time dy'd the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, *Lady* Ara- firſt Couſin to the King, being the Daughter of bella *dies.* the Lord *Charles Stuart*, younger Brother to the Lord *Darnley* his Majeſty's Father. This Lady is the ſame who was mention'd in *Raleigh*'s Conſpiracy; and for marrying Sir *William Seymour*, afterwards Marquis of *Hertford*, without the King's Conſent, ſhe was impriſon'd in the *Tower*, where ſhe liv'd many Years; and dying there about the Time that Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Death made the moſt Noiſe, *Wilſon* tells us it *ſet Mens Tongues and Fears at Work.* Theſe are the Halcyon Days on which the Archdeacon beſtows as many Flouriſhes as his Rhetorick cou'd furniſh him with. *In theſe peaceable Times the Temple of* Janus *was ſhut, Halcyon Days ſhin'd round the Iſland, and the Influence of the King's peaceful Mind had almoſt an univerſal Operation.* Whereas it was never pretended that this King's Counſels had the leaſt Influence on the Nations around us. *Wilſon* gives another Picture of theſe Times of Peace even where he ſpoke of the Halcyon Days. " Nothing now but Bravery " and Feaſting, the Parents of Debauchery and " Riot, flouriſh'd amongſt us. There is no Theme " for *Hiſtory* where Men ſpill more *Drink* than " *Blood.* When Plots and Contrivances for Luſt " in dark Corners are more practis'd than Stratagems of War; and when the Stages with ſilken " Pageants and Poppets that ſlacken the Sinews, " are more frequented than thoſe Theatres of Honour, where Induſtry brawns and hardens the " Arms. *Peace* is a great *Bleſſing*, if it bring not " a *Curſe* with it; but War is more happy in its " Effects than it, eſpecially if it takes away the

*A.D.*1617. " Diſtemper that grows by long Surfeits without " deſtroying the Body. But ſince theſe *Buskind* " Ornaments are wanting, we muſt imbelliſh our " Diſcourſes with ſuch Paſſages as paced up and " down in the *Sock* of Peace". Inſtead of theſe juſt and natural Reflections, the Archdeacon, whoſe Function methinks ſhou'd have inſpir'd him with
P. 415. ſome ſuch Sentiments, extols the King's Care of the Church's Revenues; however, he acknow-
Book of Sports. ledges that the Book of *Sports*, which was publiſh'd next Year, was an *Encroachment on the* Sabbath, *and gave both King and People more Liberty to profane it.* All Miniſters who refus'd to read that impious Book in their Churches were impriſon'd and ſuſpended by the *High-Commiſſion* Court; and I do not find any better Reaſon for this Impiety and Perſecution than what *Echard* gives us: *The King was a great Lover of Sports.* Dr. *Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeveral other Biſhops, ſtrenuouſly oppos'd the *Profanation* of the *Lord's Day* by Authority; and great Numbers of Divines not only refus'd to read the King's Declaration, but preach'd zealouſly againſt *Sabbath-breaking*, tho' warranted by his Majeſty; whoſe main Argument was, to prevent the Proteſtants in *Lancaſhire* turning Papiſts to have the ſame Privileges of Plays and Paſtimes on the Lord's-Day, as the Popiſh Prieſts allow'd their Followers. King *James* took notice of the Want of theſe *Sunday* Sports in his Journey thro' *Lancaſhire* to *Scotland*, where he ſtay'd about three Months; and at his Return ſet forth his Declaration for *Dancing, Leaping, Vaulting, Shooting, Maygames, Whitſun-Ales, Morrice-Dances, Maypoles* on the *Sabbath-Day. It is ſad to recount*, ſays Dr. *Fuller*, *what Grief and Diſtraction was occaſion'd by this Declaration in many honeſt Mens Hearts. Sanderſon*, as ſagacious a Writer as ever wrote for this *Profanation* of the *Lord's-Day*, informs us, " That ſeveral Counties
P. 459. " excell'd in ſome of theſe Paſtimes; and to en- " tertain Community with their Mirth, the Court " Progreſſes took Delight to judge of their Wa- " gers in the Journey to *Scotland*; which the Peo- " ple obſerving, petition'd the King to be merry " in *Breach of the Law of God*, and all Laws Di- " vine and Human ſince the Profeſſion of Chri- " ſtianity". *This Book*, according to *Wilſon*, *was*
P. 106. *a Trap to catch conſcientious Men, whom they cou'd not otherwiſe with all their Cunning enſnare.* He blames the Court Prelates for promoting, as they did, the *Dancing-Book*. " Theſe and other ſuch " Machinations of the Biſhops to maintain their " temporal Greatneſs, Eaſe and Plenty, made the " Stones in the Walls of their Palaces moulder a- " way, and come to nothing". For it is not to be conceiv'd, what Offence this Sabbath-breaking gave to the People in general, and how it ſtrengthen'd the *Puritan* Party, who cry'd out againſt it as a national Sin, which was threaten'd with national Vengeance. Yet the wiſe King not only commanded the Book of Sports to be publiſh'd, but affected to give an Example to his Subjects by putting the *Lord's-Day* to the ſame Uſe he enjoin'd by his Book; and it was obſerv'd, that his Carriages commonly ſet out on a *Sunday*, when he remov'd his Court from one Place to another. Thus they paſs'd thro' *London* ſoon after the Declaration was made publick on a *Sabbath-Day* in Time of Divine Service; and making a very great Clutter and Noiſe, the Lord-Mayor, Sir *George Bolles*, commanded them to be ſtopp'd. The Officers belonging to the Carriages return'd immediately to Court, and complain'd to the King of this Violence; upon which his Majeſty in a great Rage ſwore, *he thought there had been no more Kings in* England *but himſelf.* However, having
Wilſon, 106. cool'd upon it a little, he ſign'd a Warrant to the Lord Mayor to let them paſs; which he obey'd with this Anſwer, *Whilſt it was in my Power, I did my Duty; but that being taken away by a higher Power, it is my Duty to obey:* Which being told *A.D.*1617. the King, he was ſo touch'd with it, that it is ſaid he ſent the Lord Mayor his Thanks for it.

Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King's faithful and honeſt Servant and Secretary, dying, his Majeſty made Sir *Robert Naunton* and Sir *George Calvert* Secretaries. Sir *Robert* was a zealous Proteſtant, and Sir *George* a Papiſt of the *Spaniſh* Faction, which flouriſh'd as much as the King's Countenance cou'd make it; and by their Power and Influence the Papiſts not only grew bold but inſolent, making Proſelytes daily among the looſer Sort of People.

The Earl, now Marquis of *Buckingham*, having no Rival in the King's Favour, provided for his Family as well as himſelf, and brought a Crowd of them from their Country Cots to Court. His Mother *Mary Beaumont* before-mention'd, whom the Lord *Compton* had marry'd, was made Counteſs of *Buckingham*. It was her Place to teach his Kindred, as faſt as they came up, how to carry themſelves, and put on a Court Dreſs and Air. The Women Kinsfolk were marry'd to Earls, Earls eldeſt Sons, Barons or chief Gentlemen of the greateſt Eſtates; nay, the very Kitchen Wenches, according to *Welden*, were marry'd to Knights el- *P.* 135. deſt Sons. " So that King *James*, who naturally " in former Times hated Women, had his Lodg- " ings repleniſh'd with them, and all of the Kin- " dred, the Brethren great Earls. Little Children " did run up and down the Royal Apartments " like little *Rabbit-Starters* about their Burroughs. " A ſtrange Alteration! The King, who formerly " wou'd not endure his Queen and Children in " his Lodgings, had now none but Women about " him". The Marquis's Siſter was marry'd to the Earl of *Denbigh*; his elder Brother *John Villiers* was made Viſcount *Purbeck*; his younger, *Chriſtopher Villiers*, Earl of *Angleſey*. One of his Couſins was marry'd to Sir *Anthony Aſhley*; another to Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*. *Purbeck* marry'd the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*'s Daughter; and the Marquiſs himſelf took to Wife one of the faireſt, nobleſt, and richeſt Heireſſes in *England*, the Lady *Catherine*, Daughter to *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*. It is evident, that ſuch a Train cou'd not be ſupported in ſuch Grandeur and Expence without draining the King's *Exchequer*; and 'twill not be pretended that it was an Inſtance of his Majeſty's Wiſdom to waſte the publick Treaſure on a numerous, worthleſs Family, not one of whom had any perſonal Merit, but the Favourite himſelf, who look'd well, dreſs'd well, danc'd well; and that was all. To ſupply the Profuſion of *Buckingham* and his Kindred, all Offices were ſet to Sale, as well as all Honours and Dignities Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. *Welden* informs us the Lord Chan- *P.* 129. cellor *Bacon* paid a Penſion, *Heath* the Attorney-General a Penſion, and ſo others; not forgetting *Fotherby* Biſhop of *Sarum*, who paid 3500*l.* and Dean *Bargrave*. He adds, *There were Books of Rates on all Offices, Biſhopricks and Deaneries in* England. *Books of Penſions and Fines*, by which immenſe Sums were rais'd, tho' little of it came into the *Exchequer*.

Buckingham's *Kindred advanc'd.*

The Cataſtrophe of Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Fate happen'd about this Time. He had been releas'd out of the *Tower* two Years before; but his Eſtate being taken from him, and little or nothing left for his Subſiſtence, his Wants put him upon a Project to recover his ruin'd Fortunes by an Expedition to *America*. Authors differ as to the Time and Cauſe of his Releaſement out of the *Tower*. Some ſay it was for curing the Queen of a Diſtemper by a Chymical Preparation; others attribute it to the Merit of his *Hiſtory of the World*, which he compiled during his Confinement, and was for many Years the beſt Hiſtory of the Kind extant. It was publiſh'd about three Years before his unfortunate Voyage to *Guiana*. But the true

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Fate.*

Coke, 9

*A.D.*1617. Reaſon of his Enlargement ſeems to be the Injuſtice and Scandal of keeping a Man of his Worth longer in Priſon, for a Crime which was too ill prov'd to deſerve fourteen Years Impriſonment; and the true Reaſon of his adventuring to *America* in his old Age, was his Impatience under that Poverty which the Forfeiture of his Eſtate had reduc'd him to. There is ſomething ſtrangely incompatible in King *James*'s Conduct with reſpect to this Expedition. He is in perfect Amity with *Spain*, his Ambaſſador *Digby* is treating for a Match between the Infanta and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and yet he grants a Commiſſion to Sir *Walter Raleigh* to ſeize thoſe Mines which the Catholick King claim'd as his. Sir *Walter* is in that Commiſſion ſtil'd his *beloved and faithful* Servant, *Delecto & Fideli*, which was incompatible with the Attainder he lay under, and a direct Pardon or a Nullity; for a Man who was dead in Law, cou'd not in common Senſe have a Power of Life and Death over other Men, as he had by this Commiſſion. And if it was a Pardon, which it muſt be, or it was Nonſenſe, the cutting off his Head afterwards for an obſolete Attainder, was as much a Murder, as the cutting his Throat wou'd have been before he was attainted. This is the plain Fact, and plain Argument, which will not bear further Reflection. 'Tis thought Sir *Walter*, who had been at *Guiana* 21 Years before, was deceiv'd himſelf in the Information he had of Gold Mines there. However, he ſet up Marks to direct him to them when he came thither again. Captain *Keymis*, A. M. of *Baliol-College Oxon*, had been his Companion in the *Guiana* Voyage *A. D.* 1595, and brought with him a Piece of Ore, which very much reſembled Gold: Sir *Walter*, who was a great Chymiſt, made an Experiment of it, and we are told, deceiv'd *Keymis* by repreſenting it as real Gold, whereas all he meant by it, was to raiſe Contributions for his intended Voyage, and ſo repay the Contributors out of the Wealth he got in *America*, or never ſee *England* more. Every one knows the ill Succeſs of this Enterprize, in which many Perſons of Condition engag'd, as Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *John Fern*, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Brother to the Lords *North* and *Mounteagle*, Captain *Chudleigh* of *Devonſhire*, Major *Pigot*, Captain *Thornhurſt*. The Fleet conſiſted of about 12 Sail, two of which deſerted before they reach'd *Guiana*, commanded by Captain *Whitney* and Captain *Woollaſton*. Moſt of the Officers fell ſick, and Sir *Walter* himſelf was ſo weak, that he was carry'd in a Chair. When they arriv'd at *Guiana*, Captain *Keymis* was detach'd with five of the ſmaller Ships, to ſail up the River *Orenoquo* to diſcover the Mine. He had with him five Companies of Foot commanded by Captain *Walter Raleigh*, the General's eldeſt Son, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Chudleigh*, and Captain *Thornhurſt*. The Marks which had been left for their Direction in the firſt Voyage, were either worn out or remov'd by the *Spaniards*, who had rais'd ſeveral Fortifications there ſince the Year 1595; a certain Proof that they claim'd the Country of *Guiana*, and King *James* commiſſion'd Sir *Walter* to invade it by ſeizing the Mines, at the ſame Time that *Digby* was commiſſion'd to conclude a Treaty of the ſtricteſt Alliance with the King of *Spain*. *Keymis* loſt ſeveral Men by Shot from thoſe Forts in his Paſſage up the River. No Mine was to be found, and that the Voyage might turn to ſome Account, *Keymis* attack'd *St. Thomas*, a *Spaniſh* Town: Mr. *Raleigh*, Sir *Walter*'s Son, was kill'd in the Aſſault, but the Town was taken and plunder'd; a downright Breach of the Peace, and contrary to King *James*'s Command, that they ſhou'd enter upon no Part of the King of *Spain*'s Dominions, other than the Country where the undiſcover'd Mine was, which was as much a Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions as *Mexico* and *Peru*; for the Pope had given the King of *Spain* all that Continent of *America*, and he had no better Title to any part of it. The Country where the Mine was ſaid to be, had been deſcribed by Sir *Walter* as exactly as he cou'd; to which Deſcription was added the Number of Ships, the Complement of Men, the Ordnance of every Ship. A Draft of the whole was given to the King, who gave it to *Gondemar* the *Spaniſh* Envoy; and we are told a Copy of it was found by *Keymis* at *St. Thomas*, when he took the Town. I do not think this deſerves the ſevere Reflections which are made on it in Hiſtory: For King *James* cou'd do no leſs than ſatisfy his Brother of *Spain*, that the Armament was not intended againſt his Subjects, but was made by Adventurers in queſt of Riches, which being not yet diſcover'd, cou'd be no body's Property. No fair way of arguing, for the Proprietor of any Land, has the Propriety of every Mine within the Bounds of it diſcover'd or not diſcover'd. The ſacking of *St. Thomas*, was certainly a Breach of Sir *Walter*'s Promiſe to the King upon his Allegiance, not to commit offenſive Hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*; and when *Keymis* return'd from his Enterprize without News of the Mine, Raleigh *was perplex'd to the very Soul*, telling him *he had undone him, by wounding his Credit with the King paſt Recovery, but he might aſſure himſelf to have a Share of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure*. *Keymis*, in great Anxiety, retires to his Cabin, and ſhot himſelf with a Piſtol. Sir *Walter* hearing the Noiſe, ask'd *What it was?* Anſwer was made, *Captain* Keymis *has ſhot off a Piſtol in his Cabbin to cleanſe it:* But *Keymis*'s Man entring the Cabbin, found his Maſter weltring in his Blood. The Piſtol having a little Bullet, only crack'd the Ribs, which being too ſlow for his Fury he deſperately thruſt a Knife in after it up to the Haft, and expir'd. Sir *Walter* wou'd have prevail'd with his Followers to ſail directly to *France*, where he was promis'd Protection. But the Majority was for returning home, and accordingly the Fleet firſt put into *Ireland*, and then into *Plymouth*, where Orders were come to ſeize Sir *Walter* as ſoon as he arriv'd, to appeaſe the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who dinn'd the Kings Ears with the Sack of *St. Thomas*. Sir *Lewis Stewkely*, Vice-Admiral of *Devon*, a Kinſman of *Raleigh*'s, apprehended him, and brought him to *London* the 9th of *Auguſt* in the following Year. Being committed to the *Tower*, he form'd a Deſign to eſcape with the Privity of his Couſin *Stewkely*, who betray'd him, and receiv'd the Reward of his Villany when he was afterwards hang'd for counterfeiting the Coin. Sir *Walter* was re-taken on the *Thames*, examin'd by the Lord-Chancellor and Privy-Council, and warn'd to prepare for Death. On the 28th of *October* he was convey'd to the King's-Bench Bar in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where Sir *Henry Montagu* Lord-Chief-Juſtice, demanded of him why Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him fifteen Years before, ſhou'd not be executed. He pleaded his Commiſſion *Dilecto & Fideli Waltero Raleigh*, and that the King's belov'd and faithful Servant cou'd not be a Traytor. The Court over-rul'd his Plea, the beſt that cou'd be made in Juſtice and Reaſon, and order'd him to be executed the very next Day. It is a very melancholy Conſideration, that there have always been found among the Learned in the Law, even the moſt eminent, ſuch as wou'd ſacrifice their Learning and Conſcience to the Pleaſure of the Prince. The *French* Ambaſſador the Baron *de Cheſne* interceeded for Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but his Fate was reſolv'd, and his Blood given to *Gondemar* as the Price of *St. Thomas*. Had he been try'd for exceeding his Commiſſion, and infringing the Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, and been found guilty, there wou'd have been a Colour of Juſtice in cutting off his Head. But unleſs he cou'd have been puniſh'd for another Man's Crime, himſelf knowing nothing of *Keymis*'s Attempt againſt

*A.D.*1617.

Wilſon, *p.* 115.

*A.D.*1618.

A.D. 1618. gainſt *St. Thomas* 'till 'twas done, his Life cou'd not have been taken away on that Account; and to behead him for a Treaſon which had been laugh'd at for a dozen Years, was the boldeſt Act of Injuſtice and Cruelty that ever was committed in a Chriſtian Country, a daring Inſult againſt Law and Humanity. The People wiſh'd *Raleigh*'s Head on Secretary *Calvert*'s Shoulders, and clamour'd ſo much againſt the Execution of an antiquated Sentence, that King *James* thought it neceſſary to publiſh an *Apology, which,* ſays *Osborn, according to the Mode of weak and ill-conſulted Princes, render'd the Condition of that Proceeding worſe in the World's Opinion.* The Wiſdom of granting the Commiſſion to Sir *Walter*, and the Juſtice of taking away his Life for a Crime committed fifteen Years before, if ever it was committed at all, are fit Topicks for ſuch Panegyriſts as *Sanderſon* and *Echard.*

Treaty of Marriage with the Infanta.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Death reviv'd the Treaty of Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*, to which King *James* afterwards ſacrific'd the Intereſts of his only Daughter the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Royal Family, who were the Care of Providence for the Good of Religion, and the Glory of this Kingdom. It is not deny'd, that a Toleration of Popery was a ſeparate Article of the Marriage Treaty; and how conſiſtent that was with his Majeſty's Zeal for the Proteſtant Church of *England*, is left to the Reader's Conſideration. The *Spaniards* flatter'd him with Hopes of Two Millions of Gold as the *Infanta*'s Portion; and the King who, as *Coke* writes, was *never poorer*, cou'd not reſiſt the Temptation, tho' every reaſonable Man in his Kingdon, but himſelf and his Minions, cou'd ſee 'twas only a Bait to lead him into *Spaniſh* Meaſures, and promote the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which in good Policy he ſhou'd always have oppoſed, as his glorious Predeceſſor Queen *Elizabeth* had done. The Head of his Miniſtry, and in a Manner of his Monarchy, was the Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, who indulg'd himſelf in all Riot and Luxury. His Majeſty being ſo far from diſcountenancing him in it, that Sir *Edward Peyton* informs us he encourag'd and aſſiſted him. The Baronet writes thus: "To pleaſe this Favourite, the King "gave Way to the Duke to entice others to his "Will. Two Examples I will recite. Firſt, the "King entertain'd Sir *James Crofts*, and his Daugh-"ter, a beautiful Laſs, at *Newmarket*, to ſit at "Table with the King. This he did then to pro-"cure *Buckingham* the eaſier to vitiate her. Se-"condly, Mrs. *Dorothy Gawdy*, being a rare Crea-"ture, King *James* carried *Buckingham* to *Culford* "to have his Will on that Beauty; but Sir *Nicholas* "*Bacon*'s Sons convey'd her out of a Window into "a private Chamber, and ſo diſappointed the Duke "of his wicked Purpoſe." Sir *Edward Peyton* was then at *Culford*, and aſſiſted the two *Bacons* in that *cleanly Conveyance.* He adds; *Truly that Day a ſober Man was hard to be ſeen in King, Prince, and Nobles.* His Majeſty wrote a Letter to the Pope, *That there ſhou'd be a Toleration for Popery, when he had brought his Affairs to his Bent in* Great-Britain. *The Letter was diſcover'd by a lucky Chance to the ſeven Years Parliament, and complained of in the Remonſtrance to the King, who made the* Scotiſh *Secretary own this Act, and affirm it was his, and not the King's,* promiſing him to *take him off at laſt with Advancement*, but *contrary it occaſion'd the Secretary's Ruin.* The King and Prince ſign'd an Article, that the Pope ſhou'd be ſatisfied in his Conſcience with reſpect to the tolerating Papiſts before he granted the Diſpenſation. Notwithſtanding which, his Majeſty appear'd very zealous for ſuppreſſing the *Arminians* in *Holland*, and reſtoring Peace to the Proteſtant Church. The *Arminians*, as has been hinted, were term'd *Remonſtrants*, and the oppoſite Party *Contra-Remonſtrants.* The former had *Barneveldt* for their Leader, who out of Hatred to the Prince of *Orange*, enter'd into Intrigues tending to the Deſtruction of the Government, for which he loſt his Head, and one of his Accomplices, the famous *Hugo Grotius*, was condemn'd to perpetual Impriſonment, but made his Eſcape in a Trunk, which his Wife told the Guard was full of *Arminian* Books, that were to be immediately burnt.

P. 34. *Buckingham's Lewdneſs.* *King writes to the Pope.* *P.* 35. Coke, *p.* 107.

A.D. 1618.

To put an End to this Controverſy, the States-General reſolv'd to call a national Synod at *Dort*, and amongſt other Princes and States, invited King *James* to ſend ſome Divines to repreſent the Reform'd Church of *England*, who accordingly appointed Dr. *Carlton* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Hall* afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Davenant* afterwards Biſhop of *Sarum*, and Dr. *Ward* Archdeacon of *Taunton*, to aſſiſt at that Synod. Excellent Divines! And had our national Church been always bleſt with ſuch Fathers, the dreadful Words *Schiſm* and *Perſecution* had never been met with in our Hiſtories. One of King *James*'s Injunctions to them was, *That they conform themſelves to the Confeſſions of the Neighbour* Reform'd Churches, *and hold good Correſpondence with them.* How does this agree with *Laud*'s forbidding the *Dutch* and *Walloons* to worſhip God after their own manner, and with the Lord *Clarendon*'s Panegyrick on King *Charles* II. for refuſing to go to the Proteſtant Church at *Charenton* in *France*? The States-General allow'd theſe four Divines Ten Pounds a Day for their Entertainment; and King *James* ſent after them one *Balcanqual* a *Scotiſh* Divine, but a Hater of the *Scotiſh* Church, to repreſent her. He had a particular Seat erected for him, which *Fuller* tells us diſcompos'd the Uniformity of the Building, which was extreamly regular before. Dr. *Joſeph Hall* falling ſick, return'd to *England* for Recovery of his Health, and Dr. *Thomas Goad* Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, was ſent to ſupply his Place. This Synod having agreed upon a Confeſſion of Faith, known by the Name of the *Belgick Confeſſion*, the *Engliſh* Divines proteſted againſt what related to Diſcipline, and approv'd of all the doctrinal Points; which ſhews us, what few of the rural Clergy have not the leaſt Notion of, that the Church of *England* is the very ſame with the Church of *Holland* in Matters of *Doctrine*; and then I think we need not ſcruple to conform to her on account of Diſcipline. The fierce *Mountague*, Author of the *Appeal*, which we ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to ſpeak of, fell furiouſly upon theſe reverend *Engliſh* Doctors, for approving any thing which the *Dutch* Proteſtants approv'd. The States-General gave them at their Departure a Medal of Gold, and 200 Pounds to bear their Expences back. This Synod condemn'd *Arminianiſm*; but tho' it ſunk here, it roſe again in *England*, and was cheriſh'd by the moſt rigid of the rigorous Churchmen in Oppoſition to *Puritaniſm*, or rather to the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion.

Synod of Dort. Fuller, *p.* 78. *P.* 79.

Archbiſhop Spolato turns to the Church of England.

Conſidering of what poor Materials the Hiſtory of this Reign conſiſts, we muſt not omit the Arrival of *Antonio de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spolato* in *England.* He had been fourteen Years Archbiſhop of that See in *Dalmatia*, under the State of *Venice*, and pretending Conſcience, he renounced the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and conform'd to that of *England* about a Year before he arriv'd here. He ſaid the *Romiſh Church* was *myſtical Babylon*, the *Pope* a *Nimrod*, a *Tyrant*, *Schiſmatick*, *Heretick*, and even *Antichriſt* himſelf. It ſeems he had a Pique againſt the Pope, *Paul* V. for making him pay 500 Crowns a Year out of his Biſhoprick to a Suffragan, and in a Fury left *Italy*. He made but a ſhort Stay in the *United-Provinces*, not liking their *Presbyterian* Government, too mean for his archiepiſcopal Spirit. Coming to *England*, he was receiv'd by King *James* with as much Favour as if he had been a real Convert. He ſoon found out the King's Foible, and flattering him for his Learning and Knowledge

*A.D.*1618. in Divinity, obtain'd ſeveral rich Preſents and profitable Preferments, his Majeſty ſending him a fair Baſon and Bowl of Silver, the Archbiſhop received it with this Compliment; *Miſit mihi Rex Magnæ Britanniæ*, &c. The *King of* Great-Britain *has ſent me a Silver Baſon to waſh from me the Filth of the* Roman *Church, and a Silver Cup to mind me to drink the Purity of the Goſpel.* He was ſoon after made Dean of *Windſor*, with the good Parſonage of *Weſt-Iſleſly* in *Berkſhire* annex'd to it, and Maſter of the *Savoy*; which Benefices he was no ſooner poſſeſs'd of, than he began to be very vexatious to his Tenants, and intended to queſtion all his Predeceſſors Leaſes at the *Savoy*; but Dr. *King* Biſhop of *London*, reprimanded him ſo ſeverely for it, that he dropp'd that Deſign. Dr. *Fuller* owns King *James* was *deluded with this Man's falſe Spirit*, which muſt be taken for another Evidence of Wiſdom. *Gondemar* the *Spaniſh* Envoy taking Offence at a Jeſt the Archbiſhop made upon him, told King *James he was ſtill a Papiſt in his Heart*, and he wou'd prove it. To effect it, he wrote to his Maſter the King of *Spain*, to demand *de Dominis*'s Pardon of the Pope, with a Promiſe of Preferment, and a Cardinal's Cap, if he wou'd ſign a Recantation of what he had ſaid and written againſt the Catholick Church *Spolato* readily embrac'd the Motion, and ſign'd the Recantation, which was preſented him by *Gondemar*, who carry'd it immediately to the King. His Majeſty order'd the Matter to be kept ſecret, *De Dominis* being at that very Inſtant an importunate Petitioner for the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, vacant, as it was thought, by the ſuppos'd Death of *Matthew*, which his Majeſty denying him after he was convinc'd of his Falſhood, *Spolato* deſir'd leave to depart the Kingdom, and was commanded ſo to do within twenty Days, and never to return. This Meſſage ſtartled *de Dominis*, who expected to be courted to ſtay in *England*; and when he found the King was in earneſt, he made all the Intereſt he cou'd to be permitted to ſtay, but all being in vain, he ſhipp'd himſelf with Count *Swartzenbourg* the Imperial Ambaſſador, and return'd to *Flanders*, from whence he went to *Rome*, where he liv'd on a ſmall Penſion paid him by Pope *Gregory* XV. whoſe Succeſſor *Urban* VIII. prohibited the Payment of it; and upon Information of ſome Expreſſions of his in Praiſe of the Books he had written againſt Popery, he was ſeiz'd and thrown into Priſon, where he dy'd, and his Corpſe being excommunicated after his Death was burnt in the Field of *Flora*. Of this *Spolato* Dr. *Fuller* writes thus:

Recants.

P. 99. " He was the firſt who, profeſſing the Proteſtant " Religion, us'd the Word *Puritan* to ſignify the " Defenders of Matters of Doctrine in the Church " of *England*. For merely the Word was only " taken to denote ſuch as diſſented from the *Hi-* " *erarchy* in Diſcipline and Church Government, " which now was extended to brand ſuch as were " *Anti-Arminians* in their Judgments. As *Spolato* " firſt abuſed the Word in this Senſe, ſo we wiſh " he had carried it away with him in his Return " to *Rome*; whereas now, leaving the Word be- " hind him in this extenſive Signification, it has " ſince by others been improv'd to aſperſe the " moſt *orthodox in Doctrine*, and religious in Con- " verſation." By this we ſee that the Divines and others, who were perſecuted by *Laud* and the *Arminian* Prelates, were the moſt orthodox and religious, according to the Teſtimony of a Divine of our own Church; and how wiſe and how pious muſt King *James* be, to ridicule and hate the moſt religious and orthodox of his Subjects? Let it be remember'd that the Term *Puritan*, us'd as a Reproach, was the Invention of this Arch Apoſtate and Impoſtor *Antonio de Dominis* Archbiſhop of *Spolato*.

Puritans, whence the Word.

Q. Anne's *Death.* Cometa were ſo little known in theſe Times, that the Hiſtorians dwell much upon the Appearance of one in *Libra* for twenty-eight Days together. *Echard*, who, as has been obſerv'd, affects every where the *marvellous*, will have it to prognoſticate the Death of Queen *Anne*, Conſort to this King; but doubtleſs the Swelling which attends Hydropick Diſtempers, was a much more certain Prognoſtication of her Majeſty's dying of the Dropſy. Her Character is various according to the Ingenuity or Information of the Hiſtorians. Read Sir *Edward Peyton*, pag. 27, 28; and *Echard*, pag. 395, and you will as ſoon reconcile two Contraries as their Hiſtories: The latter ſays ſhe was *a peaceable and dutiful Wife, and a virtuous and pious Queen*; the former repreſents her as amorous, luxurious, and the Reverſe of Piety and Virtue, inſomuch that ſhe endeavour'd to corrupt her Son the chaſte Prince *Henry*, the Example of whoſe Life was a tacit conſtant Rebuke of his Father's and his Mother's. " She ſo initiated him in the Court of *P.* 27. " *Cupid*, as one Night ſhe ſhut him under Lock " and Key with a beautiful young Lady now dead, " which ſhe'd her Love to the Sport," *&c.* I care not to repeat any more of it, and ſhou'd not have repeated this, but to ſhew the Reader what ſort of Piety the Archdeacon's Book is ſet out with; for *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was alſo, as he records it, a moſt virtuous pious Princeſs.

*A.D.*1618.

This Year his Majeſty created *Robert Sidney* Lord Viſcount *Liſle* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *William* Lord *Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, *William* Lord *Cavendiſh* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and *Robert* Lord *Rich* Earl of *Warwick*. *A.D.*1619.

About the beginning of the following Year, the Earl of *Northumberland* was diſcharg'd out of the *Tower*, where he had been confin'd ever ſince the *Gunpowder-Plot* for harbouring his Couſin *Thomas Piercy*, one of the *Plotters*. His Liberty was procur'd him by the Lord *Hay* Viſcount *Doncaſter*, who marry'd his Daughter the Lady *Lucy* without his Conſent. This Lady was the ſame who under the Name of the Counteſs of *Carliſle*, made the moſt ſhining Figure in the Court of King *Charles* I. as a Beauty, Wit, and even as a Politician. The old Earl wou'd give her nothing, nay, he cou'd hardly be brought to accept of his Liberty from the Hands of a Son-in-law, whom he thought unworthy his Alliance. The Earl valu'd himſelf on the Antiquity and Nobility of his Family, and hearing that the Favourite *Buckingham* was drawn about in a Coach and Six Horſes, he rode through the City of *London* in a Coach with Eight Horſes, which had never been ſeen in *England* before.

Counteſs of Carliſle.

Now it was that the Troubles in *Bohemia* involved *Germany* in a cruel War. The Houſe of *Auſtria* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of that Kingdom, which was elective, and in the Perſon of *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles* V. made it hereditary under Pretence of *Ferdinand*'s Claim in Right of his Wife *Anne* Siſter to *Lewis* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, who was ſlain by the *Turks* in the Battel of *Mohatz* an hundred Years before. *Maximilian* the Son of *Ferdinand* ſucceeded him, not only as Emperor, but as King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*. His Son and Succeſſor the Emperor *Maxmilian* II. held alſo both theſe Kingdoms: The ſame did his Brother the Emperor *Rodolph* The great Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, render'd all Attempts of the *Bohemians* to recover their Liberty abortive. *Rodolph* was a worthy Prince, and granted a Toleration of the Proteſtant Religion as well to the *Auſtrians* as *Bohemians*; and the latter were ſo eaſy under the good Government of *Maximilian* II. and *Rodolph*, that they were inſenſible of the Loſs of their Freedom. *Rodolph*'s Brother and Succeſſor *Matthias*, was a mild but a weak Prince; and the *Popiſh* Party prevail'd upon him to ſurrender his Right to the Kingdom of *Bohemia* to his Couſin *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria*, Son of *Charles* younger Brother to the Emperor *Maximilian* I. This Archduke *Ferdinand* had not the leaſt Pre-

King of Bohemia

*A.D.*1619. tence of Right to the Crown of *Bohemia*, either by Election or Succeſſion, for *Anne* Wife of *Philip* III. King of *Spain*, had the hereditary Right, her Mother being the eldeſt Daughter of *Maximilian* II. However, *Ferdinand* was declar'd Succeſſor to *Matthias*, without Conſent of the States of *Bohemia*, who were enough incens'd before by the Tyranny of the *Auſtrian* Governors, under the weak Government of *Matthias*. They aſſembled to repreſent their Grievances to the Emperor, eſpecially thoſe that concern'd *Religion*, thoſe Governors having ſhamefully violated the Toleration granted them by *Maximilian* and *Rodolph*. The *Auſtrian* Miniſters, inſtigated by Jeſuits, inſtead of redreſſing their Grievances, inſulted the principal Senators, and exaſperated that Body to ſuch a degree, that they fell upon them, and flung Count *Martinitz* *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief Juſtice, *Smeſanſius* one of the Council of State, and *Fabricius* the Secretary, out of a Window in the Caſtle of *Prague*. This daring Act was like drawing the Sword, and the Deſperateneſs of the Action oblig'd them to throw away the Scabbard. The Count *de la Tour*, a Leading Senator, made a pathetick Speech to the States againſt the Tyranny of the *Auſtrian* Governors, and *Ferdinand*'s Succeſſion. The Citizens of *Prague* and the *Bohemians* in general, took Fire after the Example of the Count, and choſe a Council of thirty to undertake the Government 'till they cou'd reſtore the Conſtitution, and elect them a King, as moſt certainly it was their Right to do in oppoſition to *Ferdinand*, who not long after ſucceeded *Matthias* in the Empire, by the Vote of *George* Duke of *Saxony*, who, tho' a Proteſtant, was prevail'd upon to abandon the Intereſt of Religion, and declare for one of the moſt cruel Perſecutors the Reformation ever met with. The like did *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, in the Time of the Emperor *Charles* V. and how the Houſe of *Saxony* have behav'd in our own Times, will, in the Caſe of the Maſſacre of *Thorn*, be remember'd with Horror. The *Bohemians* did not think themſelves oblig'd to acknowledge *Ferdinand*'s Election to the Empire, and much leſs to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, for he was not legally their King: He was conſequently no legal Elector as King of *Bohemia*, tho' his Vote was taken as ſuch for himſelf, and without his own Vote for himſelf, he cou'd not have carry'd it. The States of *Bohemia* therefore diſclaim'd his Election as invalid, and proteſted by Oath againſt his Claim to their Crown.

During theſe Commotions, King *James* and his Favourite *Buckingham*, were in full Peace, and enjoy'd all the Pleaſures which uſually attend it in a luxurious Court; but that he might not ſeem to have forgotten the Continent in this Lethargy of State, he ſent the Viſcount *Doncaſter* to mediate a Reconciliation between the Emperor and the *Bohemians*, who carrying nothing but good Words and good Cloaths with him, the Effects of his Negotiation were equal to the Subſtance of it. His Majeſty's Mediation was neglected by both Parties, and the *Bohemians* offer'd their Crown to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, tho' a Papiſt, on account of his better Title to it by Heirſhip, his Mother being a younger Daughter of *Maximilian* II. King *James* did his utmoſt to excite the Duke of *Savoy* to accept of this Offer, but the Pope and King of *Spain* diſſuaded him from it, and then the States had Recourſe to *Frederick* Elector Palatine; who beſides that he was a zealous Proteſtant, had amaſs'd great Riches, and cou'd give them the beſt Aſſiſtance of any Prince in the Empire, if King *James*, the Elector's Father-in-law, wou'd aſſiſt him according to his Ability. The Prince of *Anhalt*, Count *de Holoch*, and the Baron *Done*, were moſt intimate with the Elector Palatine, who did not at firſt hearken to the Offer of the Crown made him by the *Bohemians*, who knew too little of King *James*'s Temper and Genius, in making the leaſt Dependance on Succours from him. They apply'd to the before-mention'd Lords in a manner that ſucceeded, and the Elector accepted of the Royal Dignity, without concerting with his Father-in-law, who had a good Pretence to preſerve his pacifick Counſels, his Son having ſo raſhly involv'd himſelf in a difficult and dangerous Affair without his Conſent. Baron *Done* was immediately diſpatch'd to *England* to excuſe the Suddenneſs of the Acceptation, but his Reception was as cold as cou'd be expected from a Prince who dreaded every thing which had the leaſt Look of War, tho' his Majeſty's Pretence was, that he wou'd not countenance *any People in a Power to diſpoſe of a Kingdom*. Archbiſhop *Abbot* earneſtly ſollicited him to aſſiſt the new King; and not being able to attend the Council himſelf on account of Sickneſs, he wrote to Sir *Robert Naunton* Secretary of State. *My humble Advice is, there is no going back, but a countenancing of it againſt all the World, with ringing of Bells, and making Bonefires in* London, *ſo ſoon as it ſhall be certain of the Coronation. I am ſatisfied in my Conſcience the Cauſe is juſt, God having rejected that proud and bloody Man, who wou'd have made the Kingdom not elective; and when God hath ſet up the Prince a Mark of Honour to all* Chriſtendom, *to propagate the Goſpel, and protect the Diſtreſſed, I dare to do no other, but to follow where God leads. Our ſtriking in will comfort the* Bohemians, *honour the* Palſgrave, *ſtrengthen the Union, ſtir up* Denmark, *&c.* He cloſes his Letter thus: *This from my Bed, and when I can ſtand, I hope to do better Service.* Such Sentiments as theſe were ſure to gain him the mortal Hatred of all Enemies to the true reform'd Religion; and one may ſuſpect that ſuch Sentiments as theſe provok'd the Earl of *Clarendon*, or his *Editors*, to ſay of this Archbiſhop, *He was a Man of no Credit, and totally ignorant of the Conſtitution of the Church*; an Aſſertion equally bold and falſe. The Elector was crown'd King of *Bohemia* at *Prague* about two Months after. But King *James* wou'd not ſuffer *Bonefires to be made*, nor the *Bohemians* to be *comforted*, nor the *Palſgrave* to be *honour'd*, as that moſt reverend Father adviſ'd; and one cannot enough lament the Loſs of this Opportunity to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany*; for it is plain that a ſmall Aſſiſtance wou'd at firſt have ſupported the King of *Bohemia*; 10000 Men, and 100000 Pounds in Money more than he had, wou'd have driven the *Auſtrians* out of the Kingdom; and the new King's Succeſs at firſt wou'd have ſo encouraged the Proteſtant Princes and States, that *Ferdinand* wou'd ſoon have been oblig'd to give up an imaginary Title for Peace. Had King *James* committed no other weak and ſcandalous Act of Government, this alone had been ſufficient to have render'd all Eulogy on his Wiſdom idle and ridiculous. Inſtead of Aſſiſtance, he ſent Embaſſies. Sir *Richard Weſton* afterwards Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *Edward Conway* afterwards Secretary of State, were his Ambaſſadors to the Emperor *Ferdinand*. I have often wonder'd how Men of any Diſtinction for Parts or Rank, cou'd be got to go on ſuch Errands, which were ſure to make them contemptible wherever they came. *Ferdinand* had proclaim'd the King of *Bohemia* Traytor, and given his Electoral Dignity to the Houſe of *Bavaria*, who enjoy it to this Day. The Duke of *Saxony* undertook to put the Imperial Ban in Execution, and invade the *Bohemian* Provinces with an Army of 20000 Men; Forces were immediately rais'd on both Sides, and ſome *Engliſh* Voluntiers permitted to ſerve under the Prince of *Orange*, who oppos'd *Spinola* General of the King of *Spain*'s Army, which invaded the *Palatinate*. It is not to be queſtion'd but the *States General* wou'd vigorouſly have ſeconded his Majeſty's Endeavours to preſerve that Electorate for his Son-in-law; and

*A.D.*1619.

Archbiſhop Abbot *adviſes the King to aſſiſt the Elector* Palatine.

K. James's *Weakneſs and Cowardice.*

The King neglected abroad.

*A.D.*1620.

*A.D.*1620. that *Spinola* wou'd not have ſet foot in it, had he not been ſure of King *James*'s ſtanding Neuter, and tamely ſeeing the Ruin of his Daughter, and a numerous Royal Family. Sir *Horatio Vere* commanded one Regiment only of about 1200 *Engliſh* in the Prince of *Orange*'s Army, and had with him the young Earls of *Oxford* and *Eſſex* his Nephews, Captain *Fairfax*, afterwards the famous General *Fairfax*, Sir *Gerard Herbert*, Captain *Burroughs*, and ſeveral other brave Officers, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in that Service.

Engliſh in the Prince of Orange's *Army.*

But King *James* diſown'd his Son-in-law's Proceedings by his Agent *Cottington* in *Spain*; and the *Engliſh* who ſerv'd in the *Palatinate* were look'd upon only as Auxiliaries in the *Dutch* Army. *Spinola* was put to it by the Prince of *Orange* and the *Hollanders* only, what then wou'd have become of him if a good Body of *Engliſh* Troops had join'd the *Dutch*? The Prince of *Anhalt* made head againſt the Imperial Army in *Bohemia*; and the Forces on both Sides being pretty near equal, had King *James* ſent or hir'd Troops to have join'd *Anhalt*, the Battel of *Prague* cou'd not have ended ſo fatally. 'Twas fought on the 18th of *November*, and the Prince of *Anhalt* and the *Bohemians* were entirely routed by the *Imperialiſts*; and the King and Queen left *Prague* the next Day, taking little with them of the Treaſure which ſome ſay the King had been too ſparing of, conſidering his Kingdom, nay his All was at Stake. *Anhalt* his General made his Peace with the Emperor, and enter'd into his Service. The *Spaniards* reduc'd all the Electoral Territories, except two or three Towns garriſon'd by the *Engliſh* under *Vere*, *Herbert*, and *Burroughs*. The Matter is now left to Negotiation; which is manag'd by King *James* with as much Reſolution as he had exerted in the Conduct of the War. The Truth is, his Majeſty was afraid the Court of *Spain* wou'd break off the Treaty of Marriage, which was ſtill ſpun out, if he did any thing by War or Negotiation to offend the Emperor. As he dreaded Arms, ſo he avoided in all Treaties to inſiſt on Articles which might in the leaſt put it to the Hazard. The King of *Bohemia*'s accepting that Crown is allow'd to be a raſh Action by all Writers; but the greateſt Part of the Raſhneſs conſiſts in his doing it in Deſpight of King *James*'s unactive pacifick Temper; knowing, as he muſt know if he knew any thing after having been ſo nearly ally'd to him almoſt ten Years, that he lov'd nothing in the World ſo much as Flattery, Eaſe and Pleaſure, and hated nothing in the World ſo much as Action and Peril. *Gondemar* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to lull him into a yet deeper Sleep, aſſur'd the King that his Maſter was in earneſt for the Match; and beſides the two Millions, wou'd make a Preſent of the *Palatinate* to the Prince of *Wales* at the Marriage, upon which Sir *John Digby*, who negotiated that Matter in *Spain*, is made Baron of *Shireburn*, and Vice-chamberlain to the King. How did People in thoſe Days acquire Honour and Dignities! *Digby* coming to *England*, Sir *Walter Aſton* was diſpatch'd into *Spain* to keep the Treaty alive till *Digby*'s Return thither. The Courtiers who were in the *Popiſh* Intereſt, as *Arundel*, *Worceſter*, *Calvert*, *Weſton*, and others, made their Court to the King by promoting the Match out of Zeal to that Religion. *Buckingham* and all his Dependants did the ſame. The Duke of *Lennox* and the Marquis of *Hamilton* were not ſo active; and the Earl of *Pembroke* oppos'd it as much he cou'd without hazarding his Majeſty's Favour. In the mean time *Gondemar* was as much of the King's Cabinet Council as any of them, except *Buckingham*. The Papiſts were ſo proud of his Protection, that nothing leſs than a *Toleration* was in their Hopes and Expectations. He got Diſcharges for a Multitude of Jeſuits and Prieſts; and among others for one *Baldwin*, who was accus'd to have had a Hand in the *Gunpowder Plot*. He procur'd a Squadron of Men of War to be ſent to the *Mediterranean* under Sir *Robert Manſel* againſt the *Algerines*, who were become too ſtrong for the *Spaniards*. He bought up Ordnance, and all Sorts of warlike Stores, which he ſhipp'd for *Spain* to ſupply the *Spaniſh* Magazines, even while the Arms of *Spain* were battering the few *Engliſh* that remain'd in the *Palatinate*. Secretary *Naunton* taking notice of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Influence at Court, and his unjuſtifiable Conduct, was remov'd, and Sir *Edward Conway* put in his Place. The ſame whom we heard of in Conjunction with *Weſton* employ'd in the Affair of *Bohemia*, where theſe two Miniſters cou'd only obtain a Paſs for them to return peaceably after the Loſs of the Battel of *Prague*. *Conway* was ſo little qualify'd for the Poſt which was given him, that King *James* was wont to ſay, *he had a Secretary who cou'd neither write nor read*. *Naunton* was a Man of Learning, Abilities and Honeſty, and conſequently very unfit to be of this King's Council at this time. His Majeſty was probably jealous of Sir *Robert Naunton*'s Learning, affecting to be himſelf the greateſt Profeſſor in his Court. *Gondemar* knew the Affectation, and never fail'd to compliment him on that Article. The *Spaniards* Converſation was full of Point and Conceit, which was a way of Wit then much in Vogue. He had ſome Scholarſhip, but for the Jeſt ſake wou'd talk falſe *Latin* to make the King merry; and when his Majeſty laugh'd he wou'd ſay, *You ſpeak like a* Pedant, *and I like a* Gentleman. By ſuch ſmall Subtilties he inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the King's Affection, that he gain'd his Belief in whatever he ſaid to him, eſpecially relating to the Treaty of Marriage. The Court Ladies partook of his Favours, which conſiſted more in Preſents than Amours; and there was no Lady of any Eminence for Wit or Raillery, whoſe good Word he did not by that Means engage.

*A.D.*1620.

Gondemar's *Influence on the King.*

This Year Sir *Henry Montague*, Lord Chief Juſtice, bought the Lord High Treaſurer's Staff for 30000*l.* which however he did not keep long, for within the Year he was made Baron *Kimbolton*, Viſcount *Mandeville*, Lord Preſident of the Council, The Treaſurer's Staff being given to Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who, according to Sir *Anthony Welden*, had been an Apprentice to a Mechanick in *London*, and ſerv'd *three broken* Citizens. Himſelf got a ſmall Place in the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, where he acquir'd ſome Knowledge of the Revenue, and became a Projector. As ſuch he was entertain'd firſt by *Somerſet*, and afterwards by *Buckingham*. Such Sort of Inſtruments being very neceſſary to ſuch Sort of Stateſmen, who ſpend the publick Treaſure faſter than it comes in. *Cranfield*'s chiefeſt Merit was his marrying a Kinſwoman of the Favourite, *Anne Brett*, Daughter to the Counteſs of *Buckingham*'s Siſter; for otherwiſe, as *Welden* tells us, he was *nothing but a Pack of Ignorance ſolder'd together with Impudence*. And his Fortune was anſwerable to his Merit; for tho' he was Lord Treaſurer, he did not long hold his Office, being two Years after convicted of Corruption by his Peers with this Cenſure, *Thou* Lionel *Earl of* Middleſex *ſhalt never ſit, or have any Voice in this Houſe of Peers, and ſhalt pay for a Fine to our Sovereign Lord the King* 20000*l.* His Poſterity had been degraded had it not been for the Votes of the Biſhops Bench. Upon which *Welden* remarks, *I verily believe it is one Cauſe that they will themſelves be degraded.*

Earl of Middleſex's *vile Character.*

P. 87.

P. 142.

I have mention'd ſome of *Villiers*'s Amours, and by whom he was befriended in them. *Wilſon* confirms what *Welden* ſaid of him, *If his Eye cull'd out a wanton Beauty, he had his Setters that cou'd ſpread his Nets.* And one may eaſily imagine there cou'd not be much Religion there, where was ſo much Lewdneſs. What it was in Appearance the rigid Churchmen made their Advantage of,

Buckingham's *Lewdneſs.*

P. 149.

*A.D.*1620. of, and the *Arminian* Tenets taking Root were nouriſh'd by his Majeſty.

Buckingham's *Character.* Is it not prodigious, that a Prince who was as wiſe as the belov'd Son of *David*, ſhou'd commit the Reins of Government to a callow Youth of no more Capacity than is ſufficient to qualify a modern *Beau*? A foreign Author writes of him, Larr. 61. *He was the moſt ſtiff and imperious Man in the World, and his Proneneſs to Love made him a very improper Perſon for Negotiations.* Again; *The Deſign of a War with* France *was above the Reach of a* voluptuous Man, *very uncapable of managing ſo great an Affair, as the weak Execution made apparent.* The ſubtil *Spaniard Gondemar* obſerving what an ill Choice King *James* made of his Miniſters on account of their Youth, told him in *Sir* E. P. 42. Raillery, *He was the wiſeſt and happieſt Prince in* Chriſtendom *to make Privy-Counſellors ſage at the Age of twenty one, which his Maſter the King of* Spain *cou'd not do till ſixty.* How fit *Buckingham* was for an Admiral and General, in both which Stations we ſhall hereafter find him, appears by this Verſe which was in every one's Mouth:

Mars ad Opus Veneris, Martis ad Arma Venus.
In *Venus* Wars he's *Mars*, in *Mars*'s *Venus*.

P. 98. *For an old King*, ſays *Coke*, *he having reign'd in* Scotland *and* England 51 *Years, to doat upon a young Favourite ſcarce of Age, yet younger in Underſtanding, tho' as old in Vices as any of his Time, and to commit the whole Ship of the Commonwealth both by Sea and Land to ſuch a* Phaeton, *is a Precedent without any Example.* One may ſee by all King *James*'s Actions, that when he gave himſelf up to any one of his Favourites, he did it entirely, and the Strength of his Wiſdom cou'd put no Reſtraint upon it. Why is it that *Buckingham* has ſo glorious a Character in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory? Did not that grave Chancellor know he was prodigal, voluptuous, raſh and inconſiderate? Cou'd thoſe Qualities eſcape him? No, doubtleſs; but he had another Quality which aton'd for all his bad ones; *he was a Friend to* Laud, *and fa-*
Larr. 95. *vour'd* Arminianiſm *and* Popery. A Prince under the Influence of ſuch Counſels muſt needs be a zealous Defender of the Religion and Liberties of his Proteſtant Subjects. Not only *Buckingham*, but his Mother had a Hand on the Helm of the State. Few Places were diſpos'd of without her Conſent. As much Court was made to her as to her Son, and much more than to the King himſelf. She was an *Apoſtate* to Popery, and pro-
Papiſts favour'd. tected the *Romiſh Jeſuits* and *Jeſuiteſſes*, or female Jeſuits: of which Order there were no leſs
Wilſ. 152. than 200 *Engliſh* Damſels of good Birth and Quality. The Counteſs of *Buckingham*'s Favour to the Pa-
P. 149. piſts was ſo notorious, that *Gondemar* wrote to *Spain, there was never more Hope of* England's *Converſion to* Rome *than now; for there are more Prayers and Oblations offer'd here to the Mother than to the Son.*

*A.D.*1621. The Projector's Schemes for raiſing Money having generally fail'd, and the Treaſury been a long time empty, there was no way left to ſupply the Profuſion of the King and his Minions, but what they thought the very worſt way of all, the Cal-
Parliament. ling a Parliament, who they doubted not wou'd be ready enough to give Money, if they cou'd be made believe his Majeſty wou'd employ it for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. The People of *England* had it very much at heart out of Affection to the Queen of *Bohemia*, whoſe Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion had endear'd her and her Royal Family to all good Proteſtants.

The King's Wiſdom. The Parliament met the 13th of *January*, and King *James* open'd it with a long Speech, as polite and eloquent as the former Speeches. I ſhall only repeat a Paſſage or two, to ſhew how conſummate was the Wiſdom which the Earl of *Clarendon* dwells ſo much upon. *A Parliament is a* *A.D.*1621. *thing compos'd of a Head and a Body, the Monarch and the two Eſtates. It was firſt a Monarchy juſt as it was among the* Jews After this rate *Saul* came before the Judges. *Then after a Parliament. There are no Parliaments but in Monarchical Governments: for in* Venice, *the* Netherlands, *and other* free Governments *there are none*; that is, the *Senate* of *Venice* is not call'd a *Parliament*, the *Aſſembly* of the *States General* of the United Provinces is not call'd an *Engliſh Parliament*, they are only *Free Governments*. The Advantage of a Monarch to tell them, *That hunting after Grievances is the Spirit of the Devil*, makes a Parliament a much greater Bleſſing than the Liberty of a *Senate* or *Diet*. In this Speech the King jumbled together the *Jeſuits* and the *Puritans*. A wiſe way to open a Seſſion, which he was ſo much in want of. He told them the Reaſon he had not to approve of his Son-in-law's Acceptation of the Crown of *Bohemia*, as *not holding with the* Jeſuits *to diſpoſe of Kingdoms*, but with the Popiſh Emperor *Ferdinand* to *make all Oppoſition* Rebellion. He acquainted them with the Expence of the Lord *Doncaſter*'s Embaſſy, 3500*l*. Whereas *Wilſon* aſſures us 'twas at leaſt 50000*l*. and the King own'd he had ſent the King of *Bohemia* only 10000*l*. which Sums were not proper to appear together in compariſon. The Parliament knew well enough what was meant by *Subſidies* for Recovery of the *Palatinate*. That the Favourites were at their Wit's End for Money, and having been the Source of all the Grievances, they reſolv'd to proceed upon them in the firſt place. Several Petitions were deliver'd from Perſons impriſon'd and ruin'd by Projectors and Informers, who had been active in promoting thoſe illegal Exactions to which the King's Neceſſities and ill Counſels had driven him. The chief Actors in the great Pattents for *Inns*, *Ale-* *Projectors.*
houſes, and *gold Thread*, were Sir *Giles Mompeſſon* and Sir *Francis Mitchel*, who, according to *Wilſon*, *Illegal* *grated the Bones and ſuck'd out the very Marrow* *Practices.* *of the People*, and whoſe Oppreſſion was thoroughly ripp'd up and laid open by the Houſe of Commons. The Marquis of *Buckingham* was known by every one to be at the Head of theſe Projects, *Mompeſſon* being his Creature, and *Mitchel* brought from the *Brothels* at *Clerkenwell*; where, *Wilſon* Mompeſſon *and* ſays, *he pick'd up a Livelihood* by granting the Mitchel Whores Licenſes, to an Office at *Weſtminſter*, that *puniſh'd.* he might be near at hand to obey the Commands he receiv'd from Court. The King was ſenſible *Villiers* lay under the Imputation of theſe Grievances: yet in a Speech to the Peers he ſaid, *I remember that ſince the Beginning of this Parliament* Buckingham *hath told me, he never found ſuch Quiet and Reſt as in this Time of Parliament from Projectors and Informers*, who at other times miſerably vex'd him *at all Hours*. There was no manner of Diſguiſe in this Application of the King to the Lords in Recommendation of his Minion; but it was a Sort of Inſult on their Underſtandings to commend him for oppoſing the very thing which they all knew he had promoted; and the Commons were now preparing to call him to Account for that and other Grievances, as appears by a Letter from Sir *Anthony Aſhley* to *Buckingham*: *Cabala.* *Your Lordſhip may be moſt aſſur'd, that your Adverſaries continue their Meetings and Conferences here in* Holborn, *how to give his Majeſty ſome foul Diſtaſte of you, as making you the only Author of all Grievances and Oppreſſions whatſoever for your private Ends; and I hope to be able in a few Days to give you good Overture of an uniting Oath taken to this Purpoſe amongſt them.* The Parliament however contented themſelves with falling upon the *Under-workers* in the odious Buſineſs of Patents. Sir *Giles Mompeſſon* fled the Kingdom, his Eſcape Wilſ. 158. being facilitated by *Buckingham* himſelf. But his Friend and Partner Sir *Francis Mitchel* met with a Puniſh-

A.D.1621. Puniſhment ſuitable to his Crime. He was degraded of his Knighthood with Ceremonies of Debaſement, and ſentenc'd to ride thro' the whole City with his Face to the Horſe's Tail, and a Paper on his Breaſt declaring the Foulneſs of his Crime. After he had been ſufficiently expos'd to the Scorn of the Rabble, he was thrown into *Finsbury* Goal, and good Part of the Money he had got by his wicked Practices was ſqueez'd out of him by Fine.

L. Chan. Bacon's *Fall.* About the ſame time fell the famous Lord Chancellor *Bacon, un de plus beaux Genies de Siecle,* one of the greateſt Genius's of the Age, according to a *French* Critick, who quotes a witty Saying of his which ſhew'd his Diſpoſition; *Money is like Dung, good for nothing till 'tis ſpread*; and truly he ſpread it abroad ſo laviſhly, that having no Heap left for himſelf, he to ſupport his Profuſion ſuffer'd his Servants and Officers to ſet many things to Sale, which were inconſiſtent with the Integrity of a Judge; and the Charge of Bribery and Corruption was but too fully prov'd againſt him. *Wilſon* writes, that *what he rak'd in and ſcrew'd for one way, he ſcatter'd and threw abroad another; for his Servants being young, prodigal and expenſive Youths, his Treaſure was their common Store, which they took without Stint,* &c. He loſt his Peerage and the Seal; and it was debated whether he ſhou'd carry the Title of Viſcount St. *Albans* to his Grave; which he did. When his Fine was in Debate, a Member of Parliament mov'd it might *be* 40 s. *only*; *for if more he cou'd not pay it.* But whatever his Fine had been, *Buckingham,* who advanc'd him, cou'd eaſily have got it off.

Full. 88.

L. Keeper Williams. His Succeſſor in the *Chancery* was Dr. *John Williams* then Dean of *Weſtminſter,* ſoon after made Biſhop of *Lincoln,* with a Promiſe from *Villiers* of a better Biſhoprick when it fell. *Welden* tells us his Promotion was owing to the Hopes which *Buckingham*'s Mother had of marrying him. But the Lord-Keeper *Williams* thought otherwiſe of that Marriage than did Dr. *Williams* Dean of *Weſtminſter,* which, ſays the ſame Author, was the Cauſe of his Downfal. The ſame Author informs us, that the late Chancellor *Bacon* had been degraded, if it had not been for the Biſhops Votes. He adds, " St. *Albans* was ſo very a Slave to *Buc-* " *kingham,* and all that Family, that he durſt not " deny the Command of the meaneſt of the " Kindred, nor oppoſe any thing. By this you " ſee a baſe Spirit is ever moſt concomitant with " the proudeſt Mind; and ſurely never ſo many " Parts, and ſo baſe and abject a Spirit, dwelt to- " gether in one earthen Cottage, as in this Man. " I ſhall not remember his Baſeneſs, being out of " his Place, of pinning himſelf, for very Scraps, " on that noble Gentleman Sir *Julius Cæſar*'s Ho- " ſpitality, that at laſt he was forc'd to get the " King's Warrant to remove him out of his Houſe; " yet in his Proſperity, the one being Chancellor, " and the other Maſter of the *Rolls,* did ſo ſcorn " and abuſe him, as he would alter any thing the " other did". The Letters which *Bacon* wrote to ſeveral Courtiers on King *James*'s coming in, prove that there was indeed ſomething very abject in a Mind the moſt enlighten'd of his Age in all good Literature, eſpecially that to the Earl of *Salisbury* begging the Place of Sollicitor-General, and another to Sir *Edward Coke,* then Attorney-General, on the ſame Subject. *Villiers* cou'd do no leſs than procure a Pardon for a Perſon, who had paid ſuch a ſlaviſh Submiſſion to his Pleaſure; and the Lord-Keeper *Williams* took notice of the irregular Proceedings of the late Chancellor *Bacon* in the paſſing of it, writing thus to *Buckingham:* " His " Majeſty and your Lordſhip do conceive that " my Lord of St. *Albans* Pardon and Grant of " his Fine came both together to my Hands, and " ſo your Lordſhip directs me to paſs the one and " the other. But his Lordſhip was too cunning " for me; he paſs'd his Fine, whereby he hath A.D.1621. " deceiv'd his Creditors, ten Days before he pre- " ſented his Pardon to the Seal; ſo as now in his " Pardon I find his Parliamentary Fine excepted, " which he hath before the ſealing of the ſame " obtain'd and procur'd; and whether the Houſe " of Parliament will not hold themſelves mocked " and derided with ſuch an Exception, I leave to " your Lordſhip's Wiſdom". The Lord-Keeper acted like a faithful Counſellor; but I do not find his Counſel was hearken'd to. Dr. *Williams* had been Domeſtick Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor *Egerton,* and very much in his Favour. A little before the Chancellor dy'd he ſent for *Williams,* and ſaid, *If you want Money, I will leave you ſuch a Legacy as ſhall furniſh you to begin the World like a Gentleman. Sir,* ſays the Chaplain, *I kiſs your Hands; you have fill'd my Cup full; I am far from Want, unleſs it be of your Lordſhip's Directions how to live in the World if I ſurvive you. Egerton* reply'd, *Well, I know you are an expert Workman: Take theſe Tools to work with; they are the beſt I have.* So he gave him ſome Books and Papers written all with his own Hand, being Directions concerning *the well ordering the* High Court of Parliament, *the Court of* Chancery, *the* Star-Chamber *and* Council-Board; as if he foreſaw that he wou'd have Occaſion of ſuch Knowledge in the Courſe of his Fortune.

Sir *Edward Villiers,* half Brother to the Marquis of *Buckingham,* was as deep in the Mire as *Mitchel* the Projector and Informer; but *Williams* adviſ'd the Marquis to ſend him on an Embaſſy out of the way, and leave *Mompeſſon* and *Mitchel* to the Reſentment of the Parliament. *Williams* had been ſworn a Privy-Counſellor before the Seal was given him; and when he took it, there was great grudging among the Lawyers, that the chief Poſt in the Law ſhou'd be given to a Doctor of Divinity. It ſeems indeed a little prepoſterous to Laymen, who have no Rule to go by but Reaſon and common Senſe, which ſeem to make the Vocation of the Holy Ghoſt and a Judgment-ſeat in a Law-Court very incompatible. *Williams,* who had refus'd to be Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor *Bacon,* accepted of a Commiſſion from him to be a Juſtice of Peace in *Northamptonſhire*; and an Hiſtorian who was let into the Secret, but had not Wit enough to keep it, tells us his being made Lord Keeper was only to prepare the way for filling the Courts of Judicature with Churchmen, *who wou'd have fix'd firm Footing there,* ſays *Sanderſon, had King* James *liv'd to have effected his Deſires.* Dr. *Williams* was doubtleſs a Man of great Abilities; and beſides the Directions in the Lord *Elleſmere*'s Manuſcripts for his Conduct, he kept Sir *Harry Finch,* a Lawyer, in his Houſe five or ſix Months to adviſe with him upon all Occaſions.

P. 133. P. 139.

P. 505.

Things were not carry'd ſo ſwimmingly in Parliament, as to make the King fond of their Company. The Commons enter'd into a Debate about the Growth of *Popery,* which was their conſtant Complaint from the Beginning to the End of the Reigns of the Houſe of *Stuart*; of whom but one had the Courage to own himſelf a Papiſt, and to run the Country for ſo doing; but every one of them conniv'd at, if they did not encourage it. The Commons alſo canvaſs'd the *Spaniſh* Match: But his Majeſty had a Party in that Houſe ſtrong enough to prevent their falling on his Miniſters. This Party were ſtill ſtronger in the Houſe of Lords. *All the Courtiers, and moſt of the Biſhops,* according to *Wilſon, ſteering by his Compaſs.* Prince *Charles* was almoſt always preſent in the Houſe to awe the Members: *Yet there were ſome gallant Men,* continues my Author, *who aim'd at the publick Liberty more than their private Intereſt. If any thing were ſpoken in the Houſe, that did in the leaſt reflect upon the Government, or touch,* as the Courtiers thought, *that* noli me tangere *the Prero-*

Cab. P. 161.

A.D 1621. *gative, thoſe that mov'd in it were ſnapt up by them, tho' they often met with ſtout Encounters at their own Weapons* from ſeveral noble Peers and Patriots, as *Henry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Spencer*, and others, who ſupported the *Old Engliſh Honour*, and wou'd not let it fall to the Ground. The Lord *Spencer*, to excite that generous Spirit, put the Houſe in mind of their generous Anceſtors, in which the Earl of *Arundel* cut him ſhort, ſaying, *My Lord, when theſe things you ſpeak of were doing, your Anceſtors were keeping Sheep.* A very poor Jeſt; and the poorer, for that the noble Houſe of *Spencer* were Barons long before that of *Arundel*. If it reflected on the Lord *Spencer*'s delighting in Flocks of Sheep, as we are told, it was a Reflection which no Man cou'd have thought on, who had any Love for his Country. The Lord *Spencer* retorted, *When my Anceſtors were keeping Sheep, yours were plotting Treaſon.* This touch'd *Arundel* to the Quick, and referr'd to the Earl of *Surrey* and Duke of *Norfolk* beheaded in the Reigns of *Henry* VIII. and Queen *Elizabeth*. The Court Party cou'd not but be ſenſible he had been the Aggreſſor by an abſurd, ridiculous Affront on a young Nobleman of great Honour and Merit. Lord *Spencer* ſhew'd himſelf ready to juſtify his Words by his Actions. But they were both commanded out of the Houſe, who took into Conſideration the Offence Lord *Arundel* had given, and he was order'd to give the Lord *Spencer* ſuch Satisfaction as they preſcrib'd, and upon *Arundel*'s Refuſal he was committed to the *Tower*. The Lord *Spencer* was readmitted to his Seat, as was alſo the Lord *Arundel* upon his Petition and begging Pardon. Two Days after the Parliament was adjourn'd; but the Commons before they parted, notwithſtanding the King had engag'd his *Crown*, *Blood* and *Soul* for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, agreed upon this Declaration: "The "Commons aſſembled in Parliament taking into "moſt ſerious Conſideration the preſent State of "the King's Children abroad, and generally af-"flicted Eſtate of the true Profeſſors of the Chri-"ſtian Religion, *meaning the* Presbyterians *in the* "*Electorate*, profeſs'd by the Church of *England* "in foreign Parts, and being touch'd with a true "Senſe, and Fellow-feeling of their Diſtreſſes, do "with unanimous Conſent, in the Name of them-"ſelves and of the whole Body of the Kingdom "whom they repreſent, declare unto his moſt Ex-"cellent Majeſty, and to the whole World, their "hearty Grief and Sorrow for the ſame, *&c.* and "do ſolemnly proteſt, That they ſhall be ready to "the utmoſt of their Powers, with their Lives "and Fortunes, to aſſiſt him". Such was then the Senſe of the Nation with reſpect to the Support of the King of *Bohemia* and the Proteſtant Religion: Such their Senſe continu'd; and only King *James* and his Courtiers, who were moſt concern'd to ſupport them, abandon'd both. The King, ſays my Author, *was pleas'd with the Declaration*, intending to make his Market of it, but not to enter into the War for which they declar'd. The Lord *Digby* had been ſent Ambaſſador into *Germany* to treat with the Emperor for the Reſtitution of the Elector *Palatine*'s Hereditary Dominions. A very hopeful Errand! The Duke of *Bavaria* was in Poſſeſſion of moſt of them by *Ferdinand*'s Donation; and 'twas likely ſo powerful a Prince as that Duke wou'd be wheedled or menac'd out of them by Embaſſies. The Lord *Digby* made his Addreſſes firſt to the Emperor, then to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and laſtly to the Archdutcheſs at *Bruſſels*; and all, according to *Wilſon*, to as little Purpoſe as if he had ſtaid at home. Theſe Embaſſies were the Subject even of *Walloon* Wit, which was ever at as low an Ebb as ours is now; and in a Farce acted in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, a Meſſenger was introduc'd bringing News in haſte, that the *Palatinate* wou'd ſhortly be repleniſh'd with a moſt formidable Army; *for the King of* Denmark *wou'd furniſh* 100000 *pickl'd Herrings, the* Hollanders 100000 *Butterboxes, and* England 100000 *Ambaſſadors*. Muſt not the Heart of every good *Engliſhman* weep Blood, to think that a Nation ſo renown'd and happy before King *James* came to the Crown ſhou'd become the *Scorn* of Beggars, and the *Jeſt* of Fools? *Echard* himſelf acknowledges, that this King was pictur'd abroad *with a Scabbard without a Sword*. And again: *With a Sword which none cou'd draw out, tho' ſeveral tugg'd at it*. At *Bruſſels* he *was painted with his Pockets hanging out, and no Money in them, nor in his Purſe.* Had it been poſſible to divide the King's Reputation from that of the Kingdom, the juſt Indignation which glow'd in every honeſt *Engliſh* Breaſt wou'd have been ſomewhat mitigated. But the Kingdom was diſgrac'd with the King, the Weakneſs and Cowardice of this Adminiſtration made them deſpis'd by the moſt deſpicable People, and render'd them the vile Object of *Flemiſh* Drollery and *Dutch* Mirth. *Echard* owns *Great Britain* was *ſaid to be grown* Little England, *which had loſt its Strength by changing of Sex, a King* Elizabeth *for a Queen* James. The moſt moving Part of the Infamy which was thrown on our Nation, *is the Picture of the unfortunate Queen of* Bohemia, the moſt belov'd and worthy Princeſs in the World, *expos'd in the* Netherlands *like a poor* Iriſh *Mantler, with her Hair diſhevel'd, and her Child on her Back, the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her. Every one of theſe Pictures had Mottos*, expreſſing the Scorn in which our Neighbours held our pacifick Monarch. *Such Deriſions and Reflections were put upon him*, ſays the hiſtorical Archdeacon. What Sentiments muſt thoſe *Engliſhmen* have of this Reign, who liv'd in the Days of the *Veres*, the *Norris*'s, the *Drakes*, the *Rawleighs*, and a hundred other illuſtrious Names in the glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*? Cou'd ſuch *Engliſhmen* content themſelves amidſt ſo much Shame and Diſgrace, as *Echard* does with his Majeſty's *acting very laudably, and with great Reputation for the Eſtabliſh'd Church*, when at the ſame time he pointed all the dreadful Artillery of his Wit and Learning againſt the *Puritans*, who were by much the greater Body of *Engliſh* Proteſtants?

Ibid.

Lords Arundel *and* Spencer *quarrel.*

Wilſ. 153

Parliament for the Palatine.

K. James's *Embaſſies ridicul'd.*

K. James's *Character abroad.*

England in Diſgrace.

Ech. 399.

Ibid.

The Lord *Digby* at his Return from his fruitleſs Embaſſy in *Germany*, made a Speech by Command of the King to both Houſes of Parliament, informing them how he had been amus'd by the Emperor, ſcorn'd by the Duke of *Bavaria*, and ſlighted by the Archduke. Theſe are the Laurels our Heroes brought home with them from abroad in this Reign. *Digby* concluded there was no way to recover the *Palatinate* but by Arms, and the King doubted not of their granting him the neceſſary Subſidies. The Miniſters talk'd after the ſame rate: But neither the King nor his Miniſters had Credit enough with the Parliament to gain their Belief, as they flatter'd themſelves they ſhou'd. For according to my Author, *As the King's Suits and Intreaties were ſlighted and diſregarded abroad, ſo his Intentions were ſuſpected and fear'd at home.* The Parliament knew his Inclinations were for Peace. *Gondemar*'s Power over him boded ill to the pretended War; and Letters had lately appear'd from the King to his Brother of *Spain*, promiſing great Indulgences to the Papiſts. *Digby* was alſo diſpatch'd to *Spain to cloſe ſome way with the Houſe of* Auſtria, *either by Marriage or Treaty. But the King had to do with cunning Gameſters, who ſmil'd to ſee how earneſt he was for it; they had the Sign given out of his Hand, and ſaw all the Game he play'd, ſo faithleſs was the Council about him.* Here's Wiſdom, here Politicks, here a *laudable Care* for the Reform'd Religion! Here all the Virtues and Bleſſings which diſtinguiſh'd this Reign from all others! if one cou'd believe

Wilſ. 166.

P. 167.

K. James's *Wiſdom.*

*A.D.*1621. believe the Editors of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, or Archdeacon *Echard*. The King ſaw the *Engliſh* were generally averſe to the *Spaniſh* Match, and that the Inſolence of the Papiſts alarm'd them daily; yet inſenſible of any ill Conſequence of the general Diſcontent, he went on in his Way. The Parliament which had been adjourn'd in *June* to *February*, was ſummon'd to meet before its Time, to hear *Digby*'s Relation of his Embaſſy; and they were ſo ill ſatisfy'd with it, that taking the State of the Nation into Conſideration, they agreed upon a Remonſtrance, of which the Popiſh Secretary *Calvert*, *Weſton*, and others, giving the King notice, he went out of Town, and retir'd to *Newmarket*; for his Majeſty's Cuſtom was to run from Buſineſs, if he did not like it. The Remonſtrance was drawn up in *November*, and ſet forth *The Growth of Popery, the diſtreſs'd Eſtate of the Proteſtants, the diſaſtrous Accidents to his Majeſty's Children abroad, expreſs'd with Rejoycing, and even with Contempt of their Perſons.* The *Arminian* and *Popiſh* Faction were ſuffer'd to inſult the Royal Family of *Bohemia*, to rejoice at thoſe Misfortunes for which all good *Engliſhmen* and Proteſtants were in the deepeſt Affliction, and treat Perſons with Contempt. It is hardly credible, but ſo it was; and the ſame Faction, when *Laud* was at their Head, wou'd not admit the Prayers for the Queen of *Bohemia* and her princely Children into our Liturgy. Such Well-wiſhers have the rigid Churchmen been to the *Palatine* Houſe, and their Succeſſors the Royal Houſe of *Hanover*.

Grievances

Papiſts, &c. hate the Houſe of Bohemia.

The Remonſtrance further ſets forth the great Armies rais'd by the King of *Spain*, of whoſe Alliance the King was ſo fond: *The Expectations of Papiſts from the* Spaniſh *Match, the daring bold Behaviour of* Romiſh *Prieſts, the great Reſort of People to Maſs-Houſes, the licentious printing of* Popiſh *Books, the Swarms of Jeſuits, the common Indiaries of all Chriſtendom.* Then the Parliament propos'd Remedies for theſe growing Evils; *That his Majeſty wou'd not omit this juſt Occaſion ſpeedily and effectually to take the Sword in hand*; that he wou'd publickly avow the aiding of *foreign Proteſtants*, the *French* King having newly laid Siege to *Rochelle* and *Montauban*, the remaining Strength of the Reform'd in *France*. But our King contented himſelf with ſending an Ambaſſador *Henry* Viſcount *Doncaſter*, to mediate a Peace between them; and, as *Wilſon* has it, he only follow'd the *French* King from Camp to City, and from City to Camp, with as little Succeſs as his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors had had in *Germany*. The ſame Author here very wiſely remarks on King *James's* Wiſdom, and the Bleſſings of his peaceable Temper, the Subject of ſuch a Torrent of Praiſe in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, and Archdeacon *Echard*'s. "Our King's Intentions aiming at Peace, he took, "as he thought, the beſt way to it, which was to "intreat for it, but that wou'd not prevail, for "the Voice of Intreaty cannot be heard for the "Trumpet. In War one Noiſe muſt expel another. The Parliament ſaw the Danger the Proteſtant Religion was in, and thought it their "Duty to let the King ſee how inclineable they "were to ſupport the falling Condition of it with "their Lives and Fortunes: But the King wou'd "be call'd *Rex Pacificus* to the laſt. His Heart "was not advanc'd to glorious Atchievements. "God will not many Times make uſe of *ſome* "*Men* to do great Things." This laſt Reflection extends thro' the Reign of this Royal Houſe, during which not one great Thing was done for the Proteſtant Religion, or the Liberty of the Subject, but what came with an Ill-will, and did not laſt long. Before the Houſe of Commons had had an Opportunity to preſent their Remonſtrance to his Majeſty, Sir *Thomas Richardſon* their Speaker, receiv'd a Letter from him, imputing *the drawing of it to fiery Spirits, who debated Matters far above their Reach and Capacities.* Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Robert Naunton*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Mr. *Noy*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Hampden*, Serjeant *Strode*, Serjeant *Glanville*, and an hundred other ſuch Members of this Parliament, had not the *Reach* and *Capacity* of Secretary *Conway*, who cou'd hardly write or read, and of the Favourite *Villiers*, whoſe Reach and Capacity conſiſted in the elegant Cut of a Coat, or in a nice Step in a *Courant*. I am ſenſible Satyr and Mirth are inconſiſtent with the Sobriety and Gravity of Hiſtory; but what can provoke Mirth and Satyr, like talking of *Capacities* and *Reach* in an Adminiſtration which was a Jeſt to People who had till then been a Jeſt to all the World.

Popery encourag'd.

A fruitleſs Embaſſy to France.

The King's Wiſdom.

Stuarts *never did a great thing in* England

*A.D.*1621.

King writes to the Speaker.

The King in his Letter intimated, that to enquire into his Government, *was a Breach of the Royal Prerogative*, and commanded the Speaker to let the Houſe know, that none ſhou'd preſume to meddle with *his deep Matters of State, nor his Son's Match with the Infanta, nor the Honour of the King of* Spain; *which Points, if they are touch'd in the Paper prepar'd, he will not deign to hear it.* This imperious way of treating the Parliament, was ſo well imitated by his Son, that he never met nor parted with one in any tolerable Humour; and how this wiſe Conduct ended, will be ſeen hereafter.

Wiſdom.

The Parliament however ſent him their Remonſtrance, with a Petition, in which they declared, that the *Welfare of Religion and State, were fit for parliamentary Conſideration, and cou'd not otherwiſe come fully and clearly to his Knowledge; and whereas his Majeſty ſeem'd to abridge them of the ancient Liberty of Parliaments, Freedom of Speech, they were now forc'd to pray that it may be allow'd, and the Doubts and Scruples rais'd by his Letter to their Speaker, be remov'd.* His Majeſty was very uneaſy at this Petition, and us'd the twelve Members who were ſent with it, a little roughly, inſinuating that their *giving Advice about his Son's Match was High Treaſon.* Excellent Reaſon! He might as well have inſinuated that it was Adultery. For to give good Advice, with all due Submiſſion and Affection, can no more have a traitorous than a lewd Deſign in it. He added, *They ow'd their Privileges to the Grace of his Anceſtors*; that is, all the *Saxon* Kings were arbitrary deſpotick Princes, who ſquander'd their Prerogative on the People, as this King did his Money on his Minions; and the *Saxons* had no Right to any thing but what their Kings gave them; which is a Proof that his Majeſty knew as much of Hiſtory as he did of Divinity.

More Wiſdom and good Manners.

Learning.

About this Time the Lords of Parliament conſider'd how cheap they were made by the Multitude of *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* Viſcounts, who had bought their Titles. They were not Natives of thoſe Kingdoms, but private *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who purchas'd that Honour to have Precedence of the *Engliſh* Barons, *contrary*, ſays *Echard*, *to the Laws and Cuſtoms of* England. Thirty-three Lords, among whom were the Earls of *Oxford, Huntington, Eſſex, Lincoln, Dorſet, Salisbury, Warwick*, ſign'd a Petition to his Majeſty to put a Stop to this Breach of their Cuſtoms and Laws. The King was ſo angry with them, that he cou'd not help ſhewing it, particularly to the Earl of *Eſſex*; *I fear thee not*, Eſſex, *if thou wert as well belov'd as thy Father, and hadſt* 40000 *Men at thy Heels.* I can ſcarce believe his Majeſty ſaid ſo, tho' we are told it by an Archdeacon, there not being a Man in *Great-Britain*, who cou'd think King *James* wou'd not have been afraid of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Earl of *Eſſex* with half 40000 Men at his Heels. The King did not alter the Precedence claim'd by the *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* Viſcounts, who had paid for their Title, but reſtrain'd himſelf in thoſe Creations for the time to come.

Bravery.

Ech. 398.

There

*A.D.*1621. There happen'd an Incident in this Seſſion of Parliament, which we ſhou'd not have had from *Echard*, if he had come to the Knowledge of it. I ſhall take it almoſt *verbatim* from Mr. *Ambroſe Philips*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College *Cambridge*:

Life of Ld Keeper Williams, *p.* 96.

Biſhops ſpoken of.

" When the Privilege of the Nobility was debated, and almoſt carried by a Majority, that the " vouching of their Honour ſhou'd paſs with them " for an Oath, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* prevented " it by the Force of his Reaſons; but the Debate " continuing very long that Morning, an aged " Biſhop very infirm in Health, deſir'd to be excus'd if he cou'd not ſtay it out. *With all our " Hearts*, ſaid ſome Lords, *you may all of you " troop home as faſt as you pleaſe*; and the Earl of " *Eſſex* preſs'd it more paſſionately than any, deſiring to know *if their Lordſhips were not content " to throw their Doors open, and let all the Biſhops " out if they would.* The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then Lord-Keeper, ſaid *he wou'd put it to the Queſtion " if commanded.*" But I do not find it was inſiſted upon.

His Majeſty wrote to Secretary *Calvert* and Sir *Thomas Richardſon*, to take off the Edge of ſome ſharp Expreſſions he had us'd; and as it is a ſure Sign of Wiſdom to be convinc'd of one's Error, and own a Miſtake, ſo the miſtaking is a ſure Sign of Weakneſs. The Parliament were not ſatisfy'd with this Softning, when their Privileges had been ſo ſolemnly attack'd. They expected a Diſſolution, and reſolv'd before they broke up, to aſſert thoſe Privileges in as ſolemn a manner as they cou'd. To this End they drew up a *Proteſtation*,

Proteſtation.

That the Liberties, Franchiſes, Privileges, and Juriſdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted Birthright and Inheritance of the Subjects of England; *and that the arduous Affairs of State, the making of Laws, and Redreſs of Grievances, are proper Subjects for Debate in* Parliament; *that every Member of right ought to have Freedom of Speech, and the Commons to treat of Matters in ſuch Order as in their Judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt; that every Member hath like Freedom from all Impeachment, Impriſonment, and Moleſtation, other than by Cenſure of the Houſe, for any ſpeaking concerning parliamentary Affairs.* But to ſhew that they minded his Majeſty's Buſineſs as well as their own, they gave him two entire Subſidies to enable him to begin the War for Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

Wilſon, *p.* 186.

The Parliament in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time petition'd her to marry, and ſhe lik'd it, as King *James* himſelf ſaid: But *he thinks it Preſumption in the Parliament humbly to beſeech him, for the Good of Religion, to permit his Son to marry a Proteſtant Princeſs*, telling them, if they *had fix'd on any* Place or Perſon, *he wou'd have thought it High Treaſon; ſo many Degrees high was the King's Spirit mounted above a* Woman's *to humble* Subjects, *and ſo many Degrees lower than hers was his Spirit to dare Enemies.*

*A.D.*1622. His Majeſty was ſo incens'd at the Proteſtation, that by the Advice of *Buckingham*, he diſſolv'd the Parliament on the 6th of *January*, by Proclamation; in which he laid all the Blame upon the Commons, at leaſt on thoſe *fiery Spirits* abovemention'd. Biſhop *Laud* is ſaid to have drawn that huffing *Proclamation*, ſo raſh in Thought, and harſh in Expreſſion, that the Lord-Keeper *Williams* advis'd to have it ſoften'd before it was publiſh'd, but *Laud* was never for making Abatements, and ſo it paſs'd to the general Diſcontent of the whole Nation. The Lord-Keeper *was very much troubled at it, ſeeing plainly of what dangerous Conſequence it might be, and how much his Majeſty treſpaſs'd againſt the true Principles of* Engliſh *Policy, by quarrelling with his Parliament*; and he did all he cou'd to perſuade *the King to make it his earneſt Endeavour to unite with them when they were aſſembled next.* A Week before the Parliament was diſſolv'd, the King haſten'd to Town from hunting, and call'd a Council, at which the Judges aſſiſted; he declar'd before them all, that the *Proteſtation* was void, and ſending for the Journal-Book belonging to the Houſe of Commons, he tore it out with his own Hand. The Diſſolution of the Parliament added Fuel to the Flame, which began to heat the whole Kingdom. The Infringement of their Privileges diſguſted the People whom they repreſented, and who thought it not above their Reach and Capacity to obſerve, *That a Prince who ſuffer'd the Proteſtants of* Germany *and* France *to be extirpated, ought not to have born the Title of* Defender of the Faith; *that he might almoſt have purchas'd ſuch a Country as the* Palatinate *with the Money ſpent on Embaſſies; that the promiſing the* French *Proteſtants Aſſiſtance, without aſſiſting them, had only made them the more reſolute to their Ruin; that all that was got by the King's Negotiations, was this arrogant Saying from the Conſtable* de Luines *in* France, *to Sir* Edward Herbert, *What has your Maſter to do with us or our Affairs?* " Where- " as the *Engliſh* Fleets, the Glory of the World, " if employ'd, wou'd have taught the *French* Pride " to know, that he who ſtrikes with Paſſion, will " many times thank them that take him off by " friendly Admonition." All this *Echard* calls *ſawcy talking*; and yet he repeats the moſt ſawcy of all; it was mouth'd out *that he was no King, but a Fidler's Son*, otherwiſe he wou'd not ſuffer ſuch Diſorders *at Home, and Diſhonours* abroad. To ſtop People's Mouths, a Proclamation was publiſh'd againſt talking of State-Affairs, which was never known in any good Reign, ſuch as Queen *Elizabeth*'s, and all the Reigns ſince the *Revolution*; it being a plain Confeſſion that the Affairs of State cannot ſtand the Teſt of Truth.

*A.D.*1622. *Arbitrary Government.*

Wilſon, *p.* 190.

As ſoon as the Parliament was broken up, the King exerted his Royal Power againſt ſeveral of the leading Members of both Houſes; the gallant Earl of *Oxford* was committed to the *Tower* for ſpeaking againſt the Miniſtry, the weakeſt and wickedeſt that ever govern'd this Kingdom; the Earl of *Southampton* was confin'd for ſpeaking the Truth of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had ſpoken diſorderly in the Houſe of Peers. Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Robert Philips*, Mr. *Mallory*, were committed to the *Tower* for their Freedom of Speech; Sir *Thomas Crew*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, and Sir *James Perrot*, were ſent into *Ireland* with a trifling Commiſſion; Sir *Peter Haymen*, one of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, was commanded to ſerve in the *Palatinate*, where his Service cou'd be of no uſe. Sir *Edward Coke*, late Lord Chief-Juſtice, was not only impriſon'd in the *Tower* for the like Offence, Freedom of Speech in Parliament, but the Locks and Doors of his Chambers in the *Temple* were ſeal'd up, his Papers, and among others, ſeveral Securities for Money were taken away. None of his Children or Servants were ſuffer'd to come near him, and in this Confinement the King ſu'd him for 30000 *l.* an old pretended Debt due from Sir *William Hatton* to Queen *Elizabeth*, which was proſecuted with all Severity imaginable, tho' Sir *John Walter*, the Attorney-General, return'd the Brief that was ſent him, with this Expreſſion, *Let my Tongue cleave to the Roof of my Mouth, whenever I ope it againſt Sir* Edward Coke. The ſhutting up theſe Gentlemen, ſome of the moſt eminent of the Kingdom, merely by virtue of the Authority Royal, is an Inſtance of arbitrary Power not to be match'd but in *French*, *Turkiſh*, or *Ruſſian* Hiſtory. The Example was follow'd by this King's Son, as was that of raiſing Money without Act of Parliament, by Order of Privy-Council only. Letters were ſent to the Judges and others, to move them to contribute for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, as was pretended, and the Names of thoſe who refus'd, were order'd to be certify'd to the Council-Board. The like Letters were directed to the High-Sheriffs of Coun-

Lords and Commons impriſon'd.

Coke, *p.* 121.

Money raiſed illegally.

ties,

Ambroſe Philips, *p.* 98.

A.D.1622. ties, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors of Cities, and Towns, to ſummon all before them of known Abilities, and take their Contributions. Thoſe who wou'd not contribute, were return'd as diſaffected. "These, ſays Mr. *Coke*, were the Ways which this "*pacifick* King took in and out of Parliament, "which I believe, except in the Reign of *Edward* "the IVth, were never practis'd by any of our "*Engliſh* Kings; and all this under the ſpecious "Pretext of recovering his Son-in-law's Patrimo-"ny, prodigally to ſquander among his Favourites, "eſpecially *Buckingham*, whoſe Avarice cou'd not "be ſupported otherwiſe by the Revenues of the "Crown, and the ſelling of all Places ſacred and "civil. Theſe were his Majeſty's noble Atchieve-"ments over his Parliament, who preſum'd to "adviſe him for his own Honour and the Na-"tions Safety." Another way of managing leading Members in the Houſe of Commons, was to bribe them by Places and Honours, which was alſo practis'd in the next Reign. Sir *John Saville*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *York*, was now bought off from the Country Intereſt by being made Comptroller of the Houſhold, a Privy-Counſellor, and not long after a Baron.

K. James *boaſts that his Mother was a Martyr for Popery.* H.J.Lach. *p.* 20.

The Lord *Digby* was ſent to *Spain* to forward the Treaty of Marriage with the Infanta *Maria*, Siſter to *Philip* IV. King *James* ſmooth'd the Way on his Part by his Indulgence to Papiſts; and when thoſe who had near Acceſs to his Perſon, remonſtrated to him againſt that Marriage, and that Indulgence, the only Anſwer they could get from him, was, *His Mother had been a Roman Catholick, and dy'd a Martyr for that Religion.* *Gondemar* boaſted he had procur'd the Releaſement of 4000 Papiſts. Before *Digby* departed the King wrote a Letter to Pope *Gregory* the XVth, addreſs'd thus; *To the moſt holy Father*, &c. *greeting, and all manner of Felicity.* With what *Reputation his Majeſty acted* for the Church of *England*? He then tells the Pope, *He doubts not but his Holineſs, out of his ſingular Piety, will further what he has been endeavouring.* This Epiſtle is from the Defender of our Proteſtant Faith to him whom all true Proteſtants term Antichriſt. Again; *That which remains for us further to ſay concerning this Matter, this Gentleman, our Subject*, George Gage, *will deliver unto you more at large; praying your Holineſs that you will give him in all Things Credence and Belief; beſeeching Almighty God, from our Heart, to preſerve you in Safety, and to grant you all other Happineſs.* His Majeſty prays from his Heart, that all other Happineſs may be granted to the *Pope* by Almighty God; in which Happineſs muſt be included the utter Extirpation of the Reform'd Religion, without which no Pope will ever think himſelf happy. How does this agree with the Prayer in King *Edward* VI. Liturgy, *From the Tyranny and all the deteſtable Enormities of the Biſhop of* Rome, *good Lord deliver us*?

Cab. 211.

K. James's *Letter to the Pope.*

And encourages Popery, 193, 194.

Having mention'd the Lord *Digby*'s Embaſſy to *Spain*, we cannot omit taking notice of his Reception there, which, according to *Wilſon*, was ſo ſhort of the Reſpect due to an extraordinary Ambaſſador of the King of *England*, that a Meſſenger might have hop'd for better. The *Spaniards* treated him as ſcurvily as if he had come from ſuch a ſort of Monarch as one of the *Indian* Kings in Queen *Anne*'s Time: Yet to quicken the Buſineſs in *England*, his Majeſty commanded the Lord-Keeper *Williams* to iſſue Writs under the Great-Seal, requiring the Judges in every Circuit, to enlarge all Papiſts who were impriſon'd according to Law for Recuſancy.

Archbiſhop Abbot's *Misfortune*

About this Time a ſad Accident happen'd to that moſt reverend Prelate Dr. *George Abbot* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in *Bramſhill-Park* in *Hampſhire*; where, by the Invitation of the Lord *Zouch*, he was at a Buck-hunting. The Keeper running amongſt the Herd of Deer to bring them up to the fairer Mark, and the Archbiſhop ſitting on Horſeback, let fly a barb'd Arrow from a Croſs-Bow, which unhappily ſhot the Keeper in the Left Arm, and he dy'd of the Wound immediately. The Archbiſhop's Enemies, who were all the rigid Clergy, did their utmoſt to have him depriv'd for this involuntary Crime, which the moſt bitter of them cou'd not mount higher than caſual Homicide. The learned Sir *Henry Saville*, his Grace's old Friend, ask'd Sir *Edward Coke*, *Whether a Biſhop might hunt*? Which it was urged he might not do by the Canons; but thoſe Canons had never been admitted as Laws in *England*; and the Lord *Coke* reply'd, *There's an old Law, that when a Biſhop dies he ſhall leave his Dogs to the King.* If a Biſhop might not hunt that Law was uſeleſs. *Laud* was one of the Prelates, who, in Hopes of riſing by the Archbiſhop's Fall, alledg'd that the Homicide, tho' involuntary, tainted the archiepiſcopal Function; and his Conſcience was ſo ſcrupulous, that he did not think the Orders Dr. *Abbot* conferr'd afterwards were valid; but ſober Clergymen, even Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was not thought to be very well with the Archbiſhop, reprov'd thoſe who condemn'd his Irregularity, as they term'd his hunting; tho' ſome Years after, when Dr. *Jaxon* was talk'd of for breeding the beſt Dogs in *England*, the Sport was then regular, and the Sportſman worthy to be call'd from his Game, and to be made Biſhop of *London*. The Archbiſhop was ſo mortify'd at this Accident, that he retir'd to an Almſhouſe he had built at *Guildford*, which the King hearing of, took Compaſſion upon him, and ſaid to a Lord who was ſpeaking of it, *It might have been my Chance or thine.* His Grace not long after receiv'd an Order to return to his Charge at *Lambeth*, and to make the Widow of the Deceas'd ſome Amends for the Loſs of her Husband, he ſettled twenty Pounds a Year upon her, which Penſion got her another Husband in a very little while. The Biſhoprick of *St. David's* becoming vacant about the ſame Time, Dr. *Laud* the turbulent *Oxonian*, was preſented to it by Recommendation of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, whom the Duke of *Buckingham* put upon it. *Echard* confeſſes he was charg'd not only with *Arminian* but *Romiſh* Tenets; and his Temper was ſo fiery, that Judge *Whitlocke* foretold *He wou'd ſet the Nation in a Flame.* Nay, King *James* himſelf, who was hardly prevail'd with to prefer ſuch an exceptionable Perſon, ſaid to the Lord-Keeper, who importun'd him for *Laud*, *Is there no Hold but you will carry it? then take him to you; but on my Soul you will repent it*; which the Keeper did in a few Months, owing his Diſgrace to the Intrigues and Ingratitude of this lordly tyrannical Prelate, who concern'd himſelf ſo much with the State, that he made himſelf a part of it; and we are conſequently neceſſitated to ſpeak more of him than he deſerves. I mean not on account of his low Birth; for having Capacity enough to go thro' an academical Education with ſome Reputation, it is no Blemiſh to his Character that his Fortune was made by himſelf, if he had taken none but warrantable Ways in the Progreſs of it. After he was made Biſhop of *St. Davids* by the Recommendation of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, he by the ſame Favour retain'd his Prebend at *Weſtminſter*, and had a Living of 120 *l.* a Year given him in his own Dioceſs of *St. Davids*, for which *Laud* return'd his Thanks to Biſhop *Williams* by Mr. *Wynne* in theſe Words, *My Life will be too ſhort to requite his Lordſhip's Goodneſs*: But, according to *Coke*, his Favours were not eighteen Months planted, when *Laud* became the Biſhop's ſharpeſt Enemy; and his Malice grew ſo high, that the Counteſs of *Buckingham* took notice of it. *Ruſhworth* aſſures us, *He was ſuſpected of* Popery *while he was a Member of St.* John's *College* Oxon, *inſomuch that it was with Difficulty he got to be choſen Head of his Houſe*; where he preſided when Dr.

Dr. Laud's *Riſe.*

A.D.1622. *Robert Abbot*, the Archbiſhop's Brother, afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*, ſpoke thus of him in a Sermon preach'd at St *Maries* on *Eaſter-Day* 1615. "Men "under Pretence of Truth, and preaching againſt "*Puritans*, ſtrike at the Heart and Root of Faith "and Religion eſtabliſh'd amongſt us. This preach- "ing againſt *Puritans*, was but the Practice of "*Parſons* and *Campian*. *Is it not worth minding from whom* Laud *learn'd his Leſſons againſt Proteſtants, according to the Biſhop of* Sarum's *Information*? Again; "When theſe Jeſuits came to "*England* to ſeduce young Students, ſome of the "latter, who were afraid to loſe their Places if "they ſhou'd profeſſedly be *Papiſts*, were coun- "ſell'd by *Campian* and *Parſons* to ſpeak freely a- "gainſt the *Puritans*, and that ſhou'd ſuffice; and "theſe Students cannot ſuppoſe they are account- "ed *Papiſts*, becauſe they ſpeak againſt the *Puri- "tans*. If ſome of them do at any time ſpeak a- "gainſt the *Papiſts*, they do beat a little upon the "Buſh for fear of troubling or diſquieting of the "Birds that are in it. They ſpeak nothing but "that wherein one Papiſt will ſpeak againſt ano- "ther. *The* Papiſts *beyond the Seas can ſay they "are wholly theirs, and the Recuſants at Home "make their Brags of them. In all Things they "keep themſelves ſo near the Brink, that upon any "Occaſion they may ſtep over to them.*" *Laud* him- ſelf was at the preaching of this Sermon, which was Fuel to his fiery Spirit, and gave this Account of it to his Patron Biſhop *Neile*; *I came Time enough to be at the Rehearſal of it upon much Perſuaſion, where I was fain to ſit patiently and hear my ſelf abuſed almoſt an Hour. I wou'd have taken no notice of it, but that the whole* Univerſity *apply it to me; and my own Friends tell me I ſhall ſink my Credit, if I anſwer not Dr.* Abbot as King *James* P. 201. anſwer'd *Bellarmine*. *Wilſon* confirms what *Abbot* ſaid, *The King's Animoſity againſt* Puritans *was thought to be fomented by the* Papiſts, *whoſe Agent Biſhop* P. 144. Laud *was ſuſpected to be*. *Coke* ſays, *The principal Stickler herein was Dr.* William Laud, *a Man of a moſt turbulent and aſpiring Diſpoſition; and one of the firſt Acts for which he was taken notice of, was to marry the Earl of* Devonſhire *to the Lady* Rich, *Mother to* Robert *Earl of* Warwick, *when her Huſband was alive, at which King* James *was highly incens'd. While he was at* Oxford, *his Buſineſs was* to pick Quarrels in the *Lectures of publick Readers, and ſend Informations of it to Biſhop* Neile, *that he might fill the Ears of King* James *with Diſcontents againſt honeſt Men, who took Pains in their Places, and ſettled the Truth, which he call'd* Puritaniſm, *in their Auditors*. Archbiſhop *Abbot* ſaid of him, *He was* Buckingham's *inward Counſellor, ſitting ſometimes privately with him whole Hours, feeding his Humour with Malice and Spite*. As there was hardly a lewder Man upon Earth than *Buckingham*, what Notion can one have of the Piety of his Confeſſor and Counſellor? *Laud*'s Contrivance to ruin his Patron and great Benefactor Biſhop *Williams* Lord-Keeper, takes up almoſt a Volume of Finch's *Character*. Biſhop *Hacket's* Life of that Prelate. *Coke*'s Indig- nation was ſo rais'd by reading it, that he expreſſes P. 146. it thus: "You there ſee villanous Inſtruments, "Perjuries, Subornations, and keeping back of "Witneſſes, razing Records, the diſplacing Sir "*Robert Heath* from being Lord-Chief-Juſtice, "becauſe he wou'd not do *Laud*'s Drudgery, and "bringing in Sir *John Finch*, who would *jurare in "Verbo Magiſtri*." It would be endleſs ſhou'd one go about to repeat every thing that is ſaid of this *Laud*'s Fury, Pride, Inſolence, Cruelty, Ingrati- tude, Superſtition, *&c.* after Authors of undoubted Credit; one of them, the celebrated Mr. *Locke*, ſays of *Laud* and his Followers, they wou'd do the *Des Maiz. Coll.* worſt of Things by the worſt of *Means, enſlave their Country, and betray them under the Maſque of Religion*. We will now ſee what the Lord *Clarendon* or his Editors ſay of him, his other Advo- cates being too mean and too partial to be taken notice of. "The advancing of him was infinite- A.D.1622. "ly to the Benefit and Honour of the Church. Need one go any further? *The Reader can have no Conception that any Thing more notoriouſly againſt the Truth cou'd be ſaid of him, unleſs I repeated it* P. 65. *out of the* HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. "No "Man was more plentifully repleniſh'd with a good P. 90. "Conſcience, and a moſt ſincere worthy Intenti- "on; the Splendor of his pious Life, and his un- "poliſh'd Integrity; his ſingular Abilities and im- "menſe Virtue, and his Writings, more advanc'd "the Proteſtant Religion, than it had been from "the *Reformation*. He was the beſt provided of P. 98. "any Man with Innocence of Heart, and Inte- "grity of Manners. To call him Papiſt was a "ſenſeleſs Appellation, his Heart being always ſet "upon the Advancement of the Church."--- E- nough ſurely to ſhew us what Metal the Cha- racters in that Hiſtory are made of, eſpecially where the Author or Authors add, *He had hitherto avoided Court Buſineſs and Matters of State*; which I may venture to aſſert, is one of the falſeſt Things that ever was aſſerted in Hiſtory. He had been a Privy-Counſellor, and as we have mention'd af- ter Archbiſhop *Abbot*, was the Confident of *Villiers*, who certainly did not conſult him about Caſes of Conſcience; and when he went with the Prince to *Spain*, this very *Laud*, who had *hitherto avoided Court Buſineſs, was left his Agent at Court*. The Biſhop being afraid he ſhou'd be left out of the *High-Commiſſion* Court, on account of his per- Ambroſe ſecuting Spirit, he immediately apply'd himſelf by Philips, Letter to *Buckingham*, in which are theſe Expreſ- P. 150. ſions: *Since by his Majeſty's gracious Goodneſs, and your Grace's ſole Procurement, I am made a* Gover- nor, *I wou'd be loth to be excluded, but am ſure my Lord of* Canterbury *will leave me out, as hi- therto he hath done. If his Majeſty be not pleas'd to command that I ſhall be in, I humbly deſire I may be depriv'd*. He is begging a Power to domi- neer and oppreſs, out of the Innocence of his Heart, the Integrity of his Manners, out of his Piety and his immenſe Virtue, as we juſt now read in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. Here he affirms it was by the ſole Procurement of the Duke of *Buck- ingham*, that he was made Biſhop of *St. Davids*; whereas Biſhop *Hacket* aſſures us it was Biſhop *Williams* that procur'd the Biſhoprick for him: and *A. Wood*, who ador'd *Laud*, as much as he lov'd P. 56. Adoration, owns *it was done by the Endeavours* of Dr. *John Williams*. Granting that *Villiers* did re- commend him to the Lord-Keeper, to ſay that therefore he was the ſole Procurer of the Biſhop- rick is falſe, for *Williams* was forc'd to ſtruggle for him, and was more than once diſcourag'd in his Suit by the King. True it is, *Laud* had already thrown off the Protection of his Patron, and been very inſtrumental in his Diſgrace; the Ingratitude of which, within a few Months after he had made him a Biſhop, wou'd not agree with owning his Promotion to him, without more Shame than he was capable of.

General Hiſtory wou'd not admit of ſo large a Digreſſion concerning a particular Perſon, if that Perſon had not thruſt himſelf into moſt of the State Affairs we ſhall be oblig'd to relate for twen- ty Years of our Period, and if it was not to en- lighten a little thoſe we ſhall find him concern'd in.

King *James* was ſtill in Hopes that he ſhou'd Spaniſh *preſerve his Reputation abroad*, according to *Echard*, *Match*. by puſhing forward the Treaty of Marriage: But our Archdeacon tells us not how that *Reputation* was acquir'd: indeed he does tell us that the Lord *Vaux*, a Papiſt, had Liberty to tranſport 4000 Men to reinforce the King of *Spain*'s Armies, both a- gainſt his Majeſty's Confederates of *Holland*, where Ech. 400. his baniſh'd Children had Refuge, and even againſt his baniſh'd Childrens Country, the *Palatinate* it-

*A.D.*1622. ſelf, while the Lord *Digby*, now Earl of *Briſtol*, was dreſſing the Articles of Marriage to the Satisfaction of the *Spaniards*; which however did not ſatisfy the Pope, and he had them dreſs'd again at *Rome* more ſtill to the Advantage of the *Engliſh* Papiſts. He requir'd that the *Romiſh* Prieſts, who came to *England*, ſhou'd be ſubject to no Laws
Wilſ. 203. but what they brought with them; that the Children of the *Infanta* ſhou'd be bred in the Popiſh
The Pope's Demands for it. Religion; that ſhe might have a Church and a Chapel open to all Comers; which being a perfect Toleration, King *James* did not care to venture on ſo bold a Step, and wrote ſeveral times to the Earl of *Briſtol* for an Abatement; which he not being able to obtain, the King and Prince
The Articles. ſign'd the Articles which the Earl ſent them; and by which it was agreed, that *Papiſts ſhou'd not be interrupted in the Exerciſe of their Religion, nor be vex'd with any Oaths in order to the ſame.* More
Papiſts to be tolerated. cou'd not be done by them to oblige the Pope, unleſs all Penal Laws had been repeal'd, Church Lands reſtor'd, and the National Church been turn'd into what it was before the *Reformation*; yet all this did not ſatisfy the *Spaniards*. They only amus'd King *James* with a Treaty of Marriage, while their Arms in Conjunction with the Emperor's reduc'd the whole *Palatinate*; and then the King of *Spain* declar'd himſelf to his Favourite the Conde *Olivarez* in a Letter written to him not long after the Earl of *Briſtol* arriv'd at
Wilſon, 215. *Madrid. The King my Father declar'd at his Death, that his Intent was never to marry my Siſter the Infanta* Donna Maria *with the Prince of* Wales; *which your Uncle Don* Balthaſar *underſtood, and ſo treated this Match ever with Intention to delay it; notwithſtanding it is now ſo far advanc'd, that, conſidering all the Averſeneſs of the Infanta to it, it is time to ſeek ſome Means to divert the Treaty;*
K. James *deluded by the K. of* Spain. *which I wou'd have you find out, and I will make it good whatſoever it be. But in all other things procure the Satisfaction of the King of* Great Britain, *(who hath deſerv'd much) and it ſhall content me, ſo it be not in the Match.* Thus, according to *Wilſon*, was *our King deluded, his Honour blemiſh'd, his Love among his Subjects diminiſh'd, his Childrens Patrimony deſtroy'd*, &c. But my Lord *Clarendon*, or the *Chriſtchurch* Men, affirm, without any manner of *Reſervation, he had more Knowledge than any other Prince of his Age.* Which Knowledge could not unriddle the ſtrange Conduct of *Spain*; and himſelf, Son and Favourite were ſo puzzled with the *Remora's* which happen'd in the Treaty, that a moſt chimerical Project was ſtarted for the Prince of *Wales* and Marquis of *Buckingham* to go themſelves to *Madrid*, and remove them all by their Preſence. The Match it ſelf was like to be attended with ſuch ill Conſequences with regard to the Religion and Liberties of *England*, that no body who wiſhes well to them can read the Story, and much leſs write it with Pleaſure. The *Palatinate* being entirely loſt, Count *Mansveldt*, who commanded there for the King
Palatinate. of *Bohemia*, march'd thro' *Lorrain* and *Luxembourg*, and enter'd the *Netherlands*, where he fought his way thro' the *Spaniſh* Army under *Corduba*. In which Action the Duke of *Brunſwick* had his Arm ſhot off, and many *Engliſh* and *Scots* Gentlemen ſignaliz'd themſelves *out of Love to the Queen of* Bohemia. Of theſe let us remember the brave Sir *Charles Rich*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*; Sir *James Hays*, *Knevet*, *Hume*, and *Helburn*, who behav'd very gallantly. Count *Mansveldt* join'd the Prince of *Orange*'s Army, and they oblig'd *Spinola* to raiſe the Siege of *Bergen-op-Zoon*. A plain Indication, that if the Money given by the Parliament for the *Palatine* War had been employ'd even now for that Service, the *Spaniards* inſtead of making Conqueſts in *Germany* wou'd have been hard put to it to have preſerv'd what they had poſſeſs'd themſelves of in the *Netherlands*. With that Money the Prince of *Orange*, *A.D.*1622. who made head againſt *Spinola* without it, wou'd have been enabled to make ſuch a Diverſion in the *Low Countries*, as wou'd not have permitted the *Spaniards* to have march'd their Armies into *Germany*.

The Emperor at this time held a Diet at *Ratiſbon*, in which the Affair of the Elector *Palatine* was canvaſs'd by the Popiſh and Proteſtant Parties. The latter argu'd ſtrenuouſly for his Reſtoration, the former juſtify'd the Emperor in transferring the Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*. The *German* Proteſtants had the *Palatine*'s Intereſt ſo much at heart, that without any Sollicitation of the King of *Great Britain*, who by no means intereſted himſelf ſo much in it, they did of themſelves oblige the Emperor to conſent, that the Inveſtiture of the Duke of *Bavaria* ſhou'd not be prejudicial to the Children of the *Palatine*. There was a private Treaty carry'd on by ſome of King *James*'s Miniſters, that the young Prince *Palatine* ſhou'd be bred up in the Emperor's Court under pretence of marrying his Daughter; but in effect, ſays *Wilſon, to be train'd up in the Popiſh Religion.* This Matter is touch'd in a Letter of the Conde *Olivarez* to his Maſter the Catholick King. *This will reduce the Prince* Elector, *that was an Enemy to the Obedience of the Church, by breeding his Son in the Emperor's Court in the Catholick Doctrine.*

It did not require *more Knowledge than any Prince of the Age had*, to have foreſeen that a powerful Aſſiſtance ſent to Count *Manſveldt*, or the Prince of *Orange*, and a powerful Negotiation at the Imperial *Diet* in Conjunction with the Proteſtant Princes, wou'd have recover'd the *Palatine*'s Dominions with more Expedition and Honour than an odious tedious Marriage Treaty, in which King *James* at laſt gave up the *Palatinate*, ordering the Earl of *Briſtol not to inſiſt upon it as a Condition of the Marriage.* What Opinion Foreigners had of the King's Tameneſs and Negligence in this Affair, may be ſeen by that of the Learned and Noble *Spanheim*. The Proteſtant Welwood, *Religion was thereby entirely rooted out of* Bohemia, 27. *the* Electoral *Dignity transferr'd from the* Palatine *Family, the* Palatinate *itſelf loſt, the Liberty of* Germany *overthrown*; and what muſt be an inexpreſſible Loſs to a Nobleman as much ſuperior to King *James* in Learning as the King was to him in Dignity, *The famous Library at* Heidelbergh *remov'd to* Rome. The Mules that carry'd the Books over the *Alps* had each a Silver Plate on his Forehead, wherein was engrav'd FERO BIBLIOTHECAM PRINCIPIS PALATINI. All which Miſchiefs are in a great meaſure owing to the Influ- Gondemar ence his Majeſty permitted the crafty *Gondemar* to *lull'd the* have over him; inſomuch that the *Conde* wrote the *K. aſleep.* Duke of *Lerma, I have lull'd King* James *ſo faſt aſleep, that I hope neither the Cries of his Daughter and her Chilaren, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects on their Behalf, ſhall be able to awaken him.*

As full as this cunning *Spaniard* was of his Con- Gondeceits, he was often rebufft by the Repartees of the mar. *Engliſh*, who hated him and his Errand. *Vere* Earl of *Oxford* being flatter'd by him for his great Actions and Qualities, reply'd, *I know of but two memorable things in my Life, I was born in* Eighty-eight, *and chriſten'd the* Fifth *of* November. As the King was once praiſing the Plenty of Proviſions in *England*, eſpecially *Fiſh* and *Fowl*, and ſaying, *One County had more than all* Spain: Yes, ſays *Gondemar*; but my Maſter has the Gold and Silver Mines in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. *And I by my Soule*, reply'd the King, *have much ado to keep my Men from taking them away from him.*

If the Adventures of Prince *Charles* and *Buckingham* had come into the Head of *Miguel Cervantes*, *A.D.*1623. it wou'd have carry'd his *Quixotiſm* much higher than

*A.D.*1623. than the Knight of *Manca* did; yet the Earl of *Clarendon*, or the *Oxford* Doctors, tell this Story with as much Solemnity, as if the Journey had been the Effect of *Matchivillian* Policy; whereas it is thus repreſented by other Writers. "It was ſuch an Adventure as Don *Quixote* never dreamt of; that becauſe the King, the Prince's Father, was poor at home and deſpis'd abroad; *which is not deny'd by Authors who deny every thing elſe*; therefore by making his only Son an Hoſtage in another King's Court, where the Maxims both of Religion and State were directly contrary, he ſhould think to perſuade the King of *Spain* to overturn all, and alſo get ſuch a Portion as was fourfold more than any Prince before had: As alſo that the King of *Spain* ſhou'd reſtore the *Palatinate*, becauſe the King knew not elſe which way to get it; yet the Journey muſt be made, it being *Buckingham*'s Pleaſure to have it ſo; ſo ſtark blind does Poverty and Covetouſneſs make Mens Underſtanding and Reaſon". This Language is a little rough, as indeed is that Writer's Manner, but the Sentiments are juſt; and the Gravity of the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory of this Journey turn'd into a Jeſt by a Saying of *Archy* the King's Fool, an Officer who ſeems to be very ſuperfluous in that Court: When his Majeſty was once merrily diſpos'd, that *Under-Courtier* told him *he muſt change Caps with him*. Why? *ſays the King*. Why? *Who*, replies *Archy*, *ſent the Prince into* Spain? But what, *ſaid the King*, wilt thou ſay if the Prince comes back again? *Why then*, quoth the Fool, *I will take my Cap from your Head, and ſend it to the King of* Spain.

The Prince his Journey to Spain. Coke, 126.

P. 131.

There is more good Senſe couch'd under this Buffoonry of *Archy*, than in the pompous Relation which takes up ſo many Pages of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* very faithfully copy'd by Archdeacon *Echard*. The Reaſons which induc'd the Prince to take this Journey are too wild and romantick to find a Place in ſober Hiſtory; but they were back'd to the King with ſome Menaces from *Buckingham*, as unfit for him to ſpeak as his Maſter to hear. *If you go from your Promiſe*, his Majeſty having been ſurpriz'd into a Conſent to it, *it will ſo diſoblige the Prince that he can never forget it, nor forgive the* Raſcal *who has been the Cauſe of it*; which put an End to the King's Imprecations and Deliberations upon the Matter. The Journey was conſented to, and the two Perſons nam'd who were to attend the Prince and Marquis, both very grateful to his Majeſty, Sir *Francis Cottington* and *Endimion Porter*. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us the former had been the King's *Agent* in *Spain*. *Wilſon* ſays indeed he had been a ſort of Clerk to Sir *Charles Cornwallis* when he was Ambaſſador there. *Porter* had been Mr. *Edward Villiers*'s Man; and being taken into *Buckingham*'s Bedchamber was remov'd thence to the Prince's. There was another Attendant who was not to be ſo much entruſted, one Sir *Richard Graham*, who ſerv'd firſt in *Buckingham*'s Stable. *It is not*, continues *Wilſon*, *to vilify the Perſons, being Men in this World's Lottery as capable of Advancement as others*; *but to ſhew in how poor a Bark the King ventur'd the rich Freight, his Son, having only the Marquis to ſteer his Courſe*. The Prince and he had falſe Beards, and went by the Names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*; but their profuſe Living render'd their Quality ſuſpected.

P. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

P. 16.

The Journey.

At *Dover* the Mayor took them into Examination, which oblig'd *Buckingham* to diſcover himſelf. They were then permitted to embark; and landing at *Bologne* the 18th of *February*, they rode Poſt to *Paris*, where they ſaw the Court *incog.* and in particular the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*; whoſe Eyes afterwards ſo inflam'd the Prince's Heart, that, according to *Wilſon*, it *ſet the Three Kingdoms a fire*. At *Bourdeaux* the Governor, the Duke *d'Epernon*, offer'd them the Civilities of his Houſe; but *Cottington*, who, ſays my Author, had the leaſt Mien of a Gentleman, let him know his Companions were only travelling for Improvement, and had not Breeding ſuitable to his Grandeur. *Grammont*, Governor of *Bayonne*, had ſome Suſpicion of them; but it being in Time of Peace, he ask'd no Queſtions. *A.D.*1623.

Arrival in Spain.

On the 6th of *March* they arriv'd at *Madrid*, about 800 Miles in 18 Days from their ſetting out. They alighted at the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, who was ſtrangely aſtoniſh'd at the Sight, having not been let into the Secret. The King of *Spain* had receiv'd Information of it, and 'twas preſently rumour'd that ſome great Perſons were arriv'd; who were the next Day known to be the Prince of *Wales* and *Buckingham*. The Earl of *Briſtol* went firſt to Court, and had private Audience of the King, who ſent his prime Favourite and Miniſter the Count-Duke *d'Olivarez* to congratulate his Highneſs's Arrival; who did it in a moſt ſubmiſſiue manner, the *Spaniſh* Stiffneſs bending ſo low as to embrace the Prince's Thigh; and in huge ſwelling Words he exaggerated the Honour his Highneſs's Preſence did the Court of *Madrid*: An Obligation ſo great, that he *deſerv'd to have the Infanta thrown into his Arms*. He alſo complimented the Marquis of *Buckingham*, telling him, *Now the Prince of* England *was in* Spain, *his Maſter and he wou'd divide the World between them*. Which Rodomontado and others were ſwallow'd glibly enough. About 10 a-Clock at Night the King of *Spain* came in a cloſe Coach to viſit the Prince, who having Intimation of his coming met him in the way; and their Interview was with all the endearing Marks of Friendſhip and Affection which cou'd be expected from ſuch great Princes. The next Day came *Gondemar*, who had been ſucceeded in his Embaſſy in *England* by the Marquis *Inioſa*; and after many Compliments in his uſual Strain, he added, *I have ſtrange News to tell your Highneſs, for an* Engliſhman *is this Day ſworn of the Privy Council to the King of* Spain; meaning himſelf, *who*, he ſaid, *was an* Engliſhman *in Heart*. The next Day the King and Prince went to take the Air in their Coaches at the *Prado*, where the latter had the firſt Glimpſe of his fair Miſtreſs. A Day or two after his Highneſs made his publick Entry on Horſeback from the Monaſtery of St. *Jerom* to the Royal Palace with the ſame State the Kings of *Spain* uſe at their Coronation, the King himſelf riding under the ſame Canopy, and giving Precedence to the Prince of *Wales*. The Marquis of *Buckingham* and the Count-Duke *d'Olivarez* follow'd the Royal Canopy. Then came the Earl of *Briſtol* between two of the eldeſt Counſellors of State; and then Sir *Walter Aſton* between two *Spaniſh* Courtiers. The Cavalcade was the moſt ſplendid that can be imagin'd; the Grandees, the chief Magiſtrates of *Madrid*, the Officers of the Guard, and the Guard themſelves glitter'd in Cloth of Gold and Silver, and the Ladies ſhin'd in the Balconies with a Luſtre of Diamonds not to be purchas'd but with the Treaſures of *Peru* and *Mexico*. The Scaffolds erected in the Streets for the ſeveral Councils of *Spain*, were cover'd with the richeſt Tapeſtry; and all the way as the King and Prince paſs'd, they were entertain'd with painted and gilt Pageants, where the beſt Comedians and Dancers ſhew'd the utmoſt of their Skill to divert ſo glorious a Company. The Queen and Infanta were Spectators of the triumphal Entry at the Court Gate; but they ſoon retir'd, the Queen to receive the Prince, and the Infanta to her Apartment. The King and Prince embrac'd when they alighted, and paſs'd immediately to the Queen's Quarter, who receiv'd them at her Chamber Door, and conducted the Prince to the Cloth of State, under which were three equal Chairs, where the Queen ſate in the midſt, the Prince on the right Hand, and the King on the left, with a Circle of the nobleſt and faireſt Youth of both Sexes in the

A.D.1623. Court of *Spain*. *Madam*, ſaid the Prince, *the Honour of this Day's Solemnity is due to your Majeſty,* Sand. 546. *which conveys me hither to kiſs your Princely Hand*; and ſo he ſtoop'd to her Knee. *Sir*, ſaid ſhe, *It is to your Highneſs, and in ſuch manner as to the Royalty of* Spain, *due and done to your excellent Merit*. After about half an Hour's Converſation in *French*, ſhe reconducted the King and Prince to her Chamber Door. The King accompany'd his Highneſs to an Apartment prepar'd for him in the Royal Palace. The two *Infants*, the King's Brothers, receiv'd the Prince of *Wales* at the Entrance into that Apartment, and all three conducted him to his Bedchamber. An Hour after the Queen's *Major Domo* brought a Preſent of a fair Baſon of maſſy Gold, a curious embroider'd Night-Gown, and other things of great Value. A Preſent was alſo ſent by the Counteſs *d'Olivarez* to the Marquis of *Buckingham*, who, it is ſaid, took it as an Act of Gallantry, and not of Ceremony; and fancy'd the *Spaniſh* Favourite's Lady encourag'd him to make Advances to her; which were incompatible with the Importance of his Negotiation, and the Severity of the Manners in *Spain*. The King gave Orders that his Highneſs ſhou'd have Keys to all his private Lodgings, even to his Bedchamber. The Prince was attended by Grandees and *Titulados*; and had all Honours paid him except that for which he came. He had never any better View of the *Infanta* than at a Diſtance, tho' he earneſtly ſu'd for it, and was promis'd it from Day to Day by *Olivarez*. At laſt he was inform'd he cou'd not ſee the *Infanta* as a Lover till the *Diſpenſation* came from *Rome*.

Engliſh *Noblemen in* Spain.

For the greater Glory of his Highneſs's Court in *Spain*, the Marquis of *Buckingham* was created a Duke. The Patent was brought by the Viſcount *Doncaſter*, now Earl of *Carliſle*; with whom went ſeveral *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen, and others going before and coming after, the Prince *was circled with a ſplendid Retinue of his own People*; as the Lord *Kenſington*, Captain of King *James*'s Guard; the Earl of *Denbigh*, *Edward* Lord *Kimbolton*, the Lord Viſcount *Rochford*, and others. The Outſide of the Reception he met with was gallant and promiſing. But the grand Affair became every Day more intricate. The *Spaniards* doubted not of making him a Convert; for he ſeem'd to be ſo enamour'd, that they thought he wou'd at any rate have purchas'd the Enjoyment of his beauteous Princeſs. *Sanderſon*, an Hiſtorian very much in Credit with *Echard*, affirms, *There never were any Propoſals or Deſign to alter the Prince's Religion*. But *Echard* himſelf tells us, "The *Pope* us'd all his Endeavours to cauſe the "Prince to turn Catholick; the *Spaniards* pro- "miſ'd him great Aſſiſtance if the *Engliſh* ſhou'd "rebel; Orations, Proceſſions and pompous Shows "were made to allure him; Popiſh Books were "dedicated, and Popiſh Pictures preſented to him". The Pope himſelf wrote him a Letter, in which, according to *Wilſon*, he us'd all the Rhetorick of his *Cabaliſtical Conſiſtory and holy Chair to charm him to his Obedience*. The Archbiſhop of *Embrun* was told by the Duke of *Buckingham*, that when the Prince demanded to be admitted into the *Infanta's* Company, he was refus'd unleſs he wou'd firſt make Profeſſion of the Catholick Religion before ſix or ſeven Witneſſes at leaſt, to which they endeavour'd to perſuade him with all the Artifices imaginable. He was permitted to write to her, as he did ſeveral times, and receiv'd an Anſwer, which the Prince believ'd to be written with the Hand of the *Infanta*; but it appear'd afterwards to be compos'd by one of her Ladies of Honour. The Prince of *Wales* return'd a civil Anſwer to the Pope; wherein he ſays, *It has been his greateſt Care to be united to his Holineſs; that he had always been far from encouraging Novelties, and to be a Partiſan of any Faction againſt the Catholick Religion. That he will ſeek Occaſion to take away Suſpicion, and deſir'd but one Religion and one Faith; having reſolv'd in himſelf to ſpare nothing that he has in the World, his Eſtate and Life, for a thing ſo pleaſing* as the uniting us to the Church of *Rome*: for no Man in his Wits can think the Pope wou'd unite himſelf to the Church of *England*. He then *implores the Almighty to give his Holineſs Health and Happineſs*. How does this agree with Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Letter to King *James* when he heard of the Articles in Favour of Papiſts, which were the Conditions of Marriage: *I beſeech you to take into Conſideration what that Act is, what the Conſequence may be. By your Act you labour to ſet up the moſt* damnable *and* heretical *Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *the Whore of* Babylon. *By this you ſhew yourſelf a Patron of thoſe wicked Doctrines which your Conſcience tells you are ſuperſtitious, idolatrous, and deteſtable. And hereto I add what you have done by ſending the Prince into* Spain *without the Conſent of your Council, the Privity or Approbation of your People. The Drawers of him into this Action, ſo dangerous to himſelf, ſo deſperate to the Kingdom, will not paſs unqueſtion'd and unpuniſh'd*. He cloſes all thus: *And now, Sir, do with me what you pleaſe*. Why ſhou'd *Echard* doubt the Truth of King *James* and the Prince's ſwearing to the Articles which contain'd this Toleration, when the Archbiſhop ſo ſeverely rebukes him for it? His only Reaſon is, that ſo trifling an Author as *Nalſon* does not ſpeak of it, and that what the Archbiſhop charges the King with directly is not probable. The Articles being ſworn, and the *Diſpenſation* come from *Rome*, his Majeſty cry'd out in a Tranſport, *All the Devils in Hell cannot break the Match*. To which one ſoftly reply'd, *There is not a Devil left in Hell; they are all gone to* Spain *to make it*. *Wilſon* informs us how the *Diſpenſation* was obtain'd. "The Pope finding by the Prince's Letter, and "ſome other private Intimations, his good Affe- "ction to the *Roman* See, thought it high time to "dally no longer, but to draw him altogether with "the Cords of Love". The Articles which *Nalſon* does not ſpeak of, and therefore *Echard* does not believe them to be true, were confirm'd in Council, and the following Privy-Counſellors ſign'd them as Witneſſes: *John* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Lord Keeper; *Lionel* Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord Treaſurer; *Henry* Viſcount *Mandeville*, Lord Preſident; *Edward* Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord Privy-Seal; *Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Lord Steward; *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*; *James* Earl of *Carliſle*; *Thomas* Earl of *Kelley*; *Oliver* Viſcount *Grandiſon*; *Lancelot* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *George* Lord *Carew*; *Arthur* Lord *Chicheſter*; Sir *Thomas Edmonds*; Sir *John Suckling*; Sir *George Calvert*; Sir *Edward Conway*; Sir *Richard Weſton*; Sir *Julius Cæſar*.

A.D.1623.

Archbp. Abbot's *Letter againſt tolerating Papiſts.*

P. 548. P. 402.

P. 135.

Most of theſe Counſellors were profeſs'd or ſuſpected Papiſts, and *the others ſet their Hands againſt their Wills*. The Articles being ſworn, the King gave the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador a Royal Entertainment; and, as *Wilſon* avers, *took a private Oath to obſerve certain other Articles in Favour of the* Romaniſts, *and for the free Exerciſe of Popery in all his Dominions*. The Encouragement this gave the Papiſts appear'd by the Boldneſs and Inſolence of their Prieſts and Jeſuits, who dar'd the Proteſtants to Diſputations, and inſulted them with this Queſtion, *Where was your Church before* Luther? Many were perverted by their ſophiſtical Arguments; particularly one *Edward Bugg*, Eſq; a Gentleman of *London*, 70 Years old, whom they ſeduced in a Fit of Sickneſs. After his Recovery he was troubled in Conſcience, and deſir'd a publick Diſpute; which was held at the Houſe of Sir *Humphry Lind* between Dr. *White* and Dr. *Featly*, Proteſtants, and Father *Fiſher* and Father *Sweet* Jeſuits; where *Featly* handled the Argument with great

Wilſon, 239, 240.

Diſputations.

Dageant, p. 49. *Prince of* Wales *writes to the Pope.*

*A.D.*1623. great Dexterity, and ſo confounded the Jeſuits, that Mr. *Burgs* with unſpeakable Satisfaction return'd to the Truth of the Reform'd Religion. There was another Diſputation, which wou'd have been of greater Conſequence had the Perſon perverted been as eminent for Piety as Quality, I mean the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, the Duke's Mother, who had all along been in ſecret a Papiſt, and now declar'd it openly. The ſame Jeſuit *Fiſher* was the Counteſs's Champion, and the ſame Dr. *White* Dean of *Carliſle* oppos'd him; as did alſo the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, who adviſ'd the Diſputation to clear the Duke's Character and Biſhop *Laud*. The Diſpute was held in Preſence of the King, and a numerous Conflux of Perſons of Quality. There were three Conferences, the firſt was manag'd by Dr. *White*, the ſecond by Biſhop *Williams*, and the third by Biſhop *Laud*, his Majeſty being Moderator. The partial *Heylin* ſays, Biſhop *Williams* only *put in a word or two ſometimes*; which is falſe. For the ſecond Conference was manag'd entirely by him, as Biſhop *Hacket* affirms; and if he was not ſo vain as *Laud* to print his Diſputation, Biſhop *Hacket* gives us this Reaſon: *He never wrote any thing with Intention to let the World ſee it, unleſs Neceſſity conſtrain'd him.* But notwithſtanding the Advantage the Proteſtant Diſputants had in the Argument, the Counteſs remain'd unconverted, knowing full well that neither the King nor her Son had her Converſion at heart.

Biſhop Hacket, 35, 173.

About this time happen'd a very ſad Accident in *Blackfriars*, where a great *Auditory* of Papiſts were aſſembled to hear Father *Drury* preach: The Floor of the Chamber falling down kill'd the Prieſt, and near 100 of his Congregation, maiming and bruiſing moſt of the reſt.

To return to *Spain*: We muſt obſerve that when the Articles were ſworn, and the *Diſpenſation* arriv'd, the *Infanta* was ſtil'd Princeſs of *England* by thoſe who favour'd the Match, and they were not many; ſo general was the Hatred to our Religion. The Prince was admitted Acceſs to her in Preſence of the King; and great was the Talk of celebrating the Nuptials, and her embarking for *England*, when on a ſudden News came of the Pope's Death, which render'd the *Diſpenſation* null. But the *Spaniards* to keep the Prince in heart promis'd to procure another from the new Pope; and if a new one was not ſoon choſen, to have it from the Dean of the ſacred College of Cardinals. The Prince's Impatience was ſtunn'd at this Delay; and the Court of *Spain* having given the Duke of *Buckingham* ſome Occaſion of Diſguſt, it took off the Edge of his Zeal for the Match, and ended in as great Zeal againſt it. *Wilſon* tells us, that Diſguſt aroſe from a Trick that was play'd him by the Counteſs *d'Olivarez*, who put a diſtemper'd Strumpet to Bed to him, when the Aſſignation was made for herſelf; and this is the general Report of Hiſtorians, who have written of the Journey to *Spain*. But the Author or Authors of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, who affect every where to be as directly againſt the Truth as is the Cauſe they wrote for, reſolv'd not to leave the Character of this faſt Friend to *Laud* with ſuch a foul Spot, and wipe it off at the Expence of the Counteſs: *She was then an old Woman paſt Children, of ſo abject a Preſence, in a word, ſo crooked and deformed that ſhe cou'd not provoke his Appetite.* Sir *Anthony Welden* ſays in ſo many words, *She was a very handſome Lady; and it was plotted between her Husband and her to palm a Stew upon* Buckingham *inſtead of that Beauty.* *Welden* was a Courtier contemporary with this Affair; and it is impoſſible he ſhou'd miſtake a crooked, deform'd old Hag for a beautiful Lady. Sir *Edward Peyton*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Cambridge*, who much frequented the Court at that time, tells us, *Olivarez foiſted a foul Courtezan into his Bed, inſtead of his Lady often ſollicited by* Buckingham. Sir *Walter Aſton*, who wiſh'd as well to the Cauſe as the Lord *Clarendon*, gives good Reaſon to believe the Lady was neither ugly nor coy; for in one of his Letters to the Duke after he was gone he writes, *The* Condeſſa *of* Olivarez *bids me tell you ſhe kiſſes your Grace's Hands, and prays for you by Name daily.* *Larrey*, a *French* Hiſtorian, ſpeaks of the Duke's Paſſion for this Counteſs. *Buckingham*'s Reſentment was juſt kindled, when he receiv'd a Letter from the Queen of *Bohemia*. The Archbiſhop of *Embrun* writes, that *Buckingham* ſhew'd him a Letter of the King of *Bohemia*'s dated at the *Hague*, wherein he intreated him to take care that the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* be inſerted in the Marriage Treaty; and as an Acknowledgment of this Favour, and alſo as a Teſtimony of the perpetual Friendſhip he intended to contract with his Grace, he propos'd that his Daughter, about ſeven Years old, ſhou'd be marry'd to the Duke's eldeſt Son; ro which *Embrun* found him much inclin'd: for he told him the King was not very averſe to it. So much greater was his Affection to his Favourite than to his Family. The Queen of *Bohemia* in her Letter deſir'd all his Friendſhip in behalf of herſelf and her Children. Accordingly he aggravated the Delays and Provocations of the *Spaniards* in his Letter to the King. At which his Majeſty was ſo provok'd, that he wrote the Duke *to bring back his Son with all Speed; but if his youthful Follies ſhou'd tye him to a long Expectation*, he charged him by his Allegiance *to come away and leave him.* This Letter was immediately ſhewn to the Prince, and ſo wrought upon him, that he took a ſudden Reſolution to return to *England*; of which the *Spaniſh* Miniſters having Notice, they were mightily concern'd, it deſtroying all their Hopes of compleating the Prince's Converſion if he ſtaid out the Winter; and in caſe of Conſummation of the Marriage, then they hop'd the *Infanta* might prove with Child in the Spring, which wou'd give them a Pretence to keep her there till ſhe was deliver'd, that ſo the Child might be bred up a naturaliz'd *Spaniard*. For whatever they did before, the *Spaniards* did now ſincerely intend the Match, to ſecure the great Advantages they had obtain'd for the Papiſts in *England*. The Marriage Articles being ſtil'd at *Rome*, *For the Augmentation and Weal of the* Roman Catholicks, *Olivarez* upbraided *Buckingham* with a Promiſe that the Prince ſhou'd turn Papiſt. The Duke ſaid *it was falſe*; and hot Words paſs'd between them to their mutual Reſentment, eſpecially on the Side of *Buckingham*, who made haſte to embark aboard the *Engliſh* Fleet at *St. Andero*, which was ſent to fetch the *Infanta*. He little regarded Ceremony at his Departure, and told the Count-Duke very frankly, *I am oblig'd to the King, Queen, and Infanta in an eternal Tie of Gratitude; but for yourſelf, you have ſo far diſoblig'd me, that I cannot without Flattery make the leaſt Profeſſion of Friendſhip for you.* The Duke took no Leave of the Counteſs, and little of any one: he left the Prince to manage his own Buſineſs. His Highneſs took an Oath to ſolemnize the Marriage ten Days after the Diſpenſation came from the new Pope. The King of *Spain* took an Oath that it ſhou'd be ſolemniz'd. A Procuration was ſeal'd by the Prince to the King and his Brother Don *Carlos*, and left in the Hands of the Earl of *Briſtol*, who was not to know the Contents till the Diſpenſation came from *Rome*. His Highneſs oblig'd the King to ſwear to the Solemnization of the Match, alledging the Infanta *might retire into a Cloyſter, and defraud him of a Wife*; and there was ſome Reaſon to be jealous of it, for whatever is ſaid of her Inclination to the Marriage, is ſaid to put a Colour on the Folly and Raſhneſs of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*, and his long Stay there. Who that has read the Catholick King's Letter to *Olivarez* before-mention'd,

*A.D.*1623.

Dageant, *p.* 251.

P. 249.

*A.D.*1623. and *Olivarez*'s Anſwer, can believe a Word of it? The Count-Duke ſays the Princeſs was reſolv'd to put herſelf into the *Deſcalcas*, an Order of bare-footed Nuns, rather than ſhe wou'd marry the Prince of *Wales*. But Archdeacon *Echard*, one of the moſt credulous Writers that ever aſſum'd the Title of an Hiſtorian, tells us, becauſe it is for the Credit of King *Charles* I. *She had many Divine Duties*, he means Maſſes, *perform'd for the Safety of the Prince's Return to* England; and that ſhe ſaid at their parting, *If the Prince lov'd me, he wou'd ſtay for me*; his Highneſs telling her, *My Heart can never be out of Anxiety, till you have paſt the intended Voyage, and are ſafe on the* Britiſh *Land. Echard* aſſures us, ſhe ſaid with a Bluſh, what wou'd rather become the Mouth of a formal Pedant, than a gay young Princeſs, *If I am in Danger on the* Ocean, *or diſcompos'd with the rolling brackiſh Waves, I ſhall chear up myſelf, and remember all the Way to whom I am going*. Very likely this to come from the Mouth of a Lady who wou'd never let him ſee her but with Ceremony, tho' he was very deſirous of it. He was always ogling her when in her Preſence, and once climb'd up a high Wall to have a Sight of her in a Garden. He preſented her with a Necklace of Pearls of ineſtimable Value, which was return'd upon breaking off the Match; *tho' it be now indifferent*, ſays *Wilſon*, *whether the* French *or* Spaniſh *have them*. He alſo made moſt of the Court Lords and Ladies Partakers of his Bounty, and *Buckingham* enrich'd the *Spaniſh* Beauties with Diamonds and Pearls.

Wilſon, *p.* 251. Sand. 540.

The Prince's Return.

The King of *Spain* brought the Prince to the *Eſcurial*, where he was magnificently entertain'd; and when they parted, his Majeſty told his Highneſs, *Nothing in the World cou'd more oblige me, than the Confidence you had in me to put yourſelf in my Hands, being unuſual with Princes. But I, who value my Honour above all earthly Things, am the more endear'd to you, in that you gave me an* Opportunity *to expreſs it*. He proteſted, *he earneſtly deſir'd a nearer Conjunction of brotherly Affection with him, for the more entire Union between them*. The Prince reply'd, *I am ſenſible of thoſe high Favours I have found during my Abode in your Court and Preſence, which has ſet ſuch an Eſtimation on his Worth, that I know not how to value it; but I will leave a* Mediatrix *who ſhall make good my Defects, if you will do me the Honour, and make me ſo happy, as to preſerve me in the good Opinion of her, my moſt fair, my moſt dear Miſtreſs*. They then embraced, and went their ſeveral Ways. A Marble Pillar was erected in the Place as a Monument of their parting. The Prince was attended to St. *Andero* by Cardinal *Zapata*, the Marquiſs *Aytone*, Count *Gondemar*, Count *Monterey*, Count *Baraias*, and other Grandees, who were all royally entertain'd aboard the *Engliſh* Fleet riding off that Port; but a Tempeſt riſing as they were getting aſhore again, frighted the *Dons* ſo much, that they were ſoon weary of the Sea-Coaſts, and return'd to *Madrid*.

Dageant, *p.* 249.

At St. *Andero* Cardinal *Zapata* deliver'd his Highneſs a Packet of Letters ſeal'd up, in which the Prince, when he open'd it, found all the Letters written by him to the Infanta, folded up and ſeal'd as he ſent them. A plain Indication that they reſolv'd he ſhou'd never make any way in her Affections, and never have her, if they cou'd not have whatever they demanded in Favour of Popery and Papiſts. Father *Orleans* affirms, that King *James* and *Buckingham* being *both inclin'd to the Church of Rome*, deſign'd chiefly by this Match to diſpoſe the Affairs of *England* to *an entire Re-union with the* Papal *See*. *Heylin* diſcovers another main Deſign of that Treaty, which was, by the Aſſiſtance of an Army of *Spaniſh* Papiſts, to deſtroy the *Puritans* in *England*. His own Words are, *The near Alliance with the Court of* Spain, *wou'd arm the King with Power to ſuppreſs that Faction*. I doubt not his Party were very angry with him, and call'd him Idiot, Fool, Babbler, and an hundred Names, for diſcovering a Secret which made the Matter a thouſand times worſe than the Puritans themſelves thought it was.

P. 12.

*A.D.*1623. *Obſervat. on* H. L. *Eſq*; p. 8.

While the Prince was at *Madrid*, he receiv'd a Letter from the Pope, *Gregory* XV, dated *April* 20th 1623; which was not clandeſtinely deliver'd to him, but by the Pope's Nuntio, in Preſence of the greateſt Court Lords; and the Prince did not fail to ſend his Holineſs a moſt dutiful and complaiſant Anſwer; wherein he ſays, *He will make it his Buſineſs for the Remainder of his Life, to have but one Religion and one Faith* with the Pope, *ſeeing that we believe in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. And again; *'Tis certain I ſhall never be ſo affectionate to any Thing in the World, as to endeavour an Alliance with a Prince who hath the ſame Sentiments of the true Religion with myſelf*. Here he affirms that the Idolatries of the *Romiſh* Church, the Harlotries of the Whore of *Babylon*, are the true Religion. If ſo, what then muſt the Proteſtant Church of *England* be? And what does all the pretended Martyrdom come to? His Behaviour in *Spain* was agreeable to the pious Sentiments in his Letter to the Pope. *Howel*, his Secretary, who was with him at *Madrid*, ſays, *He made no Shew of the Proteſtant Religion at the Royal Palace where he lodg'd, but on the contrary, his Carriage in that Reſpect was ſuch, that the* Spaniards *took him for a good Catholick*: And foreign Accounts ſay, *He there from a Balcony ſaw a Proceſſion, and bow'd his Knee to the Hoſt*; which I do not remember as ſomething ſtrange and ſurprizing, for as during his whole Life and Reign he countenanc'd and favour'd *Papiſts*, ſo might he from the ſame Principle comply with, and occaſionally conform to Popery. I have ſeen a Vindication of this Letter with as much Reaſon and Eloquence as might be expected in ſo noble a Cauſe, but too mean and vile to deſerve a ſober Anſwer.

Dodona *Grove*, p. 96.

The Prince arrives in England.

The Fleet ſetting ſail for *England*, arriv'd at *Portſmouth* the 6th of *October*, and on News of his Highneſs's being landed, the whole Kingdom was in a Blaze; for there were few who had not Fears of ſome ill Accident or other happening to him in *Spain*; and wiſe Men did not impute the King of *Spain*'s letting him go to his Honour. Monſieur *Spanheim* reflects upon it thus, in his Life of *Louiſa Juliana*, Daughter to *William* Prince of *Orange*, and Mother to the King of *Bohemia*, Father of the Princeſs *Sophia* Electreſs of *Hanover*; ſo nearly were the Houſes of *Hanover* and *Orange* related. *Never Prince*, ſays the learned *Spanheim*, *was more oblig'd to a Siſter than* Charles I. *was to the Queen of* Bohemia, *ſince it was only the Conſideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs after him to the Crown of* England, *that prevail'd with the Court of* Spain *to permit him to ſee* England *again*.

While the Prince and *Buckingham* were at St. *Andero*, the Conduct of the *Spaniard* in delaying the Marriage, was much aggravated by the Duke, and the Prince reflecting upon it ſeriouſly, grew every Day more and more cool in it. One *Clark*, a Creature of *Buckingham*'s, was diſpatch'd to *Madrid*, with Orders to *Briſtol* not to deliver the Powers left in his Hand, till he had further Directions. Theſe Counſels were too late. The Prince had ſworn to the Marriage, and the Earl of *Briſtol* was ſo troubled at this Double-dealing, that he reſolv'd to deliver the Procuration within ten Days, if the Diſpenſation came, and juſtify himſelf by the Authority he had receiv'd from the King under the Great Seal of *England*, unleſs he had a Command from his Majeſty to the contrary within a limited Time. *Briſtol* had negotiated this Affair in the Reign of *Philip* III. the Infanta's Father, and built very much on the Merit of having obtain'd a Portion of two Millions, four times as much

*A.D.*1623. much as had ever been given with an *Infanta* of *Spain*. It mortify'd him extremely to ſee the Building he had rais'd in ſo tottering a Condition, the Match, as he wiſely conjectur'd, being now very uncertain. After the Prince's Departure, he follow'd the Negotiation cloſely, was daily at the Palace to attend the Infanta, and was aſſiſted in it by the Counteſs *de Olivarez*. The Duke of *Buckingham* was jealous he wou'd rather puſh the Matter forward, than put it back; he therefore left *Clark* behind him to be a Spy upon him. When the Letter about ſtopping the Procuration was deliver'd to *Briſtol*, he was equally troubled and ſurpriz'd, telling *Clark, it muſt for a Time be conceal'd, for he fear'd if* the *Spaniards* ſhou'd come to the Knowledge *of it, they wou'd ſtop the Prince.*

King *James* being at *Royſton* when the Prince and Duke came Poſt to *London*, they both haſten'd thither, and gave him a fair and plauſible Account of their Proceedings, laying all the Blame on the Delays of the *Spaniards* and *Briſtol*'s Miſcarriages; which the King, as an indulgent Father to his Son, and a kind Friend to his Favourite, took in current Payment without further Examination. The Prince and Duke fell in with thoſe Lords of the Council who had ever been averſe to the Marriage. Theſe were of Opinion that a Parliament ſhou'd be called, as the beſt Remedy for all Evils; and that the fraudulent Dealings of the *Spaniards* ſhou'd be laid open. The News of a Parliament to be ſummon'd for that Purpoſe, was receiv'd with univerſal Joy throughout the Nation. An abſolute Command was ſent to *Briſtol* to ſuſpend the Delivery of the Proxy till *Chriſtmas* tho' the Diſpenſation came, and to demand the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral Dignity, which were neglected in the Concluſion of the Treaty. The King cou'd not ſay a Truth himſelf, which all the Kingdom ſaid while 'twas negotiating, *It wou'd be very ſtrange in him to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears.* There was a Clauſe in the Procuration left by the Prince, that the Power of that Inſtrument ſhou'd expire at *Chriſtmas*; ſo that the Execution of it was to be reſpited till it was invalid. Thus was the Marriage effectually annull'd, and the Deſign kept ſecret for the greater Affront to the *Spaniards*, who made all ſolemn Proviſions for accompliſhing it, they being now in earneſt after ſuch ample Toleration was granted to the Papiſts. Thus when King *James* wou'd have ſacrific'd all his true Intereſts to the Marriage, the *Spaniards* amus'd him with a fraudulent Treaty, and now he is wean'd from it they are as fond of it as ever he had been. An Embaſſy was ſent from *Spain* to *England*, to congratulate the Prince's ſafe Arrival. The Ambaſſador was inſtructed to go to *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, and make known to the Princes how near the Marriage was to Conſummation.

In the beginning of *December*, the new Pope's Diſpenſation came to *Madrid*, upon which Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, and the Artillery was every where fir'd. The *Poliſh* Envoy at Court, whoſe Errand was to obtain the Infanta for that King's Son, diſappear'd when he underſtood the Diſpenſation was come, and ſaw the Preparations which were making for the Wedding. A Day was ſet to celebrate it, the 9th of *January*; a Tarras was erected between the Court and the next Church, near a quarter of a Mile in length, cover'd with Tapeſtry, and all Things were appointed in the higheſt State for ſo great a Solemnity. Preſents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for King *James* and the Prince of *Wales*. The Infanta's Family was ſettled, and it ſeems by what we read in *Wilſon*, the Diſpenſation had made a Conqueſt over her maiden Modeſty. *She us'd her beſt Skill amongſt the Sweets of* Spain, to cloath her Lord and Husband *with ſome Suits of perfum'd Amber Leather, ſome embroider'd with Pearl, and ſome with Gold.* She had long practis'd the *Engliſh* Tongue to make it natural by the Help of her two Jeſuit Tutors *Wadſworth* and *Boniface*. She had begun to draw the Letters ſhe intended to ſend the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-law, on the Day of her Eſpouſals. Her Journey into *England* was reſolv'd about the beginning of *March*; and in the height of her Expectations, and the Expectations of the King and Kingdom of *Spain*, fell all this glorious Fabrick at once, the Earl of *Briſtol* declaring by Command of his Maſter, that without the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty ſhou'd proceed no farther. Four *Engliſh* Meſſengers, *Killegrew*, *Wood*, *Grieſly*, and *Dacres*, follow'd each other at the Heels with Diſpatches, confirming the Earl of *Briſtol*'s laſt Inſtructions. The King of *Spain* gave his Anſwer, *That the Palatinate was none of his to give, and the Electorate was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and Duke of* Bavaria *would not yield to Reaſon, he wou'd arm himſelf againſt them.* Words were now a Coin which King *James* wou'd not be paid with, tho' he had had no other Payments from *Spain* ſince he had had any thing to do with her. The Earl of *Briſtol* receiv'd Inſtructions to demand no more Audiences, nor deliver no more Letters to the Infanta, who was no more ſtil'd Princeſs of *England*. *A.D.*1623.

Such was the End of a Treaty which had laſted ſeven Years; a ſort of Farce wherein the *Engliſh* were the Bubbles to the Cataſtrophe, and then the Tables were turn'd on the *Spaniards*. When one has read the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories, where every Thing is *grand* by itſelf, or by Circumſtances, what a poor Impreſſion muſt a ſeven Years Treaty of Marriage make? How tedious muſt it ſeem to both Writer and Reader? and what a Waſte of Time to both? Yet without this Tranſaction, theſe ſeven Years of this Reign wou'd have been a ſort of *Vacuum*; and the Neceſſity of ſaying ſomething, is the greateſt Part of its Importance, conſidering how inglorious it was thro' the whole Courſe of it; for the breaking a Marriage which had been ſo ſolemnly ſworn, was certainly as diſhonourable an Action as the negotiating it was a weak one: But it was a politick one, if we conſider the Bent of the Nation, which was generally againſt it. 'Tis ſuppos'd the Expence of the Embaſſies to *Spain* during thoſe ſeven Years, of the Prince and Duke's romantick Journey, the Preſents given away by all of them, and by the King of *England* to accompliſh this Match, amounted to a Sum not much leſs than the promis'd Portion. Spaniſh *Match broken.* *Expence of the Negotiation.*

'Twas a common Saying concerning King *James, that he took Phyſick, and call'd Parliaments both alike, uſing both for meer Need, and not caring for either how little Time they laſted.* We have mention'd the Prince's having ſeen the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* in *France*. Her Youth and Beauty gave her ſome Advantage of the Infanta; and the Duke had no difficult Task to alienate his Affections from the King of *Spain*, and turn them towards a Daughter of *France*. The Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle* were ſent thither to feel the Pulſe of that Court, which beat as it was wiſh'd, and the Treaty of Marriage was begun and ended in fewer Months than that with *Spain* continu'd Years. The latter cou'd not handſomely be broken by the King and Prince, who had ſolemnly ſworn to it; and therefore a Parliament is ſummon'd to meet the 12th of *February*, but the King put it off a Week longer to mourn for the Death of the Duke of *Richmond*, who was that Morning found dead in his Bed. Ful' 112. *A Marriage with* Henrietta Maria *of* France. *A.D.*1624.

On the 19th of *February* the Parliament met, and his Majeſty made a Speech to them, which had leſs Cant and fewer Texts in it than his former Speeches. He told them *he wou'd adviſe with them in Matters relating to his Eſtate and Dignity*; *Parliament.*

and

A.D.1624. *and that as he had endeavour'd by this and the like Ways, to procure and cheriſh the Love of his People towards him, ſo he does hope, and his Hope is exceeded by Faith, that never any King was more belov'd by his Subjects.* Mr. *Coke* deſires his Readers to compare this with what the King ſaid and did laſt Parliament, when he boaſted *he had broken the Necks of three Parliaments, which were all that were in his Reign but this.* He then ask'd their free Counſels about his Son's Match, the debating of which had formerly given him ſo great Offence. He ſpoke ſlightly of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*, but highly commended the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Conduct, *in whom he ever repoſed the moſt Truſt of his Perſon.* He added, *as God ſhall judge me, I never thought or meant, or in Word expreſs'd any thing that ſavour'd of a Toleration of Popery.* A tremendous Appeal this! Upon which my Author makes theſe Reflections, very natural indeed, but eaſily like to eſcape the Conception of an Hiſtorian, ſuch as *Echard*, who ſinks all this King's unhappy Qualities, for the ſake of that moſt happy one his Zeal for the Church. " How was Arch-
Coke 148. " biſhop *Abbot* miſtaken, ſays *Coke*, when he wrote " his diſſwaſive Letter againſt the King's Proclamation for the Toleration of Religion to *Roman* " *Catholicks*? How was my Lord-Keeper *Williams* " miſtaken, after the King had directed him and " other Commiſſioners to draw up a Pardon for " all Offences paſt by *Roman Catholicks*, with a " Diſpenſation for thoſe to come in, putting a " Stop to the Prohibition ſent the Judges and Bi- " ſhops to execute any Statute againſt them, *If the King had never meant, nor in Words expreſs'd, as God was his Judge, any thing that ſavour'd of a Toleration of Popery. Heylin, Echard*, and ſuch Writers, may take Pleaſure in writing ſuch Hiſtory as this, but it muſt needs be ſhocking to all thoſe that do not think his Favour to the rigid Eccleſiaſticks ſufficient to attone for worſe Incidents even than this. His Majeſty referr'd them to the Prince and *Buckingham* for what related to the breaking off the *Spaniſh* Match, and concluded thus; *I ſpeak as a Chriſtian King, that never any wayfaring Men in the burning, dry, ſandy Deſarts, more thirſted for Water to quench his Thirſt, than I thirſt and long for the happy Succeſs of this* Parliament, *that the good Iſſue of it may expiate and acquit the fruitleſs Iſſue of the former*; which does not ſeem to be ſaid with the greateſt Depth of Wiſdom, ſince this Parliament had by much a Majority of the ſame Members as the laſt; and the Houſe of Commons ſhew'd by the Choice of their Speaker Sir *Thomas Crew*, that they came together in the ſame Temper, that Gentleman having lain under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure for doing his Duty, and ſpeaking freely in Parliament: But *tho' they knew*, ſays *Wilſon*, *there was an Intention of tolerating Popery*; pray remember the dreadful *Appeal* before-mention'd; *Yet they were ſilent*, they *ſeal'd up their Lips, and wou'd not ſee the Light that diſcover'd it.* That worthy Patriot Sir *Robert Philips*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Somerſet*, was one of the firſt who ſpoke in this Seſſion; he ſaid, *This Day's Debate makes me call to mind the Cuſtoms of the* Romans, *who had a Feaſt once a Year for their Slaves, at which Time they had liberty to ſpeak. After grievous Sufferings of many violent Oppreſſions, we have, as theſe* Slaves *had, a Day of Liberty of Speech, but ſhall not, I truſt, be herein* Slaves; *for we are* Freeman, *not* Bondmen. *The* Romans *after their Feaſt were* Slaves *again*, but it *is our Hope to return* Freemen. " This Gentleman, ſays a modern Author, left " ſuch an Example of publick Spirit to his Poſte- " rity, as it will be for their Glory to imitate. *Warwick* has a Fling at this Speech in his Memoirs, tho' he does not mention it. Sir *Robert Philips* ſpoke again thus; *I more fear the Violation of publick Rights at Home than a foreign Enemy; the unaccuſtom'd Violences trench into all we have; our Religion is made vendible by Commiſſions: Alas! Now a Toleration is granted, and Men for pecuniary annual Rents diſpens'd withal, whereby* Papiſts, *without fear of the Law, practiſe Idolatry, and ſcoff at Parliament and all.* Why is there nothing of all this in *Echard*'s Hiſtory? How comes it that thoſe whoſe Duty it is to take Care of our Religion, to teach it and inculcate it, ſeem to have leſs Concern for it than Laymen, whoſe Duty only it is to learn and practiſe? Sir *Robert Philips* in another Speech ſaid, *It is well known the People of this State are under no other Subjection than what they did voluntarily conſent to by the* original Contract *between King and People; and as there are many Prerogatives and Privileges conferr'd on the King, ſo there are left to the Subject many neceſſary Liberties and Privileges, as appears by the common Laws and Acts of Parliament, notwithſtanding what thoſe two Sycophants* Sibthorp *and* Manwaring *have prated in the Pulpit.* How different are theſe Things from thoſe in the Archdeacon's Books? Sir *Robert Philips*, an hundred Years ago, aſſerted the Rights of the *original Contract*, which *Filmer, Brady*, the *Oxford Decree, Hicks, Leſley, Hill, T--p, Swift*, &c. deny with ſo much Aſſurance, and which ſo many others of the Clergy have condemn'd as a Fiction ſince the *Revolution.* The Houſe went directly to the Buſineſs of the *Spaniſh* Treaty, in order to which *Buckingham* made a full Narrative of it before both Houſes in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, and at the End of every Paſſage, he call'd the Prince to witneſs to the Truth of what he ſaid, who always anſwer'd *I* or *Yes.* Throughout all his Diſcourſe, he labour'd to make the Earl of *Briſtol* as hateful to the Parliament as himſelf had been, laying on him the whole Blame of the *Spaniſh* Delays, and charging him with deceiving the King in his Advices of the Intentions of that Court, both as to the Marriage and Reſtitution of the *Palatinate.* He ſaid thoſe *Delays* put his Highneſs on the Journey to *Spain*, to which the King was perſuaded to conſent by the Prince's Reaſons: That *Briſtol* had adviſed him to turn *Papiſt* to facilitate the Match: That the *Spaniards* hoping the Toleration wou'd cauſe a Rebellion, offer'd the Prince an Army to ſuppreſs it: That his Highneſs finding he was only delay'd, left a Proxy with *Briſtol* to conclude the Marriage when the Diſpenſation came, but forbad him to deliver it, which however *Briſtol* wou'd have done, and made the Eſpouſals, if *Grieſly* had not brought a Revocation of the Proxy over Night. He clos'd all thus: *If the drawing of us out of Darkneſs into Light, did deſerve Thanks, we allow'd it to the Prince, who by the Hazard of his Perſon, and by his great Care and Induſtry, had done this for us.* The Duke's Narrative was receiv'd by both Houſes with univerſal Applauſe; old Murmurs were forgotten, and they cou'd ſcarce contain themſelves from acknowledging him to be the *Preſerver of the Nation.* The Prince having eſcaped the Danger he had thrown himſelf into by the *Spaniſh* Journey, had made his Royal Perſon more dear to them than ever, as 'tis uſual in human Minds to ſympathize with ſuch as have been in extream Peril, and to turn their Compaſſion into Love. The Duke having been the Companion of the Prince's Dangers, and having led him thro' them, contrary to the Expectations and Fears of the King and Kingdom, the Raſhneſs of his firſt Counſels were forgotten in the Safety of the laſt; and the Merit of breaking the Match more than atton'd for the Offence in forwarding it. Thus from a Grievance the Duke became a Favourite to the People as well as to the King; and the Parliament having taken the Treaty of the Marriage with *Spain* into Conſideration, adviſ'd the King to break it off, and proclaim open War, offering their Lives and Fortunes for the Reco-

*A.D.*1624 very of the *Palatinate*, and the Electoral Dignity; ſo dear were our moſt gracious Sovereigns Royal Anceſtors to the good People of *England* in all and the worſt of Times. Upon this Declaration the King determin'd to ſend inſtantly to *Spain*, to ſignify to that King, by his Ambaſſador, that the Parliament adviſ'd him to break off the Treaties, and recover the *Palatinate* by War. A Diſpatch was drawn to this Purpoſe, but the King immediately repented of it, and wrote this Letter to Secretary *Conway*: "I doubt not you have heard "what a ſtinging Petition againſt the Papiſts the "Lower-Houſe hath ſent to the Higher-Houſe "this Day, that they might jointly preſent it to "me. You know my firm Reſolution not to "make this a War of Religion; and ſeeing I "wou'd be loth to be Coney-catch'd by my Peo-"ple, I pray you ſtay the Poſt that is going into "*Spain*, till I meet with my Son, who will be "here to-morrow Morning. Do it upon Pretext "of ſome more Letters to ſend by him, and if "he ſhou'd be gone, haſten after him to ſtay "him upon ſome ſuch Pretext, and let none liv-"ing know of this in the Love of me, and be-"fore two in the Afternoon to-morrow ye ſhall "without fail hear from me." The King was not rightly inform'd of the Contents of that Petition, there being no ſuch terrible Thing in it as a War of Religion, only a War for the Recovery of his Son-in-law's Dominions, which he told them in another Speech he would conſider of, after he had thank'd them for their Advice, and repreſented the Difficulties he lay under. He alſo valu'd himſelf for the Title of *Rex Pacificus*, and ſaid War was *Malum neceſſarium*, a neceſſary Evil, *as ſome ſay of Women*. The Parliament, to animate him, offer'd him three entire Subſidies, and three Fifteenths, which they aſſur'd him *was the greateſt Aid that ever had been given*. The Earl of *Clarendon*, if it was he who wrote the *Hiſtory of the*). 275. *Rebellion*, ſays, *They rais'd great Mountains of Promiſes, but never made them good, which too often falls out in ſuch Counſels*. *Wilſon* on the contrary charges the King with *promiſing much, and performing little*. Such ſort of Slurs on parliamentary Proceedings were common after Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, the Kings of the Houſe of *Stuart* having had an Averſion to Parliaments, and with good Reaſon, becauſe their Government cou'd never ſtand the Teſt of them; they therefore put as much Diſgrace on their Counſels as cou'd be done with Safety. *Coke* aſſures us the Money was not only given, but ſquander'd away in carrying on a *French* Treaty.

Earl of Briſtol. The War with *Spain* being the Conſequence of breaking off the Match, and that a Work of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, the Author of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion tells us, "The King was infi-"nitely offended, and wanted only a reſolute and "brisk Counſellor to aſſiſt him in deſtroying the "Duke, and ſuch a one he promis'd himſelf on "the Arrival of the Earl of *Briſtol*, whom he had recall'd, and who had the beſt Head of any Miniſter employ'd in the Marriage Treaty, or indeed in any other of King *James's* Affairs. The Earl had ſome Friends in Parliament, who ſent him Information of what the Duke had ſaid againſt him; and his Lordſhip to prepare the Way for a good Reception at home, wrote to his Grace; "If there "have happen'd any Errors or Miſunderſtandings, "I hope you will paſs them over; and for any "thing that ſhall perſonally concern my particu-"lar, I ſhall labour to give you that Satisfaction "as may preſerve your Friendſhip; and if that "ſhall not ſerve the Turn, I ſhall not be found "unarm'd with Patience againſt any thing that can "happen to me." It was talk'd in *Spain* that his Life wou'd be in danger, and he was ſo well with that Court, as to have an Offer of Protection and Honour from the King; of which Sir *Walter Aſton* wrote thus to Secretary *Conway*: "The Conde *A.D.*1624. "*Olivarez* told the Earl they had receiv'd large "Advertiſements out of *England*, by which they "underſtood the hard Meaſure that he was likely "to ſuffer by the Power of his Enemies; and "that the only Crime which they cou'd impute "to him, was for labouring to effect the Marri-"age, which his Maſter cou'd not but take much "to heart; and held himſelf oblig'd to publiſh to "the World the good Service that my Lord had "done unto the King of *Great-Britain*; and "therefore for the better Encouragement like-"wiſe of his own and all other Miniſters that "ſhou'd truly ſerve their Maſters, he was to of-"fer him a Blank Paper, ſign'd by the King, "wherein his Lordſhip might ſet down his own "Conditions and Demands; which he ſaid he did "not propoſe to corrupt any Servant of his Ma-"jeſty's, but for a publick Declaration of what "was due to his Lordſhip's Proceedings. He ſaid "farther, that in that Offer he laid before him the "Lands and Dignities that were in his Maſter's "Power to diſpoſe of, out of which he left it at "his Pleaſure to chuſe what Eſtate or Honour "he ſhou'd think good." The Earl reply'd, *He was very ſorry to hear this Language us'd to him; that his Catholick Majeſty ow'd him nothing, but that what he had done was upon the King his Maſter's Commands, and without any Intention to ſerve* Spain; *and that howſoever he might have Reaſon to fear the Power of his Enemies, yet he truſted much upon the Innocency of his own Cauſe, and the Juſtice of the King, and that he cou'd not underſtand himſelf in any Danger; but were he ſure to loſe his Head at his Arrival there, he wou'd go to throw himſelf at his Majeſty's Feet and Mercy, and rather there dye upon a Scaffold, than be Duke of* Infantada *in* Spain, the Title which probably was offer'd him.

Before his Arrival in *England*, the Marquis *Inioſa* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, had complain'd by Letters to his Maſter, that he cou'd not procure a private Audience, tho' he had often deſir'd it; and the War being near breaking out, the Marquis and his Brother-Ambaſſador *Don Carlo de Colonna*, reſolv'd to be reveng'd on the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom they conceiv'd to be the chief Author of the Neglect they met with: Accordingly they drew up a Paper, wherein they repreſented, "That King *James* was kept as much a "Priſoner by the Prince and Duke's Emiſſaries, "as ever was King *John* of *France* in *England*; "that the Prince and Duke had contriv'd at *Ma-"drid* to take the Adminiſtration of the Govern-"ment from him: In order to which a War was "to be begun, and Forces rais'd under that Pre-"tence; that the Duke had traduc'd his Majeſty "as a ſlothful unactive Prince, who abandon'd "his only Daughter and her Children; that he "had divulg'd the King's Secrets with reſpect to "his Majeſty's and their Maſter's Deſigns about "the *Hollanders*; that he was guilty of corrupt "Dealing with the Ambaſſadors of ſeveral Prin-"ces; and that the Duke encourag'd the *Puritans* "in their Wiſhes to have the Succeſſion ſettled "on the Princeſs Palatine and her Children, af-"ter the Demiſe of the King." We ſee by this, that the Proteſtants in *England* always long'd for the Government of the *Bohemian* Line, and their good Wiſhes were at laſt crown'd with Succeſs in the Reign of our late glorious King and his preſent Majeſty. This Paper contain'd ſeveral bold Untruths, which the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors doubted not wou'd terrify King *James*, and his Terror make a Breach between him and *Buckingham*: But it was ſome time before they cou'd get an Opportunity to deliver it. At laſt *Inioſa* and *Don Carlo*, being accidentally at Court, when there was but a very thin Circle, *Don Carlo* held the Prince and Duke in earneſt Diſcourſe, while *Inioſa*

Inioſa the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Intrigues.

Engliſh Proteſtants for the Poſterity of the Queen of Bohemia.

A.D.1624. ſlipt the Paper into the King's Hand, with a Wink that he ſhou'd put it into his Pocket. At the Bottom of the Paper they pray'd his Majeſty to admit Don *Franciſco Carondelet*, Secretary to *Inioſa*, to a private Audience when the Prince and Duke were in the Houſe of Lords; which was perform'd by the Earl of *Kelly*, who introduc'd Don *Franciſco* and a Jeſuit, nam'd *Maeſtro*, to the King; and they confirm'd the Contents of the Paper, tho' one may well queſtion the Truth of their Evidence. However, it wrought ſo upon the King that it threw him into a Fit of Melancholy; and the next time he ſaw *Buckingham* he cry'd out, Ah *Stenny*, *Stenny*; for ſo he ever call'd him in Familiarity; *Wilt thou kill me*? At which *Buckingham* ſtarted, and ſaid, *Who, Sir, has abus'd you*? His Majeſty recollected that he had gone too far, if he intended to prevent the Miſchief; ſo he ſate ſilent, and the Duke fell into a violent Paſſion, finding ſomebody had been with the King in his Abſence. Upon Enquiry he underſtood it was Father *Maeſtro*, and that he had been introduc'd by the Earl of *Kelly*. *Buckingham* in a Fury demanded of him, *How he durſt bring any one to the King without his Leave*? *Kelly* did not diſown it, nor ſhew any Fear of him; which was enough for the Court to foreſee that the Duke's Fall was not ſo far off as he imagin'd. 'Tis true, the King defended him to one of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters; but cou'd not help ſaying, *He had noted him a turbulent Spirit of late, and knew not how to mitigate it; ſo that caſting up the ſame, he doubted it might come to his Turn to pay the Reckoning.* Biſhop *Hacket* in the Life of Biſhop *Williams* informs us, that in this Perplexity the King prepar'd to take Coach for *Windſor*, and found a ſlight Cauſe to leave *Buckingham* behind. As his Majeſty was putting his Foot into the Coach, the Duke beſought him with Tears in his Eyes to let him know the Charge againſt him, ſwearing he wou'd clear himſelf of it, or confeſs it. The King would not ſatisfy him; but expreſs'd his Sorrow, that he was the unhappieſt Man alive, to be forſaken of them that were deareſt to him; and weeping as faſt as the Duke did, he made haſte with the Prince to *Windſor*. Contrary to this, the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* aſſerts, there *appear'd no Marks or Evidence that the King did really leſſen his Affection to him to the Hour of his Death.* The Prince of *Wales* in Diſcourſe with Biſhop *Williams* ſaid of *Buckingham, He hath loſt the good Opinion of my Father, and I myſelf am in little better Condition.* The Lord Keeper *Williams* having Information of what had paſs'd went immediately to the Duke, whom he found lying on his Couch in ſuch Confuſion and Deſperation, that he ſeem'd perfectly ſtupid. He wou'd neither riſe up nor ſpeak, tho' preſs'd to it by the Keeper, who told him, *He believ'd God's directing Hand was in it to ſtir up his Grace, to advance him to thoſe Favours which he poſſeſs'd to do him Service at this Extremity.* He intreated him to haſten after the King to *Windſor*, and not to ſtir out of his Preſence, but carry himſelf in the moſt amiable manner to prevent the Acceſs of his Enemies, who probably might put the King upon diſſolving the Parliament, which might prove very fatal to his Grace at that Juncture. The Duke, as waking out of a Dream, took his Advice, thank'd him, and poſted away to *Windſor*. When he was gone, the Lord Keeper ſet himſelf to diſcover what the Charge was; which he did by means of a Miſtreſs kept by *Corondelet* the *Spaniſh* Secretary, who got the whole Secret out of him, and even procur'd a rough Draught of the Paper *Inioſa* had given the King. He ſoon after had an Opportunity to pump the Contrivance out of Don *Frantiſco*, who having a Friend that was a Prieſt, and lodg'd in *Drury-Lane*, the Keeper order'd him to be ſeiz'd on purpoſe to get the *Spaniard* to his Houſe; for he doubted not he wou'd come to interceed for his Friend. *Franciſco* earneſtly ſolliciting the Enlargement of the Prieſt, Biſhop *Williams* reply'd, *Wou'd you have me run ſuch a Hazard: he is a dead Man by our Statutes. Now the Eye of the Parliament is ſo vigilant upon the Breach of Juſtice, eſpecially in this Kind, to the ſadding of our godly Men, who deteſt them that creep here out of Seminaries above all Malefactors, becauſe they come with an Intent to pervert them who have liv'd in the Boſom of our Church.* "My Lord, ſays *Franciſco*, let not the Dread of Parliament trouble you; for I can tell you, if you have not heard it, that it is upon Expiration". They then enter'd into a long Converſation, and upon Hopes of obtaining the Prieſt's Liberty, *Franciſco* open'd himſelf at large concerning *Inioſa*'s Project; which when the *Spaniard* was gone the Lord Keeper wrote down, and carry'd the Paper to the Prince, who was return'd to St. *James*'s. His Highneſs was equally ſurpriz'd and pleas'd at the Diſcovery, the more for that the Lord Keeper had taken the Pains to vindicate the Duke as to every Article of *Inioſa*'s Charge in the ſame Paper. *Buckingham*'s Surprize and Pleaſure were much greater ſtill. The Prince deliver'd it to the King, who read it deliberately, and at ſeveral Stops ſaid *'twas well, very well.* At the End of it he embrac'd both the Prince and Duke, and expreſs'd great Joy at the Detection of the *Spaniard*'s Machinations againſt them. *Buckingham* put the Prince upon writing a Letter of Complaint to *Spain*; but the Catholick King wou'd not receive it, knowing the Contents of it, and that it was to demand Satisfaction for *Inioſa*'s Conduct; which was ſo far approv'd of by King *Philip*, that he ſent the Letter unopen'd to *Inioſa*, who, as my Author affirms, ſent it thus to the Prince. It will be ſeen in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, how grateful the Prince and Duke were to the Lord Keeper for this good Office, which ſupported them both in the King's Favour and Affection, when they were in the moſt tottering Condition.

Sir A. W. p. 155.

Buckingham *in Danger.*

Amb. Philips, 123.

As ſoon as the Earl of *Briſtol* arriv'd in *England*, he receiv'd a Letter at *Dover* from the Lord *Conway*, commanding him in the King's Name to retire to his Houſe, and not come to Court. Upon which the Earl petition'd that he might make his Anſwer in Parliament to any Charge againſt him, to prevent which he was committed to the *Tower*; and tho' he was ſoon releas'd, it was on Condition he made a Submiſſion, and retir'd into the Country.

Earl of Briſtol *order'd to retire.*

The Diſgrace of the Earl of *Middleſex*, which has been ſpoken of, happen'd about this time. He had given the Duke Offence by checking his extravagant Demands on the Treaſury to anſwer his Profuſion in *Spain*; and *Buckingham* took hold of this Opportunity to ruin him, when he had the Parliament on his Side. He eaſily got an Impeachment againſt *Middleſex* ſent from the Houſe of Commons to the Lords. Upon which his Majeſty told him, *He was in this Fit of Popularity making a Rod to ſcourge himſelf*; and turning to the Prince, who was as forward in this Impeachment as *Buckingham*, he ſaid, *When I am dead you will have your Belly-full of Parliament Impeachments; and will remember to your Sorrow, how much you have contributed to the weakning of the Crown by it.* Kings who are for arbitrary Power have all Impeachments in Abhorrence, for that they call the Miniſters of it to Account, and are Barriers to the Liberties of the People. He knew enough of the Diſpoſition of his Son to foreſee that his Government would render frequent Impeachments neceſſary; and this Foreſight is extoll'd as prophetical by Archdeacon *Echard*.

Parliament.

The Parliament was not in ſo good Humour with the Court, but they began to pry into the ſecret Treaty of Marriage with a *French* Princeſs, and to expreſs their Fears that it would contribute

to

A.D 1624. to the Growth of Popery. To prevent which they deliver'd a Petition from both Houſes, wherein they pray'd his Majeſty, *That upon no Occaſion of Marriage or Treaty, he would take away or ſlacken the Execution of the Laws againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants.* The King told them in his Anſwer, that *his Heart bled when he heard of the Increaſe of Popery.* I hope this will be remember'd when we come to the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*'s Negotiation to convert him and his Kingdoms to that Religion. *That it was as Thorns in his Eyes, and Pricks in his Sides. He could not have been an honeſt Man, if it had not been his Deſire to hinder it. If he was not a* Martyr, *he was ſure he was a* Confeſſor, *never King having ſuffer'd more ill Tongues.* He proteſted he had never *diſpens'd with the Laws.* How well this agrees with Lord Keeper *Williams*'s Letter to the Judges: "His "Majeſty having reſolv'd to grant ſome Conni- "vance to the Papiſts, hath commanded me to "iſſue Writs under the Broad Seal, requiring you "in every Circuit to diſcharge ſuch as are in Pri- "ſon. You are to make no Niceneſs or Diffi- "culty to extend his princely Favour to them for "any Church Recuſancy whatſoever; as refuſing "the Oaths of Supremacy, diſperſing Popiſh Books, "ſaying of Maſs, or any thing which doth touch "or concern Religion". In the Cloſe of the King's Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes, he tells them, *they had given him the beſt Advice in the World, and might aſſure themſelves that by God's Grace no ſuch Conditions ſhou'd be foiſted in upon any other Treaty whatſoever.* And in a Month or two after, ſuch Conditions were agreed to in the *French* Treaty of Marriage, particularly that *all* Engliſh *Catholicks ſhou'd be no more enquir'd after for their Religion, nor conſtrain'd to take the Oath, which contains ſomething contrary to the Catholick Religion,* &c. And generally that they ſhou'd receive *more Grace and Liberty in favour of the Alliance with* France, *than had been promis'd them in Conſideration of that with* Spain. Upon all which *Wilſon* makes theſe juſt Reflections: "If "the King had ſeriouſly conſider'd the Minute of "this Petition, and the very laſt Clauſe, wherein "the Glory of God, and the Safety of his King- "dom ſo much conſiſted, as the Parliament wiſe- "ly expreſs'd and foreſaw, and which the King "ſays is the beſt Advice in the World, and which "he promis'd ſo faithfully to obſerve in the next "Treaty of Marriage for his Son, it might perhaps "have kept the Crown on the Head of his Po- "ſterity: But when Princes break with People in "thoſe things which concern the Honour of God, "God will let their People break with them; "which Maxims hold in all Powers, whether "Kingdoms or Commonwealths".

Laws diſpenſed with.

Coke, 170.

Amboyna. The Cruelties and Rapine of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* in the *Eaſt Indies* will never be read by an *Engliſhman* without Horror and Reſentment. The *Engliſh* had five Factories in *Amboyna*, one of the Spice Iſlands called alſo *Setibe*. The chief Factory was at *Amboyna*, the Capital of the Iſland, from whence the *Engliſh* ſupply'd not only *Europe*, but *Perſia*, *Japan*, and other Countries with Spices. They had a Fort at *Amboyna* for the Security of this valuable Trade; and being better belov'd in the Spice Iſlands than the *Dutch*, the latter, who were the ſtronger in *India*, under ſome Pretext ſupriz'd the Fort, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Engliſh* Factories. This did not ſatisfy them; they reſolv'd to extirpate that Nation in thoſe Parts; and pretending the *Engliſh* had plotted with the Natives to recover the Fort by Treaſon, they maſſacred ſome of them in a moſt horrible bloody manner, and made the reſt Slaves not only in that Iſland, but at *Poleroon* and other Places to the Number of 1800. They alſo ſeiz'd their Effects to the Value of 400000 *l.* This wicked and barbarous Action deſerv'd the moſt exemplary Vengeance. The Honour and Intereſt of *England* were deeply concern'd in it. But how was it reſented by King *James:* He only ſent a Meſſage to the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, that *he had never heard nor read a more cruel and impious Act.* But he added, *I do forgive them, and I hope God will; yet my Son's Son ſhall revenge this Blood, and puniſh ſo horrid a Maſſacre.* Neither his Son, nor his Son's Son ſtruck a Stroke to revenge it, unleſs we allow that King *Charles* the Second's War to deſtroy the *Dutch* Proteſtants, and facilitate the Conqueſt of their Country by *France*, was to revenge the Wickedneſs and Cruelty of their Countrymen at *Amboyna* 50 Years before. *Oliver Cromwel* indeed when he gave Peace to the *Hollanders* oblig'd them to make what Satisfaction they cou'd, after a bloody and expenſive War, for the Maſſacre at *Amboyna*. And ſince the Revenge was taken by him, this barbarous Action wou'd doubtleſs not have been ſo often aggravated by certain Hiſtorians, were it not more to render the *Dutch* odious, as they are Presbyterians and Republicans, than as they were Enemies to the Trade of *England*.

A.D. 1624. Coke, 142.

Henrietta Maria *of* France. With what wonderful Delight does *Echard* dwell on the Hiſtory of the Treaty of Marriage with the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter to *Henry* IV. of *France*. To which Alliance are in a great meaſure owing all the Miſeries this Kingdom has ever ſince been involved in by the Principles and Practices of the Papiſts. The States General of the *United Provinces* recommended to the King a Proteſtant Lady of high Quality with a vaſt Fortune; but either not being the Daughter of a King, or being a Proteſtant, his Majeſty wou'd not hearken to the Propoſition. I have mention'd the Earl of *Holland*'s being firſt ſent to *Paris* on that Errand, where he appear'd ſo forward in the Buſineſs, and *Richlieu* the prime Miniſter was ſo well inform'd of King *James*'s Apprehenſion of a ſecond Diſappointment in the Marriage of his Son, that tho' *Lewis* XIII. told the Earl of *Holland, he had rather have the Prince of* England *to be his Brother than any other Man in the World*; yet *Richlieu* ſtood off, telling him *his Maſter, who was the eldeſt Son of the Church, ſhou'd not abate any thing of what was granted to the Catholick King.* And *Coke* ſays more was granted to *Richlieu* than to *Olivarez*. However, it is a dear Match with both the Earl of *Clarendon* and Archdeacon *Echard*, who are almoſt in as much Joy about it as the Bridegroom himſelf. It muſt be on account of that Lady's inveterate Hatred to *Presbyterians*; for excepting the Good ſhe did *England* by that excellent Quality, they have not one Reaſon to ſpeak of this Alliance but with Sorrow and Lamentation. The Princeſs's Portion was but 800000 Crowns; of which 2 or 300000 were to be laid out in Jewels, and for the reſt ſhe was to have a Jointure of 40000 *l.* a Year. If ſhe dy'd childleſs before her Husband, the Moiety of her Portion was to be return'd; and yet this Portion was to be paid at ſeveral Payments. Father *Berulle* of the Oratory, afterwards Cardinal, was ſent to *Rome* to obtain a Diſpenſation; and to diſpoſe his Holineſs to it, he was order'd to explain *the Benefit this Marriage wou'd be to the* Engliſh *Papiſts, ſince King* James *and the Prince wou'd oblige themſelves by Oath no more to enquire after Catholicks, nor puniſh them when diſcover'd; to enlarge all that had been impriſon'd, and reſtore what Money or Goods had been taken from them: in a word, to treat them with more Favour than they cou'd have expected from the Alliance with* Spain.

Coke, P. 169.

Ibid.

The Marriage in Favour of Papiſts.

Archbp. of Embrun. This was the leaſt of the Papiſts Expectations; for there was now a ſecret Treaty on foot, carry'd on by the Archbiſhop of *Embrun* and Monſieur *Dageant*, a Creature of *Richlieu*'s, for the Converſion of the Kingdom to Popery; and it was almoſt brought to Perfection. *Dageant* tells the Story with ſo many Circumſtances, that *Echard* thought himſelf

A.D.1624. himſelf obliged to take notice of it; but endeavours to invalidate the Credit of the Author, who writes it thus: "The King of *England*, at the "Recommendation of our King, did often mitigate and abate the ordinary rigorous Proceedings "againſt the *Roman* Catholicks in that Country. "He was alſo very well pleas'd with the Propoſitions that were privately offer'd to him on behalf of his Majeſty, tending to reunite him to "the Boſom of the Church; inſomuch that after "ſome reiterated Conferences, which were manag'd to that Effect in the King's Preſence without communicating any thing of it to his Council, the Archbiſhop of *Embrun* made a Voyage "into *England*, as it were without any Deſign, in "the Habit and under the Name of a Counſellor "in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, whom Curioſity "had induc'd to ſee *England*. He had no ſooner "ſet his Foot on Land at *Dover*, but the Duke "of *Buckingham* came to meet him; and having "ſaluted him, whiſper'd him thus in the Ear: "Sir, *You who call yourſelf a Counſellor of* Grenoble, *being the Archbiſhop of* Embrun, *are very welcome in theſe Dominions: You need not change your Name, nor conceal your Quality, for you ſhall receive nothing but Honour here, eſpecially from the King my Maſter, who hath a particular Eſteem for you.* Indeed the King treated him very honourably, granted him ſeveral Favours in behalf of the Catholicks, and even permitted him to adminiſter the Sacrament of *Confirmation* to them in the Houſe of the Ambaſſador of *France*. There were near 18000 Perſons to whom nothing was ſaid in the Entry at the Door, or elſewhere, tho' there was a great Concourſe of People to ſee the Ceremony. During the Time he reſided there, he had ſeveral Conferences with the King, whom he ſatisfy'd as to all the Points in Controverſy; and who wrote a large Letter to the Pope, in which he acknowledg'd him as the *univerſal Father of the Chriſtian Church, and the Chief of all Catholicks*; aſſuring him, that *after he had taken care of theſe things to which he had agreed, he wou'd openly declare himſelf.* In the mean time he promis'd not to ſuffer any Search to be made in his Kingdom after Prieſts". In his Letter to the Pope, he deſir'd his Holineſs to vouchſafe that the Goods of the Church, which were now the Inheritances of private Families might remain ſo. He ſaid he wou'd have profeſs'd the Catholick Religion before now, but that he deſir'd firſt to gain over his Brother-in-law the King of *Denmark*, whom under another Pretence he had ſollicited to come to *England*, where he hop'd to convert him; and they two being joined together, wou'd draw after them almoſt all the *Northern Countries*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the *Engliſh* Gentleman who carry'd the King's Letter to the Pope, were the only Perſons of King *James*'s Subjects to whom he diſcover'd theſe Intentions. The Duke had promis'd to follow him, and had made a conſiderable Progreſs in his Converſion, at the ſame time that he pretended to be the Head of the *Puritans* to preſerve his Popularity in the Parliament, and had conſulted with Dr. *Preſton* of *Cambridge*, how the King might ſeize the Dean and Chapter Lands; but he met not that Encouragement from the Doctor which he expected, and that made him the more inclinable to hearken to the Advice of the Lord Keeper *Williams*, who diſſuaded him from that Project. King *James* ſollicited Monſieur *Dageant* to prevail with his Maſter *Lewis* XIII. to make uſe of his Intereſt with the Electoral Princes who were his Friends, that the Duke of *Savoy* might be elected King of the *Romans*, as he deſign'd to do with thoſe Electors who were Friends to him, promiſing to aſſiſt *Savoy* with Forces in his Election and Inſtalment. But King *James* was too well known to be truſted by either the *French* King or Duke of *Savoy*; and *Dageant* did not undertake the Affair. What he ſpeaks of the Converſion was confirm'd eleven Years after by the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*'s own Narrative, which he wrote at the Deſire of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who demanded of him by Letter, *Whether there was certainly at that time any Negotiation depending between his Holineſs and the King of* Great Britain *concerning his Converſion.* In Anſwer to which the Archbiſhop wrote a full Relation of his Reception at the *Engliſh* Court, and his Conferences with King *James*; in which, beſides what is related by *Dageant*, we find he had two Hours Audience of his Majeſty at *Royſton* when he firſt came over; and repreſented the Grievances of the Catholicks with ſuch Succeſs, *that he cou'd not but acknowledge the peculiar Providence of God.* For at *that firſt Meeting, Orders were given to releaſe the Catholicks out of Priſon, and ſuſpend the Execution of the Laws againſt them. The People complain'd of his adminiſtring the Sacrament of* Confirmation *to ſo numerous a Congregation, but to no purpoſe; his Majeſty anſwering them,* He does nothing contrary to my Pleaſure. *At this time, and all others,* ſays the Archbiſhop, *wherein I had the Honour to ſee this King, he was ſo well pleas'd with my Propoſitions, that he freely diſclos'd his Thoughts to me; and when I propos'd to him to grant Liberty of Conſcience to the Papiſts, as the moſt effectual Means to give full Satisfaction to the Pope, he put his Hand upon mine and ſaid,* I plainly ſee you are the Perſon appointed by God, in whom I ought to confide and reveal the Secrets of my Heart. *Afterwards he very freely acknowledg'd the good Opinion he had conceiv'd of the Catholick Faith, proteſting to me that during his Minority, his Tutors having perceiv'd his Inclination to the* Roman *Religion, he ran great Hazard of being aſſaſſinated.* Then as to the Toleration of Popery, he propos'd *to have an Aſſembly of* Engliſh *Prelates and Divines, in Conjunction with an equal Number of Foreigners to meet at* Bologne, *after the Marriage with the Princeſs* Henrietta Maria *was conſummated, with Conſent of the* French *King and the Pope, to whom he wou'd write concerning it; and that I ſhou'd carry his Letter to the Pope, for whom,* he ſaid, *he had a great Affection and Reſpect.* This Aſſembly were to reunite the Church of *England* with the *French* and other Popiſh Churches. *It wou'd have extraordinary and admirable Events,* ſays the King, who promis'd to negotiate the Matter with the Princes in *Germany*, and the principal Puritan Lords in *England* and *Scotland*, that it *might end to the great Advantage of the Catholick Church.* The Archbiſhop proceeds: "As ſoon as I arriv'd in *France*, I gave the "King a particular Account of all things, who "was pleas'd to ſignify that he was very well ſatisfy'd with the good Deſigns of the King of "*Great Britain*; and declar'd, that a Report was "already ſpread abroad in *France*, that I had treated with that King about his Converſion, of "which he had been inform'd by ſeveral Perſons. "I reply'd there were the ſame Suſpicions in the "Court of *England*: That the King of *Great Britain* had earneſtly enjoin'd me to keep the Matter ſecret, and that I was oblig'd to beſeech his "Majeſty to do the like. But all theſe generous "Reſolutions were made void by King *James*'s "Death. The firſt News of which was brought "me at Maſs by the King himſelf, who expreſs'd "his Regret in theſe Words, *All our Hopes of* "England *are loſt*". When the Archbiſhop of *Embrun* wrote this Narrative for *Richlieu*, *Lewis* XIII. was alive, and cou'd not but remember the Converſation he had with him about King *James*'s Converſion to Popery; which that Prelate durſt not have averr'd in the Royal Preſence, and repeated it to the Cardinal *Richlieu*, had it not been true. *Lewis* XIII. was ſure to ſee this Narrative, and *Embrun* wou'd not have mention'd the Diſ-

Sent to convert K. James.

Dageant, 125.

A.D.1624.

Mem. Dag. *p.* 121.

P. 227.

P. 235.

P. 236.

*A.D.*1624. courſe he had with the King concerning the Converſion of King *James*, had there been no ſuch Diſcourſe. He adds, That when *Buckingham* came afterwards to *Paris* to conclude the Treaty of Marriage with the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, "he perſuaded him to uſe his Endeavours to prevail "with his new King to keep a good Correſpondence with the *Pope*, and to that End to main- "tain a truſty Catholick Agent at *Rome*; but he "deſir'd that the Propoſition might come firſt "from the King with whom I diſcours'd on this "Subject; and he conſented to it, ordering me "to impart it to Monſieur *Tronſon*, that he might "put him in mind of it on the Road as he ac- "company'd the new Queen of *England*, which "*I believe his Majeſty may remember*". Such were like to be the happy Effects of a Match, which was to reſtore the ancient Correſpondence between the *Pope* and King of *England*, and ſettle an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*. But there is no Hint of any Danger from it in the Hiſtory of this Alliance with *France* written by Archdeacon *Echard*. The *Pope* eaſily granted a Diſpenſation for the Marriage with the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*. But it did not take effect in this King's Life-time, tho' he liv'd long enough to ſign the Articles; and the Author of *Richlieu's* Life tells us, he *ſwore to releaſe all Catholick Priſoners, and to prohibit for the future their being ill treated for their Religion.*

Indeed they were ſo far from being ill treated, that the Parliament, to uſe *Wilſon's* Words, "bolted "out divers of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of *E*- "*minency, popiſhly* affected, that had *earth'd* them- "ſelves in Places of high Truſt and Power in the "Kingdom, as if they meant to undermine the Na- "tion;" as *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Thomas Compton*, the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Colcheſter*, the Lord *Petre*, the Lord *Morley*, the Lord *Teinham*, the Lord *Windſor*, the Lord *Eure*, the Lord *Wotton*, the Lord *Scrope*, "Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Brudenel*, Sir *Thomas Somerſet*, Sir *Gilbert Ireland*, Sir *Francis Stoners*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Francis Howard*, Sir *William Powell*, Sir *Francis Lacon*, Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Sir *William Auberrie*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *John Shelley*, Sir *Henry Carvel*, Sir *Thomas Wiſeman*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *John Philpot*, Sir *Thomas Ruſſel*, Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Sir *William Wray*, Sir *John Conway*, Sir *Charles Jones*, Sir *Ralph Conyers*, Sir *Thomas Lamplugh*, Sir *Thomas Savage*, Sir *William Moſeley*, Sir *Hugh Beeſton*, Sir *Thomas Riddal*, Sir *Marmaduke Wivel*, Sir *John Townſend*, Sir *William Norris*, Sir *Philip Knevet*, Sir *John Tasborough*, Sir *William Selbie*, Sir *Richard Titchborn*, Sir *John Hall*, Sir *George Perkins*, Sir *Thomas Penruddock*, Sir *Nicholas Sanders*, beſides Eſquires and Gentlemen. *Theſe were diſpers'd and ſeated in every County, who were not only in* Office *and* Commiſſion, *but had* Countenance *from* Court, *by which they grew up and flouriſh'd; ſo that their Exuberance hinder'd the Growth of any* Goodneſs *or* Piety *their Malice pleas'd to drop upon.* We have mention'd Count *Manſveldt's* March into the *Netherlands*, when he cou'd no longer maintain himſelf in the *Palatinate*; and the King to make good Part of his Promiſe to the Parliament, ſent a Man of War, commanded by Sir *John Chudleigh* to bring him into *England*, where he was royally entertain'd at St. *James's*. Orders were ſoon given to raiſe ſix Regiments of Foot of 2000 Men each, to be commanded by the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Doncaſter*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Carliſle*, the Lord *Cromwell*, Sir *Charles Rich*, Sir *John Burroughs*, and Colonel *Gray*. Theſe Forces were deſign'd to paſs thro' *France* into *Germany*, Paſſage having been promis'd them by the *French* Court, and even an Addition of Strength. Inſtead of which, notwithſtanding the Treaty of Marriage was at that time depending, when the *Engliſh* Fleet with *Manſveldt's* Army aboard came before *Calais*, the *French* dally'd with them ſo long, that *Manſveldt* was forc'd to ſail to *Zealand*, where his Soldiers were ſerv'd as bad as at *Calais*; and not ſuffer'd to land. Proviſions falling ſhort, the Fleet ſail'd up to *Guertenberg* in *Brabant*, where they far'd no better than at *Calais* and *Zealand*. Thus by the Detention of the Soldiers ſo long aboard, a Peſtilence broke out and rag'd ſo extremely, that Multitudes were thrown into the Sea; and when afterwards they were ſuffer'd to land in the Territories of the States of the *United Provinces*, there was not a Moiety of them left; and thoſe that remain'd fit for Service had not only the *Spaniards* to fight with, but their own Countrymen, whom the King had permitted the Lord *Vaux* and Sir *William Parham* to tranſport into *Flanders* in the Service of the King of *Spain*. My Author ſays he was preſent when the noble Earl of *Southampton* dy'd of a Lethargy at *Berghen-op-Zoom*, as he was conveying to *England* the Corpſe of the Lord *Wriotheſley* his eldeſt Son, who dy'd of a burning Fever at *Roſendale* this Winter. About the ſame time dy'd the Marquis of *Hamilton*, ſuſpected to be poiſon'd, the Symptoms being very preſumptuous, his Head and Body ſwelling to an exceſſive Bigneſs, full of great Bliſters of various Colours, which with other ſuſpicious Circumſtances caus'd ſuch a Clamour at Court, that Phyſicians were order'd to inſpect the Corpſe; but the Matter, according to *Wilſon*, was huddled up and little ſpoken, only by Dr. *Egleſham* a *Scotſman*, who exclaim'd againſt *Buckingham* as the Author of it. 'Tis true, poiſoning was more practis'd than it had been at any time in *England*; for not only Sir *Thomas Overbury* was murder'd after that manner, but, as we have hinted, there were more than Whiſpers that Prince *Henry*, the Duke of *Richmond*, and this Marquis went the ſame way. We are told his Majeſty ſhou'd ſay when he heard of *Hamilton's* ſudden Death, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the Stock cannot continue long.* Sir *Anthony Welden* tells us, the King had ſome Suſpicion that he ſhou'd be ſo ſerv'd by his often ſaying to the Earl of *Montgomery* in his laſt Sickneſs, *For God ſake look I have fair Play.*

Papiſts in Places.

*A.D.*1624. Wilſ. 285. *Sir* E. P. P. 174. *A.D.*1625.

This Sickneſs began with ſome Fits of an Ague, which turn'd to a *Tertian*, and is not reckon'd dangerous in the Spring. *Wilſon* thinks *his full feeding, and continual Uſe of ſweet Wine, ſet the groſs Humours at work*; which was ſufficient to turn his Ague into a Fever, and that enough to carry the greateſt Monarch out of the World without the Help of Poiſon. Six Days before he dy'd the Duke apply'd Plaiſters to the King's Wriſts and Belly; and the Counteſs of *Buckingham* tamper'd with him in the Abſence of the Doctors, giving him a Medicine to drink. The King complain'd of the Plaiſter, and his Phyſicians diſallow'd of the Drink, inſomuch that ſome of them refus'd to meddle further with him till the Plaiſters were remov'd, his Majeſty finding himſelf the worſe for uſing them, which occaſion'd *Droughts, Raving, Fainting*, and an intermitting Pulſe. When ſome of the Doctors would have imputed theſe Effects to a Cold taken, the King cry'd, *No, no; it is that which I had from* Buckingham; who told him, as we read in *Wilſon*, they were approv'd Medicines, and wou'd do him much good. Some of his Majeſty's Phyſicians and Servants muttering againſt them they were frown'd upon, and others making a Noiſe were forc'd to fly for it. My Author adds, "Tho' the ſtill Voice was ſilenc'd by "the Duke's Power, yet the Clamour made ſo "deep Impreſſions that his Innocence cou'd ne- "ver wear them out. One of *Buckingham's* great "Provocations was thought to be his Fear, that "the King being now weary of his too much "Greatneſs and Power, wou'd ſet up *Briſtol* his "deadly Enemy againſt him to pull him down. "This *Medicine* was one of thoſe thirteen Ar- "ticles

The K.'s laſt Sickneſs.

Coke, 175. Wilſ. 287. Coke, 175. *Ib.* 176. Wilſ. 237.

A.D.1625. " ticles that were afterwards laid to his Charge " in Parliament, who may be miſinform'd, " but ſeldom accuſe any upon falſe Rumour. Sir *Anthony Welden* writes to the ſame Purpoſe: " The Plaiſter ſo tormented him, that he was " glad to have it pull'd off, and with it the Skin " alſo. *Buckingham* coming into the Chamber " when he was at the Point of Death, an honeſt " Servant of his Majeſty's cry'd, *Ah, my Lord,* " *you have undone us all his poor Servants, tho' you* " *are ſo well provided you need not care*; at which " *Buckingham* kick'd him, and the Man catching " hold of his Foot, made his Head come firſt to " the Ground. *Buckingham* getting up, ran to the " dying King's Bed-ſide, *Juſtice, for I am abus'd* " *and wrongfully accus'd:* At which the poor King " mournfully fix'd his Eyes upon him, as who wou'd
P. 39. have ſaid *not wrongfully.* Sir *Edward Peyton* tells the melancholy Story in a more homely manner: " Thus fill'd with Venom of Greatneſs, he made " no bones to ſend his Majeſty packing to another " World, as appear'd plainly in Parliament;" *of which himſelf was a Member, one of the Knights for* Cambridgeſhire; by the Witneſs of divers Phyſicians, eſpecially Dr. *Ramſey*, in full hearing at a Committee. Sir *Dudley Diggs*, another Member, ſaid, *I forbear to ſpeak further of the* Plaiſter in regard of the King's *Honour*. *Osborn* ſpeaks of the Poiſon. *Coke* avers *the Proof was next to poſitive.* The Article concerning that Poiſon is in *Ruſhworth*, and more at large in *Whitlocke*. Biſhop *Burnet* writes, *My Father was then in* London, *and did very much ſuſpect an ill Practice in the Matter; but perhaps* Dr. Craig *my Mother's Unkle, who was one of the King's Phyſicians, poſſeſs'd him with theſe Apprehenſions, for he was diſgrac'd for ſaying he believed the King was poiſon'd.* To theſe Teſtimonies let me add that of a noble Perſon now living,
MS. who told me, that Dr. *Craig* Phyſician to the King, invited ſix Lords to Supper at the Bear-Tavern at the Bridge-Foot, a Houſe then of as much note as *Brawn*'s is now. The Duke of *Lauderdale*'s Father was one of thoſe Lords: The Doctor then aſſur'd them, that if they had Courage and Intereſt enough to protect him, he wou'd accuſe the Duke of *Buckingham* of High-Treaſon for poiſoning the King, and wou'd prove it. When he had ſo ſaid, the Lords remain'd ſilent ſome Time; at laſt *Lauderdale*'s Father ſaid, *He wou'd not adviſe*
P. 113. *him to do it for his own ſake*; however he was of Opinion they ſhou'd conſider of the Matter, and have another Meeting upon it, but they never met. Dr. *Fuller* informs us, that the Counteſs of *Buckingham* contracted much Suſpicion to herſelf and her Son, for applying a Plaiſter to the King's Wriſts and Belly, without the Conſent of his Phyſicians, upon which the King grew worſe, a Piece of it eating down into his Belly. The Phyſicians refus'd to adminiſter Phyſick till the Plaiſters were taken off, and then his Fits were eaſier, as Dr. *Chambers* teſtify'd; notwithſtanding which the Plaiſters were laid on again contrary to the Advice of the Doctors; and his Majeſty growing worſe, Mr. *Hayes*, one of the King's Surgeons, was call'd out of his Bed to take them off again. Mr. *Baker*, a Servant of the Duke's, made a Julep, which the Duke brought to his Majeſty; the King drank twice of it, but refus'd the third time. After his Death a Bill was brought to his Phyſicians to ſign that the *Ingredients of the Julep and Plaiſters were ſafe*, but moſt of them refus'd it, and gave the ſame in Evidence before a ſelect Committee of Parliament two Years after. Contrary to all theſe Suſpicions and Proofs, the Earl of *Clarendon*, or ſome body in his Name, affirms, *There was not the leaſt Colour or Ground for it, as appear'd upon the moſt malicious Examination*; which ſurely is enough to give every impartial Man a juſt Idea of his Impartiality. *Echard* informs us that the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, hearing of the King's deſperate Condition, *went and preſented himſelf before him.* But probably he had not heard that the Duke was afraid of the Lord-Keeper's Attendance, inſomuch that he wou'd not at firſt give him leave to attend, as by this Cloſe of a Letter from the Lord-Keeper to *Buckingham*, dated the 22d of *March*, five Days before the King's Death; *I am extremely ſorry to hear what a grie-* *Cabala.* *vous Fit his Majeſty had this laſt Night.* The Plaiſters were apply'd, and the Drink given the 21ſt of *March*. *And now am an humble Suitor again that I may come and look upon his Majeſty*, reſolv'd to *ſay what I ſhall never ceaſe to ſay*, God bleſs him. " It were worth the Knowledge, ſays " *Welden*, what the King's Confeſſion was, or " what other Expreſſions he made of himſelf; " but that was only known to Biſhop *Williams*, " who it was thought had babbled ſomething " which incens'd King *Charles* I. and *Buckingham*'s " Hatred ſo much againſt him." Among the few Things which cou'd be preſerv'd of his Majeſty's Death-bed Sayings, one is that calling to the Prince his Son, he recommended *to him to love his intended Wife, but not her Religion*; which doubtleſs he never ſaid, tho' 'tis affirm'd by *Echard*, it agrees ſo little with the Progreſs he had made to unite the Church of *England* with the *Popiſh* Churches. And how needleſs was ſuch Advice, if the royal Father had known his Son to be ſo zealous a Proteſtant as the Lord *Clarendon* repreſents him? Four Days before the King dy'd, he deſir'd to receive the Holy Sacrament; and ſome one asking him, Whether he was prepar'd in Point of *Faith* and *Charity*, he ſaid *he was, and gave humble Thanks to God for it.* He repeated the Articles of the Creed one by one, ſaying at the End of them, *I believe them all as they are receiv'd and expounded by that Part of the Catholick Church which is eſtabliſh'd here in* England. *Whatever I have written of this Faith in my Life, I am now ready to ſeal in my Death*; adding, *I forgive all Men that have offended me, and deſire to be forgiven by all Chriſtians whom I have in any wiſe offended.* Having receiv'd the Sacrament, he profeſs'd ſome Hours after to the Standers-by, *They cou'd not imagine what* *K. James's* *Eaſe and Comfort* he found in himſelf ſince the re- *Death.* ceiving it; and ſo he gently departed on *Suaday* the 27th of *March*, in the ſixtieth Year of his Age, having reign'd in *England* twenty-two Years and three Days. The Papiſts, who thought themſelves pretty ſure of him, crept much about the Chamber-Door when he was dying, but the Lord-Keeper *Williams* commanded them, as a Privy-Counſellor, to keep at a greater Diſtance. If they cou'd have got Acceſs to him, we ſhou'd doubtleſs have heard true or falſe, that he dy'd a very good Catholick.

From the Actions of this Prince, one may eaſi- *Character.* ly form his Character; and like a Picture after the Life, the Blemiſhes muſt be drawn as well as the Beauties, to preſerve the Likeneſs. Notice has been taken that he was a Lover of *Peace*, and that he valu'd himſelf much on the Title he acquir'd by it of *Rex Pacificus.* But was not that *Love* of *Peace* rather a *Fear* of *War*, or a Love of a State of *Inaction* and *Indolence*, or an immoderate Deſire of Sport and Paſtime. He is generally allow'd to be a Lover of Learning, but *it border'd more upon Pedantry, than roſe to a compleat Under-* P. 176. *ſtanding.* *Coke* explains what ſort of Learning it was; " The Learning wherein he and his Flatte- " rers boaſted, was a Scandal to his Crown, for " all his Writings againſt *Bellarmine* and *Perrone*, " were only Brawls and Contentions, without any " Learning, about the Papal Power of *King-killing*, " it being before exploded by the Nation, and " the aſſerting ſuch a Power prohibited." This Quality has been touch'd upon elſewhere, and ſo has almoſt all the Qualities of King *James* in the Courſe of his Hiſtory. Nay, even *Heylin*, who o-

A.D.1625. therwiſe ſpeaks ſo honourably of his Zeal for the Biſhops, cannot help confeſſing he was not *the wiſeſt Man, nor the wiſeſt King of the* Britiſh *Nations*; *that tho' he much pleas'd himſelf with boaſting of* King-craft, *wiſe Men cou'd ſee what that* King-craft *was*; *it being no hard Matter to prove, that in all publick Treaties and Negotiations, and many private Conferences and Debates of Council, he was outwitted, and made uſe of to other Mens Ends,* by almoſt all that *undertook him.* He is highly extoll'd for being moſt bountiful; but how was that Bounty diſpens'd, on Favourites and Flatterers? and how was the Money rais'd, by *Monopolies, Benevolences,* and other unlawful Ways? I have heard the late Duke of *Ormond* prais'd by the Diſaffected for his Generoſity and Liberality; a Panegyrick which is a Scandal to common Senſe and common Honeſty. He was liberal and generous to his Creatures, but at the Expence of his Creditors: He wou'd give but not pay. King *James* had nothing of Cruelty in his Nature, unleſs he was ſurpriz'd into it by Fear; and the ſame Diſpoſition that made him hate the ſpilling of Blood in War, turn'd the Bent of his Mind towards Mercy in Peace: But I can't ſay, as Dr. *Fuller* does, that *not one Perſon of Honour was put to Death in his Reign,* ſince Sir *Walter Raleigh,* a Perſon of more Honour than we meet with in his Hiſtory, was not only put to Death, but without Juſtice or Reaſon. His *Wiſdom* was next to infinite, if we may believe Sir *Francis Bacon* and other Panegyriſts. *Echard* quaintly expreſſes it, *He caught People's Inclinations at the firſt Rebound*; but he confeſſes others thought his Wiſdom was indeed Craft, and had more of Subtilty in diſcovering Miſchiefs, than of Ability in ſurmounting them. He adds, *ſome thought this Quality wicked,* and thoſe that were ſofter-mouth'd term'd it an *exquiſite Skill in Diſſimulation*; in which he ſo much delighted, that it ſeems to be the greateſt of all his Blemiſhes. Sir *Anthony Welden* is very coarſe in his Expreſſions on this Subject, but what he ſays is not the leſs true; *He was ſo crafty in petty Things, as the circumventing a Courtier, or changing a Favourite, that a wiſe Man was wont to ſay of him, He was the* wiſeſt Fool *in* Chriſtendom. For my own part, I cannot help diſtinguiſhing between Diſſimulation and Falſhood; I do not think the profeſſing and promiſing a Thing, and not doing it, or doing the contrary, is to diſſemble, but to deceive. Beſides, King *James*'s Diſguiſes were ſo thin, that very weak Eyes might eaſily have ſeen thro' them. Dr. *Fuller* frankly gives us the Reaſon why this King's Wiſdom is ſo magnify'd by *Echard, Sanderſon, Clarendon,* and that ſort of Hiſtorians; *No King of* England *ever did ſo much to preſerve the Revenues of the* Hierarchy. *His Wit,* ſays the ſame Doctor, *was piercing, tho' his Majeſty was wont to ſtoop to his Mirth.* It had the Edge of Pun and Quibble, and did, according to *Echard, too often deſcend to inferior Jeſts.* The Archdeacon puts the greateſt Affront that can be on the Genius of *England,* by affirming that the Genius of this King was ſuitable to that of the Nation. Thus when *Edward* III. and *Henry* V. were ſpreading the Glory and Terror of their Arms over the Dominions of *France*; when *Henry* VIII. was at *Bologne* and *Tournay,* and the *Engliſh* Name was terrible to all its Enemes; when the Genius of the Nation exerted itſelf in breaking the Power and humbling the Pride of *Spain,* it was exactly like that of King *James.* It appear'd the ſame afterwards in *Eſſex, Fairfax, Blake,* in *Talmaſh, Churchill,* and a thouſand glorious Names, in whom the Genius of *England* ſhin'd out with ſo much Luſtre. Mr. *Echard* aſſures us, *That in ſpite of Calumny he was eminent for Chaſtity*; which was remarkable in a Court *ſo looſe and luxurious.* The Nonſenſe of which ſpoils the Eulogy; it being impoſſible for a Man who is himſelf very chaſte, to encourage Lewdneſs and Luxury in others; and every one will allow that Luxury and Lewdneſs can never prevail at Court, without the Countenance and Favour of the Sovereign. The ſame Hiſtorian aſſerts, that he was *pious and religious*; and the next Words are another Inſtance of his Conſiſtency; *Yet in his Paſſion he wou'd be guilty of the profaneſt Oaths and Curſes.* *Welden* tells us, *he was infinitely inclin'd to Prayer, but more out of Fear than Conſcience.* What follows of his Character in general, is taken from *Coke*; it is expreſſed with Acrimony enough, but has too much Truth in it: "He neglected foreign and domeſtick Affairs to wallow in ſenſual Pleaſures, only "great in making himſelf little, not belov'd at "Home, and contemptible Abroad. He ſquander'd away the ſacred Patrimony of the Crown "amongſt Flatterers and Favourites; he neglected "the Increaſe of the Royal Navy, and ſuffer'd "the *Dutch* to fiſh on our Coaſts, contrary to "Treaty: He debauch'd and effeminated the Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation by a diſſolute Life, "that became more ſcandaliz'd for Swearing and "Drinking than in any Age before: He broke "all the Meaſures of *Henry* VIII. and Queen *Elizabeth*, by which they made themſelves Arbiters of *Chriſtendom.* While he was fearful of "all his Enemies, he exercis'd tyrannical Power "over his Parliaments. He ſuffer'd the *French* "King to ſuppreſs the Reform'd in *France,* and "the Emperor of *Germany* to ſubdue the Proteſtants in the Empire, as well as his own Son-"in-law: He left an empty Exchequer, and a "vaſt Debt upon the Crown, at the ſame time "that he was engag'd in a foreign War, the Money that was given him for it being all waſted "on the *French* Treaty." A.D.1625.

If theſe Things are true, as is ſufficiently ſhewn in his Hiſtory, let the Imitators of the Earl of *Clarendon* invert his Character, and he will then appear the wiſe, the pious, and the glorious King they wou'd paint him; but the Biſhop of *Salisbury* in *The Hiſtory of his own Times,* ſhews what thoſe Authors were who flatter'd him, and what the King was whom they flatter'd. "I have ſeen the "Originals of about twenty Letters he wrote to P. 17. "the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham* while they "were in *Spain,* which ſhews a Meanneſs as well "as a Fondneſs that render him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of *England* "had made in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, who had "render'd herſelf the Arbiter of *Chriſtendom,* and "was the Wonder of the Age, was ſo much eclipſed, if not quite darken'd during this Reign, that "King *James* was become the Scorn of the Age; "and while hungry Writers flatter'd him out of "meaſure at home, he was deſpis'd by all abroad "as a Pedant, without true Judgment, Courage, "or Steadineſs; ſubject to his Favourites, and de-"liver'd up to the Counſels, or rather to the Cor-"ruption of *Spain.*"

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

During the REIGN of

King *CHARLES* the First.

*A.D.*1625. PRINCE *Charles*, now *Charles* the First King of *England*, was at *Theobalds* when his Father dy'd, and the Lords of the Council attending there, order'd him to be proclaim'd at the Palace Gate; and notify'd it to the Lord Mayor, that the same might be done at *London*, where News of the King's Death came in Sermon-time. Bishop *Laud* being then preaching at Court broke off his Discourse, to which his Congregation was too much disturb'd to hearken.

The new King was proclaim'd the same Day in *London* and *Westminster* with the usual Solemnities; and in the Evening came to *Whitehall* in a close Coach, attended by the Duke of *Buckingham* and that eminent Divine Dr. *Preston, who apply'd Comfort now to one, now to the other, on so sad an Occasion*; tho' we have Reason to believe they did not want Comfort so much as the Doctor apprehended. Full. 119.

The next Day his Majesty was congratulated on his Accession to the Throne by the Nobility and foreign Ministers; and a Proclamation was publish'd; wherein he promis'd to shew himself a *benign and gracious Sovereign*.

On the 23d of *April* the Corpse of the deceas'd King was remov'd from *Theobalds* to *Somerset*-House, and carry'd thence in great State on *Saturday* the 7th of *May* to *Westminster-Abbey*, where it was solemnly interr'd, King *Charles* himself walked as chief Mourner between the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, his Train born up by twelve Peers. The Funeral Sermon was preach'd by the Lord-Keeper *Williams* with *high Strains of Rhetorick and Commendation*, says *Echard*. How well grounded, one may perceive by the Bishop's commending him for being *eminent in War*. *A.D.*1625.

The Funeral Solemnities are follow'd with those for the King's Marriage with the Princess *Henrietta Maria* of *France*, whose Zeal for the *Romish* Religion Cardinal *Berulle* so highly extoll'd to the Pope. The Earls of *Holland* and *Carlisle* were at *Paris* his Majesty's Ambassadors and Commissioners to compleat the Ceremony of the Espousals. The King's Proxy was the Duke *de Chevreuse* of the House of *Guise*; and on *Sunday* the 11th of *May* N. S. the Marriage was solemniz'd in the Church of *Nostre Dame*. The *French* King and Monsieur his Brother gave her to the Duke *de Chevreuse*. The Cardinal *de Richlieu* perform'd the Rites according to the Superstition of the Church of *Rome*. *The News of which was not confin'd to the Walls of* Paris, says Mr. *Echard* very elegantly, *but resounded thro' all the Streets of* London, *where it was generally receiv'd with unusual Expressions of the most dilated Joy*; which if it had been more true wou'd have been a melancholy Proof of the People's having lost their Senses, as well as their Honour in the last Reign. A Foreigner tells us, French *Match*.

" It was taken for an ill Omen, that this Marri- Larrey.
" age was celebrated in the immediate Time of
" the Funeral, and that the Joy for the one shou'd
" mix with the Grief for the other, there being
" but one Night between the two Ceremonies".

That there were Rejoycings is not to be doubted,

*A.D.*1625. but one may well doubt whether theſe Appearances of Joy were ſo unaffected, as the deep Concern all good *Engliſhmen* and good Proteſtants were in at the King's marrying a bigotted Papiſt, and entring into Alliance with a Prince, who had render'd himſelf the moſt arbitrary of any Monarch in *Europe* by the Counſels and Miniſtry of a tyrannical Prieſt. General *Ludlow* thought thus of it: "In the Beginning of his Reign he marry'd a
P. 2. "Daughter of *France*, who was not wanting on "her Part to preſs him upon all Occaſions to "purſue the Deſign of enlarging his Power; not "omitting to ſollicit him alſo to mould the Church "of *England* to a nearer Compliance with the
P. 146. "See of *Rome*; wherein ſhe was but too well ſe"conded by the corrupt Miniſters of State, whoſe "Influence upon the King was always greater than "cou'd well conſiſt with the Peace and Happi"neſs of *England*". If ſuch Reflections as theſe cou'd have been conceiv'd by the Hiſtorian *Echard*, he wou'd not have dwelt with ſo much Delight on the joyous Circumſtances of this Popiſh Wedding. Beſides the Earls of *Holland* and *Carliſle*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and Earl of *Montgomery*, were ſent to *Paris* to fetch the Queen. *Buckingham* behav'd there with ſo much Vanity and Indiſcretion, that it was a Scandal to the vaineſt Court in *Europe*. He had the Ambition to make his Addreſſes even to the *French* Queen, and was not ſo ill receiv'd as *French* Authors wou'd have us believe; nay, one of
Larr. *p.*14. them owns "he was ſo far from being ill receiv'd "by the Queen, that he left the Chevalier *Bal*"*thaſer*," his Confident, to carry on the Intrigue "with her; that this Agent ſucceeded ſo well, "that he brought him *precious Favours* from that "Princeſs, as her *Garter, a Diamond of great Va*"*lue*. The Cardinal had his Spies; but to no "purpoſe: Thoſe *Argos's* were deceiv'd; but he "ſtill ſuſpected ſomething, and the Hatred be"tween the two Rivals was redoubled". *Buckingham* had once contriv'd to pay her a private Viſit, and conſummate the Amour; but the Cardinal had Intimation of that very important Secret, and had the Duke gone to the Aſſignation he wou'd have been aſſaſſinated. He had notice that his Plot was diſcover'd, and gave it over with a Menace, *I will ſee and ſpeak with her in ſpite of the Power of* France. A true *Gaſconade*, or rather a Threat, which wou'd have ſounded well in the Mouth of *Don Quixot* in Purſuit of his charming *Dulcinea del Toboſo*; for not the Power of *England* cou'd have forc'd the *French* Queen out of her enchanted Caſtle. Yet this is the Man whom the Lord *Clarendon*, or the *Oxonians*, cry up for his *good Parts and Qualities*. He was Biſhop *Laud*'s Friend and Patron, and deſerv'd on that Account as much Praiſe as is given him.

Buckingham's *Amour with* Anne *of* Auſtria.

Madame *de Motteville*, who was this Queen's chief Companion and Confident, ſpeaks of it very tenderly; yet one can't help obſerving that the Duke of *Buckingham* was enough favour'd by the Wife of *Lewis* the XIIIth to give Jealouſy to her Husband. "No wonder, *ſays Motteville ſpeaking* "*in her* Memoirs *of the Duke of* Buckingham, if "with ſuch amiable Qualities he had ſuch aſpi"ring Thoughts; ſuch a noble, tho' ſo dangerous "and unwarrantable a Paſſion; and that he had "the good Luck to perſuade thoſe who were Wit"neſſes of it, that his Addreſſes were not trouble"ſome. The Queen far from keeping it a Secret "made no Difficulty to tell me afterwards, that "whilſt ſhe was young ſhe cou'd not imagine that "the pleaſing Converſation which is commonly "call'd honourable Gallantry was blameable. "There was a great Rumour about a Walk ſhe "took in the Garden belonging to her Apart"ment, when ſhe went to conduct the Queen of "*England* to *Amiens*. All her Retinue were "there; and the Duke of *Buckingham* advancing "to entertain her with Diſcourſe, *Putange*, Maſter "of her Horſe, ſtepp'd aſide for a few Moments, *A.D.*1625.
"thinking it ill Manners to hear what the Duke "had to ſay to her. By chance they came to a "By-walk, where they were unobſerv'd; and the "Duke was ſo importunate with her, that ſhe cry'd "out. *Putange* running to her, ſhe chid him for "leaving her". The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Paſſion put him upon another very bold Action. Tho' he had taken Leave of the Queen-Mother and the Queen at *Amiens*, in order to conduct the Queen of *England* to the Sea-ſide, where the *Engliſh* Fleet waited to tranſport her to *Dover*; yet he left *Henrietta Maria* at *Boulogne*, pretending he had receiv'd an Expreſs from his Maſter, which brought him Orders to treat of an Affair with the Queen-Mother. Accordingly he haſten'd back; and after ſome Diſcourſe with that Queen about his chimerical Negotiations, he went to wait upon *Anne* of *Auſtria*, whom he found all alone in her Bed. This Princeſs knew of his coming by Letters from the Dutcheſs *de Chevreuſe*, one of the Ladies who accompany'd the Queen of *England*; and ſhe talk'd of it before Madame *Nogent* with a Smile; ſo that ſhe was not ſo much ſurpriz'd at the Sight of him, as at the Liberty he took in kneeling down by her Bed-ſide, and kiſſing her Sheet with ſuch extraordinary Tranſports, as ſhew'd his Paſſion to be violent to a degree of Diſtraction. The Queen's Confuſion was ſo great, that for a long while ſhe ſaid not a word. But the Counteſs *de Launoi* told him, it was not the Cuſtom in *France* to do as he did. To which he reply'd with great Preſence of Mind, *I am no* Frenchman, *and am not oblig'd to conform to the Cuſtom of* France. Then addreſſing himſelf to the Queen, he careſs'd her aloud in the tendereſt Expreſſions that cou'd be; and her Majeſty only complain'd that he was too bold, bidding him riſe and be gone. He obey'd; and after having ſeen her again the next Day in Preſence of the whole Court, he departed with a full Reſolution to return again to *France* as ſoon as poſſible. Every thing relating to him was told *Lewis* XIII. to the Queen's Diſadvantage, inſomuch that ſeveral of her Domeſticks were turn'd away. *Putange*, Maſter of her Horſe, was baniſh'd; as were alſo two of her Women *Datal* and *Laporte*, and her Phyſician. It is probable that the Jealouſy of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who was alſo in Love with *Anne* of *Auſtria*, was the Occaſion of this Rigor.

The diſmal Conſequences of the *French* Match are livelily repreſented by *Echard* himſelf, notwithſtanding the Pains and Pleaſure he took in writing of it. "It prov'd one great Occaſion of the Ca"lamities of the Nation, and againſt the main "Bent and Genius of the People. For almoſt all "the Proteſtants took the alarm, as if the Marri"age had been only made to introduce the *Roman* "Catholick Religion; King *James* having in ef"fect condeſcended to many Particulars in Favour "of the Queen's Domeſticks and the *Engliſh* Pa"piſts, and taken ſo little care for the Education "of the Children to be born of this Marriage, "that unleſs he was reſolv'd to break his Word, "the Articles of the Contract were judg'd to be "a Deſign to ſtrengthen the *Romiſh* Party in *Eng*"*land*". Which being the whole Truth of the Matter, we ſhall make no Flouriſhes upon it, as the Archdeacon has done, only remember that the young Queen was attended to *Bologne* by *Monſieur* her Brother, and a numerous Company of Lords and Ladies: That ſhe embark'd aboard an *Engliſh* Man of War, convoy'd by a Fleet of near 30 Ships of the Royal Navy: That after a tempeſtuous Paſſage ſhe arriv'd at *Dover*, where the King met her, and receiv'd her with great Marks of Affection and Tenderneſs, and conſummated the Marriage at *Canterbury*; where, as the reverend Author very gallantly expreſſes himſelf, the Duke *de Chevreuſe* of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, who perpetrated the bloody Maſſacre at *Paris*, *reſign'd her to*

A.D.1625. *thoſe Embraces which he ever preſerv'd with conjugal Purity*; of which ſomething will be ſaid hereafter. From *Canterbury* the Royal Pair went to *Graveſend*, *Where*, ſays the Archdeacon, *they enter'd their Imperial Barge, and paſt up the River in a triumphant manner*; tho' the Triumph appear'd much more at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where, according to him, a *Popiſh* Chapel was open'd, a Convent of *Capuchin* Fryars eſtabliſh'd, and greater Numbers of Prieſts and Jeſuits repair'd than had been ſeen in *England* together ſince the *Reformation*, which began to cauſe Uneaſineſs and Murmurs in the People. Nor muſt we forget that amidſt the Exultations for this bleſſed Marriage, the City of *London* was in Mourning and Lamentation, the moſt dreadful Peſtilence that ever had been known in *Europe* then raging there, above 40000 dying this Year of the Plague; and a *French* Hiſtorian repreſents theſe Things very fair, tho' there is no Light of them in *Echard* and other ſuch Hiſtorians.

A Peſtilence.

" This publick Rejoicing ſuited ill with a Time of " Mourning; fatal Predictions were not wanting " on the Queen's Entry in ſuch a calamitous Con- " juncture, as if ſhe had brought in her Retinue " all the Scourges that were to make the King- " dom deſolate: Such ſaid they was the Entry of " the *Horſe of* Troy, which was welcom'd with " Shouts of Joy by that City, tho' it contain'd " their Ruin, *&c.*

Larrey, *p.* 16.

We have ſeen in the Reign of the Father what Hope the Duke of *Buckingham* had to continue in the ſame Degree of Favour with the Son. The Archdeacon tells us, King *Charles* was *charm'd with ſome Qualifications which really were very wonderful*; and then leaves off without telling us one of them. *Larry* indeed is more particular, *He had not charm'd but bewitch'd him, cauſing him to make Peace and War, to revenge his private Injuries, obliging him to diſſolve his Parliaments to ſave him from being impeach'd; and in ſhort, engaging him in all his Piques; thus ſacrificing his Country, his Religion, his Maſter and Benefactor to his own Ambition. After this manner almoſt all Hiſtorians ſpeak of him*, except the Author of *The Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, whoſe Work is the Reverſe of Fact and Character in almoſt all Places. He aſſures us, *He was not by Nature ambitious; and the Experience he had gain'd, if he had liv'd longer, and his Jealouſy of his Maſter's Honour, might have repair'd many Inconveniences*, &c. *Coke* lets us know why it was that the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* cry up his Qualifications as really wonderful. " His " only Support was *Laud* Biſhop of *St. David's*, " who from being an Informer was become his " Vicegerent; a Liſt of all the eminent Men for " Promotions in the Church is given him; thoſe " whom *Laud* wou'd have preferr'd were noted O " for *Orthodox*, and thoſe whom he lik'd not, " were mark'd with *P* for *Puritans*. Theſe two " ſtopp'd up both the King's Ears from any o- " ther Doctrine in Church or State, but what " was infus'd by them." It is extremely pleaſant to read what Excuſe the Archdeacon finds for this King's ſacrificing his own and his Peoples Intereſts to *Buckingham*'s Pride and Avarice: A young and good-natur'd Prince, how this tallies with this Prince's Mother's Account of his *Perverſeneſs* and *Obſtinacy*, may *ſuffer in the Opinion of ſuch as know not how to make candid Allowances for the Heights of Friendſhip, and the Neceſſities of rewarding Services*. While he is himſelf making one of the moſt idle Reflections that ever diſgrac'd Hiſtory, he calls in queſtion the Judgment of his Readers, who do not know that a Prince may ruin himſelf and his Subjects out of Love to a Favourite, and finding himſelf under a Neceſſity of rewarding thoſe that never did him any real Service.

Buckingham.

P. 135.

P. 41.

Laud.

I ſhall not imitate this ſagacious Hiſtorian in drawing the Characters of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, Biſhop *Williams*, and Biſhop *Laud*. What he ſays of them all is arbitrary and partial, founded on no Facts, and faint Copies of the Lord *Clarendon*'s, which having the ſame Infirmities, I ſhall content myſelf with relating what Perſons did, and let the Reader determine what they were.

A.D.1625.

The Earl of *Clarendon*, or whoever elſe wrote the Hiſtory that goes by his Name, opens it with two or three Miſrepreſentations, which well conſider'd, will give any impartial Man a Diſguſt to the whole Work. He intimates that the Parliaments of *England* were not for a War to recover the *Palatinate* out of Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, but out of Wantonneſs, and having ſurfeited with uninterrupted Pleaſures. He then ſets forth the ill Condition of the Exchequer at King *James*'s Death, but does not ſay a word of that King's having waſted the Money upon his Minions, which had been given only for that Uſe. The preſent King's Wants put *Buckingham* upon calling a Parliament to ſupply them, or rather his own. The People of *England* were ſo much of the ſame Mind as at the laſt Election, that very few new Members were elected.

P. 3.

The Parliament met on *Saturday* the 18th of *June* at *Weſtminſter*, and choſe the laſt Speaker Sir *Thomas Crew* to fill that Chair. The King made a Speech to them in Subſtance, *That the laſt Parliament had engag'd his Father in the War of the* Palatinate, *which was of Neceſſity to be proſecuted and ſupply'd.* He then urg'd his great Wants and Charges, and concluded with a Compliment which had been ſeldom paid by Sovereigns, *The veiling his Crown* to the two Houſes. The Lord-Keeper *Williams* ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe: But there was not one Word ſaid in either of their Speeches of any Steps taken towards redreſſing Grievances, and putting the Laws againſt Papiſts in Execution, purſuant to the Petition of the laſt Parliament. No Excuſe was made for miſimploying the Subſidies which they had given for the *Palatine* War, only a peremptory Demand of more Money to be expended as the King and *Buckingham* thought fit. *Yet*, ſays *Echard*, *there were many Reaſons to diſpoſe People to a general Concurrence and Satisfaction; and it cannot be deny'd that there were all the wiſe and juſt Meaſures that a new King cou'd take to render himſelf acceptable to his People, and conſiderable to the World:* So notoriouſly againſt Truth and Reaſon, that almoſt all Hiſtorians do *deny* that there was one wiſe and juſt Meaſure taken. On the contrary, about a Month before the Parliament met, the King order'd the Lord-Keeper to cauſe a *Suſpenſion of the Laws* againſt Papiſts. The Keeper apprehenſive of his Fall, thought it was to no purpoſe to give his Advice, or to ſcruple thoſe Orders; but when a Warrant came ſoon after from his Majeſty to paſs a Grant for 2000*l.* a Year to the Lord *Conway* for twenty-one Years, Biſhop *Williams* boggled at it, telling the King, *He durſt not do it for fear of infringing his Duty to his Majeſty, and drawing ſome Danger upon himſelf:* The Reaſons he gave *with much ado prevail'd*; but he made the Lord *Conway* his Enemy. His Majeſty in the Declaration he ſent the Lord-Keeper for granting full *Liberty of Conſcience to Papiſts, notwithſtanding the Rigor of the Laws, whether penal or pecuniary*, ſaid, *It was his* Will *they ſhou'd ſtand diſcharg'd.* Thus we ſee that in almoſt the firſt Moon of his Reign, he ſet up a deſpotick Power againſt the Conſtitution, and his *Will* againſt *Law*, in Purſuance of the Deſign form'd by King *James* to introduce arbitrary Government, which his Son proſecuted more openly and avowedly. He granted a general Pardon to all Papiſts under Proſecution, not only as Papiſts, but as Criminals, and releas'd twenty Prieſts from Goal: So ſoon did the ſad Effects of the *Popiſh* Alliance with *France* appear, and ſo kind was the young King to the young Queen, who, as the reverend Hiſtorian writes with a kind of Tranſport,

Parliament.

Ambroſe Philips, *p.* 159.

King diſpenſes with the Laws againſt Papiſts.

Larrey, *p.* 21.

was

A.D.1625. *was in the Bloom of her Youth and Beauty, about ſixteen Years of Age, a Lady of excellent Air and Preſence,* of a warm Zeal againſt the Church of *England, a great Spirit, and of no leſs Vivacity in her Looks than Activity in her Motions.* But he ſpeaks not of the Parliament with the ſame Pleaſure: And we are told, that according *to the fluctuating and unſteady Counſels of Parliaments, they grew weary of the War*; which is not true; they were not weary of the War, they were only grown weary of giving Money to feed the Pride and Luxury of Favourites, who were the Cauſe of the Grievances for which they could have no Redreſs.

P. 32. The Parliament had the ſame tender Sentiments of the Sufferings of the Royal Houſe of *Bohemia* as the laſt had, but they inſiſted on an Account of the laſt Supply, before they were willing to truſt a laviſh Miniſtry with a new one. They deſir'd to have Grievances redreſs'd, before they enabled the Court to live a while without them, and ſo long continue the Hardſhips the People labour'd under in Spirituals and Temporals.

Ships lent the French *King.*

It was about ſix Weeks after this King's Acceſſion to the Throne, that the Duke of *Buckingham* as Lord-High-Admiral, treated with the Marquis *d'Effiat* the *French* Miniſter, for a Squadron of *Engliſh* Men of War to join the *French* Fleet, which was fitting out againſt the Proteſtants at *Rochelle*, whoſe Admiral the Duke *de Soubiſe* was Maſter at Sea, and cou'd relieve that City as Occaſion requir'd. *Echard* endeavours to excuſe this King's aſſiſting the *French* Papiſts to deſtroy the only remaining Strength of the Proteſtants in *France*, on Account that the Treaty for ſo doing was made in King *James*'s Time. A vain Pretence to throw the Odium on the Memory of the Father, to purge the Son of it: As if there was any Treaty made by King *James* himſelf without the Influence, if not the Direction of the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Buckingham*, who are now executing what was then agreed upon: And as if the *French* had not broken that Treaty by refuſing to let Count *Manſfeldt* land his Army at *Calais*, and the *Engliſh* Miniſters might not have recover'd the falſe Step they had made in promiſing Aſſiſtance to the *French* King againſt the *Reform'd* in *France*, had King *Charles* not been willing to oblige his Brother-in-law and his Queen, by arming the *Engliſh* Proteſtants againſt their Brethren in *France*. The reverend Hiſtorian aſſures us, *There had been great Increaſe and Affluence of Trade in King* James's *Reign*; and *Coke* writes, *The Trade of the Nation was not only decay'd, but the Seas were ignominiouſly infeſted with Pyrates and Enemies, to the Loſs* of very many of the Merchants and Subjects of *England*; which is the more likely, for that when *de Effiat* demanded the Men of War that were to join the *French* Fleet, there was but one, the *Vanguard*, fit for ſuch Service; ſo *Buckingham*, by his Power of Lord-Admiral, preſt ſeven great Merchant-Men, and put Officers and Soldiers aboard them; as the *Great Neptune* Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* Commander, the *Induſtry* Capt. *James Meyer*, the *Pearl* Capt. *Anthony Tench*, the *Marygold* Capt. *Thomas Daws*, the *Loyalty* Capt. *Jaſper Dare*, the *Peter and John* Capt. *John Davis*, the *Gift of God* Capt. *Henry Lewen*; all under Admiral *Pennington* in the *Vanguard*.

P. 189.

P. 190.

On the 8th of *May* the Duke caus'd Warrants under the Great-Seal to be iſſu'd to ſummon the Companies aboard that had been rais'd for the *French* Service, giving out that they were to be employ'd againſt *Genoa*, and no more *French* Soldiers or Seamen to be ſhipp'd on the *Engliſh* Ships, than the *Engliſh* Seamen and Soldiers cou'd maſter. But no ſooner were thoſe Ships arriv'd at *Diep*, than the Duke *de Montmerency*, Admiral of *France*, offer'd to put two hundred Men into the *Induſtry*, and the like Number into every one of the reſt, declaring they were to fight againſt the City and Inhabitants of *Rochelle*. Tho *Pennington* was as good a Tool for ſuch bad Work as cou'd have been employ'd, yet Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, the other Captains and their Crews, abhorr'd this Service, refus'd to take the *French* Men on board, and engage in it, notwithſtanding the Rewards *Montmerency* tempted them with, and the Threats he made uſe of to frighten them. So *Pennington* return'd to *England*. The Duke *de Rohan*, and the *Rochellers*, hearing what had happen'd, diſpatch'd Monſieur *de la Zouche* to ſollicit the King on their Behalf, that the Ships might not return to *France* in that Employ. *Buckingham* told him the King his Maſter *was oblig'd, and the Ships muſt and ſhou'd go out*. This Matter was tranſacting before and after the Seſſion of Parliament, *When*, as in *Echard* we read, *there had been no Meaſures taken but what were juſt and wiſe*; and when, as the Lord *Clarendon* or the *Chriſt-Churchmen* affirm, the *Duke had given the Parliament no viſible Cauſe of Diſguſt*; and again, *they had no Crime at all to impute to him*. How little Regard have theſe Hiſtorians to ſave Decencies with their Readers, and by preſerving ſome Probability to give a Colour to their Belief. Three Weeks after the Seſſion was open'd, the Lord *Conway* wrote a Letter as from the King to Vice-Admiral *Pennington*, ſigni- Coke, 192. fying that the Command of that Squadron was aſſign'd over to the *French* King, who was to put aboard the *Engliſh* Ships as many *French* Men as he pleas'd: But the Captains of the Ships repreſented, that the Propriety of them being in the Merchants, they cou'd not therefore deliver them without ſufficient Security for all Loſſes and Damages which might happen. The Duke *de Chevreuſe*, the Marquis *de Effiat*, and Monſieur *Villeauclere*'s, offer'd to be bound for it, but the Captains wou'd not take their Bond; upon which Sir *John Hippeſley*, and Sir *Thomas Dove*, remonſtrated to the Duke the Danger of ſuch an Enterprize, and had almoſt diſſuaded him from it; but the *French* Ambaſſadors perſiſting in the Demand of the Ships, *Meyer* and *Tench* who were deputed by the reſt to proteſt againſt the Service, were prevail'd upon to return to *Diep*, being aſſur'd privately that Means ſhou'd be us'd to prevent their going againſt *Rochelle*; inſtead of which, when they arriv'd there, they were follow'd by a Letter from the King to *Pennington*, commanding him poſitively to deliver up the Ships to the Marquis *de Effiat* for the *French* King's Service; and in caſe of the Captains Backwardneſs or Refuſal, to uſe *all forcible Means to compel them, even to ſinking*; P. 194. which no doubt will be remember'd, when the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians are declaiming on his Majeſty's Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion. *Pennington* threaten'd the Captains accordingly, telling them it was as much as their Lives were worth, if they deliver'd not their Ships to the *French*; he himſelf bravely ſurrender'd the *Vanguard*, and commanded the other Captains to follow his Example, which they all refuſing, and immediately weighing Anchor to be gone, *Pennington* fir'd at them, and forc'd all of them to come back except Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, who to the Honour of the Nation and himſelf, ſcorn'd ſo baſe an Action, bore his Fire, and made Sail for *England*. Mr. *Edward Nicholas* a Servant of *Buckingham*, whoſe Merits for future Preferment began on this noble Occaſion, was ſent to *Diepe* to perſwade the *Engliſh* Captains to ſerve; but tho' he us'd all his Rhetorick, he prevail'd not, not one of the Officers or Seamen wou'd take *French* Pay, a poor Gunner excepted, who was ſoon after kill'd in charging a Canoe. *Nicholas*, that Man of Honour, Integrity, and Virtue, as the above-mention'd Hiſtorians repreſent him, *took a Diamond Ring, and a Hatband ſet with Diamonds*, which the *French* Ambaſſador had Orders to give him for his notable Exploit. Such were the firſt Actions of this Reign, ſo prudent

The Reign begins ill.

A.D.1625. dent and ſo promiſing, to *make the King conſiderable in the World.*

One wou'd have thought that the main Buſineſs of an *Engliſh* Parliament, was to take Care of the *Proteſtant Religion*, but the reverend Author tells us, that Care of theirs retarded the main Buſineſs, which was to give Money to be as laudably expended as were the three laſt Subſidies. However, the Houſe not thinking like that Divine, enquir'd into the Execution of the Laws againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits, and complain'd of the Growth of *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*; the latter at leaſt under the Protection of *Laud* and his Brethren; one of whom Mr. *Richard Mountague* was queſtion'd by them for his *Appello Cæſarem*, contriv'd, ſays *Whitlock*, to put a *Jealouſy between the King and his Subjects, and to encourage Popery.* His Majeſty had not ſate three Months on his Throne, before the Parliament ſaw into the Deſign of the *Laudean* Prieſthood, to create Jealouſies between him and them; which Jealouſies daily increaſing by the Countenance that was given them, created ſuch a Diviſion as ended in a Civil War. The hiſtorical Archdeacon tells us that *Mountague* gain'd *Reputation by his Writings*, and was too hard for *the famous* Selden; which I think is ſufficient to confirm the Judgment we have made of his Characters. A *French* Author calls *Mountague Un etrange Homme*, a ſtrange Mortal; and tho' a Papiſt, owns he play'd *Caſaubon* a raſcally Trick, *Un Vilain Tour*; that he abus'd and inſulted the Learned at pleaſure, calling the great *Scaliger*, *Stultus Philoſophus*, a Fool of a Philoſopher. A Man of this Temper was a fit Inſtrument to be employ'd by Biſhop *Laud*. The Book he was queſtion'd for was ſtil'd, with equal Elegance and Modeſty, *A new Gag for an old Gooſe.* So ingenious and polite are the chief Writers of the Party if it is our good Fortune to light upon them. 'Twas publiſh'd in King *James*'s Reign, taken notice of by the Parliament, and ſuppreſs'd by Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who diſciplin'd *Mountague* on that Occaſion, for which this Parliament gave his Grace Thanks, and ſummon'd *Mountague* to appear at their Bar for reprinting his Book with a Dedication to the King; and a Defence intitled, *Appello Cæſarem*, which they voted to be *contrary to the Articles eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, to tend to the King's Diſhonour, and the Diſturbance of Church and State*, obliging him to enter into a Bond of 2000 Pounds to appear again upon Summons. The Spirit of this Reign, and by whom it was influenc'd, appears in the making this obnoxious Prieſt Chaplain to the King in a few Weeks after King *James*'s Death. He wou'd now have been ſeverely cenſur'd, according to Dr. *Fuller*, had not his Majeſty interpos'd, ſending a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, *that thoſe Things which were then ſpoken and determined concerning* Mountague *without his Privity did not pleaſe him*; adding, *that being* his Chaplain, he thought he might have as much *Protection as the Servant of an ordinary Burgeſs*; which is like the Sophiſtry of the Court Arguments in thoſe Days. No Servant to Lord or Commoner was protected in Offences againſt the publick Peace, and nothing cou'd be more offenſive than endeavouring to create Jealouſies between his Majeſty and his Subjects. This Air appear'd early in the King's Speeches and Meſſages, and agreeing ſo exactly with the Airs and Manners of *John Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *John Howſon* Biſhop of *Oxford*, and *William Laud* Biſhop of *St. Davids*, one may eaſily imagine by whoſe Counſels King *Charles* was guided. Theſe three Biſhops wrote a Letter to *Buckingham*, which began thus, *We are bold to be Suitors to you in Behalf of the Church*; and then they plead for *Mountague* and his Opinions, concluding with ſevere Reflections on the Synod of *Dort*, perhaps out of Pique to the pious and learned Dr. *Carleton* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, who wrote againſt *Mountague*; as did alſo Dr. *Sutcliffe* Dean of *Exeter*, Mr. *Wootton* Divinity Profeſſor at *Greſham-College*, and ſeveral other orthodox Divines; ſo far was *Mountague* from being the Church, as *Laud* and his Brethren term'd him, diſtinguiſhing their own rigid Party from the Proteſtant Church of *England*, and engaging the King in that fatal Diſtinction he conniv'd at, if not encourag'd their perſecuting the moſt religious and worthy Miniſters to the general Diſcontent of the Nation, as will too plainly appear hereafter. *Mountague*'s Buſineſs occaſion'd the firſt Breach between the King and the Houſe of Commons, who were as backward in giving Subſidies as the King was in redreſſing Grievances. They preſented a Petition concerning *Religion, as it was in Danger from Popery and falſe Doctors*, praying that he wou'd revoke his Order for ſuſpending the penal Laws againſt Papiſts. His Majeſty told them their *Addreſs was of too great Importance to give a preciſe Anſwer to it, but he wou'd do it in a little Time*; which *Echard* calls *a diſtinct ſatisfactory Anſwer to their Petition for Religion*: Indeed it ſo ſatisfy'd the Commons for the preſent, that they gave two Subſidies, the Papiſts to pay double.

The Peſtilence all this while increaſing, and the Members of Parliament flying from it into the Country before the Supplies which were ſtill wanting were voted, it was propos'd in Council at *Hampton-Court* three Weeks after the opening the Seſſion at *Weſtminſter*, to adjourn it to *Oxford*. This Motion came from *Buckingham*, but the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, who was then in very good Terms with the Duke, oppos'd it, ſaying, *It was not another Place*, but another Temper, that muſt do *his Majeſty's Buſineſs*; that the Plague had ſo overſpread *the whole Land, no Man who travell'd knew where to lodge in Safety*; *for which Reaſon the Lords and Commons wou'd not take it kindly to be forced abroad in ſuch a mortal Time*; *and 'tis likely when they come together, they will vote out of Diſcontent and Diſpleaſure*; *that his Majeſty was ill-adviſ'd to give Offences, tho' ſmall ones, in the beginning of his Reign.* Admirable Counſel, had there been any Diſpoſition in the Prince to hearken to it. *Mountague*'s Affair was but a ſmall Offence, conſidering the Smallneſs of the Man; but the King's intermeddling in it, as it were out of Spite to the Parliament, drew it into Conſequence. Biſhop *Williams* again, *The Houſe of Commons hath given two Subſidies, and tho' they remove to* Oxford, *yet it is the ſame Seſſion*; *wherefore if they alledge*, that it is not uſual for the *Houſe to give twice in a Seſſion, tho' I wiſh heartily they wou'd, yet how ſhall we perſu[illegible]bem out of their Cuſtom if they inſiſt upon* : *And it is not prudent in the King to run a probable Hazard of a Denial.* To all this the Duke reply'd, That *publick Neceſſity might ſway more than one Man's Jealouſy*; upon which the Lord-Keeper requeſted that he might ſpeak a few Words with the King in private; and it being granted, he told his Majeſty, "That the Lord "Duke had Enemies in the Houſe of Commons, "who had contrived Complaints, and made them "ready to be preferr'd, and wou'd ſpend the Time "at *Oxford* about them; and what Folly it were "to continue a Seſſion that had no other Aim but "to bring the Duke upon the Stage? But if your "Majeſty think that this is like a *Hectick*, quickly "known, but hardly cur'd, my humble Motion "is, that this Malady or Malice, call it which you "will, may ſleep till after *Chriſtmas*: For I hope "to give ſuch Account by that Time, by under-"taking with the chief Sticklers, that they ſhall "ſuperſede from their Bitterneſs againſt your great "Servant, and that Paſſage to your weighty Coun-"ſel ſhall be made ſmooth and peaceable." *And why do you conceal this from* Buckingham? ſays the King: the Keeper reply'd, *Good Lord, Sir, fain wou'd I begin at that End, but he will not hear me*

Mountague's *Book.*

Clergy create Difference between King and Parliament.

P. 108.

The Air of the King's Speeches, &c.

Biſhops, Cab. 116. *call* Mountague's *Book the Church.*

A.D.1625.

Larry, 22.

Ech. 421.

Parliament at Oxford.

Ambroſe Philips, p. 161 &c. *ſeq.*

A.D.1625. *with Moderation.* 'Tis thought this Diſcovery made by Biſhop *Williams*, compleated the Duke's Hatred againſt him, and haſten'd his Fall: For *Buckingham* now grown jealous, the natural Effect of Danger, defy'd the Lord-Keeper and his Confederates to do their worſt, and perſiſted in his Deſire to have the Parliament remov'd to *Oxford* that he might clear himſelf: So raſh, ſo inconſiderate were this King's Counſellors who had his Ear. The Lord *Clarendon*, or whoever drew thoſe Characters, tells us the Duke was *a wiſer Man than any Servant or Friend he had.* It is not in this Character only, but in all the reſt that the Author ſeems to affect to be as directly contrary to the Truth and Likeneſs as poſſible. Was the Duke wiſer than the Lord-Keeper? For it is not pretended that *Williams* wou'd not on any Terms have preſerv'd his Friendſhip, had not *Buckingham* been weary of being his Friend. It is plain by the wiſe and faithful Counſel Biſhop *Williams* gave for his Preſervation, that the Lord-Keeper exceeded the Duke of *Buckingham* as much in Ability as *Buckingham* exceeded him in Power. King *James* knew this full well, and told the Earl of *Carliſle*, *If I had ſent* Williams *into* Spain *with my Son, I had kept Hearts Eaſe and Honour*, both which he wanted. The *Characteriſticks* in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, are for the moſt part made up of the like arbitrary Aſſertions, without the leaſt Proofs from the Facts, which will be very eaſy for me to prove in the general, or in particular Inſtances, when I am call'd upon, if I have not done it ſufficiently already. The Lord-Keeper had promis'd the Parliament at their breaking up, that the Laws againſt *Popiſh* Prieſts ſhould be put in Execution; yet on the very next Day, the 12th of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty caus'd a Warrant to be ſeal'd to pardon ſix of them. Biſhop *Williams* thought it a *burning Shame* for him who was of the reform'd Religion, to affix the Seal to ſuch a Warrant, which was brought twice to him, and he both Times refus'd to paſs it. This Deſign was to enſnare him, but another was caught by it. The Duke of *Buckingham* moved the King to command it be ſeal'd in his Sight at *Hampton-Court*, which when it came to be known, took off the *Odium* from the Keeper, and threw it upon the Duke.

Earl of Clarendon's *Characters falſe.*

Ambroſe Philips, p. 163.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* the Parliament met at *Oxford* in the *Divinity-School*. *Heylin* and *Echard*, two Authors of equal Credit and Diſcretion, ſeem to think the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons had too much Honour done him in being permitted to ſit in the Profeſſor's Chair. The judicious *Heylin* ſays, *The placing the* Speaker *there, firſt put them into a Conceit, that the determining in all Points and Controverſies in Divinity did belong to them.* As much as to ſay, if he had been plac'd in the Profeſſor of *Muſick*'s Chair, he wou'd immediately have fal'n a *fidaling*. *Echard*, every whit as judicious as *Heylin*, apes even this ſtupid ridiculous Reflection. Sir *Thomas Crew*'s being plac'd in the Divinity-Chair, was thought *ſo much to inſpire the Houſe of Commons with controverſial Knowledge, that from thence no Parliaments were without a Committee for Religion.* After this wiſe way of thinking, if Serjeant *Crew* had ſate himſelf down in the Coronation-Chair at *Weſtminſter*, *Crew* inſtead of *Cromwell* wou'd have laid violent Hands on the Crown. There is nothing in Hiſtory ſo ſilly as this childiſh Reflection of theſe two hiſtorical Prieſts, let the Reader be Judge, and aſſure himſelf that there are not two Hiſtorians of their Kidney in more Eſtimation among them; which ſhews us how well they are furniſh'd with Hiſtory. The Speaker had no ſooner taken this envy'd Seat, than Sir *Robert Philips* of *Somerſetſhire*, complain'd he had ſeen the above-mention'd Pardon for the ſix Fryars and Jeſuits, bearing Date the very Day after the Lord-Keeper had in his Majeſty's Name promis'd the Laws againſt them ſhou'd be rigorouſly put in Execution. The Houſe was immediately in a Flame, finding themſelves dealt with ſo doubly. The Cry was at firſt againſt the Keeper, who being a Proteſtant Biſhop, ſhou'd not have dar'd to have done ſuch Wrong to his Religion. The Lord-Keeper was clear'd by the Evidence of *Bembo* Servant to the Clerk of the Crown, who confeſs'd he brought it to the Seal, but it ſtopp'd there. It was afterwards ſent by Secretary *Conway*'s Servant *Derick*, but it ſtill was ſtopp'd, till the Duke, as has been obſerv'd, got the King to command that it ſhou'd be ſeal'd at *Hampton-Court*. Both King and Duke were very uneaſy at this Diſcovery, and truly they had good Reaſon to be ſo, for this Proceeding was as mean as it was dangerous; to promiſe a Thing one Day, and do the contrary the next, in Defiance of the Laws, was a very hopeful beginning of a Reign, and cou'd not but preſage it wou'd have as happy an End. The impartial Author of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, ſinks the lending the *French* King Ships to deſtroy the Proteſtants at *Rochelle*. Sir *John Pennington* had Intelligence that the *Engliſh* Ships were intended againſt *Rochelle*; he told the King of it, whoſe Anſwer was, *Pennington go and deliver your Ships*; which he wou'd not do without a Warrant under his Majeſty's own Hand for his Diſcharge, which the King gave him. The *French* making ſome Difficulty to reſtore thoſe Ships, the ſame *Pennington* was forc'd to ſeize above an hundred *French* Veſſels by way of Repriſal, and then the *Engliſh* Ships were deliver'd. 'Tis worth remembring that only two *Engliſh* Sailors aſſiſted againſt *Rochelle* in the Ships King *Charles* lent King *Lewis*, ſuch an Abhorrence of that Service had our Seamen, it being againſt Proteſtants, and to enſlave a free People. The Author or Authors of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, ſink alſo this Pardon to the *Popiſh* Prieſts as not within his Period, but he takes Notice, and wrong Notice too, of the Proceedings of this very Parliament concerning the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. The Commons deſir'd a Conference with the Lords in *Chriſt-Church*, where Sir *Edward Coke* open'd the Complaint againſt *Conway*, not without glancing at the Duke, who was accus'd alſo for abuſing the King's Favour, by aſſuming to himſelf the Diſpoſal of all Offices by Sea and Land. Biſhop *Williams* haſtened to *Woodſtock*, where the King and Duke then were; and after having acquainted the Duke with the Diſpoſition of both Houſes, he ſpoke to him as follows; *My Lord, I am come unſent for, yet becauſe your Grace made me, I muſt and will ſerve you, tho' you are one that will deſtroy that which you made. Let me periſh, I deſerve to periſh ten times, if I were not as earneſt as any Friend to ſave you from periſhing. The Sword is the Cauſe of the Wound, but the Buckler is in Fault if it do not defend the Body. You brought the two Houſes hither, my Lord, againſt my Counſel: My Suſpicion is confirm'd, that your Grace will ſuffer for it.* What's now to be done, *but to wind up the Seſſion quickly.* The Occaſion is for you, becauſe two *Colleges in the Univerſity, and two Houſes in the Town, are viſited with the Plague; let the Members be promis'd fairly and friendly, that they may meet again after* Chriſtmas; *requite the Injuries done to you with Benefits not Revenge, for no Man that is wiſe will ſhew himſelf angry with the People of* England. *Confer one or two of your great Places upon your ſafeſt Friends, ſo ſhall you go leſs in Envy, and not leſs in Power. At the Cloſe of this Seſſion declare yourſelf to be the forwardeſt to ſerve the King and Commonwealth, and to give the Parliament Satisfaction. Fear them not when they meet again in the ſame Body, whoſe ill Affections I expect to mitigate. But if they proceed, truſt me with your Cauſe, when it is tranſmitted to the Houſe of Lords, and I will lay my Life upon it to preſerve you from Sentence*

A.D.1625. *Weak Counſels.*

Ambroſe Philips.

Op. H. L. p. 54.

P. 422.

Parliament at Oxford.

A.D.1625. *Sentence on the leaſt Diſhonour.* To all which, the Duke reply'd only, *I will look whom I truſt to,* and ſo flung out of the Room with Threats in his Countenance. I am ſenſible the Keeper did this more to ſerve himſelf than his Patron; but the Advice was good, and let the Motive be what it will, a wiſe Man will always embrace the Counſel of Wiſdom. Mr. *Ambroſe Philips* charges *Heylin* on this Occaſion with a notorious Falſity, to the great Detriment of the Biſhop's good Name, as if he had been baſe and ungrateful to the Duke, whereas he prov'd in a Paper he deliver'd the King about a Week after, that he had done his utmoſt, and more than any one, to ſcreen the Duke from parliamentary Proſecution.

Life of Ld-Keeper Williams, *p.* 167.

The Committee of Religion ſummon'd *Mountague* the *Gagger* to appear before them according to his Bail-Bond, and appointed his Book to be examin'd again, but the Houſe did not ſit long enough to bring him to Puniſhment. The Secretaries *Conway* and *Cook*, after the King had reminded them of the War he had been led into, and the Supplies wanting to carry it on, urg'd new Reaſons for them from the State of Affairs in *Germany*, *France*, the *Low-Countries*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Italy*. The Lord-Treaſurer added the Debts of King *James* above 300000 Pounds, his Majeſty's Debts and Expences in four Months time above 200000 Pounds, and 300000 Pounds for the Navy, in all about Two Millions; tho' it was not likely the Miniſtry cou'd obtain near ſuch a Sum, when the Parliament talk'd of nothing but the Miſapplication of the Treaſury, *Grievances*, *Buckingham*, and *Mountague*. When the Miniſters mention'd an *intended War*, the Houſe deſir'd to know *what War*? This ſo reaſonable a Motion was ill taken, and *ſcorn'd by the King*: For *even then*, ſays the Hiſtorian, *it evidently appear'd that he meant to rule by Will and Pleaſure.* To ſhew his Reſentment at this Motion, he commanded Serjeant *Glanville* to *attend the Fleet at* Plymouth, ſaying, *He ſhall there underſtand what he ſo much deſir'd to know; and breaking this Parliament before they had given him Money, he ſent Sir* Sackville Crow *with the Crown-Jewels to pawn them in the* Netherlands.

Reybold. *The King intends arbitrary Government.*

We are often told by *Echard*, and other ſuch Hiſtory Writers, that the laſt Parliament, as was remember'd to this, *led* King *James* into the War, and that the latter left his Son in it. The Author of the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion* charges them as wavering and inconſtant for it. But, what an impartial Author he is? Takes not the leaſt Notice of the Reaſons given in this Houſe of Commons for poſtponing a further Supply: *Tho' the former Parliament did engage the late King in a War, this is not oblig'd to be carry'd blindly, where ſound Counſels are wanting: It is not uſual to grant Subſidies twice in one Parliament, and no Grievances redreſs'd.* It was ſpoken by Sir *John Elliot*, who deſir'd to know, *whether the Money deſign'd for the* Palatinate, *did not maintain the Ships ſent againſt* Rochelle, which was levell'd againſt *Buckingham*: Yet *Echard* ſo wiſely copying the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, even in Falſity affirms, this Parliament *had no Crime to impute to him but what was as well known to the laſt.* He and his Original might have ſaid as well known before the Crime was committed as after. Cou'd the ſending Ships againſt the Proteſtants in *France*, cou'd the pardoning the ſix *Romiſh* Prieſts, contrary to the King's Word, be known to the laſt Parliament? The preſent Houſe of Commons, whom they wrongfully thus abuſe, knew him ſo much better now than he was known laſt Year, that they order'd Enquiry to be made, *Whether he broke not the Marriage with* Spain *out of Spleen to* Olivarez; *and whether he made not the Match with* France *upon harder Terms*? Was the Match with *France* better known before than after it was made? The Parliament cou'd eaſily prove, that two Millions of Money was ſtipulated by the Conditions with *Spain*, and but 800000 Crowns by thoſe with *France*, which certainly were much harder Terms.

Whitl. *p.* 2.

A.D.1625.

"The Commons, ſays Dr. *Fuller*, not ſo careful to ſave their own Perſons from the *Plague*, as to ſecure the Land from a worſe and more ſpreading Contagion, the *daily Growth of Popery*, preſented a Petition to his Majeſty, containing ſixteen Particulars of the Cauſes of Grievances, and Remedies to redreſs them; *to ev'ry Clauſe* of which, according to *Echard*, *his Majeſty anſwer'd in a parliamentary Way, with ſo much Fairneſs and Satisfaction, that nothing cou'd be deſir'd more.* We ſhall ſee whether any Thing more was deſir'd, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory; but while the Parliament ſeem'd in a pretty good Humour, on the Cloſe of the King's Anſwer, *Buckingham* made a Speech, putting them in Mind of the good Opinion the laſt Parliament had of him for his Conduct in the *Spaniſh* Treaty of Marriage, and he made no queſtion but ſpeaking now with the ſame Heart, he ſhou'd be as acceptable to them: He then enter'd into a particular Juſtification of himſelf, and gave ſeveral of his Actions ſo plauſible a Turn, that many of the Members began to think him not ſo bad as was repreſented: But Sir *John Elliot* when a Debate about him aroſe, apply'd to him moſt of the Miſcarriages of the late Reign, and this ever ſince he was concern'd in the Miniſtry; and ſpeaking of the further Supply which was deſir'd, he ſaid, *They ought to be better ſecur'd from* domeſtick Foes, *before they engag'd againſt foreign Enemies*; *and that the great Sums given for Honours and Offices, wou'd go far in fitting out the Fleet.* The Truth is, the Nation had no liking for an Expedition which was the Contrivance of *Buckingham*, whom they did not like. He intended the War againſt *Spain*, and they were for carrying it on in the *Palatinate* or *Low-Countries*. His Intention was to ſhew the *Spaniards* his Power and Reſentment; their Deſire was to recover his Majeſty's Brother-in-law's Dominions, and preſerve the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany*, which was never named by the laſt King and this, but only as a Pretext to demand Money, which when rais'd, was ſure to be apply'd to ſuch Uſes as wou'd increaſe the Grievances. Some Members were for going on the Supply, which the *Neceſſity* of the publick Affairs requir'd; but others ſaid *Neceſſity* was a dangerous Counſellor, and liable to be us'd as a continual Argument; that thoſe Miniſters who had thrown the King and Kingdom into ſuch *Neceſſity* ought to anſwer for it; and that there was as much *Neceſſity* for redreſſing Grievances as for granting more Subſidies: Upon which it was agreed to ſend his Majeſty a ſhort Declaration of their *loyal Intentions to ſerve him in due Time and in a parliamentary way, beſeeching him to reſt aſſured of their true and hearty Affections, and to eſteem the ſame to be the greateſt Security and Reputation a juſt King can have, and to account all ſuch Enemies and Slanderers of the Commonwealth who ſhall dare ſay the contrary.* The contrary was ſaid by *Buckingham*, *Laud*, *Neile*, *Weſton*, and in a word by almoſt every one who had Acceſs to the King's Perſon with the leaſt Degree of Favour.

Popery encourag'd.

Nothing is more apparent than that his Majeſty's ſcreening *Buckingham* and *Montague* from Parliamentary Puniſhment made the firſt Breach between him and his People; and there cou'd be no Hope of a Reconciliation, while ſuch Counſellors as *Laud* and *Neile* had his Ear upon all Occaſions. He ſaw plainly the Commons wou'd give him no Money, till he had given them Satisfaction as to *Buckingham*, and other Grivances. But as much as he wanted it, he reſolv'd to raiſe it without them; that is, without Law or Right, rather than let Juſtice be done on thoſe Offenders, who had flatter'd him with an Opinion that he cou'd not him-

The King's ill Conduct.

A.D.1625. ſelf offend. The Lord-Keeper *Williams*, with whom ſided the Lords of the Council, begg'd of him with Tears not to diſſolve the Parliament; and remember'd him of his Father's laſt Advice, to part with them always in Friendſhip, eſpecially with his firſt, and to call them often. King *James* had experienc'd the many Inconveniences of being at Variance with his Parliaments; and King *Charles*'s Want of Temper or Wiſdom appear'd ſignally in protecting his Favourite in direct Oppoſition to the Senſe of the Nation. We are not to regard what is ſaid in *Clarendon*'s and *Echard*'s Hiſtories of his Majeſty's Firmneſs, ſo much to his Detriment and Diſhonour. Impartial Writers do here begin the Diviſion which parted him and his People for ever. Here, I ſay, at the abrupt Diſſolution of this his firſt Parliament four or five Months after his Father's Death. "The King's Love for *Buc-* "*kingham*, ſays *Larrey*, appear'd ſignally on this "Occaſion: If he wou'd have abandon'd him to "the Houſe of Commons, they wou'd immediately "have granted him the Subſidies he demanded; "but he choſe rather to renounce them, and in "ſome meaſure the Affections of his People, than "ſacrifice his Favourite". What follows ſhews us how ſincerely the Author of the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion* and Archdeacon *Echard* deal with us, when they declaim on his Qualifications as *really wonderful*. "Thus *Buckingham* was the fatal Be- "ginning of that Miſunderſtanding which conti- "nu'd ever after between the King and his Sub- "jects in thoſe great Aſſemblies of Parliament, "which are ſo dear to the Nation; and yet his "Aſcendant over his Maſter was not owing either "to his Charms or Capacity, but to the Weak- "neſs and ill Fortune of the King. If the King "had too much Complaiſance, or rather Blind- "neſs for his Favourite, the Favourite had but too "little Regard for his Maſter's Intereſts and Glo- "ry; for inſtead of ſacrificing his Fortune to his "Maſter, he ſacrific'd his Maſter to his Ambition". Such was the Fate of this Monarch during the whole Courſe of this Reign. For *Laud* and his Brethren wou'd never let him once give into mo- derate Counſels in religious Matters, tho' the Bent of the Nation was *Puritan*, and tho' his Govern- ment might have been eaſy and glorious by it; and even in the Cataſtrophe of the Civil War, when his Royal Life was in Danger, his Chaplains at the *Iſle of Wight* Treaty, Partizans of *Laud*, wou'd not let him ſecure his own Dominion, un- leſs he ſecur'd theirs alſo. How he was manag'd by his Favourites, and how inflexible he was in any Opinion they infus'd into him, the Source of all his Misfortunes, may be ſeen by what the *French* Author adds. "Thoſe that ſucceeded *Buc-* "*kingham* had the ſame Power, and the King was "as tender and as much bewitch'd to them, ſuf- "fering himſelf to be govern'd, and having no "Will but theirs. *Firm* on this Head, or rather "opinionated to ſuch a Degree, that nothing cou'd "convince him to the contrary. A Perſon who "prov'd too true a Prophet foretold of him, *I* "*wiſh this Prince may be well inſpir'd when he* "*comes to the Throne, for if he takes the wrong* "*way all is loſt*; *opinionated as he is, and willing* "*abſolutely whate'er he wills. Nothing can make* "*him change his Reſolution, when it's once taken.* *Lilly* ſays the ſame of him: "He was noted to be "very wilful and obſtinate by Queen *Anne* his "Mother, and ſome others who were about him "in his Infancy. His Mother being once told "he was very ſick and like to dye, ſaid, *He wou'd* "*not dye then*, but live to be the Ruin of himſelf, "and occaſion the Loſs of his three Kingdoms "by his Wilfulneſs".

The King's Firmneſs is Obſtinacy.

P. 31.

K. Charles *obſtinate.*

Parliament.

The Parliament had Notice that they were to be diſſolv'd; and when the Uſher of the Black Rod came to call the Commons up to the Houſe of Lords, they being in a grand Committee wou'd not ſuffer the Speaker to reſume the Chair, till Mr. *Glanville* the Chairman had made a Report in Form of a Proteſtation, as a Sort of Direction to the next Parliament to take up the Buſineſs of *Buckingham* and Grievances where they left it, and where it was broken off by this ſudden *Diſſolution*. A.D.1625.

The Plague raging at *London*, the Court, King, Queen, and *French* Attendants, was prodigally kept at *Salisbury*, where the King and the Lords of the Council were to ſeek how to defray the Houſhold Expences, the Purveyors not having wherewithal to ſupply the King and Queen's Table: Upon which he ſends for the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, and oblig'd them to ſupply him with more than they cou'd well ſpare. He preſs'd the City of *Salisbury* for a Loan of 1000 *l.* and *Briſtol* for ano- ther Loan of 3000 *l.* Several Aldermen of *Briſtol* came to excuſe the Payment, but they were thrown into Goal, where they lay till the Sum was brought to Court. Fifty Thouſand dy'd of this Plague at *London*; ſo great was the Mortality that the City was almoſt uninhabited. I have read ſomewhere, that in *July* this Year, a Man walking from *Somerſet-Houſe* to St. *Antholine*'s Church in the Ci- ty met only three Perſons in the way; yet the De- ſolation hinder'd not the Rejoycings of the Court upon the King's Marriage with a bigotted *French* Papiſt. Reybold.

The great Plague

Much Talk there was of a Fleet with Land Forces on Board, but whither they were to be ſent none of the Council knew but the Duke, yet the Lord *Clarendon*'s Indignation riſes againſt the Parliament for not giving Supplies towards an Expedition, which was under the Management of a Perſon whom they were about to impeach. To make good the Deficiencies, Letters were iſſu'd under the Privy-Seal to raiſe Money by Loan. The Perſons to whom they were directed were tax'd by the King himſelf in what Sums he pleas'd, which *Echard* calls *borrowing Money of his Subjects with their own Conſent*; tho' he confeſſes the Names of all who wou'd not lend were to be re- turn'd to him, and the Fear of the Conſequence did doubtleſs contribute much to the Conſent of the Lenders.

Warrants were granted for diſarming Papiſts; which had the good Effects that all ſuch Warrants had in the former Reign, and will have in this. I muſt own the Lord *Clarendon*, or his Editor's Re- preſentation of theſe Matters are quite contrary to mine. I find myſelf at a great Loſs in this Work, in that I can make little or no Uſe of his Six Vo- lumes of Hiſtory; nay, I am rather perplex'd than help'd by it, being every now and then oblig'd to clear up Matters which are very much darken'd by the Duſt he raiſes. The Events are ſo chang'd by the Turn he gives them, and the Gloſs he puts upon them, that none will ever have a juſt Idea of Things or Perſons as they are there repreſented. Octavo.

Let us inſtance in the Lord *Wimbledon*'s ſhame- ful Expedition to *Cadiz*. The Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* aſſerts, it was undertaken *with the Advice of Parliament, and the univerſal Approbation of the People*; whereas *Whitlock* aſſures us, not one even of the King's Council knew of it but *Buckingham*; and *Sanderſon*, who is a Cham- pion in the ſame Cauſe with the Lord *Clarendon*, affirms, that Sir *Robert Manſel*, Vice-Admiral, and the moſt experienc'd Sea-Officer in *England*, de- clar'd againſt the Undertaking; the Lord *Chi- cheſter*, another old Officer, did the ſame; but the Duke of *Buckingham*, who knew as little of mili- tary Affairs as any other Courtier, approv'd of it, and that was enough. The Lord *Wimbledon* had a Fleet of 80 Ships, on which were embark'd a- bout 10000 Soldiers. They ſail'd the 8th of *Octo- ber*, and ſoon met with a furious Storm common in Autumn, which ſeparated the Fleet, and ſunk one of the beſt Ships, which with all the Crew was

Cales *Ex- pedition.* P. 40

P. 16

Larr. 35

A.D.1625. was loſt. The Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* ſays there was not a Ship loſt, and *upon the matter not a Man*, to diminiſh the Shame of this diſgraceful Enterprize. About the latter End of the Month the Fleet, which had join'd again, arriv'd at the *Streights* Mouth; and a Council of War being held, the gallant young Earl of *Eſſex*, Vice-Admiral, in Emulation of the Glory his Father had formerly won there, was for attacking the Forts at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Cadiz*, which was not thought practicable; only the Fort *Puntal* that very much incommoded the Men who attempted to land, was attack'd and carry'd by Sir *John Burroughs*. This Fort open'd and ſhut the Entrance into the Harbour; and the *Engliſh* by the Help of the *Puntal* might either have attack'd the Galleons that were in the Port, or have intercepted thoſe that were expected from *America* with Plate. The *Spaniards* were ſo alarm'd at the taking this Fort, that King *Philip* was putting himſelf at the Head of his Army, which was to march againſt the *Engliſh*; but *Olivarez* repreſented to him the Neceſſity thoſe Troops wou'd ſoon be under to abandon that Conqueſt and return home, the Winter Seaſon advancing ſo faſt. The Governor of *Cadiz* diſpatch'd ſome light Frigats to give Advice to the Galleons homeward bound from New *Spain*, that they ſhou'd ſteer to Cape *Finiſtre*, and get into the *Groyne*. One of theſe Advice-Boats fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, who believing the *Spaniards* wou'd accordingly make for *Corunna*, lay off that Port to intercept the Plate Fleet. But the Galleons by good Luck miſſing all the Advice-Boats ſail'd directly to *Cadiz*, from whence the *Engliſh* were gone to wait for them at the *Groyne*. Great Faults were committed by the Lord *Wimbledon* and his Officers. They miſ-ſpent their Time aſhoar in intrenching themſelves in the *Puntal* inſtead of attacking the Bulworks, which in the Surprize of the *Spaniards* at the Loſs of that Fort, they might eaſily have carry'd. They ſuffer'd both Soldiers and Seamen to come aſhoar for Refreſhment, who ſurfeiting themſelves with new Wine it threw them into Diſtempers, which kill'd great Numbers of them. Notwithſtanding this Sickneſs and Death, the Earl of *Clarendon* very quaintly aſſures us, *all the Ships, and upon the matter all the Men were ſeen*. Every Ship, and upon the matter every Man was not only ſav'd but ſeen; and thoſe Seamen and Soldiers who were left dead drunk aſhoar when the Ships came away, *the Generoſity of the* Spaniards *ſent them all back again*. I will make no Remark upon this fine Flouriſh; if the Reader can believe a word of it, he has a ſtock of Faith enough to run thro' the *Roman* Legends. F. *Orleans* affirms the *Loſs* of Men to be very *conſiderable*. *Larrey* ſays, the Ships and Men that return'd were *ſeen* indeed, but with *Murmuring* and *Indignation*. *The Complaints ought to have been againſt* Buckingham, *but his Credit or good Fortune* turn'd them on *Wimbledon*, who laid the blame on others; however, he was for ſome time not admitted into the King's Preſence. And thus ended an Expedition, which was the more inglorious for that in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time the *Engliſh* put the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Portugal* in a Blaze, burnt *Cadiz*, menac'd *Lisbon*, brought off the Galleons and Carracks loaden with the Silver of *Mexico* and *Peru*, and carry'd Terror to the old and new World. But as *Larrey* ſo words it, *Thoſe Days of Glory and Triumph for* England *were paſs'd*. This famous Enterprize was preceded by no Declaration of War. The moſt that was like it was a Proclamation to recall all *Engliſh* Men out of the *Spaniſh* Service. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Earl of *Holland* went at the ſame time to the *Hague*, where they concluded a League with the United Provinces, and with the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Denmark*; but neither *England* nor *Holland* reap'd any Advantage by it.

P. 40. Clar. *wrong.*

Clar. *quaint and wrong.*

P. 39.

Ill Succeſs in the War.

P. 39.

England *diſhonour'd*

The King of *Denmark* did indeed take Arms, A.D.1625. and one of his Reaſons was the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, his Nephew's Dominions. Some Troops were ſent to his Aſſiſtance from *England*. But it is ſaid he miſcarry'd by a too frequent Uſe of the Bowl. *His drinking out of Reaſon loſt many Battels to the Emperor's General* Walleſtein. The Miſcarriage of this King in the Invaſion of the Empire is by *Echard, and all of 'em*, imputed to the Parliament for not giving the Money the Court wanted; which however they wou'd gladly have given him, if the King wou'd have ſatisfy'd them that the Subſidies ſhou'd have been better ſpent than the laſt were, and that due Remedies ſhou'd be apply'd to the Diſtempers of the State.

Sir E. P. 67.

At the Cloſe of this Year *Coke* ſums up the ſeveral Articles of Male Adminiſtration in the firſt nine Months of King *Charles*'s Reign, which may be thought too invidious to repeat: But as the Facts are true, let Poſterity know the Miſchief and the Cauſe of it.

Inſtances of ill Government.

1. *The protecting a ſeditious, virulent, ill-natur'd Prieſt*, Richard Mountague, *in Oppoſition to the Senſe of the Parliament.*
2. *The diſpenſing with the Laws againſt Papiſts in Compliance with the* French *Treaty.*
3. *Breach of Word with the Parliament concerning the Execution of thoſe Laws.*
4. *The War upon the King of* Spain *without Declaration.*
5. *The lending Ships againſt the Proteſtants at* Rochelle.
6. *The abrupt Diſſolution of the Parliament to ſcreen* Buckingham *from Puniſhment.*

If theſe Facts are true, and no body will pretend to diſprove them, what fine Hiſtories muſt *Clarendon*'s and *Echard*'s be; where they are either all ſunk; or if any of them are mention'd, 'tis with ſuch Explanations as alter the Nature of them, and render them the Subject rather of Applauſe than Complaint.

I have ſaid nothing of the Squadron of Ships that was ſent to join the *Dutch*, and block up *Dunkirk*. They alſo being ſent out of Seaſon were diſpers'd by a Storm, and left the Coaſts of *England* expos'd to the Inſults of 22 *Dunkirk* Men of War with Land Forces, which alarm'd *Ireland* as well as *England*. But why ſhou'd we wonder that all the Enterprizes of a certain Set of Men ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, have been inglorious both at home and abroad? The Rights and Liberties of the People, the Defence of which acquires true Glory, are what they never had at heart, and their Intereſts have always been ſeparate from thoſe of the Publick.

Tho' the Plague was ſtill raging, inſomuch that the Term was adjourn'd to *Reading*, it did not at all ſoften the hard Hearts of thoſe evil Counſellors about the King, who endeavour'd to engroſs his Affections by alienating them from his Subjects. However, there was no living without Money, and that which the Loan brought in made but ill Payment for the Clamour and Diſcontent which it occaſion'd; 'twas therefore reſolv'd to call a Parliament, but little Care was taken to have them meet in a better Humour than they parted with the laſt; nay, ſo wild was the way of thinking, that Sir *Edward Coke*, late Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and other Gentlemen, who in the laſt Parliament had appear'd againſt the Duke, were prick'd for Sheriffs, and ſo cou'd not be choſen Members.

Gentlemen prick'd for Sheriffs.

Sir *Edward Coke*, Sheriff of	*Buckinghamſhire.*	
Richard Knightley, Eſq;	*Northamptonſhire.*	
Sir *Robert Philips*,	*Somerſetſhire.*	
Sir *Thomas Wentworth*,	*Yorkſhire.*	

*A.D.*1625. Sir *Edward Coke* was then near 80 Years old; and it was barbarous to put a Gentleman of his Age, who had been Lord Chief Juſtice of both Benches, into the inferior and troubleſome Office of a Sheriff. He excepted againſt ſeveral Parts of the Sheriff's Oath, and by Advice of all the Judges, one of his Exceptions was allow'd, and order'd to be left out of the Oath for the future. Of
P. 210. Sir *Robert Philips*, *Coke* ſays, *I revere his Memory, and ſhou'd be glad I knew any of his Deſcendants to whom I cou'd acknowledge it.* But if any of thoſe Deſcendants ſhou'd have degenerated, and been as great Enemies to Liberty as Sir *Robert* was a Friend to it, Mr. *Coke* did not loſe much in the Loſs of that Wiſh of his. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, who was at this time another Patriot, receiv'd the ſame Marks of the Court's Diſpleaſure. Such Methods were not likely to put former Grievances out of mind; and when the Parliament met, we ſhall ſoon ſee them brought upon the Stage again: Tho' to ſtop their Mouths concerning Popery, the Biſhops were order'd to proceed againſt Papiſts by Excommunication, and ſhutting the Church-Doors againſt thoſe that durſt not come within them under Pain of Damnation. All convicted Papiſts were by Proclamation confin'd to their Places of Abode, or within four Miles of it. But no Orders of this Kind had the Effect that was pretended. The Papiſts knew well enough the King was compell'd to do what he did by the Complaints of the Parliament, and they abated very little of their Inſolence. It was thought neceſſary to declare, that the King wou'd give up *Mountague* to Juſtice. Upon which *Laud* ſaid very gravely, if not very fooliſhly, *I ſeem to ſee a Cloud ariſing, and threatning the Church.*

William's *Fall.* We have taken notice of *Buckingham*'s Diſpleaſure againſt the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, and his Diſgrace is the leaſt we cou'd expect from it. But his Merit and Services requir'd ſome Colour for diſplacing him; which not being to be found, the Miniſtry reviv'd a Propoſition made by the Keeper *Williams* himſelf to King *James*, That the Office of Lord *Chancellor* or Lord *Keeper* ſhou'd be *Triennial*; and Biſhop *Williams* having enjoy'd it above four Years, muſt according to his own Propoſal ſurrender the Seal. If the Queen cou'd have befriended him he had ſtood ſtill; for he was in her Favour by reaſon of the Speech he made to her in *French* at her coming to *Whitehall*. The Keeper having Intimation of the Counſels that were taking againſt him, wrote a Letter from *Foxley* in *Berkſhire* to the King at *Salisbury* juſtifying his Conduct in Parliament, eſpecially concerning the Duke; who having read the Letter cou'd not but own that the Juſtification was valid; but *Buckingham* ſaid he had other Proof againſt him, which cou'd not appear while he was in Office for People wou'd be afraid to accuſe him. The Lord-Keeper offer'd to anſwer any Accuſation in a legal Way; and that it was prepoſterous to puniſh firſt, and afterwards condemn. He ſaid the *Wrong done him wou'd ſoon ſtartle others; for who that had any thing to loſe wou'd think himſelf ſecure upon ſuch Precedents?* Then the Triennial Truſt was trump'd
P. 172. up; ſo that, ſays Mr. *Ambroſe Philips*, his Enemies *cou'd lay no Accuſations to his Charge; and all his Crime was their Hatred and Malice.* To prove which he quotes Sir *Anthony Welden*, p. 176. *Biſhop* Williams's *Ruin was determin'd not upon any known Crime, but upon Circumſtances and Examinations to pick out Faults committed in his whole Lifetime.* This Biſhop has never a good Word from the *Laudæans* on account of his oppoſing *Laud*'s ſuperſtitious Innovations; and therefore it is that the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* ſays very falſly, as well as affectedly, *He was generally thought ſo very unequal to the Place, that his Remove was the only Recompence and Satisfaction that cou'd be made for his Promotion.* What a Conſcience this Author had? The famous Lawyer Judge *Hobart* being deſir'd by *Buckingham* to certify the Lord-Keeper's Inabilities and Ignorance, upon which he wou'd engage to throw him out, and he ſhou'd ſucceed him, the reverend Judge reply'd, *My Lord, Somewhat might have been ſaid at the firſt; but I ſhou'd do the Lord-Keeper great Wrong if I ſhou'd ſay it now.* Mr. *Ambroſe Philips* writes of it thus: "Never was the Court of *Chancery* "better order'd than in his Time. Mr. *Evelyn*, "one of the ſix Clerks, and in his Time the beſt "Head-piece of the Office, took Pleaſure in ſay- "ing, as many yet know, that the Lord-Keeper "*Williams* had the moſt tow'ring ſublime Wit "that he ever heard ſpeak, and that his Decrees "in all Cauſes were juſt; that the Lord *Coventry* "did ſeldom alter any thing he had ſettled before "him but upon new Preſumptions; and that he "ſpoke of him always in Court very honourably". *Echard* too ſpeaking of this Biſhop has alſo a Falſity: He was ſequeſter'd from the Council-Table, *and the Preſence of the King*, before the Seal was taken from him. When the Lord *Conway* came to him with a Meſſage from his Majeſty about ſurrendring the Seal on the 15th of *October*, the Lord-Keeper ask'd him, *If he was reſtrain'd from* *P.* 175. *the Council-Board before the delivering the Seal? Conway* reply'd, *I know of no ſuch Intent.* After which the Keeper had Audience of the King himſelf; and among other things he petition'd, "not *P.* 176. "to be commanded from the Council-Table, but "that his Abſence may be left wholly to his own "Diſcretion". His Majeſty anſwer'd, *I ever intended it ſo, and never ſaid a word to the contrary.* But *Echard* has ſaid a word to the contrary; and it is a melancholy Reflection to conſider, that two ſuch Hiſtorians as the two laſt mention'd ſhou'd have ſo long impos'd upon a Number of credulous Readers with whom a great deal of Pains muſt be taken, and perhaps in vain with many to undeceive them, and ſet them right again. On the 25th of *October*, Sir *John Suckling*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, brought a Warrant from the King to the Lord-Keeper to deliver the great Seal to him; which Biſhop *Williams* did accordingly: But, ſays *Ambroſe Philips*, *with no Signs of Unwillingneſs, as one intimates; for he was glad to hear that ſo worthy a Perſon as Sir* Thomas Coventry, *Atorney-General, was to ſucceed him.* One can hardly meet with one Fact which is not thus diſfigur'd in their Hiſtories.

*A.D.*1626. *Coronation.* The Coronation was on *Candlemas-Day*; and there are ſo many large Deſcriptions of it, that we ſhall ſay the leſs, there being nothing which makes it more different from other Coronations than the ſtriking out that Part of the antient Oath, *That the King ſhou'd conſent to ſuch Laws as the People ſhou'd chuſe*; and inſerting, *Saving the King's Royal Prerogative*; which was become the only Topick for *Court* Preachers, *Cathedral* Preachers, and all the Preachers in *England*, who ſought Preferment under *Laud*, to whoſe Management is imputed the Alteration made in the Coronation Oath; and it is not to be queſtion'd, but if he was one of the Committee appointed to prepare that Oath, the Change which was made in it was his own. *Cook* in his *Appeal* ſays, *It was charg'd upon the late Archbiſhop, that he emaſculated the Oath, and left out very material Words*, as *which the People ſhall chuſe.* The Author of *the Life and Reign of King* Charles, printed by *Reybold*, mentions the ſame thing, *clean forgetting or ſlighting the grand and more eſſential Part of the Coronation Oath, which is confidently averr'd the late* Archbiſhop *purpoſely emaſculated.* *Lilly* affirms poſitively, *He was crown'd at* Weſtminſter, *where* William Laud *alter'd the old Coronation Oath, and fram'd another new.* Dr. *Fuller* writes of it thus: *Others did equally conſent, tho' Biſhop* Laud *was moſt active.* Notwithſtanding which *Echard* aſſerts, *The Oath was*

L. C. J. Atkins.

Laud *alters the Coronation Oath.*

Clar. *wrong.*

the

A.D.1626. *the ſame that us'd to be taken by the King's Predeceſſors, tho' Biſhop* Laud *is condemn'd for it*; and for making another Addition in the Coronation Prayers us'd, ſays *Fuller*, in popiſh Times: *Sit Petrus in Clave, & Paulus in Dogmate*; that the King might have *Peter's Key of Diſcipline, and* Paul's *Doctrine*. The Biſhop of *Lincoln*, as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, had a Claim to officiate at this Solemnity, and wrote a Letter to the Duke that he might be permitted: Which Letter begins thus; *Being come hither according to the Duty of my Place to do my beſt Service for the Preparation to the* Coronation, *&c. I do moſt humbly beſeech your Grace to receive a Creature of your own, by bringing me to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand.* But it ſtood him in no ſtead; tho' Biſhop *Andrews*, as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, attended at the Coronation of King *James*, yet Biſhop *Williams* had Orders to abſent himſelf, and to depute one of the Prebendaries in his place. He reſolv'd not to name Biſhop *Laud*, who by his Favour had kept his Prebend, and ſent the King a Liſt of all the Prebendaries to chuſe whom he pleas'd, and he immediately pitch'd upon *Laud* at the Deſire of *Buckingham*. *Echard* in the Deſcription of this Solemnity has certain Circumſtances, which add very much to its Importance, and to the Dignity of his Hiſtory. "*The King omitted* "*riding thro'* London *to ſave Charges*. 'Twas a "bright Day, and nothing was loſt nor broken; "not a *Crewet*, nor a *Fork*. The Theatre was "clear, and there was very little Noiſe. The "King was array'd in *White*, contrary to the Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, who uſually wore "*Purple*. And this not out of Neceſſity but "Choice, to declare that Virgin Purity with which "he came to be eſpous'd to his Kingdom, laying "aſide the Robe of Majeſty to cloath himſelf in "the Robe of Innocence". Is it not Pity the Fact is falſe, there being ſo many pretty Conceits and Jingles in it; for *Whitlock* aſſures us, *his Robe was White Sattin, Purple not being to be had.* There never was ſo ſmall a Portion of a Reign, ſcarce ten Months, which had been charged with ſo much Male-Adminiſtration; yet the Reverend Author plays with *Virgin Purity* and Robe of *Innocence*, as if he had been deſcribing the Virgin Purity of *Edward* VI.

Second Parliament. The new Parliament met on the 6th of *February*; and the new Keeper *Coventry* made a Speech to them, which turn'd on the Neceſſity of a good Underſtanding between the King and them; but he gave the Pre-eminence to the former, and fix'd the Center of Authority there without diſtinguiſhing between the Executive and Legiſlative Power, that a Power ſuperior to both might be underſtood to be in the King. He proteſted the King's *Intentions were good*; and the Parliament were very uncivil not to take the Keeper's Word for it. Tho' the Court had good Reaſon to hope well from the Choice of the Speaker, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Recorder of *London*; yet they ſoon ſhew'd the ſame Spirit and Reſolution as appear'd in the *Oxford* Parliament. They immediately fell upon the ſhameful Expedition to *Cadiz*, *the Miſemployment of the King's Revenue, evil Counſellors, favouring of Papiſts*, notwithſtanding what *Echard* tells us of his Majeſty's having given them full Satisfaction in that matter, *Loans*, *Taxes*, and *Mountague*; for it ſeems *Laud* wou'd not yet let the King give up that Incendiary to Juſtice. To cool them in their Warmth, the Privy-Council requir'd *Neile*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Laud*'s Patron, to apprehend ſuch of his Majeſty's Subjects as ſhou'd be preſent at Maſs, and commit them to Priſon. The Attorney General ſent Letters to the Judges, to direct their ſtrict Proceedings againſt Recuſants in the *Lent* Circuit; which had no better Effect than other the like Orders in this Reign as well as the laſt. For among other Grievances we find this complain'd of by the Houſe of Commons:

Larr. 42.

Favour to Papiſts.

1. *The Increaſe and countenancing of Popery.*
2. *The Diminution of the Kingdom in Strength and Honour.*
3. *Plurality of Offices in one Hand.*
4. *Sales of Honours and Places of Judicature.*
5. *Delivery up of Ships to the* French.
6. *Miſemployment of three Subſidies and three Fifteenths.*

A.D.1626. Whit. 3. *Ill Practices in the State.*

Theſe Grievances were debated for Redreſs but a few Days after the Archdeacon declaim'd upon the Virgin Purity of the Government, which is otherwiſe repreſented in *Larrey*. "What is "there to be expected from a Prince, who ſuffers "himſelf to be abſolutely govern'd by ſuch a Miniſter as *Buckingham*? And what Security is there "for the Laws in Church and State, unleſs the "Parliament take care and puniſh the Attempts of "thoſe ambitious Diſturbers of the publick Peace, "Traytors to God and their Country. The Houſe "of Commons talk'd in Terms pretty near like "theſe, which the Houſe of Lords did not ſeem "to diſapprove. Popery was dreaded, and arbitrary Power not to be born. The King might "eaſily have appeas'd them, by giving them the "reaſonable Satisfaction they deſir'd; but he choſe "rather to ſave his Favourite". Can *Clarendon* or *Echard* be impartial? Can they indeed be true without remembring a word of theſe things? *P.* 42.

Mountague. I ſhall not enter into the Detail of the Proſecution of *Mountague*, only ſum up the Charge againſt him in brief, as the Committee who had the Caſe before them did, that it may be ſeen what a fit Man he was to make a Biſhop, and what Sort of Biſhops were in Favour with King *Charles*. "There *The Charge againſt him.* "are divers Paſſages in his Appeal full of Bitterneſs, Railing, and injurious to other Perſons, "diſgraceful and contemptible to many worthy "Divines of this Kingdom, and other reform'd "Churches beyond the Seas; impious and profane in ſcoffing at Preaching, meditating the "holy Scripture, and all Shew of Religion". *Laud* ſaid *Mountague*'s Cauſe was the Cauſe of the Church. "All which do aggravate his former Offences, "having proceeded from pernicious and enormous Heat againſt the Peace of the Church, "and the Sincerity of the reform'd Religion publickly profeſs'd, and by Law eſtabliſh'd in this "Kingdom. All which Offences being to the "Diſhonour of God, and of miſchievous Effect "and Conſequence againſt the Church and Commonwealth of *England*, and other of his Majeſty's Realms and Dominions; the Commons "in Parliament aſſembled do hereby pray, that "the ſaid *Richard Mountague* may be puniſh'd according to his Demerits in ſuch exemplary Manner, as may deter others from attempting ſo "preſumptuouſly the Peace of the Church and "State". His Puniſhment was firſt the Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter*, and then that of *Norwich*; which *Arbitrary Power.* ſhew'd ſufficiently that all thoſe who wou'd, like him, in Contempt of the Parliament and Conſtitution of *England*, aſſert a deſpotick Power in Church and State, might expect the ſame Reward to the full Satisfaction of their Pride and Avarice.

Parliament. There was no Demand of Supplies in the Keeper's Speech; but Sir *Richard Weſton* brought a Meſſage from the King, repreſenting the preſſing State of *Chriſtendom*, and his Majeſty's Patience in waiting ſo long to hear what they had reſolv'd about Supplies. To this handſome Meſſage was tack'd a politick Indication, *That the King wou'd not accept* Coke, 221. *of leſs than he wanted*, and *'twas not fit to depend any longer on Uncertainties*. A new Stile brought into the Speeches from the Throne ſince King *Charles* ſate on it. He affected very much to ſpeak *en Maiſtre*, and to let his Subjects know that he took what they gave him as their Duty, and not their Gift. *If they had any Grievances to be redreſs'd of which his Majeſty was not ſenſible, they*

A.D 1626. *they muſt complain in a mannerly way without the leaſt Reflection on his or his* bleſſed *Father's Government.* Such Speeches as theſe cou'd not but open the Hearts and Purſes of an aggriev'd People. The Commons return'd a general Anſwer promiſing a Supply. The King ſent to them again, that they ſhou'd *apply to redreſs Grievances, not to hunt after them.* Good Senſe and good Reaſon this, to redreſs what they did not know; for they cou'd know nothing without Enquiry. But there muſt be no ſtirring any thing for fear, as *Coke* phraſes it, *of throwing an ill Odor on the former or preſent Adminiſtration.*

In the Debate of theſe Matters, Mr. *Clement Coke* Member for *Ailsbury*, Son to Sir *Edward*, warm'd perhaps as much with his Father's Injuries as with thoſe of the Publick, ſaid in the Houſe of Commons, *'twas better to die by a foreign Enemy, than to be deſtroy'd at home*, according to *Warwick*, but he can't help erring, he ſaid *ſuffer* at Home, and not be *deſtroy'd*; and the Saying was highly reſented by the Court, who had wrought ſo upon the Upper-Houſe, that they appointed a Committee to conſider of the Defence of the Kingdom, and the Safeguard of the Seas; and they adviſ'd the equipping a Fleet of Ships immediately to act againſt *Spain*, and another to guard the Coaſts and Trade, which they ſent to the Houſe of Commons, who they were ſure wou'd not take it well to have Matters that requir'd Money come from the Houſe of Peers to them, who had yet come to no Reſolution about raiſing any. The King ſent them a Meſſage that he *was as willing to hear and redreſs Grievances as any of his Predeceſſors, but wou'd not allow any of his Servants to be queſtion'd*; which has the ſame Infirmity as his laſt Meſſage, and is not only againſt Reaſon, but againſt Common Senſe. Can evil Counſels be remedy'd without queſtioning evil Counſellors, or Grievances be redreſs'd without queſtioning the Cauſe of them? 'Twas added, *I ſee you eſpecially aim at the Duke of* Buckingham; *I admire what has ſo alter'd your Affections; I deſire you to haſten the Supply, or it will be worſe for you.* A ſmall Portion of natural Underſtanding wou'd have inform'd theſe Counſellors, that a King cou'd not have ſaid any thing more poorly, and that tho' two or three private Perſons may be menac'd without Danger, yet that it is very dangerous to threaten a whole Nation. The Meſſages which follow are all in the ſame Strain, and ſo worded, that one may eaſily perceive the King was in the Hands of Men of *Laud*'s Temper, and not likely to get out of them. His forbidding the Parliament to queſtion the Duke, which was their undoubted Right to do, made them more zealous in the Proſecution. Dr. *Turner* Burgeſs for *Shaftsbury*, whom *Warwick* calls by his own Name, an *inconſiderate inconſiderable Court-Dependant*, began the Charge with Six Queries.

Mr. Coke.

Echard.

Dr. Turner.

" I. Whether, as Admiral, he had not caus'd " the Loſs of the King's Royalty in the Narrow " Seas?

" II. Whether the late ill Succeſſes of the Fleet " had not happen'd by the Admiral's not having " perſonally executed the Place?

" III. Whether the Duke had not engroſs'd all " great Offices, and preferr'd his undeſerving Kin- " dred?

" IV. Whether he had not ſold Places of Ju- " dicature?

" V. Whether his Mother was not Patroneſs of " the *Romiſh* Party?

" VI. Whether he had not by his Profuſion " waſted the King's Treaſury?

This occaſion'd the moving two other Queſtions:

" Whether theſe ſix Heads, which were grounded " on *Common Fame*, ſhou'd be debated in Parlia- " ment?

A.D. 1626.

" Whether an Accuſation upon *common Fame*, " by a Member of the Houſe, be a parliamen- " tary Way?

Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Mr. *Noy*, Mr. *Selden*, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Sandys*, and other leading Members, being for the Affirmative, it was reſolv'd, *That* Common Fame *is a good Ground of* Proceeding *for the Houſe of* Commons. *Whitlock* mentioning Sir *Thomas Wentworth* with *Noy* and *Selden*, 'tis probable there was a Vacancy when his Shrievalty was out, and he got into the Houſe.

The Court taking the Allarm, a Meſſage is brought by Sir *Richard Weſton*, a moſt ungracious Meſſenger, taking notice of the ſeditious Speech of Mr. *Coke* and Dr. *Turner*'s Articles *againſt the Duke of* Buckingham, *but indeed againſt the Honour and Government of the King and his Father.* As *Mountague* is the *Church*, ſo *Buckingham* is the *State.* His Majeſty *cannot ſuffer an Enquiry on the meaneſt of his Servants, much leſs againſt one ſo near him*; *and wonders at the* fooliſh Impudence *of any Man, that can think he ſhou'd be drawn to offer ſuch a Sacrifice, much unworthy the Greatneſs of a King, and Maſter of ſuch a Servant.* He deſires *the Juſtice of the Houſe againſt Delinquents, that he be not conſtrain'd to uſe his Regal Power*; as was done ſome Years after, when he enter'd the Houſe in Perſon to ſeize five of their Members. This Language wou'd hardly become the Chairman of a Quarter-Seſſions to a petty Country Jury, which is the loweſt of all Images, much leſs of a Monarch of *Great-Britain* to the moſt illuſtrious Aſſembly in the World. Dr. *Turner* explain'd himſelf, ſaying, *To accuſe upon* Common Fame, *is warranted by the Imperial Laws, and by the Canons of the* Church; *that this Houſe in the Time of* Henry VI. *did accuſe the Duke of* Suffolk; *and that Sir* Richard Weſton *himſelf*, the Bearer of this wiſe Meſſage, *did preſent the* common Undertakers *upon* common Fame. The next Day the Doctor wrote a Letter to the *Speaker*, to excuſe his not attending the Houſe by Reaſon of Sickneſs, and ſubmitting to their Judgments, but not acknowledging any Fault. Sir *Richard Weſton*'s Meſſage had the Effect which generally attends Precipitation and Raſhneſs, and which *Arcby* might eaſy have foreſeen. The Parliament grew ſtill the more warm againſt the Duke, who was the great Grievance; and the King's ſupporting him againſt the Cry of his People, made the Grievance ſtill the greater. *Whitlock* tells us, Sir *John Elliot* made a bold and ſharp Speech. *Echard* calls this *being in a Fury*; Sir *William Walter* told the Houſe *that the Cauſe of all Grievances, was that which was in the Court of* Lewis *the* XIth *of* France; *all the King's Council ride upon one Horſe*, as did *Oliver* the Barber, who govern'd *Lewis* as much as *Villiers* govern'd *Charles.* Amidſt theſe Agitations the Commons remember'd the King's Neceſſities, and voted him three Subſidies, and three Fifteenths, to which they afterwards added a Fourth. This ſhew'd that their inſiſting upon Redreſs of Grievances, was not a Pretence only to put off Supplies. His Majeſty reſenting their Proceedings againſt his Favourite, more than their dutiful Behaviour in the Supply, ſummon'd both Houſes to attend him at *Whitehall*, where he declared to them with the uſual Prudence and Temper, *That he call'd them for ſeveral and diſtinct Reaſons; the Lords to thank them for their Care of the Publick*, and the *Commons to tell them of their Errors.* That is, *Villiers* and *Laud* underſtood the State and Intereſt of the Nation better than *Wentworth, Noy, Selden, Diggs*, &c. 'Tis all of a Piece, and the Keeper is taught to imitate his Maſter's engaging Stile. " After the great Affairs are ſettled, and " Satisfaction given to the King's Demands, he " will hear and anſwer their juſt Grievances, as the juſt Grievances in the laſt *Parliament were*

The King's fine way of ſpeaking.

A.D. 1626. " *anſwer'd after the Subſidies were given.* His " Majeſty excepts to the not puniſhing *Coke* and " *Turner.*" He then prais'd the Duke and his Merit from King and Parliament, declaring his Majeſty's Pleaſure that they proceed no further in the Enquiry touching him. Cou'd any Men in their Wits imagine, that 500 Gentlemen, Repreſentatives of a powerful People, cou'd look with any thing but Contempt on the Perſon that dar'd to bully them; yet ſo it is, and *Coventry* goes on; *The Supply is not ſuitable to the Engagements; his Majeſty requires a further Supply, and your Reſolutions of it by a Day, elſe you are not to ſit long, nor will the King expect a Supply this Way:* He will have Recourſe to Loans, Benevolences, Ship-Money, Monopolies, and the like: He will no longer ſuffer the Parliament to raiſe Money for the publick Service, which I think was as direct a Menace as cou'd be, that he wou'd no longer maintain the Conſtitution. Himſelf ſpoke after the Keeper, and mentioning *Coke*, ſaid, *It is better for a King to be invaded, and almoſt deſtroy'd by a foreign Power, than to be deſpis'd by his own Subjects: remember the calling, ſitting, and diſſolving of Parliaments is in my Power.* And ſhou'd he not alſo have remember'd, that the raiſing of Money for the Support and Defence of himſelf and his Kingdom, was in the Power of the Parliament? The Wiſdom and Moderation of theſe Counſels are equally conſpicuous and exemplary. The King wants Money, and yet irritates thoſe that are to give it; the Miniſters are conſcious of the Weakneſs and Errors of the late Management, and yet treat thoſe who are to amend it, as Fools and Scoundrels: For beſides the *fooliſh Impudence* in the fine Speech above-mention'd, *Coventry* told them the King had taken notice of *their ſuffering the greateſt Council of State,* Villiers *and* Laud, *to be cenſur'd and traduc'd by Men whoſe Years and Education cannot attain to that Depth.* The famous *Selden*, the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation for Learning and Abilities, did cenſure evil Counſellors, and his Education is here cenſur'd. *Coke* and *Turner* are meant indeed, but *Selden, Glanville, Pym, Herbert, Wandsford, Sherland,* and other principal Members before mentioned, did alſo ſeverely cenſure the Duke. *Whitlocke* obſerves there were in this Houſe many *Perſons of extraordinary Parts and Abilities*; and as to their Eſtates, one may make a Judgment by what *H. L'Eſtrange* ſays of the next Parliament, conſiſting in a manner of the ſame Members, *Their Eſtates modeſtly eſtimated, were able to buy the Houſe of Peers, the King excepted, though an hundred and eighteen, thrice over*; a proper Aſſembly this, to bear the Inſults of a weak and imperious Adminiſtration. Sir *John Elliot*, one of the leading Members, is repreſented by *Echard* as *out of his Wits*; but as he begins his Character and Account of him with a ſtaring Falſity, we are not oblig'd to believe the reſt of it: *He was a Man of a new Family*, his Authority is Dr. *Prideaux* Grandſon to *Elliot*; and yet with all this Evidence it is notoriouſly falſe: How then ſhall we give Credit to him, when he has no other Evidence but his own frail Word? My Authority is Mr. *Brown Willis*, Son-in-law to *Daniel Elliot* Eſq; Sir *John*'s Grandſon, who in his *Notitia Parliamentaria*, writes thus: *Of the Antiquity of the* Elliots, *it being expected I ſhou'd ſay ſomething, I hope the Reader will pardon my making a little Excurſion, while I ſhall only remark, that they flouriſh'd ten Generations before they ſeated themſelves at* St. Germains *about the Year* 1540, which was almoſt an hundred Years before this *new Gentleman* Sir *John Elliot* appear'd, who was in the thirteenth or fourteenth Generation. I hope this is ſufficient to teach us not to take the Archdeacon's Word in his Characteriſticks.

More fine ſpeaking.

The Parliament bully'd.

Coke, 223

Sir John Elliot.

Such Speeches and Meſſages as we have been repeating, cou'd not but ſet the Houſe in a Flame, and fill every honeſt *Engliſh* Heart with Indignation. The Houſe of Commons immediately reſolv'd themſelves into a *Grand Committee*, order'd the Doors to be lock'd, and all Proceedings to ceaſe. His Majeſty being inform'd of the great Exceptions taken at his laſt Speech, commanded the Duke of *Buckingham* to give Satisfaction at a Conference to be held between both Houſes, according to *Echard:* It is thus related by *Larrey*, " The Commons wou'd not forbear their Proſe- " cution, and all they cou'd be brought to ſhew " their Deference to the King, was to conſent that " *Buckingham* ſhou'd come by his Order to the " Parliament, which ſhou'd be extraordinarily aſ- " ſembled on that Account in the Painted-Cham- " ber, and there in Preſence of Lords and Com- " mons, give Account of his Adminiſtration and " of all his Employments. The Houſes met ac- " cordingly at the Place appointed, *Buckingham* " did not fail to be there, and appear'd with all " the Moderation and Humility of a Man before " his Superiors." We read in *Clarendon, He had a great Contempt for the Parliament.* " He thought to " carry his Point by this humble and moderate Car- " riage, and deliver'd a ſtudy'd Diſcourſe on all his " Actions and Negotiations as Ambaſſador and as " Admiral, *&c.*" He ſaid he did nothing in ſingle Counſels, excus'd his not going with the Fleet, his Maſter commanding him into the *Low-Countries* to treat with the Miniſters of *Denmark, Sweden*, and *Holland.* He gave a plauſible Turn to moſt of the Allegations againſt him, and expreſs'd himſelf at the Cloſe of the Speech, in the Manner which he thought wou'd be moſt effectual to take off the Edge of their Reſentment. " Join unani- " mouſly with your Sovereign to ſupport the Pro- " teſtant Religion, aſſiſt him to relieve Part of his " Family, perſecuted by the Houſe of *Auſtria* for " Religion's Sake; re-animate the firſt Ardor of " the *Engliſh* Nation for the Recovery of the " *Palatinate*, and haſte to eſtabliſh the King's Si- " ſter and his Nephews in their Eſtates and Dig- " nities." What muſt one have thought of the Lords and Commons of *England*, if they cou'd have been impos'd upon by his pretended Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, when they all knew very well that his Family were moſt of them rank Papiſts, and himſelf the greateſt Protector they ever had here ſince the *Reformation*? It is true, the People deſir'd nothing more paſſionately than that the Intereſts of the Royal Houſe of *Bohemia*, the Heir of which is our preſent gracious Sovereign, ſhou'd be vigorouſly ſupported; and the Duke's naming the Aſſiſtance of a Family who was ſo dear to them, had the greateſt Effect upon the two Houſes, but not ſufficient to put a Stop to the Proſecution. The Lord *Conway* ſpoke afterwards by his Majeſty's Command, and vouch'd for the Duke that whatever he had done was by Order: To anſwer the Charge of miſ-ſpending the publick Money, he gave an Eſtimate of the Expence of the Fleet and Army, the Succours ſent to Count *Manſfeldt*, and of the building ſeveral Forts in *England* and *Ireland*; but it was by no means ſatisfactory. The Commons being return'd to their Houſe, every Member in his Place made a Proteſtation, Whether he heard Mr. *Coke* ſpeak the Words charg'd upon him or not, and every one deny'd the hearing of them. They then drew up a Remonſtrance, which was preſented to the King, denying *thoſe Words ſaid to be ſpoken by Mr.* Coke, *excuſing Dr.* Turner, *and avowing their Proceedings againſt the Duke, or any other Subject*; praying the King not to give ear to officious *Reports* of private *Perſons for their own Ends.* They expected a preſent Anſwer, which, ſays *Echard*, poſſibly *might have had happy Effects*, if it had been a good one. Then *Buckingham* muſt have been puniſh'd, *Laud* diſgrac'd, *Mountague* ſilenc'd, evil Counſellors remov'd, the *Palatine* War carry'd on with Vigor, *Papiſts* proſecuted, *Puritans* reliev'd, Peace

P. 26.

A.D. 1626. have been reſtor'd to Church and State, and the Civil War have been prevented. Inſtead of a preſent Anſwer, the King ſaid he cou'd *give no preſent* one; and then the reverend Hiſtorian offers two Reaſons for it, which as they are jumbled together make but ordinary Work: *The King was either conſcious of his own Integrity and the Duke's Fidelity, or perfectly averſe to all Meaſures that might retard the War.* His Majeſty's *Integrity* to be yok'd with his Grace's Fidelity, under ſo heavy a Charge againſt him by the Houſe of Commons, is very extraordinary, as is that very wiſe Reflection of *retarding the War*; whereas the only Way to have the War proſecured, was to have deliver'd up the Duke to national Juſtice, and the Subſidies wou'd ſoon have been raiſed to carry it on

Houſe of Lords diſſatisfy'd.

Tho' the Lords had been thank'd by the King, yet it was not long before a Diſcontent appear'd alſo in that auguſt Aſſembly, who petition'd the King againſt the Precedency challeng'd by the *Scots* and *Iriſh* new made Peers, but had this cold Anſwer, *I will take Order therein.* They were alſo diſcontented at the Impriſonment of the Earl of *Arundel* in time of Parliament, for his Son's marrying the Duke of *Lenox*'s Siſter, whom his Majeſty had deſign'd for the Lord *Lorn.* The Earl of *Arundel* had five Proxies, which were loſt by his Impriſonment; and no Precedent was found of any Peer's having been committed in Seſſion of Parliament, except the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in *Edward* IIſt. Time. The Lords paſs'd a Vote againſt it, which was follow'd by a Remonſtrance and a Petition for the Releaſement of the Earl; but no Anſwer being given to it, they petition'd again, and the King expreſs'd his Diſlike of it: But after a Petition or two more, *Arundel* was releas'd with ſo much Reluctancy, that according to the Archdeacon, the *Favour was* rather deſpis'd than acknowledg'd. Thus was there ill Blood made in the Houſe of Lords as well as in the Houſe of Commons; and inſtead of giving way in the leaſt to the preſent Diſpoſition of the People, the King's Counſellors, *Villiers* and *Laud* were the chief, put him upon Counſels which added Fuel to the Fire they were kindling in the Nation. Mr. *Pym* Chairman of the Committee of Religion, reported a Letter to the Lord-Mayor of *York* for the Reprieve of ſome Jeſuits, Prieſts, and other Recuſants; which Letter was compar'd with the Original in the Signet-Office, and his Majeſty took Offence at their being *too inquiſitive after his Actions.* Now *Innocence* defies all Inquiſition, and is the better pleas'd the more it is enquir'd into, which makes one doubt whether *Echard*'s Coronation Robe was not of his own making. The Parliament juſtify'd the ſearching the Signet-Office, as warranted by Precedents on the like Occaſions.

Whitl.

Sand. 30.

Earl of Briſtol.

We have mention'd the Diſpleaſure of the Court againſt the Earl of *Briſtol*, who was not permitted to come to the laſt Parliament; and his Writ of Summons to this being detain'd, he petition'd the King that he might have it, as what had never been deny'd to any Peer: But the Lord *Conway* ſending him a dilatory Anſwer, the Earl petition'd the Houſe of Peers, and the Peers petition'd the King, that his Writ might be iſſu'd, which was done; but with a Letter from the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* to the Earl, ſignifying his Majeſty's Pleaſure that he ſhou'd forbear Attendance. How impolitick and irregular are their Proceedings? His Lordſhip not ſeeming ready to comply, the Keeper *Coventry*, for there was at this Time no Want of Inſtruments to ſet up the Prerogative againſt Privilege, inform'd the Lords that the King wou'd have the Earl ſent for as a Delinquent to anſwer Offences in *Spain* and ſince his Return. Sir *Robert Heath* Attorney-General exhibited eleven Articles againſt him, the other nine in a former Charge were left out. The Earl of *Briſtol* had given in Anſwer to thoſe Articles in King *James*'s Time without any Replication; and the charging him again with them now, was plainly to prevent his articling againſt *Buckingham*, as it was known he intended. One of the Articles againſt *Briſtol* was for intimidating King *James*, by magnifying the Power of *Spain* in writing thus to him, *If you love your Quiet, take heed how you attack ſuch a formidable Enemy; if you ſhou'd, there will be an End to your Pleaſure and Tranquility, and your innocent Diverſions, ſuch as Hunting and Feaſting will be interrupted.* A fine Letter this, to be written by one of the wiſeſt Miniſters of State to the very wiſeſt Monarch of the Age. The Earl was alſo accuſed of intriguing with *Spain* to introduce *Popery* into *England*, and ſolliciting King *James* to releaſe Jeſuits; of miſinforming the King with relation to the Marriage-Treaty; of ſaying, *He car'd not what the Succeſs of it wou'd be, he wou'd make his Fortune by it*; of occaſioning the Prince's perilous Journey to *Spain*; of perſuading the Prince to change his Religion, *&c.* This terrible Accuſation, tho' ſupported by the King's Name and Authority, did not ſurprize the Earl of *Briſtol*, depending either on his own Innocence or the Affection of the Parliament. Being brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, he ſpoke thus after the Articles againſt him had been read, *I am a Freeman, and a Peer untainted, and have ſomewhat to ſay of high Conſequence.* He was order'd to proceed: *Then,* ſaid he, *I accuſe that Man, the Duke of* Buckingham, *of* High-Treaſon, *and will prove it:* Accordingly he tender'd to the Houſe twelve Articles againſt him, and the Lords receiv'd them: The chief were, *That he had plotted with* Gondemar *to bring the Prince into* Spain *to change his Religion; that he frequented the* Popiſh *Service in* Spain, *and ador'd their Sacrament; that he had broken the Match out of his own particular Ends; that he had abus'd King* James *by a ſiniſter Relation of thoſe Affairs.* Out of both theſe Charges, 'tis probable one may pick ſome Truth, for the Earl and the Duke do both agree that there were Endeavours us'd to change the Prince's Religion, and that King *James* was abus'd with falſe Informations about the Treaty of Marriage; and it is more than probable the one was as guilty as the other; but the Duke's Guilt is apparent, according to *Larrey*, *Moſt of the Hiſtorians, as well* Proteſtants *as* Papiſts, *agree about the Duke of* Buckingham's *Popery*, excepting the Earl of *Clarendon*, who diſagrees with moſt Hiſtorians, and I am not the only Writer who has taken notice of it. Speaking of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s ingratiating himſelf with King *James*'s laſt Parliament, and his falling ſo ſoon into the Diſpleaſure of K. *Charles*'s two firſt Parliaments, he, or ſome body in his Name, ſays, *The Duke's Behaviour met with wonderful Applauſe; the Commons came to a haſty Reſolution to diſſuade the King from the Match, and frankly and reſolutely to enter into a War with* Spain; *towards the carrying on of which, they rais'd great Mountains of Promiſes, and prevailing in the firſt, never remember'd to make good the latter, which too often falls out in ſuch Counſels*; which is only in every Word untrue, tho' it is one of the Paſſages given us by the Author as Inſtances of ſober Hiſtory; but I will produce an hiſtorical Paſſage that ſeems to have much more Sobriety in it: *It is not to be wonder'd at, that the Parliament who was ſo active and ready to undertake a War for the Reſtitution of the* Palatinate *under King* James, *were now ſo unactive under King* Charles. *They had got better Knowledge of the Favourite's Deſigns, and wou'd not be his* Bubble *to raiſe Armies under the Pretence of that Reſtitution,* only to ſatisfy the *Vanity of an offended Miniſter.* That they gave *Mountains of Money* inſtead of *Mountains of Promiſes,* appears by the frequent Complaints in this King's two firſt Parliaments of its being waſted and miſſpent. The

A.D. 1626.

Larr. 59.

His Articles againſt Buckingham

Clarendon

Larrey, 71

Irregularities.

A.D.1626. *Lord* Conway *articled againſt.*

The Earl of *Briſtol* exhibited Articles alſo againſt Secretary *Conway* as the Duke's Creature, and unfit to be one of his Judges. The Lords wou'd not commit the Earl, nor wou'd they permit his Cauſe to be mov'd into the *King's-Bench*, as his Majeſty wou'd have had it. They order'd that the Articles exhibited againſt him ſhou'd not hinder his Teſtimony againſt the Duke. The Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Sheffield*, and the Lord *Say*, were moſt zealous in the Proſecution of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and a few Days after the Earl of *Briſtol* deliver'd in his Anſwer to the Charge againſt him, introducing it with a Speech to clear two Objections, his ill Affection to the Proteſtant Religion, and his good Affection to *Spain*. He produc'd ſeveral Letters of Thanks for his Care in the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*, and anſwer'd punctually every Article touching the Match with *Spain*, producing the Declaration for Privilege to *Roman Catholicks*, which was little leſs than a Toleration. He laid great Blame on the Adviſer of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*, and ſet forth how induſtrious he had been to hinder the Duke's perſwading the Prince to change his Religion. He owns he had in Diſcourſe given his Opinion for marrying the Elector *Palatine*'s Son with the Emperor's Daughter; ſo that the Son, if he were bred in the Emperor's Court, might have Proteſtant Tutors, and Freedom of Religion for himſelf and Family. He declar'd he intended nothing but Honour and Service to the King, and humbly ſubmitted all to their Lordſhips Judgment. The Houſe of Peers ſeem'd to be mov'd with his Speech, and ſatisfy'd of his Innocence; and the Charge brought againſt him with ſo much Heat vaniſh'd and appear'd no more, tho' the Attorney-General pray'd the Lords to give more Credit to the Evidence of the King in favour of the Duke than to the paſſionate Accuſation of the Earl. The Commons proceeded againſt *Buckingham* as far as an Impeachment, which was ſent up to the Lords by eight of their Members. Sir *Dudley Diggs* introduc'd it with an eloquent Speech, comparing *England* to *the World, the Commons to the Earth and Sea, the King to the Sun, the Lords to the Planets, the Clergy to the Fire, the Judges and Magiſtrates to the Air, the Duke of* Buckingham *to a blazing Star*. The Impeachment was founded on Dr. *Turner*'s ſix Queries; to which was added a new Article, that of the *Plaiſter* apply'd to King *James*'s Side or Belly in ſo ſuſpicious a manner, which occaſion'd ſuch Symptoms, that a great many People, and the King himſelf, ſays *Larrey*, ſuſpected it was Poiſon. We read in *Lilly*, "That King *James* was really and abſolutely poiſon'd by a Plaiſter apply'd by *Buckingham*'s Mother to that King's Stomach, as was evidently prov'd before a Committee; and even the moſt ſober of the King's Friends held him very much overſeen to deny a *Parliament* Juſtice in matter of *Poiſon*, the Party poiſon'd being his Father". Sir *John Elliot* ſpoke laſt, and recapitulated the Heads of the Charge, comparing *Buckingham* to *Sejanus*; for after the Example of that baſe Flatterer, he ſtil'd himſelf the *Companion of his Maſter's Labours*, while he uſurp'd the ſovereign Authority, and ſully'd its Glory. As his Crime was the ſame, ſo he did not fail to wiſh him the ſame Puniſhment. *It was wonder'd by many*, according to *Echard*, *that conſidering the Duke's Power and Influence, greater Offences were not objected againſt him*: By which it appears, that with ſuch Men as the Hiſtorian, the engroſſing of Offices, employing unfit Perſons becauſe related or ally'd to him, neglecting his Duty as Lord High-Admiral and Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports, the plundering of 20000 Pounds out of a *French* Ship, the extorting 10000 Pounds from the *Eaſt-India* Company, the delivering up ſeven Ships to the *French* for the Deſtruction of the reform'd Religion in *France*, the putting off Offices, Honours, and even Biſhopricks to Sale, the patronizing *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits is nothing, and deſerv'd not the Pains the Commons took to bring him to account for it. As ſoon as Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot* had done ſpeaking, they were beckon'd by two Gentlemen to come out of the Houſe of Lords, and going to them, found them to be two Gentlemen of the King's Chamber, who had two Warrants to carry *Elliot* and *Diggs* to the *Tower*, contrary to the Opinion of the Judges, that *their Reſtraint was an Arreſt of the whole Body*. The Archdeacon inſerts a Letter written, as he pretends, by an eminent Hand to the King concerning the Duke's Impeachment; which being as compleat a Piece of Sophiſtry as any in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, or his own Hiſtory, I ſhall in part repeat; *No Favourite was ever call'd to Account but it was follow'd by Rebellion*; witneſs the Earl of *Somerſet in the laſt Reign*, the Earl of *Eſſex* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s, &c. *Richard* II. *Henry* VI. and *Edward* VI. *were deſtroyed by it*. Excellent Hiſtory! *Leiceſter, Hatton*, and *Raleigh* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time were worſe than the Duke. This is their way of talking; they aſſert poſitively without any Proof, and if that will not paſs for Argument they have no other. *No Lawyer durſt ſpeak againſt them*; *if you decourt* Buckingham, *the Monarchy will fall with him*; but *Felton* cut his Throat and the Monarchy remain'd as it was, till *Laud* and his Brethren had fill'd up the Meaſure of the Iniquities of theſe Times. *If the Parliament prevail in him, they will make Privy Counſellors, Lord-Stewards, and Lord-Chamberlains*, How he conjures! *Ambaſſadors, Auditors*, &c. *The Truth of theſe wonderful Predictions afterwards appear'd in the Event*. But there was another Paper which probably the Archdeacon never heard of, left on the King's Table, and it is a much more wonderful one, tho' there is no Spirit of Prophecy in it; *The principal Actors in this Scene are Papiſts or Puritans*; *the Papiſts hate the Duke for breaking the Match with the Infanta*; *the* Puritans, *becauſe he*, being ſuch an admirable Divine, *looks upon them as Sectaries*; *the reſt are Bankrupts, Debauchees, Republicans, and the like*; which appearing ſo evidently by the Names of the Duke's Proſecutors, 'tis pity the reverend Author had not honour'd his Hiſtory with this Letter alſo.

A.D.1626.

Members of Parliament impriſon'd.

Sanderſ.

Impeachment of the Duke of Bucks.

K James *poiſon'd.*

Larrey, 78

The King went to the Houſe of Lords, and complain'd bitterly of the Commons for their Want of Reſpect to him in accuſing as a Delinquent a Peer of the Realm honour'd with his Truſt, and for whoſe Innocence his own Honour and Conſcience oblig'd him to give Teſtimony; but the Commons ſent Sir *Nathaniel Rich* with a Meſſage to the Lords, deſiring the Duke might be committed, which the Lords did not think fit to do; and the Commons growing ſtill more warm, turn'd themſelves into a grand Committee, lock'd up their Doors, and reſolv'd to proceed no further till they were righted in their Privileges. Sir *Dudley Charlton* in vain endeavour'd to allay this Heat, by blaming Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*. Sir *Dudley* deny'd he ſpoke the Words that gave the Offence, and was releas'd; ſo alſo was Sir *John Elliot*, who inſtead of denying his Speech, juſtify'd the Paſſages objected againſt him, and the Houſe paſs'd a Vote in Juſtification of him, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and all the other Members who manag'd the Impeachment; and to ſhew their ſtrict Regard to Juſtice, committed Mr. *Moore*, another of their Members, for ſpeaking Words reflecting on the King.

Cambridge

'Tis worth obſerving that Mr. *Echard* applauds the Wiſdom and Diſcretion of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in chuſing the Duke of *Buckingham* their Chancellor at this very Juncture, when the Parliament was proſecuting him as the greateſt Enemy to the Rights and Liberties of the People. *Fuller* ſays, a grand Party there *unſought, unſent, unſu'd*, according

*A.D.*1626. according to his usual Jingling, gave their Suffrages for *Thomas* Earl of *Berkshire*, second Son to their late Chancellor, *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, and that the Duke carry'd it by very few Voices. The Parliament intended to write to the University about it, but the King wou'd not let them; on the contrary he wrote himself to *Cambridge*, and applauded the new Election, because, as the Archdeacon observes, *it shew'd their Dislike to the Commons*. A few Days after the Duke deliver'd in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment, which he introduc'd with a very handsome artful Speech to the Lords; *That his Accuser*, Common Fame, *was too subtle, and the House of Commons too great for him to contest with all, but he doubted not in time it wou'd be found that* Common Fame *had abus'd them both. Echard* assures us, *the Duke's Answer was a kind of* new Grievance. When these Men pretend to Wit, 'tis as awkard as the Ass's setting up for a Fop. *His Adversaries* expected a Defence *of a more disdainful Nature, but there appear'd a* Water-Spout *on the* Thames, *which making a furious Assault on the Duke's House*, gave these Adversaries a Handle to have it pass for portentous among the Vulgar, especially when at the same time a great Part of the Church-yard Wall of St. *Andrew's Holborn* fell down, several Graves were laid open, and Coffins tumbled into the midst of the Street, in a Storm of Hail, Rain, and Thunder, which some said was rais'd by Dr. *Lamb* a *Wizard* and *Quack*, whom the Duke employ'd and protected. The King sent to the Parliament to quicken them in the Matter of Subsidies, and the Parliament petition'd about Recusants, naming those in Places of Trust, and praying they may be remov'd. They also presented an Address by their Speaker, professing their Affection and Loyalty, and desiring his Majesty *not to permit the Duke to have any more Access to him.* To which the King return'd no Answer. A very likely way to get Subsidies! and the Commons foreseeing they should not sit long unless they wou'd give Money and forgive the Duke, agreed upon a Remonstrance against him, and against taking *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, tho' not granted by Act of Parliament. This hasten'd the Dissolution, tho' the Lords drew up a Petition to the King not to dissolve them, expressing themselves very dutifully and affectionately, "We are your Ma-
"jesty's Hereditary Great Council: Permit us
"then to represent the Evils we foresee both at
"home at abroad, that must be the Consequence
"of dissolving this Parliament. Your Glory and
"the Happiness of your Subjects consist in a hap-
"py Union between them and your Majesty.
"This is the greatest Security of your Majesty's
"Authority and their Love. By this way alone
"your Majesty will obtain what you desire, and
"you will possess the Riches with the Hearts of
"the Nation. Their Treasure will be always o-
"pen in a Parliamentary Way: But every thing is
"to be apprehended from a Dissolution, that will
"break all those sacred Ties; which we most hum-
"bly beg your Majesty to reflect on seriously".

Remonstrance against Tonnage, Poundage, and Buckingham.

Larrey. *King's ill Conduct.*

The Earls of *Manchester*, *Carlisle* and *Holland* were deputed to deliver this Petition to the King; but he answer'd only, *I am determin'd, and will hear nothing to the contrary. Echard* says *the Petition was never deliver'd. Villiers* and *Laud* were his chief Counsellors; and what they deserv'd for shutting his Ears against such wholsome Counsel as the Lords gave him, let the Reader determine. This is that *Opiniatreté* which was the distinguishing Character of King *Charles* I. and which is a sure Sign of Want of good Sense and good Nature. *Lilly* the *Astrologer* tells us, "The old *Scotish* La-
"dy his Nurse was us'd to affirm, that he was of
"a very evil Nature even in his Infancy; and
"the Lady, who afterwards took charge of him,
"cannot deny it, but that he was beyond mea-
"sure wilful and unthankful"; which, as well as *A.D.*1626. some other Particulars I shou'd not have quoted after the Astrologer, for whose Science I have a hearty Contempt, did they not agree with the Facts in other Histories. All the Counsel *Laud* and *Villiers* gave him render'd his Government daily more and more unpopular; and what must be the winding up of such a Bottom was not hard to foresee.

Parliament dissolv'd.

On the 15th of *June*, this *great, warm,* and *ruffling* Parliament, as *Whitlock* calls them, was dissolv'd by Commission; and the same Day the Earl of *Bristol* was imprison'd, and the Earl of *Arundel* confin'd, that nothing might be omitted to increase the Aversion the People had to the Ministry. There is no Gloss in *Clarendon* for this Rashness and Obstinacy. "The Course of ex-
"empting Men from Prosecution, *says my Author*,
"by dissolving of Parliaments, made the Power
"of Parliaments much more formidable; as con-
"ceiv'd to be without Limit, since the Sovereign
"Power seem'd to be compell'd (as unable other-
"wise to set Bounds to their Proceedings) to that
"Cure, and to determine their Being, because it
"cou'd not determine their Jurisdiction". An Anonymous Historian tells us the Parliament had their Proofs ready against *Buckingham*. The Commons Remonstrance against the Duke, which they had not time to deliver, was printed and dispers'd. He was charg'd in it with being the Author of all the Misunderstandings between the King and his People, and of almost all the Grievances they complain'd of. The King publish'd a Declaration containing the Grounds and Causes for dissolving this and the former Parliament, and a Proclamation for suppressing the Parliament's Remonstrance; which must be own'd to be the shortest way of answering it. The Parliament said in their Remonstrance, "How can we suffer a Man so dan-
"gerous and ill designing in the Administration,
"to enjoy the chief Offices of the State? How
"can we grant Subsidies to your Majesty, which
"must pass thro' his Hands, and which he will
"employ to ruin our Liberties and Religion? Is
"it not he that has put your Majesty on levying
"Tonnage and Poundage, which were granted to
"the late King only during his Life, and which
"cannot be rais'd after his Death without a new
"Bill? We cannot look on these pernicious Coun-
"sellors but with Horror, who engage your Ma-
"jesty in such Measures, as a good King, such as
"your Majesty, ought not to take. We repeat
"it, That we look on the pernicious Counsellors
"as *Vipers*, as *publick Plagues, and as capital Ene-*
"*mies to the King and People*". Bishop *Laud* was one of the Chiefs of the Council, *fatal*, say they, *to both*. The *Remonstrance* again: "The King
"cannot exact Contributions but in a Parliamen-
"tary Way, nor the Parliament see their Pri-
"vileges violated witho it complaining and Mur-
"murs. Your Majesty promised that there shou'd
"be no Occasion for such Complaints: How
"comes it that one of your Ministers has the
"Power to make you break so solemn an En-
"gagement? Remove so dangerous an Enemy
"from your Court and Person. Free us from
"our just Fears, and then your Majesty shall
"find us ready to give such Supplies, as can be
"expected from a People to a King who is infi-
"nitely belov'd; and we are ready to sacrifice our
"Lives and Estates to make you the most power-
"ful Prince that ever sate on the Throne of *Eng-*
"*land*, and are uneasy only for our Liberties and
"Religion". The Archdeacon has learnt of the Author of *Clarendon*'s History to sink such Papers as he does not like, or so to curtail them that the Spirit of them is lost. Thus we have only a word or two of this Remonstrance, of which his Majesty in his Declaration after the Dissolution of the Parliament, says a thing extremely unbecoming the

Printed by Reybold.

Larr. 83. *Remonstr. against* Buck.

A.D.1626. Royal Dignity; *The Duke is only odious to the Parliament, becauſe he ſerv'd the late King and myſelf faithfully.* The contrary to this was known to every Mortal that read this Declaration. The Lord *Clarendon*, if he was the Hiſtorian, ſays, *He engag'd his old unwilling Maſter and the Kingdom in a War with* Spain; *not to mention the bold Journey thither on the Breach of the Match, in a Time when the Crown was ſo poor; and this only upon perſonal Animoſities between him and the Duke of* Olivarez, *&c.* Was this ſerving the late King faithfully? *Clarendon* again: The Duke took great Pains to leſſen the *King's Affection to his Wife.* Was this to ſerve him himſelf faithfully? I cou'd fill many Pages with Inſtances directly oppoſite to that Aſſertion; but theſe are, I think, ſufficient to give one a juſt Notion of the Integrity as well as the Senſe of that Declaration, where indeed it was not forgotten to extol *his ſupreme, immediate and independent Authority of Calling, Adjourning, Proroguing and Diſſolving the Parliament.* What has all this to do with ſcreening a Criminal from Juſtice, and with taking Tonnage and Poundage againſt Law? *The Right of my Prerogative is inſeparable from the Crown, and for which I am bound to give an Account to none but God my only ſuperior.* And was not the People's Money as much their Right? And if he took it from them illegally, as he did, tho' there was to be a ſevere Account given of it at the laſt Judgment, yet it was the People's Right inſeparable from their Birth, to keep what was their own, and to hinder his taking it from them againſt Law if they cou'd.

Larr. 84. P. 35. P. 39.

Weak Management.

His Majeſty caus'd an Information to be preferr'd in the *Star-Chamber* againſt the Duke of *Buckingham* for the ſame Matters contain'd in the Articles of Impeachment. To which the Duke put in his Anſwer; but it came not to a Hearing; and was itſelf a Farce that only expos'd the Actors to Contempt and Laughter, every body ſeeing the vain Artifice to evade Juſtice.

Illegal Taxes.

Several other illegal Ways beſides that of Tonnage and Poundage were made uſe of to extort Money from the People; as a *free Gift. By this means*, ſays *Larrey*, *to give new Grounds of Complaint, and to transfer the Nation's Hatred of the Favourite to the King. Knighthood*, an old, obſolete, nonſenſical Project, attended with Circumſtances that render'd the Grievance as monſtrous as it was oppreſſive. The King at his *Coronation* ſet forth a Proclamation containing, That in regard of the Infection then ſpreading thro' the Kingdom, he wou'd diſpenſe with thoſe Knights, who by an ancient Statute were to attend at that Solemnity; and they were thereby requir'd not to attend. However, within a few Months after he took Advantage of their Abſence, and rais'd a vaſt Sum of Money out of their Eſtates at the Council-Table; where they pleading the ſaid Proclamation for their Juſtification were anſwer'd, *The Law of the Land is above any Proclamation.* Like *that Tyrant*, ſays Coke, *who when he cou'd not by Law execute a Virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd, and then put to Death.* Another ſays of it, *He ſet up the Project of* Knighthood, *and call'd to account all Gentlemen and others that attended not his Coronation, tho' he had before forbidden their Attendance by Proclamation.* Thoſe two impartial Hiſtorians Mr. *Echard* and the Author of *the Hiſtory of the Rebellion* have not the leaſt Hint of this Proclamation, but *inſiſt upon the Foundation it had in Right*, a ſhame to the Lawyer who ſaid it, that becauſe 15 *l.* a Year made a Man liable to a Knight's Tax, when 15 *l.* a Year was as much as 150 at the Time when Knighthood was reviv'd; therefore every Man of 40 *l.* a Year ſhou'd pay it, when 40 *l* was no more than 4 *l.* in *Edward* the Second's Time, when that romantick Tax was rated at 15 *l.* a Year. Loans and other lawleſs Ways and Means to pick the People's Pockets were thought of; *Projects very grievous, unjuſt, ridiculous and ſcandalous were ſet on foot*, as we read in *Clarendon*; for there is a Force in Truth which will ſometimes oblige even its Enemies to confeſs it.

Cook's *Appeal.* *Knighthood.* *Illegal Taxes.* P. 67.

A.D.1626.

There was hardly any thing talk'd of, but the Parliament's *Remonſtrance* and the King's *Declaration.* The major Vote was apparently on the Side of the *Remonſtrance*, which ſunk deeply into the Minds of the aggrieved People; but the King's *Declaration* ſhew'd only that the Court rather thought ſomething ſhou'd be ſaid, than really that they had any thing to ſay againſt it.

Loan.

The Loan was regulated by the Sum the Parliament had voted for Subſidies and Fifteenths; as if the King exacted no more than the Houſe of Commons had given him, tho' indeed they had given him nothing. His Majeſty promis'd to call another Parliament as ſoon as his Affairs wou'd permit him, to make good the Subſidies which he anticipated by the Loan. The Peers offer'd their Contributions readily, and the *Papiſts* offer'd double; but the Court underſtanding on what Conditions, did not think proper to revoke the Penal Laws, and give new Umbrage to the Proteſtants for ſo poor a Conſideration as 10 or 20000 *l.* to which their double Payment might at that time amount. Archdeacon *Echard* owns that *Laud* undertook to juſtify the levying of this illegal Impoſition; and drew up Inſtructions which were ſent to the two Archbiſhops to be diſpers'd among the inferior Clergy, and to be publiſh'd in all Pariſhes. He adds, *There were plauſible Reaſons for raiſing this Money* without Act of Parliament; which is Nonſenſe. There cannot be a plauſible Reaſon for acting contrary to Law. The Subſidies might have been levy'd regularly, if the Court wou'd have let the Parliament have proceeded regularly againſt *Buckingham.* The Wiſdom of this Miniſtry appears farther in *Echard's* Account of the Loan. "The Reluctance of private Perſons to "pay it made the Government moſt ſevere in the "Execution of the Project; and the Severity "made the People more averſe to it. So that the "Steps taken to promote the Deſign caus'd it to "have leſs Succeſs, and to appear more odious". But then he takes upon him to inſinuate, that without this illegal Tax they had hazarded the Loſs of all their Eſtates; and proceeds, *The Clergy were earneſtly excited from above to promote and advance this Deſign*, in which they labour'd very heartily.

P. 430.

Clergy, the bad and the good.

The Reader is deſir'd to underſtand always when we ſpeak of *Clergy* on theſe Occaſions, ſuch Clergymen as *Neile, Wren, Mountague, Coſins, Manwaring, Sibthorp*, and all under the Influence of *Laud*; that the ſincere Proteſtants of the true Church of *England*, ſuch as *Moreton, Carlton, Davenant, Uſher, Browrig, Hall, Featly, Prideaux, Oldſworth, Shute, Udal, Ward, Gouge, Sibs*, and a great Number of pious, learned Divines, always bore their Teſtimony againſt *Laud's* Innovations in Church and State; and it ought to be remember'd to the Honour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, that *great Diſcontents grew there*, to uſe Dr. *Fuller's* Words, *for the multiplying Innovations in Divine Service*; which I remark here, that the Reader may diſtinguiſh ſuch Divines as *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring* from true Church of *England* Miniſters, who in all times ſince our Church was *reform'd* have been the Support and Ornament of the Reformation. It is to *Laud* only and his Creatures that muſt be imputed the ſpiritual and temporal Grievances of this Reign; and we never mean any other Clergy, when we ſpeak of the Miſchiefs and Miſeries they were the Occaſion of.

Clergy preach up arbitrary Power.

Sibthorp and *Manwaring* undertook to prove out of Scripture, *that the King might impoſe publick Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, and that the People were bound in Conſcience to obey his Will and Pleaſure.* This Doctrine was preach'd by *Sibthorp* in an Aſſize Sermon at *Northampton*. He

Sibthorp's Sermon.

*A.D.*1626. publiſh'd it under the Title of *Apoſtolick Obedience*, and dedicated it to the King, whoſe Royal Diſpoſition to arbitrary deſpotick Power he muſt ſure'y be well acquainted with, or he durſt not have been ſo impudent as to have prefix'd his Majeſty's Name to it. *Manwaring* preach'd two Sermons to the ſame purpoſe before the King and Court with great Applauſe. He alſo publiſh'd them under the Title of, *Religion and Allegiance*. Let us therefore ſee what the *Allegiance* and *Religion* of *Laud*'an Clergy are made of. *The King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties.* His Majeſty being thus abſolv'd for breaking the Coronation Oath, it is ſaid farther, *His Royal Will in impoſing Taxes without Conſent of Parliament binds the Subjects Conſcience on Pain of Damnation.* As impious as this Doctrine is, 'tis every whit as falſe. But there wou'd be no Terror in his impotent Threat, and his Brethren might have preach'd to Eternity without bringing a Penny into the *Exchequer*, if the Writs to the Sheriff and the Sheriffs Myrmidons had not plunder'd the People by that pretended Authority. *Thoſe who refuſe to pay the Loan offend God.* Wretched Sycophant. Thoſe who refuſe to do things contrary to Law are guilty of Sin: They *offend God*, there's their *Religion*; *and the King's ſupreme Authority*, there's their *Allegiance, and become guilty of Impiety, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion.* For this wonderful Preachment, and being puniſh'd for it, *Manwaring*, ſenſeleſs and worthleſs as he was, got a good Biſhoprick, tho' *Echard* himſelf confeſſes, *Manwaring*'s and *Sibthorp*'s Sermons *occaſion'd ſome hard Reflections upon the Clergy in general, when in ſo large a Body only two were found to run into ſuch Extremes.* There needs no Authority to prove this ſo barefac'd a Falſity, *only two* who preach'd up arbitrary Power. The thing ſpeaks itſelf. General *Ludlow* tells us, *This was not the only Work of which the Clergy were judg'd capable, and therefore divers of them enter'd the Liſts as Champions of the Prerogative, aſſerting that the Poſſeſſions and Eſtates of the Subjects did of Right belong to the King, and that he might diſpoſe of them at his Pleaſure; thereby vacating and annulling as much as in them lay all the Laws of* England that ſecure a Property to the People. Not a Syllable of this in *Clarendon* or *Echard*. It was then as in our Days: Thoſe evil Counſellors who betray'd the People's Liberties generally made uſe of the meaneſt, moſt ignorant, and moſt immoral of the Clergy to carry on their Deſign. They cou'd not make Tools of the Pious, Learned, and Wiſe. *A. Wood* acknowledges *Sibthorp* was a *Perſon of little Learning and few Parts; only made it his Endeavour by his Forwardneſs to gain Preferment.* Such a one was *Sacheverel* in our Days; and ſuch will all thoſe Clergy be, who turn *Religion* and *Allegiance* into *Superſtition* and *Slavery*. All their Preaching did not reconcile the People to the *Loan*. They may ſometimes be preach'd out of their Opinoins, but ſeldom or never out of their Money, when the Law is on their Side. The Deputy Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace in *Dorſetſhire* ſaid the *Caſe was without Precedent.* The ſame ſaid the Citizens of *London*. But the Privy-Council told *them Precedents in former Time was Obedience, and not Direction.* All falſe again and ſophiſtical. There were no Precedents of Obedience contrary to Law without Objection, which theſe ſage Counſellors, and *Laud* among the reſt, call Direction. Some of the Perſons who refus'd the Loan were preſs'd for Seamen, ſome for Soldiers, and the Country Gentlemen were thrown into Priſon in Counties diſtant from their Seats, particularly Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *John Hotham*, *George Ratcliffe*, Eſq; Sir *William Conſtable*, *Yorkſhire*; Sir *John Wray*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *Thomas Grantham*, Sir *Edward Ayſcough*, *Lincolnſhire*; Sir *William Wilmer*, Sir *Eraſmus Dryden*, *Richard Knightley*, Eſq; *Northamptonſhire*; Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Strangways*, *John Tregonwell*, Eſq; *Dorſetſhire*; Sir *John Heveningham*, Sir *Samuel Barnardſton*, *Suffolk*; Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Sir *Francis Barrington*, *Eſſex*; Sir *Robert Poyntz*, *Henry Powle*, Eſq; *Glouceſterſhire*; *John Hampden*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Hampden*, *Buckinghamſhire*; Sir *Maurice Berkley*, *Somerſetſhire*; Sir *John Corbet*, *Shropſhire*; Sir *William Chauncey*, *Richard Anderſon*, Eſq; *Hertfordſhire*; *Peter Dalton*, Eſq; *Cheſhire*. Sir *Beauchamp St. John*, *Bedfordſhire*; Sir *John Elliot*, *William Coriton*, Eſq; *Cornwall*; Sir *Thomas Darnel*, Mr. *Norwood*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, *Kent*; and others, Knights of Shires, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament. This is another of thoſe popular Steps which diſtinguiſh K. *Charles*'s Reign from all others The Archdeacon tells us, *The Gentlemen were branded as Puritans, while the Papiſts, who were moſt liberal in the Loan, were careſs'd by the Courtiers, which ſtill added to the popular Diſguſts*; yet he is afterwards amaz'd how Diſguſts heap'd upon Diſguſts ſhou'd turn Diſcontent into Indignation, and Indignation into the worſt Sort of Action *Civil War*.

*A.D.*1626.

Ech. 630.

Manwaring's *againſt the Laws.*

P. 5.

Whitl. 7.

Beſides the *Loan* there was a *Benevolence* requir'd: Another Way of *forcing* People to give a *free Gift*. Commiſſions were iſſu'd for *Muſters*, *martial Law* was executed, and the Inhabitants of the Sea Coaſts were commanded to repair to, and dwell upon their Eſtates. Soldiers were billeted, and great Outrages committed by them. Sir *Randolph Crew*, a very worthy Magiſtrate, was remov'd from the High Office of Lord Chief Juſtice; and Sir *Nicholas Hyde*, whoſe greateſt Merit was his drawing the Duke's Anſwer, had his Place given him. To crown all theſe ungrateful Meaſures, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber* for ſpeaking againſt the Loan. *Laud* was promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*, and ſoon after to the Deanery of the Royal Chapel, for *his Services*, ſays *Echard*; but has not one Piece of real Service to remember. It muſt be for theſe Services, or the ſake of the good Company he was in, that the venerable Body of Doctors at *Cambridge* treated him with Splendor, he being then attending the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe Services too had made him too powerful for the Parliament. The judicious *Fuller* informs us, the Duke preſented the *Beadles* with fine ſilver Staves having the King's Arms engrav'd upon them, not forgetting his own, for the greater Honour of the Eſquire Beadles and the Univerſity.

Benevolence.

Illegal Taxes and arbitrary Proceedings.

With the Money rais'd by the *Loan* and *Benevolence*, a Squadron of Ships was ſent to the *Elbe* to ſecure the Commerce of the *Engliſh* trading to *Hamburgh*; but we do not hear how it came to be interrupted.

*A.D.*1627.

The main Fleet was fitted out at *Portſmouth*. 'Twas ſaid to be deſign'd againſt the *Algerines*, but it was really intended againſt *France*, and for one of the moſt unaccountable Wars that ever a Prince enter'd into, conſidering that neither King *Charles* nor the Duke cou'd have the leaſt Concern for the Safety of *Rochelle*, a City they had lent the *French* King Ships to reduce a Year before; tho' now Satisfaction was demanded for employing them in that Service, and for the Capture of *Engliſh* Merchant Ships to the Value of 30000 *l.* tho' the Duke of *Buckingham* was himſelf the Aggreſſor by ſeizing the St. *Peter* of *New Haven*, and taking 20000 *l.* out of her in Jewels and other rich Commodities.

The Fleet againſt France.

The Reſentment on the *French* King's Part was for diſmiſſing the Queen's *French* Servants, whoſe Inſolence was become intolerable. The King told them himſelf *he wou'd bear it no longer, and they muſt be gone*. Her Majeſty's Prieſts had been ſo bold, as to enjoin her *in Penance to walk barefoot to* Tyburn *to pay her Devotions*, where ſo many *Popiſh* Prieſts had receiv'd *Martyrdom* and *Saintſhip*, for plotting againſt the Religion and Laws of

A.D.1627. their Country. The Biſhop of *Mende*, and Madam *de St. Gieorge*, who were the greateſt Offenders, began to make Apologies, but the King turn'd ſhort upon them, ſaying, *I name none, but I tell you my Reſolution.* The Queen fell into a furious Paſſion, *and flew into great Indecencies in Words and Actions*, upbraiding him with want of Love, which he endeavour'd to diſprove by the ſofteſt and moſt ſoothing Expreſſions; but failing in that, he had Recourſe to his Authority, ſaying, *Be ſatisfied, it muſt be ſo.* About one hundred and twenty of theſe *French* Domeſticks were ſent back to *France*, after they had been paid their Wages and Penſions to the full. The Lord *Carlton* was diſpatch'd to *Paris*, to notify this Action, and explain the Cauſes of it; but it was too great a Diſgrace to a Daughter of *France*, to be put up without ſome Shew of Reſentment. The *French* Court ſaid the Marriage Articles were violated, and Orders were given to confiſcate all *Engliſh* Ships in the Ports of *France*. This Broil was the chief Pretence of the War, and truly 'tis a kind of Riddle which wants Interpretation, that *Buckingham* ſhou'd begin a War at one end of *France* to ſee his Miſtreſs at another, as was inſinuated; or that ſo good a Friend to Popery, ſhou'd be concern'd for the Safety of Proteſtants. It was not only talk'd in *England*, that *Buckingham*'s chief Deſign in the *French* War was to mortify *Richlieu* his more happy Rival, at leaſt as he imagin'd, and ſee his Miſtreſs the Queen of *France*: It was alſo the Talk in *France*, and even in the Court, where the Dutcheſs *de Chevreuſe* did not ſtick to ſpeak of his Fleet and Forces with Joy, and the Queen herſelf did the ſame among her Confidents. Madam *de Motteville* tells us, *nothing was more grateful to her and the Dutcheſs* de Chevreuſe, *who was in Love with the Earl of* Holland. *Her Majeſty took Pleaſure in hearing the Wiſhes of the Dutcheſs for the Proſperity of the* Engliſh.

Whitl. p. 8.

Buckingham's Paſſion for the French Queen.

Some Months before this the Queen of *England* began *to be out of Conceit with her Husband*, whoſe ſullen Temper was not at all ſuitable to her Gaiety. *Buckingham* heighten'd her Diſguſt into an Averſion, by telling her frankly, *that if he pleas'd he cou'd ſet them together by the Ears*; and he did it to ſuch a Degree as to make her grow melancholy, and long to return to *France*. In order to which ſhe endeavour'd to gain *Buckingham*, knowing what a paſſionate Deſire he had to renew his Viſits to Queen *Anne* of *Auſtria*. He came into it with Eagerneſs, and did her ſo great Service, as to obtain Leave for her from the King her Husband, on Condition ſhe procur'd Leave for *Buckingham* from the Court of *France* to accompany her. She wrote ſo to her Mother *Mary de Medicis*; but neither that Princeſs, nor the King her Brother, wou'd conſent to it. *Buckingham*'s Pretence was to compoſe the Difference between the two Crowns by Treaty; and being deny'd in that Propoſition, he in Revenge put the King upon this War, which ſeems to be pretty near the Truth. Be it as it will, he got a Fleet and Army together, and came before *Rochelle* with 100 Sail of Ships about the middle of *July*; but the *Rochellers*, as much in Diſtreſs as they were, had not ſuch a good Opinion of the Duke's Friendſhip towards them, as to put themſelves immediately into his Hands, and told Sir *William Beecher*, the Duke's Meſſenger, they were bound by Oath not *to do any Thing without the Conſent of the reſt of the Religion*. *Buckingham* began his Expedition with a Memorial in his own Name, not his Maſter's; wherein he took Notice of the *French* King's refuſing Paſſage to Count *Manſvelde*'s Army beforemention'd; which Affront had been born with two or three Years, and the Ships to reduce *Rochelle* were lent ſince that; ſo abſurd was the Cauſe as well as Courſe of this War.

Mott. *Mem.* 17.

Iſle of Rhe

The Duke *de Sobiez* Brother to the Duke *de Rohan*, being aboard the *Engliſh* Fleet, adviſ'd *Buckingham* to land the Army in the Iſle of *Oleron*, as an Enterprize more feaſible than that of the Iſle of *Rhe*, which was ſtronger and better provided. This was agreed upon, but *Sobiez* was no ſooner gone to his Friends in *Rochelle*, than *Buckingham* alter'd his Reſolution, and ſail'd to the Iſle of *Rhe*, where he landed 1200 Men about the firſt of *Auguſt*. The *French* encounter'd them, but were repuls'd, and the whole Army came ſafe aſhore. *Toiras* Governor of the Iſland had five Batallions of Foot, and ſix Squadrons of Horſe to oppoſe *Buckingham*'s landing; but the Fire of his Cannon drove away the *French*, and the *Engliſh* landed with little or no Loſs. *Larrey* thinks if the Duke had attack'd the Fort and Citadal immediately, while the *French* were in Conſternation, he might have made himſelf Maſter of both; but inſtead of uſing that Diligence, he ſpent his Time in making Lines about his Camp, and gave the Enemy an Opportunity to finiſh their Works, and put them out of Danger. Some Days after he beſieg'd the Citadel in Form, and finding a greater Reſiſtance than he expected, he endeavour'd to reduce it by ſtarving the Garriſon; but Relief arriving from the Continent, 8000 Men commanded by Mareſchal *Schomberg*, the Duke after a brave tho' unfortunate Aſſault on the Citadel, rais'd the Siege, and in his Retreat was purſu'd by the *French* now ſuperior to him in Numbers. The Garriſon of Fort *le Prie* attack'd the *Engliſh* in their Rear, and routed them in a narrow Lane or Cauſey. The Horſe fell in upon the Foot, who tumbled into the Salt-Pits and periſh'd, or in the Ditches on both Sides. Coming to a Bridge, the Crowd was ſo great, that many of the *Engliſh* were drown'd in the River; however, they made a Stand at this Bridge, and the *French* perceiving they were reſolv'd to ſell their Lives dearly, left the Purſuit, and *Buckingham* reach'd his Ships with the Remains of his Army. There were ſlain in this wretched Expedition Sir *William Heydon* and the martial Sir *John Burroughs*, with many gallant Officers, and above 2500 Soldiers, tho' *Buckingham* did his utmoſt to leſſen the Loſs in the Reports that were made to both King and People. I have met with another Account of this Retreat in a contemporary Hiſtory: "The Night before the Retreat, the "Duke call'd a Council of War, and there ſhew'd "them the Neceſſity of a Retreat, and that himſelf in martial Diſcipline being wholly unexperienc'd, left the managing of the next Day's "Action to them, offering the Service of his "Perſon to any Hazard whatever, as far as any "private Soldier. The Council unanimouſly choſe "Sir *William Courtney* to manage the Retreat, a "heavy, dull, covetous old Man, who having "been twenty or thirty Years a private Captain "in *Holland*, was by Sir *John Burroughs*'s Means "made Colonel in this Expedition; and *Burroughs* "being dead, the Command for that Day was "given to old *Courtney*; but he either through "Want of Judgment or Forgetfulneſs, having not "ſufficiently provided for the Security of the *Engliſh* Rear, many of them were cut to Pieces; "and had not Sir *Pierce Crosby* with 800 *Iriſh*, "made good their Retreat, the whole Army had "been loſt." *Courtney* himſelf fell into a Salt Pan, and eſcap'd by his Man *Anthony*'s crying out, *Oh, ſave my Captain*; but the poor Fellow loſt his own Life in attempting it. A Doctor of Phyſick who was in this Expedition at *Rhe*, hearing ſeveral Officers tell his Majeſty there were but three or four hundred kill'd, cou'd not forbear undeceiving him, aſſuring him there were two thouſand ſlain, for which Truth he was forbidden the Court. We have not ſeen one good Step taken by this notable General, whoſe Heroiſm makes ſuch a Figure in *Echard*'s Hiſtory. The *Engliſh* who had been accuſtom'd to ſee their Generals return with Triumph in all Enterprizes during the glorious Reign of

A.D.1627.

P. 23.

Iſle of Rhe *Retreat.*

MS.

*A.D.*1627. of Queen *Elizabeth*, conceiv'd the utmoſt Indignation againſt *Buckingham* and his Adviſers, of whom *Laud* was the chief, as appears by the Cry at that Time, *There muſt ſome be ſacrific'd, and* Laud *as ſoon as any*. That Prelate hearing of it, told the King, who anſwer'd, *I deſire you not to trouble yourſelf with any Reports, till you ſee me forſake my Friends*. Theſe Friends were *Villiers, Laud, Neile, Weſton, Conway*, &c. who flatter'd him with abſolute Power; and his Enemies were thoſe generous Patriots who defended the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects in Parliament. The Archdeacon acknowledges that the King did not at all reſent the Diſhonour which was thrown on the *Engliſh* Name by his Friend *Buckingham*. *Yet the Peoples Reſentments were increas'd by it, all Tongues and Pens were ſharpen'd againſt this inglorious Expedition; the Citizens murmur'd at a viſible Decay of Trade; the Merchants were diſcourag'd from building of Ships; the Mariners came in Multitudes to* Whitehall *clamouring for their Pay; Land Soldiers were kept up and billetted, and martial Law continu'd to be executed.* In ſum, the Duke was univerſally *deteſted, and upon his Account every Grievance and Misfortune were aggravated and repreſented in the moſt hideous Manner*. Compare this Account of the Times with that in *Clarendon*. The Kingdom *proſper'd exceedingly, and enjoy'd a longer Peace, a greater Plenty, and in fuller Security than had been in any former Age. During the whole Time that theſe Preſſures were exercis'd, the Nation enjoy'd the greateſt Calm, and the* FULLEST *Meaſure of* FELICITY *that any People in any Age had been bleſs'd with, to the Wonder and Envy of all Chriſtendom*. And in another Place he tells us what thoſe *Felicities* were; "Upon every Diſſolu- "tion of Parliament, ſuch as had given any Of- "fence were impriſon'd or diſcharg'd. New Pro- "jects were every Day ſet on Foot for Money, "which ſerv'd only to offend and incenſe the Peo- "ple. Many Perſons of the beſt Quality and "Condition under the Peerage, were committed "to ſeveral Priſons with unheard of Circumſtan- "ces, for refuſing to pay Money requir'd by theſe "extravagant Ways. Supplemental Acts of State "were made to ſupply Defects of Law, and ſo "Tonnage and Poundage, and other Duties on "Merchandiſe, were collected by Order of the "Board, which had been poſitively refus'd to be "ſettled by Act of Parliament. New and greater "Impoſitions were laid upon Trade, obſolete Laws "were reviv'd and rigorouſly executed, the Coun- "ties were incens'd, the Endeavours to raiſe Men "by preſſing found Oppoſition, and the Authority "was not ſubmitted to, as being counted illegal. "Many were executed by martial Law, which "rais'd an Aſperity in the Minds of more than "the common People; and this Diſtemper was "ſo univerſal, that all wiſe Men look'd upon it as "a Prediction of the Deſtruction that wou'd fol- "low; nor was there Serenity in the Countenance "of any Man." I believe this is one of the Parts of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, which his Lordſhip wrote himſelf, notwithſtanding how inconſiſtent the one Paſſage is with the other; for the Earl muſt have felt ſome Part of thoſe Preſſures in which he was ſome time paſſive before he became active.

Enormous Grievances.

The *Engliſh* having ſo ingloriouſly left *France*, the *French* King order'd the Siege of *Rochelle* in Form, which Cardinal *Richlieu* undertook in Perſon, and with the Reduction of that City, began the Deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*: The Pretence was that the *Rochellers* had invited the *Engliſh* to enter *France* and give them Aſſiſtance; whereas in truth, till *Buckingham* made the Rupture to ſatisfy his own private Reſentment, King *Charles* was ſo far from aſſiſting the *Rochellers*, that he lent the *French* King Ships to reduce them; and when the Duke came firſt before the City, the Jealouſy which they had conceiv'd of his Inſincerity, hinder'd their joining heartily with him. *Larrey* ſays, *He was accus'd of correſponding with the Enemy, and of Treaſon*. Again; his Imprudence and Slowneſs were taken for Treaſon and Correſpondence *with the Enemy*. He adds, *Notwithſtanding this ill Succeſs, the King continu'd bewitch'd to his Favourite; he receiv'd him with great Marks of Affection, and careſs'd him as much as if the Fleet had return'd victorious*. Another Inſtance of the deſpightful Conduct of this Adminiſtration which ran counter to every thing that was laudable and popular. And conſidering where Envy and Spite were wont to inhabit in the Days of Monkery, one can't well impute theſe envious and ſpiteful Counſels to any one with more Reaſon and Probability than to *Laud*.

*A.D.*1627. *P.* 103. *P.* 106.

While *Buckingham* was making War in *France*, the Court was more ſucceſsful in their War againſt the Liberties and Properties of the People. Sir *John Elliot*, one of the Gentlemen who were in Goal for not paying the *Loan*, petition'd the King, ſetting forth the *Illegality of that Tax, or any Tax without Conſent of Parliament*, alledging his Conſcience cou'd not ſubmit to it, and praying his *Liberty*, but cou'd not obtain it. Sir *Peter Hayman* one of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, another Gentleman who refus'd the *Loan*, was ſent to ſerve in the *Palatinate*. Five of theſe Gentlemen were brought by *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench*, and by their Council took Exceptions to the Return; *For that it had not the Cauſe of their Commitment, but of their Detainer in Priſon*, per ſpeciale Mandatum Regis, *which is a particular Cauſe*; and the Law is moſt tender of the Liberty of the Subject. This was argued by *Noy* whom a Place had not yet corrupted, by the great *Selden, Brampſton*, and *Calthorpe*, who pray'd that the Priſoners might be releas'd. *Heath* the King's Attorney, who had been corrupted by a Place, argued in Maintenance of the Return, and there was a Chief-Juſtice Sir *Nicholas Hyde* ready to do what he wou'd have him; ſo he declar'd as the Opinion of the Court, *that the Return was poſitive and abſolute by the King's Command, that the Matter of the Return is ſufficient*, &c. and *that the Priſoners*, Gentlemen of the beſt Faſhion in *England*, *ought to be remanded*. This worthy Judge *Hyde* and his Brethren gave their righteous Opinion alſo for executing by martial Law; and the FELICITY of the Times muſt doubtleſs be inconceivably great, as we read in *Clarendon*, when the Law was in ſuch Hands as *Hyde*'s.

Hyde *an ill Judge.*

Now it was that Archbiſhop *Abbot* was ſequeſter'd from his ſacred Office and Juriſdiction; not as *Echard* tells us, becauſe he was grown *infirm and unactive*, and many thought him *uſeleſs and unfit*; which is as falſe as every Word that is ſaid of this moſt reverend Father of our Church by the Author of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory. It was, as *Welwood* aſſures us, becauſe he refus'd to licenſe *Sibthorpe*'s ſcandalous Sermon, which the King himſelf ſent to him by Mr. *Murray* to have his *Imprimatur*, and the Authority of the Archbiſhop for that inſolent Prieſt's erroneous Doctrines, which eſtabliſh the King's Will for Law. His Grace refuſing to licenſe it, *Murray* came to him again, telling him his Majeſty inſiſted upon it; but that not prevailing, he was told in a third Meſſage, *If he did not do it, the King wou'd take another Courſe with him*. Upon this his Grace deliver'd his Objections in Writing, ſome of which I will repeat to ſhew with what Reaſon *Echard* call'd the Archbiſhop *uſeleſs* and *unfit*, than which one can hardly call himſelf any thing worſe. His Grace repreſented, "That the Paſſage in *Sibthorpe* quoted out "of St. *Matthew* to recommend the Tax, plainly "ſhew'd the hard Condition of the *Jews* under "the Yoke of the *Roman* Emperors, their Ma- "ſters and Conquerors, but it was no Ways pro- "per to eſtabliſh the Right of ſuch a Tax in the "*Engliſh*

Archbiſhop Abbot *diſgrac'd.*

P. 44

The Archbiſhop againſt Sibthorpe.

A.D.1627. "*Engliſh* Nation; that the Tax laid upon the "*Jews* was a *Poll* Tax; and that *Richard* II. by "levying ſuch a Tax, caus'd an Inſurrection, "which was attended with horrible Maſſacres; "and that a good King, ſuch as his Majeſty was, "ought to exact nothing from his Subjects but "according to the Laws." The Archdeacon tells us this Archbiſhop was *not fit to be a Biſhop as many thought.* But Dr. *Fuller* gives us a better Reaſon for his Unfitneſs; *He was averſe to comply with the Court Deſigns, which made him obnoxious to the King's Diſpleaſure; but the Blame of the Proſecution did moſt light upon Biſhop* Laud, *Men accounting he endeavour'd to ſupplant him whom he cou'd not be contented to ſucceed.* The Stale Pretence to ſuſpend him was his accidental ſhooting the Park-Keeper at the Lord *Zouch*'s, which is already ſpoken of. *Larrey* confirms *Laud*'s buſying himſelf in this bad Work; *he ply'd the King to ruin the Archbiſhop,* who charg'd *Laud* with that Act of Injuſtice, and repreſenting to his Majeſty that his Objections to *Sibthorp*'s Sermon proceeded from a *Spirit of Rebellion.* This is the ſame *Laud* who in *Clarendon* is ſtil'd a Man of *immenſe Virtue*; but as to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, he was *ignorant, remiſs, illiterate,* and *unmannerly.* There are ſo many Falſities in that Author's Character of his Grace, that one does not know where to begin with detecting them. He affirms as poſitively as a Man can affirm any thing upon Oath, he was made Biſhop of Clar. *falſe.* *London before he had been Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of any Pariſh Church in* England, *or Dean or Prebendary of any Cathedral Church.* I beg the Reader to mind this bold Aſſertion, and the Truth and Moderation of it, when he comes to other Characters in that impartial Hiſtory. *A. Wood* an Hiſtorian in the ſame Intereſt, aſſerts on the contrary, *In the latter End of* 1599, *he was made Dean of* Wincheſter, *and in* February 1609 *tranſlated from* Coventry *and* Litchfield *to* London. In *Clarendon* it is ſaid, *He was totally ignorant of the Conſtitution of the Church.* In *A. Wood* we read the Title of one of his Books, which is directly the Reverſe of ſuch Ignorance, *A Treatiſe of perpetual Viſibility and Succeſſion of the Church,* &c. In *Clarendon* he is accus'd of *Raſhneſs*; in *A. Wood* he is commended for *Vigilancy.* In *Clarendon* we are told he had Learning ſufficient for a Head of a College, which is ſaid by way of Contempt; in *Wood, He was a Man of Learning, and an able Stateſman. Welwood* tells us, Dr. *Abbot* was a Man of *conſiderable Learning and genteel Education*; the latter of which is as unuſual in a *Headſhip,* as Piety in a rigid Prieſthood. The whole Character of Dr. *Abbot* in *Clarendon* is of a Piece with this Invective and Invention. *Laud*'s is as much invented, but then it is all *Eulogy,* and conſequently ridiculous. I ſhou'd be aſhamed of aſſerting without proving; and the Proofs of what I ſay here, will be but too frequent in the Courſe of our Hiſtory: Five Biſhops were deputed to take the Archbiſhop's holy Office from him, and exerciſe it themſelves, whoſe Names ought to be remember'd to their Diſhonour, as the good Archbiſhop's will ever be with Honour. Dr. *George Mountaine* Biſhop of *London,* Dr. *Richard Neile* Biſhop of *Durham,* Dr. *Walter Curl* Biſhop of *Rocheſter,* Dr. *John Howſon* Biſhop of *Oxford,* Dr. *William Laud* Biſhop of *Bath and Wells.* *Larrey* obſerves Dr. *Abbot was not accus'd of any Crime which made him unworthy of the Miniſtry, and complain'd of the Injuſtice done him,* making it appear that he was only guilty *of diſpleaſing* Buckingham *and* Laud, *Favourers of the* Papiſts, *excepting that, he defy'd his greateſt Enemies to lay any other Thing to his Charge.* The Archbiſhop cou'd not help putting *Buckingham* in mind of his being inſtrumental in his Preferment at Court; but as *Laud* was guilty of the fouleſt Ingratitude to Archbiſhop *Williams,* ſo was this greater Favourite *Buckingham* alike guilty towards his Benefactor the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury, whom he had never ſince ceaſed to perſecute.* As the ungrateful Man is the moſt infamous of all Creatures, let his Title and Fortune be what it will, ſo whereever that Vice is found, one may be ſure there is no true Virtue in its Company.

The *Papiſts* in *Ireland* offer'd to pay 5000 Men conſtantly, if they might have a Toleration for their Religion. Some adviſ'd the King to accept their Offer on thoſe wicked Terms, pleading he might lawfully take what they were forward to give; but that Notion dropt at the Interpoſition of the Biſhops in *Ireland,* eſpecially that pious Prelate Biſhop *Downham,* who preach'd effectually againſt it, from this Text, *That we being deliver'd from the Hands of our Enemies, might ſerve him without Fear.*

The Peoples Jealouſies were not like to be leſſen'd by the Diſcovery of a Deſign to bring over 1000 *German* Horſe, for which 30000 Pounds was paid to *Philip Burlemarch* a *Dutch* Merchant. Theſe *German* Troops were to be ſent to *England* under the Command of Sir *William Balfour* and Colonel *Dalbier.* *Echard* calls theſe Levies *a neceſſary Preparation for the King's foreign Engagements.* With whom? If with any foreign Power for the *Palatine* Service, the *Germans* were near the Place of Action, and every Step towards *England* was out of their way. If for a War againſt *Spain* or *France,* With whom had the King engag'd for a Body of Horſe? The People had indeed ſome fooliſh Fears that this foreign Cavalry might be made part of a *ſtanding Army.*

About the ſame Time a Commiſſion was granted to twenty-three Lords and others to raiſe Money by Exciſe. *Laud* was one of theſe Commiſſioners. The Archdeacon owns this was a diſobliging Meaſure, a notorious Violation of the Law, and Invaſion of the Peoples Properties, was a *diſobliging* Thing; it is the very Pink of Civility. The Miniſters being puzzled by the Difficulties they had brought their Maſter and themſelves into, Recourſe is had to a wiſer Counſellor Sir *Robert Cotton,* whoſe great Learning and Abilities render'd him worthy the Truſt that was put in him. He made a very judicious Speech to the King and Council, adviſing his Majeſty to call a Parliament, *to begin with Religion, and ſatisfy them about the Obſervation of the Laws againſt Papiſts, and about raiſing Money without their Conſent; for whatever ſpecious Reaſons are given for it, the People cannot bear it, looking on every Tax that is not authoriz'd by Parliament as* Tyranny, *breaking in upon their Laws, and impoſing of Servitude.* "Take away "theſe Cauſes, ſaid Sir *Robert Cotton*, diſcontinue "the raiſing Taxes, releaſe the Priſoners, demand "of your Parliament the Subſidies you have Occaſion for; you are certain to obtain them by "this Method, and to be Maſter of your Subjects "Purſes, if you are Maſter of their Hearts, and "ſhew them the Sincerity and Tenderneſs of your "own." He clos'd all with the Means of reconciling the Duke to the People, and that was to give him the Credit of this good Counſel, and have it thought that he adviſ'd the calling a Parliament. *The Nation,* continu'd Sir *Robert, look on with Horror, becauſe the Diſſolution of the two Parliaments are imputed to him; their Sentiments will be different when they behold him as the Author of the third.* Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Advice was follow'd, the Priſoners who had exclaim'd againſt the illegal Taxes were releas'd, and it was reſolv'd to call a Parliament.

About the ſame Time a Society of Prieſts and Jeſuits was diſcover'd at *Clerkenwell,* and among their Papers was found a Coppy of a Letter written to their Rector at *Bruſſels* on the Subject of the approaching Parliament, wherein 'twas ſaid, *We have planted the ſovereign Drug* Arminianiſm, and it thriv'd wonderfully under the Culture of *Neile*

ib. Laud *a Backbiter.* *P.* 88.

P. 94.

P. 584.

ib.

Biſhops againſt the good Archbiſhop. *P.* 95.

See Amb. Philips.

A.D. 1627. *P.* 96.

Dr. Fuller, 128.

German *Horſe hir'd.*

Exciſe Money.

Ep Laud *a Commiſſioner of Exciſe.*

Sir Robert Cotton's *Speech.*

The Engliſh *in Slavery.*

Arminians

A.D 1627. and *Laud*, as the Jeſuits ſay in their Letter. The Biſhops of *Winchester, Bath and Wells, Chichester*, and *Norwich, Neile, Laud, Mountague*, and *White, are at the Head of the* Arminians, *and my Lord* Buckingham *ſupports them with all his Credit; the King intends to eſtabliſh arbitrary Government, and becomes daily more and more an Enemy to the Puritans.* If the Adminiſtration during the whole Courſe of this Reign did not confirm what the Prieſts wrote, their Letter wou'd not have been worth taking notice of: *Echard* has ſunk it, and ſo he ſerves every thing that makes againſt theſe *Arminian* Prelates.

Biſhops ſuch.

King for arbitrary Government.

*A.D.*1628. Writs being iſſu'd for ſummoning a Parliament, it boded no Good to *Buckingham*, that the Gentlemen who proſecuted him, and almoſt all thoſe who had been impriſon'd about the illegal Taxes, were elected Members. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, had Writs of Summons; ſo had the Earl of *Briſtol*; and ſmoother Methods were put in Practice to prepare for the enſuing Seſſion on the 17th of *March*. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* receiv'd a Letter from the Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, a Month before the Parliament met, to diſſuade him from appearing, but the Biſhop reſolv'd to ſtand on his Privilege, and wrote thus to the Lord-Keeper; *I muſt crave ſome Time to reſolve by the beſt Counſels which God ſhall give me, whether I ſhall obey your Lordſhip's Letter, tho' mentioning his Majeſty's Pleaſure before my own Right, which by the Law of God and Man I may in all Humility maintain*; which he did accordingly, and his Writ was not deny'd.

Parliament

The Court took another *diſobliging Meaſure* at the very beginning of the Parliament, by picking out *Laud* to preach the Sermon at the opening of the Seſſion, when his Majeſty made a Speech to the Two Houſes, admoniſhing them *to expedite their Buſineſs; and acquainting them with the common Danger, he then demanded Supplies, but told them if they did not do their Duty, he muſt uſe ſuch other Means as he may to prevent Ruin. He bad them not to take this as a Threatning*; and then gives them a diſcreet and decent Reaſon for it, *I ſcorn to threaten any but my Equals.* The Language of this Reign has an Air quite different from that of all other Reigns, and the Sentiments are the ſame, imperious and poſitive. The Parliament are treated as the *French* ſay *de haut en bas*, very contemptuouſly. There does not ſeem to be the leaſt Occaſion for this Menace, unleſs the King had reſolv'd to do nothing for them, which ſhou'd diſpoſe them to do ſomething for him. *Coke* takes Notice of this haughty way of ſpeaking before ſo auguſt an Aſſembly. His Majeſty is not equal to any one Member of Parliament, and ſuperior to the whole Body; but Decency wou'd not admit the Prince to ſay ſo much to his People. *What a Monſter does the King make of a Parliament*; they are Mr. *Coke*'s Words, *the Head ſo incomprehenſibly big, and the Body ſo ſcornful and little; but if it ill becomes any Man to glory in his own Actions, it worſe becomes him to glory in that which he himſelf had not done; ſo that admit the King had been ſo ſuperlatively great, as to ſcorn all the World beſides, yet it wou'd have better become any other to have ſaid it than himſelf.* A Member of the Houſe of Commons expreſs'd his Senſe of this Sally thus, *Is this the Idea the King has of theſe Aſſemblies ſo much eſteem'd by our Fathers and his Predeceſſors* Britiſh, Saxon, *and* Norman? *Thoſe Princes us'd to call them the Aſſembly of Sages, the ſupreme and general Council of the Kingdom*, &c. *Things were chang'd under the late King, who by putting Slights upon Parliaments, occaſion'd Diſcontent in them. We with Sorrow ſee the Son tread in his Father's Steps; whether it proceeds from his being educated in that unhappy Averſion, or that it is inſpir'd by his pernicious Favourite.* However, his Majeſty told the Two Houſes, *he wou'd gladly forget and forgive what was paſt, and hop'd they wou'd not follow former Courſes of Diſtraction.* The Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, whoſe Speeches were no more popular than the King's, ſpoke of the general *Affairs of* Chriſtendom, *the Enemies and Dangers to this Kingdom:* He perſuaded *the Parliament to be ſpeedy and liberal in their Supplies, and aſſur'd them his Majeſty had forgotten all former Diſtaſtes*; which was very evident by his holding the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtill in his Boſom. The Commons made Choice of Sir *John Finch* for their Speaker, which ſhew'd that the Houſe was then in no ill Diſpoſition towards the Court, if the Court had ſhewn the leaſt Readineſs to give them Satisfaction about Grievances. *A.D.*1628.

The King's uſual Stile

After the Speaker was choſen, a Writing was dropp'd on the Table by one of the Members, containing the Particulars of thoſe Grievances, and an earneſt Exhortation to the Commons to remember there cou'd be no Safety but in the lawful Power of the Prince and the Freedom of Parliament. "How long, *ſaid the Writer*, are we to be treated "like Children, and diverted in our Purſuit! We "are bugbear'd with Enemies abroad, to prevent "our ſeeing thoſe that are at home. If the firſt "are ſo much to be fear'd, why were they made "ſo? The late King left us in Peace with all the "World, what Neceſſity was there that his Succeſſor ſhou'd declare War againſt *Spain* and "*France*? Did he conſult his Parliament, and "muſt we pay for the Follies of a Favourite who "has engag'd him therein without Reaſon? We "are apprehenſive of greater Evils from the Am-"bition of this Man, than from that of the Houſe "of *Auſtria*; and the *Arminian* Biſhops *Neile*, "*Laud*, and *Mountague*, whoſe Protector he is, "are no leſs formidable than the Jeſuits." Now read *Clarendon*, and you will know what Judgment to make of his Sincerity and Impartiality. *The Church flouriſhed with learned and extraordinary Men*; we have juſt named them; *and which in other good Times it in ſome Degree wanted, was ſupply'd withal to feed thoſe Lamps.* There the *Chriſtchurch Men* ſhine out moſt apparently. *The Proteſtant Religion was more advanc'd by Dr.* Laud *than it had been from the Reformation; Trade increas'd to that Degree, that we were the Exchange of* Chriſtendom; *the Royal Navy very formidable at Sea*, &c. There is a great deal more of it, and all ſo diametrically contrary to the Truth, that my Patience cannot hold out to the End.

Paper dropp'd on the Table in the Houſe of Commons

Laud *protected by* Buckingham.

P. 76.

One of the firſt Petitions of this Parliament was to leave the Care of the Royal Navy before-mention'd to his Majeſty's *faithful Subjects the Commons*, who wou'd give ſuch Orders that nothing ſhou'd be wanting, neither as to the Number of Ships, Men, or Proviſions. It was complain'd, that by the Duke of *Buckingham*'s pernicious Counſels the King laid Taxes on the People, and kept foreign Troops in the Kingdom; and as if *England* had no Soldiers of her own, ſome were brought from *Scotland*, others ſent for from *Germany*. The Behaviour of the Deputy Lieutenants in the ſeveral Counties got them the Name of *Janiſaries*; and as bad as the Judges were, they were forc'd to give a Check to the arbitrary Proceedings of the Attorney-General. Theſe and other Matters being debated in the Houſe of Commons, they came to the following Reſolutions, Sir *Edward Littleton* in the Chair;

Larrey, 119.

Whitl. 4.

That no Freeman ought to be impriſon'd without Cauſe ſhew'd either by the King or Council.

That in ſuch Caſe a Habeas Corpus *ought to be granted.*

That if no Cauſe of Commitment be return'd, the Party is to be bail'd.

That no Tax ought to be impos'd without Conſent of Parliament.

That no Freeman ought to be confin'd by the King's Privy-Council, or others, but by Act of Parliament, or due Courſe of Law.

Votes of Parliament.

Illegal and arbitrary Government.

The

*AD.*1628. *Sir* Thomas Wentworth *againſt the King's Proceedings.*

The Adminiſtration was by theſe Votes declar'd illegal, and the Government arbitrary, tending to the Deſtruction of the Conſtitution of *England*. The Commons did not incline to grant Supplies till they were ſatisfy'd in theſe things. Many warm Speeches were made by Sir *Thomas Wentworth* not yet corrupted, Sir *Robert Phillips*, Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Edward Coke*, Mr. *Creſwel*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hakewell*, and others. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* indeed was of Opinion to truſt to the King as to the Grievances, and go upon the Supply; but both King *James* and King *Charles* had been ſo often truſted, and with ſuch ill Effect, that the major Vote of the Houſe did not fall in with Sir *Benjamin's*. Sir *John Cook*, Secretary of State, ſeconded that Knight, and with the ſame Succeſs.

Papiſts favour'd.

Notwithſtanding what the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* told us of the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion, the Lords and Commons of *England* were truly ſenſible of the contrary, and join'd in a Petition againſt Popery and Papiſts: "That the Laws againſt *Romiſh* Prieſts might be "executed: That Children may not be tranſport-"ed beyond Sea to be bred Papiſts: That Recu-"ſants may be confin'd according to Law: That "they may not be permitted to reſort to Ambaſ-"ſadors Houſes to Maſs: That they may not be "in Offices: That the Judges give Account of the "Proceedings againſt them: That their Children "may be brought up in the Reform'd Religion". The Anſwer to this was favourable enough, as other Anſwers to ſuch kind of Petitions uſually were; but the Papiſts knew better than to be much diſturb'd by them. The Commons were reminded of the Supply; and they reminded the Court of the things in which they were aggriev'd. Sir *Nathaniel Rich*, Sir *John Elliot*, and Sir *Henry Martin* reflected on the late Management of the War, and ſeem'd averſe to any new foreign Expeditions, from which no body expected any good, while they were conducted by *Villiers*. Sir *John Cook* deliver'd a Meſſage from the King to clear *Buckingham* from ſome Words ſuppos'd to be ſpoken by him in Council. He declar'd the Duke was the firſt who mov'd the King to this Parliament; and his *Majeſty had ſaid he counted it his Glory to be King of Freemen*. This Meſſage was well receiv'd by the Parliament; and ſo was another brought the next Day by the ſame Meſſenger, Sir *John Cook*, *That his Majeſty wou'd preſerve all their Rights and Liberties*, upon which the

A Supply.

Houſe debated the Supply, and unanimouſly gave the King five Subſidies to the great Joy of the Court; it being, as his Majeſty owns, the greateſt Gift that ever was given in Parliament. Secretary *Cook* reported to the Houſe the King and the Duke's great Satisfaction in the Subſidies with which they were pleas'd; but Sir *John Elliot* with good Reaſon expreſs'd his Diſlike, that the Duke's Name ſhou'd be intermingled with the King's, *contrary to the Cuſtom of our Fathers, and the Honour of our Time*. If they had bought off this *Elliot* inſtead of *Wentworth*, it might have been better both for the Duke and the Publick.

A happy Juncture loſt.

At this Juncture it wou'd have been very eaſy to have eſtabliſh'd a good Underſtanding between the King and his People. Had *Buckingham* retir'd to a private Enjoyment of his immenſe Riches; had the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* been reſtor'd to the Exerciſe of his ſacred Function, of which he had been unjuſtly depriv'd; had *Mountague* been puniſh'd, *Laud* decourted; had the *Papiſts* been deliver'd over to the Law, as *Echard* ſays *the pious King promis'd*; had *Neile*, *Wren*, and other ſuch Prelates, fall'n under the Weight of Parliamentary Diſpleaſure, and the general Hatred of the People; had the *Petition of Right*, which was then on foot in the Houſe of Commons, and ſoon after confirm'd by the King, been duly obſerv'd; all which was moſt juſt, reaſonable and eaſy; there is no room to doubt but this Prince might have reign'd as happily and glorioufly, as ever did any one of his Predeceſſors; he being as obſtinate in his good Meaſures as in his bad, and influenc'd in both rather by the Will of his Miniſters than his own. Inſtead of ſuch prudent and ſafe Methods of Government, it was his Majeſty's Unhappineſs to hear no Counſel but what came from *Villiers*, *Laud*, and ſuch like Counſellors; for whom there was no Safety, but in the abſolute Power of the Prince; which they therefore endeavour'd to raiſe as high as he wou'd have it, and ſucceeded too well in their Endeavours.

*A.D.*1628. *The King's ill Counſellors ruin all.*

Illegalities and Irregularities inſtanc'd by chief Members of Parliament.

After this a Conference was appointed between the two Houſes about the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, which was open'd by Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *Edward Littleton*, afterwards Lord Keeper, ſpoke at large concerning *perſonal Liberty*. Mr. *Selden* ſhew'd, that the late Impriſonments of the Gentlemen for refuſing the *Loan* were without Precedent. Sir *Edward Coke* maintain'd the Argument as to the *rational Part of the Law*. The Managers prov'd, that the above-cited Reſolutions of the Commons were Part of *Magna Charta*, ſix Acts of Parliament, twelve Precedents in Terms, and thirty one more. Secretary *Cook* quicken'd the Supplies, and told the Houſe the King deſir'd them not to make any Receſs in the *Eaſter* Holidays, that the Buſineſs might be diſpatch'd; but this was thought to break in upon the Commons Right of Adjournment. Secretary *Cook* moving to have the Vote of Subſidies turn'd immediately into an Act, was ſeconded by Sir *Dudley Diggs*: But Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, ſtill untainted in his Principles, propos'd a middle Way, which was reſolv'd upon, *That Grievances and Supply go hand in hand*. Sir *John Cook* had been over-preſſing with relation to the Subſidies, conſidering he knew the Inclination of the Houſe; but he gave great Offence in his next Meſſage about them, ſaying, *I muſt with ſome Grief tell you, that Notice is taken of this Houſe, as if they preſs'd not upon the Abuſes of Power only, but upon Power it ſelf. This touches the King, and us who are ſupported by that Power*. He was bid to explain himſelf; but he anſwer'd, *I cannot deſcend to Particulars, or go farther than his Majeſty gave me Warrant to deliver*. Two Days after he preſs'd the Supply again; and the Commons drew up a Repreſentation to juſtify their Proceedings, as to the Subſidies and Grievances, which was deliver'd by their Speaker with a Petition againſt billetting of Soldiers. The King anſwer'd, *They ſhou'd go on ſpeedily with their Buſineſs without more Apologies, and he wou'd give them a more ample Anſwer to this Petition in convenient time*.

Sir Tho. Wentworth *oppoſes the King.*

The Secretary's ſeverе Speech.

The Commons continuing their Debates about Grievances, and how the Subject ſhou'd be ſecur'd againſt them in time to come, Sir *Edward Coke* mov'd the Houſe to ſue the King by Petition, that his Majeſty wou'd give the People Aſſurance of their Rights by Aſſent in Parliament, as he uſes to paſs other Acts, which produc'd the famous *Petition of Right*, containing ſeveral Articles of *Complaints of great Hardſhips, Infringements of, and References to* Magna Charta, and ſeveral former Acts of Parliament; in the Cloſe of which was the *petitioning* Part to continue for ever as a Law, *That no Man ſhou'd pay any Tax, or ſuch like Charge, without Act of Parliament, or be confin'd or moleſted concerning the ſame; That no Freeman be impriſon'd or detain'd, but in ſuch manner as the Law directs; That all martial Law be revok'd*. The King's Serjeant *Aſhley* argu'd againſt this *Petition* before the Houſe of Lords, ſaying, *It tended to Anarchy, for the King muſt be allow'd to govern by Acts of State*. The Peers reſented his Boldneſs, committed him, and he made a *Recantation*. Another of his Majeſty's Serjeants, Sir ---- *Davids*, ſpoke much more like a wiſe Man and an *Engliſh-*

The Petition of Right.

man;

A.D.1628. *man*; and notwithſtanding the Obligations of his Poſt, defended the Subjects as well as the Sovereign's Rights, aſſerting the *Engliſh* Monarchy to be *truly Regal*, but not *Tyranical*; and that the Government was over *free Men*, and not *Slaves*; which probably occaſion'd the ſame Expreſſion in the Meſſage from the King.

While the *Petition* was preparing, the King came to the Houſe of Lords; and ſending for the Commons, the Lord-Keeper made a Speech to them, urging the Diſpatch of the Supply, and informing them he was commanded to let them know, *his Majeſty did hold* Magna Charta, *and the other ſix Statutes they inſiſted upon to be in Force*; *and that he will maintain all his Subjects in the* juſt Freedom *of their Perſons and Eſtates*; *that he will govern according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm*; *and they ſhou'd find as much Security in his Royal Word, as in any Law they cou'd make.* One can form no favourable Judgment of the Abilities of the King's Counſellors from their Speeches and Actions. How groſs is this eternal begging of Money without redreſſing one Grievance, when they knew the Commons wou'd give none till that was done? If his Majeſty did really intend to keep his royal Promiſe, what Harm was there in a Law to oblige him and his Succeſſors to do it. An honeſt Man takes it not ill that he is bound to do what he intends; and a wiſe Man will never expoſe his Honour to be queſtion'd. *Larrey* obſerves, the King on his ſide gave fine Hopes; *but they were ſaid to be ſuperficial and indefinite, and promis'd all, but perform'd nothing. It was therefore neceſſary to have a more preciſe Explanation, ſuch as the* Petition of Right. Secretary *Cook*, who repreſented the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, made a Speech for relying on his Majeſty's Royal Promiſe: But Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* mov'd, that the Effect of the King's Promiſe might be put into a Bill, which was carry'd; tho' the King ſent another Meſſage to them to take his Word, and he was again refus'd. 'Tis unaccountable that *Laud* and the other Counſellors ſhou'd thus expoſe their kind Maſter's Honour. The *Prerogative* was not prejudic'd by this new Law; his Majeſty had promis'd by the Keeper to obſerve the Subſtance of it. And why ſhou'd theſe Men again and again make him deſire to have his Word taken, when it was evident the Parliament would not take it? The generous Sir *Robert Philips* ſaid freely, *We are now come to the End of our Journey, and an Anſwer to this Meſſage will give Happineſs or Miſery to the Kingdom.* Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, even yet uncorrupted, declar'd, *Since there had been a publick Violation of the Laws by the King's Miniſters, nothing cou'd ſatisfy but a publick Amends*; and as himſelf was the *Precept*, ſo was he alſo the *Example*. The Court was very uneaſy at this new Law, which had nothing in it to make a Prince uneaſy who reſolv'd to make the Law the Meaſure of his Government. They wou'd fain have put a Stop to it if they cou'd, but the Subſidy Bill lay in the way. The Commons wou'd have the *Petition* paſs'd firſt, and the King ſent to them to diſpatch the other: for they muſt ſit no longer than ten Days. His Majeſty cou'd not help it. He muſt always ſpeak *en maiſtre*, and ſhew the Parliament their Subjection and Inferiority; which tho' very juſt, is diſagreeable and indecorous. The hurrying of the Subſidies was eaſily ſeen through. The Commons addreſs'd that they might proceed with their *Petition of Right*. *Coke* tells us, Sir *Robert Heath*, Attorney-General, pleaded eagerly, yet *impertinently* againſt the Bill, which met with ſome ſmall Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, where the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Laud*, *Neile*, and ſuch like Prelates did what they cou'd to cruſh it: But the Repreſentation of Grievances was ſo lively in the Speeches of the beſt Members of that illuſtrious Aſſembly, that the Court Lords and Prelates cou'd not hinder their Fellow Subjects of this Happineſs, as earneſtly as they endeavour'd it. Archbiſhop *Abbot* urg'd his own Caſe, how he was ſhut out of his Houſes at *Lambeth* and *Croydon* by *Laud* and other Biſhops; how he had been confin'd at *Ford*, a mooriſh Place, on purpoſe to *kill him*, as *Coke* ſays; and debarr'd from the Management *of his Juriſdiction*, which *Laud* aſſum'd in Defiance of Law or Conſcience. Biſhop *Williams* ſpoke learnedly and elegantly for the Petition, yet he made an Amendment to it, which paſt the Lords, but the Commons threw it out: *That as they deſir'd to preſerve their own Liberties, ſo they had Regard to leave entire that Power wherewith his Majeſty was intruſted for the Protection of his People*; which was thought needleſs, and to leſſen the Energy of the Petition, inſomuch that his Lordſhip cou'd not eſcape the Cenſure of being *ſprinkled with Court Holy-Water*. However, *Coke* tells us, *neither the King nor* Laud *ever after forgot* what he ſaid in Favour of the *Petition*. This is that pious *Laud* on whom the Earl of *Clarendon* and Archdeacon *Echard* are ſo laviſh of their Declamation and Rhetorick. The Lords having heard the King's Counſel againſt the Petition, how monſtrous was it to hear *Engliſh* Men plead againſt the Liberties and Properties of the People of *England*? Heard alſo the Commons in Defence of it. The Courtiers puzzled the Cauſe as much as they cou'd, and were not aſham'd to declare themſelves againſt their own and the Commons Rights, till they enter'd into a Committee of the whole Houſe; and the Lord *Say* mov'd, that *thoſe Peers who ſtood for the Liberty of the Nation, and might make their Proteſtation, ſhould be recorded*; *and the other oppoſite Party ſhou'd, with the Subſcription of their Names, enter their Reaſons*; *which ſhou'd alſo be recorded, that ſo Poſterity might not ſeek who they were that ſo ignobly betray'd the Freedom of their Country*; as the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, *Villiers* Duke of *Buckingham*, *Howard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Hay* Earl of *Carliſle*, *Rich* Earl of *Holland*, *Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Newport*, Marquis of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord *Conway*, Lord *Carlton*, *Villiers* Earl of *Angleſey*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, Earl of *Dover*, *Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*, *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Neile* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *White* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Buckeridge* Biſhop of *Ely*, *Goodman* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, *Montein* Biſhop of *London*, *Howſon* Biſhop of *Oxford*, *Dove* Biſhop of *Peterburgh*, *Harſnet* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Mountague* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, *Edward Cecil* Viſcount *Wimbledon*, *William* Lord *Petre*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Earl of *Newcaſtle*, *Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, *Mordaunt* Earl of *Peterburgh*, *Savage* Earl *Rivers*, *Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter*, with others, who for the Merit of their noble Poſterity ſhall not now be remember'd. The Houſe of Peers were ſurpriz'd at the Lord *Say*'s Speech. The Betrayers dreaded the Mark that in ſuch Caſe wou'd be put upon them. For *Larrey* aſſures us, that Lord deſir'd they might be diſtinguiſh'd from the other Lords by ſitting by themſelves on the other Side of the Houſe. So the *Petition* paſs'd the Peers with a Salvo to the *Right of the Sovereign*. The Commons in a Debate on this Amendment juſtify'd their *legal Rights* with Reaſons worthy a *Roman* Senate. Mr. *Noy* ſaid, *to add a* Saving *is not ſafe. Doubtful Words may beget ill Conſtruction. Beſides, the Words are not only doubtful, but unknown to us, and never us'd in any Act or Petition before.* Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, who had not yet ſold his Birthright, ſpoke thus: *If we admit of this Addition, we leave the Subject worſe than we found him, and we ſhall have little Thanks for our Labour when we come home. Let us leave all Power to his Majeſty to puniſh Malefactors, but theſe Laws are not acquainted with ſovereign Power. We may not recede from our Petition neither in part nor in whole.*

A.D.1628. Laud *againſt the Archbiſhop*

Biſhop Williams *gives Offence to the Court.*

Sir Tho. Wentworth *complains of the Miniſtry.*

Noy *againſt the Court.*

Wentworth *ſtill againſt the Court.*

A.D.1628. *whole.* We cannot read theſe two remarkable Inſtances of the true Spirit of *Engliſhmen* without weeping over the Frailty and Corruption of human Nature. Theſe two Gentlemen, now ſo good Patriots, will in a Year or two become the Inſtruments not only of ſovereign but arbitrary Power. *Wentworth* eſpecially apoſtatis'd in the moſt ſhameful manner, *to arbitrary adding military Power*; and when his tragical End was the Effect of his Apoſtaſy, *Echard* aſſures us, *never ſo white a Soul* flew into the Boſom of *Abraham*. Sir *Edward Coke* to ſeveral unanſwerable Reaſons added, *Take we heed what we yield unto.* Magna Charta *is ſuch a Fellow, that he will have no Sovereign. I wonder this ſovereign Right was not in* Magna Charta, *or in the Confirmations of it. If we grant this, by Implication we give a ſovereign Power above all theſe Laws. Power in Law is taken for a Power with Force. Let us hold our Privileges according to the Law. That Power which is above this, is not fit for the King or People to have it diſputed.* Further; Mr. *Selden* ſaid, *If the* Salvo *has no Reference to our Petition, what does it here? I am ſure others will ſay it hath Reference, and ſo muſt we. How far does it exceed all Examples of former Times, no Man can ſhew the like.* The greateſt Antiquary in the World, *the great Dictator of Learning in* England, as Foreigners ſtil'd him, the great *Selden* declares in the Houſe of Commons, That never was the like Attempt as this in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt to eſtabliſh a Tyranny on the Ruins of Liberty. For what elſe can we call the ſetting up the ſovereign Power above the Law? The Lords had afterwards a Conference with the Commons on the Subject of the Amendment. The Lord Keeper *Coventrry* who ſpoke for it was anſwer'd by Mr. *Maſon.* At another Conference, Serjeant *Glanville* argu'd the *legal*, and Sir *Henry Martin* the *rational* Part of the Petition; which they perform'd ſo well, that their Lordſhips were ſatisfy'd, and agreed to throw out the *Salvo*, and paſs the *Petition of Right as the Commons had drawn it*, after it had been in Debate ten Weeks. The King came to the Houſe of Peers the ſecond of *June*, and made this ſhort Speech to both Houſes. *I am come hither to perform my Duty: I think no Man can think it long, ſince I have not taken ſo many Days in anſwering the Petition, as you have ſpent Weeks in framing it; and I am come hither to ſhew you, that as well in formal things as eſſential, I deſire to give you as much Content as in me lies.* Then the Bill was read, and the King deliver'd his Anſwer to the petitioning Clauſe of it before repeated in writing. *The King willeth that Right be done according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in due Execution, that his Subjects may have no Cauſe to complain of any Wrong or Oppreſſion contrary to their juſt Rights and Libereies; to the Preſervation whereof he held himſelf in Conſcience as well obliged, as of his Prerogative.* The Archdeacon *Echard* has in many Places ſhewn himſelf to be a ſage Hiſtorian; yet his Sagacity no where appears more than in the following Reflection: IF *this had been taken as a* free *and* full *Anſwer, it might have caus'd a happy Union of King and Parliament.* IF the *Parliament* wou'd have taken it for what it was not: IF they wou'd have taken it for an Anſwer, whereas it was only a Meſſage deliver'd in his Preſence, and was, as he owns himſelf, *ſcant* and *dubious*, then all wou'd have gone well. But the Commons inſiſted upon it, that their *Petition* ſhou'd have the ſame enacting Anſwer pronounc'd in the ſame manner as Acts of of Parliament were paſs'd. The Lords were of the ſame Opinion, and join'd in an Addreſs to his Majeſty to paſs it accordingly.

Sir *Sir* Edw. Coke. Mr. Selden.

Sir *John Elliot* reminded the Houſe of the Grievances which remain'd unredreſs'd, and Mr. *Rous* complain'd of a ſcandalous, wicked, ſeditious Sermon preach'd by one Dr. *Roger Manwaring*; upon which a Committee was appointed to examine it, and Mr. *Pym* the Chairman reported it thus to the Houſe: *His Charge having digeſted many Charges into it, is become a Monſter of Charges. The main and great one is this: A Plot and Policy to alter and ſubvert the Frame and Fabrick of this State and Commonwealth. For this End he labours to infuſe into the Conſcience of his Majeſty the Perſuaſion of a Power not bounding itſelf with Laws, which King* James *calls in one of his Speeches* Tyranny *with* Perjury. *He endeavours to perſuade the Conſciences of his Subjects, that they are bound to obey illegal Commands under Pain of Damnation. He robs the Subjects of the Property of their Goods, and brands them that will not loſe this Property with ſcandalous and odious Titles, to make them hateful both to Prince and People.* We ſee here by whom the fatal Diviſion between Prince and People was begun. Such was the Doctrine that procur'd Preferment, and ſuch the Clergy whom *Laud* mark'd in his Regiſter for *Orthodox.* The Commons Impeachment againſt *Manwaring* being carry'd to the Lords, that ſeditious Prieſt had this moderate Cenſure, *To be impriſon'd during the Pleaſure of the Houſe; to be fin'd a thouſand Pounds; to make his Submiſſion at the Bar of the Houſe of Peers, and the Bar of the Houſe of Commons; to be ſuſpended three Years; to be diſabled from preaching at Court; to be diſabled of having any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, and his Book to be burnt.* To ſhew how well the Court was diſpos'd to that happy *Union Echard* ſpeaks of, they immediately made him Dean of *Worceſter*, and ſoon after Biſhop of St. *David's.* But before *Laud* cou'd get him a Place on the Bench of Biſhops, he made his Submiſſion at the Bar of the Houſe with Tears in his Eyes, acknowledging that the *Sermon* for which he was made a Member of that moſt honourable Aſſembly, *was raſh, ſcandalous, and unadvis'd, full of dangerous Paſſages, Inferences, and ſcandalous Aſperſions. He own'd that the Sentence paſs'd upon him for his great Offence was juſt. He begg'd Pardon of God, the King, and the Parliament,* &c. A fit Man this, to be pick'd out for one of the firſt Dignities of the Church. Here were wiſe Counſellors and wiſe Prelates to make the King run himſelf further into the Diſaffection of the People for the ſake of a worthleſs, inſolent Chaplain.

A.D.1628. Dr. Manwaring. *Who began the Diviſion between King and People.* Laud's *Orthodox Clergy.* Manwaring *cenſur'd.* *Impolitick Management of the Miniſtry.*

The Anſwer to the *Petition of Right* remain'd ſtill as it was given; and his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage that *he would not alter it.* The more raſh and unadvis'd, becauſe he did alter it: for the Subſidy Bill having been read but twice, and the Houſe reſolving not to take that Anſwer, the King ſent another Meſſage to them, *Not to entertain any long Buſineſs, for that he wou'd conclude the Seſſion in a few Days.* He alſo admoniſh'd them not to lay *Aſperſions on the* Government, *ſemper idem.* There is really ſomething pleaſant in theſe Meſſages hardly conſiſtent with the Gravity of Hiſtory. It was allow'd there had been Male-Adminiſtration; but it muſt not be mention'd, becauſe it wou'd *aſperſe.* To ſpeak the Truth of any one who has done ill, is neceſſary towards having it righted; but if you ſo ſpeak, you *aſperſe.* To ſcandalize, to accuſe falſly, is *Aſperſion.* It is not pretended, that what was ſaid in Parliament of the bad Management at this time was not true; yet the Court will not have it talk'd of, becauſe they muſt then be *aſpers'd.* Sir *John Finch*, for ſuch an Action as his ought never to be mention'd without his Name, roſe from the Speaker's Chair, and apprehending that *Elliot* was about aiming at the Duke, he enjoin'd him Silence, telling him *there was a Command laid upon him not to proceed.* How regular, how politick, how prudent, how diſcreet theſe Gentlemen are: The Speaker ſtops Sir *John Elliot's* Mouth with a Command from ſome body, who had no Buſineſs in that Houſe.

Pleaſant things. Finch's *Inſolence.*

*A.D.*1628. Sir *Dudley Diggs* cry'd out in great Concern, *Muſt we not proceed; let us ſit in Silence: We are miſerable, and know not what to do.* The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, they were *ſo happy as to be the Envy and Wonder of* Chriſtendom. There was for awhile a profound Silence in the Houſe; at laſt Sir *Nathaniel Rich* ſaid, *We muſt now ſpeak, or for ever hold our peace.* Some Members objected, that probably Sir *John Elliot* had given the King Offence by ſomething ſpoken in a late Speech of his. In a Reign ſo full of ill Counſels and ill Steps, 'twas impoſſible to ſpeak and not offend as often as the Miniſters were mention'd. However, not only Sir *John Elliot*, but every Member of the Houſe of Commons was vindicated by this Vote, "*That there had been no undutiful Speech in that* "*Houſe from the Beginning of the Parliament to* "*that Day.* Then the Commons turn'd them- "ſelves into a Committee, to conſider what is fit "to be done for the Safety of the Kingdom, and "no Man to go out upon Pain of being ſent to "the *Tower*". The Speaker, like a noble publick-ſpirited *Briton*, begg'd leave to be gone, when he had ſuch a Call from his Country for his Service. Upon which Mr. *Whitby* was put into the Chair. Mr. *Wandsford* mov'd that they ſhou'd not fear to make a Remonſtrance of their Rights. Sir *Edward Coke* ſaid. *Let us palliate no longer: If we do God will not proſper us. I think the Duke of* Buckingham *is the Cauſe of all our Miſeries; and till the King be inform'd of that, we ſhall never go out or ſit with Honour. That Man is the Grievance of Grievances. Let us ſet down the Cauſes of all our Diſaſters, and all reflect on him.* Mr. *Selden* adviſ'd, that a Declaration be drawn to expreſs the Houſe's dutiful Carriage, and ſet forth the Violation of their Liberties; to ſhew how that great Perſon the Duke had rais'd Diſtractions, fearing to be queſtion'd. *All this time,* ſaid that illuſtrious Senator, *we have caſt a Mantle on what was done laſt Parliament; but now being driven again to look on that Man, let us proceed with that which was then ſo well begun.* In Concluſion the Houſe agreed upon ſeveral Heads, containing more of the Lord *Clarendon's Felicities*, as *Innovations in Religion, Miſgovernment, Misfortune, and the late Deſigns with the Cauſes of them.* When the Queſtion was putting that it ſhou'd be inſtanc'd that the Duke was the Cauſe of all thoſe Evils, the Speaker return'd from Court, where he had been to learn his Leſſon, tho' he was the Parliament's Servant, and told them the King commanded for the preſent that the Houſe ſhou'd adjourn, and all Committees ceaſe till to-morrow the 17th of *June*, when his Majeſty wou'd come to the Parliament and paſs their *Petition*.

Accordingly the King came to the Houſe of Peers; and the Commons attending, the Bill was read by the Clerk, and at the End of it his Majeſty ſaid, *Soit droit fait comme il eſt deſire.* Upon which there was a general Shout of both Lords and Commons, and an univerſal *Joy within Doors and without.* The King made a ſhort Speech: *I aſſure you my Maxim is, that the Peoples Liberties ſerve to ſtrengthen the King's Prerogative, and the King's Prerogative to defend the Peoples Liberties; and now if this Parliament have not a happy Concluſion, the Fault is yours, and I am free from it.*

Amb. Phil. *Shout in the Houſe of Lords.*

Another happy Juncture loſt.

This again was a happy Juncture for a laſting Reconciliation between the King and Parliament, if *Buckingham*'s Fate had not follow'd his Majeſty like an evil Genius. Had he had Capacity enough to have known the Danger he was in by defying the Legiſlature, he wou'd ſurely have ſav'd himſelf by withdrawing from Court, and have ſav'd his Maſter the Odium of ſtanding out againſt the Cry of his People. But *Laud* was his moſt intimate Friend and Counſellor; and as there is hardly one Act of Diſcretion and Moderation in that haughty Prelate's whole Life, ſo it is no wonder he ſhou'd inſpire the Duke with the moſt revengeful and reſolute Sentiments. *Echard* tells us the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Proteſtant Lords were admitted to kiſs the King's Hand. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* had alſo private Talk with his Majeſty and the Duke of *Buckingham*; wherein he repreſented, "That in order to "gain the Affections of the People, the *Puritans* "who were many and ſtrong ſhould be a little "conniv'd at and indulg'd, which wou'd make "them more pliant". The King anſwer'd, *I thought of this before, and will do ſo*; but inſtead of ſo doing, the Biſhop was brought into the *Star Chamber*, as a Reward for his good Advice, which he purſu'd in his Dioceſe; and being reproach'd for it by Sir *John Lamb*, one of his *Spiritual Court*, and the infamous *Silthorp*, his Lordſhip ſaid *it was not only his own but the royal Pleaſure.* Which Words *Lamb* and *Sibthorp* carry'd to *Laud*, and he to the King then at *Biſham*. Upon which it was reſolv'd, that a Bill ſhould be exhibited in the *Star-Chamber* againſt the Biſhop on the Evidence of thoſe two wretched Delators *Lamb* and *Sibthorp* for revealing the King's Secrets, being a ſworn Counſellor, of which more hereafter.

*A.D.*1628.

King promiſes Favour to the Puritans;

Ib. 198.

but acts the contrary.

The Duke of *Buckingham* being ſtill the great Spring which mov'd the Wheels of Government, the Houſe of Commons did not think themſelves ſecure even in the new Law, and therefore they proceeded with their Declaration at the Motion of Sir *John Strangeways*, Knight of the Shire for the County of *Dorſet*: *Let us perfect our great Remonſtrance*, ſaid the Knight; *for King* James *was wont to ſay, he knew that by Parliament which otherwiſe he cou'd never have known.* The Reader will obſerve in many Places of this Hiſtory, how the Poſterity of certain Names deviated from the Honour of their Anceſtors. Some Members, as Sir *Humphry May*, Sir *Henry Martin*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, were ſweeten'd by the paſſing of the *Petition of Right*, and endeavour'd to moderate Matters. But the Grievances were too many and too crying to ſtop the Mouths of *Strangeways* and other Members, who in many Speeches enlarg'd upon them; and in ten Days the Remonſtrance was ready to be preſented to the King. We have read *Clarendon* and his Copier *Echard*'s Encomiums on his Majeſty's Zeal for the *Proteſtant Religion*, and on the flouriſhing Trade and State of the Nation; we have read what *full* and gracious Anſwer the King gave to the Addreſſes for proſecuting Papiſts, and we ſhall now ſee on what ſolid Foundations thoſe Encomiums were built. The Parliaments *Remonſtrance* complain'd of "Innova- "tions and Alterations of Religion; the great "Eſteem and Favour many Papiſts receive at "Court; their publick Reſort to Maſs contrary to "his Majeſty's Anſwers to the Parliament's Peti- "tions; Letters to ſtop Proceedings againſt them; "the daily Growth of the *Arminian* Faction, fa- "vour'd and protected by *Neile* Biſhop of *Win- "cheſter*, and *Laud* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, "whilſt the orthodox Party are ſilenc'd". Here the Reader will take notice, that thoſe Miniſters *Laud* mark'd in his Regiſter with a *P* for *Puritan* were really *Orthodox*, and thoſe he mark'd with an O for *Orthodox* were Papiſts, or their Abettors. *Neile* was inform'd againſt by Mr. *Oliver Cromwel*, according to *Whitlock*, tho' he was not then one of the Houſe. The ſecond Article of the *Remonſtrance* was concerning the Dangers "of Innova- "tion and Alteration of Government occaſion'd "by billeting Soldiers, by procuring 1000 *German* "Horſe and Horſemen, by a ſtanding Commiſſi- "on to the Duke to be General at Land in Time "of Peace". The Parliament do in theſe two Articles directly charge the Government with favouring Popery and arbitrary Power. Let the Reader ſtop here and conſider a little, how I have made

Sir John Strangeways *againſt the Court.*

Parliament's Remonſtrance of Grievances. Coke, 264.

Laud *complain'd of.*

The Deſign to alter the Conſtitution.

A.D.1628. made out that ſuch a Deſign form'd ſoon after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, was continu'd to the beginning of this Reign, and continues ſtill by the Evidence of the Parliaments *Remonſtrance*.

England *diſhonour'd by* Buckingham.

" It complains of the Diſaſter at the Iſle of *Rhe*, " of the Diſhonour to the Nation, *never ſo diſhonour'd in the Days of the* Plantagenets *and* Tudors: *The Loſs of Trade*, the Increaſe of which the Lord *Clarendon* boaſts of; and all theſe Evils and Dangers, the Houſe of Commons impute to the exceſſive Power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, humbly ſubmitting it to his Majeſty's Wiſdom, Whether it can be ſafe for himſelf and Kingdom to have ſo great Power truſted in the Hands of any one Subject whatſoever, or to continue the Duke near his Perſon? Archdeacon *Echard* informs us, that the King was very much *diſobliged* by it, but he gives us no Hint how the Commons were diſoblig'd; for at that very Inſtant did his Majeſty order the Information againſt the Duke fil'd by the Attorney General in the *Star-Chamber*, to be taken off the File, the King declaring, himſelf knew the Duke's Innocency of thoſe Things mention'd in the Commons and the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Articles: And when the Parliament deliver'd their Remonſtrance to him in the *Banquetting-Houſe*, he told them with ſome Indignation, *He little expected ſuch a Remonſtrance after he had paſs'd the* Petition *of Right*; and as to their Grievances, he wou'd *conſider of them as they deſerv'd*. *Finch* the Speaker is ſaid to be an Incendiary between him and his Parliament, *conſtantly diſcloſing to him whatever paſs'd in the Houſe*, and giving the worſt Turn to what was ſaid there.

Weak Management.

Finch *an Incendiary*

Reybold.

Dr. Lambe *kill'd.*

In the mean time Dr. *Lambe* a Quack and Creature of the Duke's, was ſet upon in the Streets of *London* by the Rabble, who call'd him *Witch*, *Devil*, and the Duke's *Conjurer*. This Scoundrel, who got his Living by ſelling *Noſtrums* and ſometimes Poiſon, was talk'd of as being concern'd in poiſoning King *James*. The *French* Hiſtorian ſays *Buckingham* employ'd him to execute his *private Intrigues and moſt odious Deſigns*. The Mob fell upon him in open Day, and, continues my Author, *for Proof that this was the unanimous Conſent of the People, not a Man ſtirr'd to his Aſſiſtance, but every Body rejoic'd at his Death, and applauded his Murderers*. The Fellow had been indicted as a *Wizard*, and doubleſs he was as much a Witch as ever old Woman was that burnt for't. He had alſo been try'd for a *Rape*; however he was ſtill the Duke's Favourite and Confident as well as Dr. *Laud*. I am far from applauding the Murderers, nor in any Caſe approve of Rabble Juſtice, there being no Rule but the Law for Executions of any kind. *Lambe* knew well enough he was mortally hated for his Maſter's ſake as much as his own, and it was to dare the Mob to Vengeance, to be ſeen walking in *London* Streets in the Face of Day. *Buckingham* himſelf durſt not do it at that Time; if he had, one might juſtly have fear'd what the Conſequence wou'd have been by theſe bold Rhimes then in every Body's Mouth.

Lett. 144.

Let Charles *and* George *do what they can,*
The Duke *ſhall die like Doctor* Lambe.

And probably the Rage of the People might ſo far infect Lieutenant *Felton*, that he took Fire upon the *Remonſtrance* againſt the Duke, and reſolv'd to be his Executioner. *Lambe* was become a Perſon of Importance on Account of *Buckingham*'s Favour, and as ſoon as the Court had News of his Death, a Council was call'd, who order'd the Lord-Mayor Sir *Richard Dean* to find out and puniſh the chief Actors in this Tragedy, *but none were found*, ſays *Whitlocke*, and the City was fin'd 6000 Pounds to make ſome Attonement for the Loſs of ſo uſeful a Perſon. *Echard* aſſures us, *he had ſpecial Acquaintance with the Duke*; and tho' he was a *Wizard* and a *Raviſher*, *Larrey* ſays his *greateſt Crime was his Attachment to the Duke*.

A.D.1628.

A Report was made to the Houſe of Commons of certain Words ſpoken againſt them by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who deny'd them, and charg'd one *Melvin* a *Scotſman* for ſpeaking Words againſt himſelf, *That he intended to put the King upon a War againſt the Commonalty*. It is worth obſerving that this was fourteen Years before that War broke out; and tho' *Melvin* had not the Spirit of Truth in him with reſpect to the Duke, yet one can't deny but he had the Spirit of Prophecy.

A Prophecy of the civil War.

His Majeſty being at laſt tir'd with the Complaints againſt the Commiſſion of *Exciſe*, cancell'd it, notwithſtanding Biſhop *Laud* was Commiſſioner. This Commiſſion was not of the Nature of the preſent, but a Power to certain Lords and Commons to levy an *Exciſe*, not ſtated and eſtabliſh'd as that Duty is now.

Exciſe.

The Commons order'd another Remonſtrance to be drawn concerning the Peoples *Rights* as to the Payment of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* on Merchandize, and voted, *That the taking it without Conſent of Parliament was illegal*, as was alſo the *laying any Impoſition on Goods without ſuch Conſent*. Two Articles of Right as certain as that there are ſuch Things as Law and Juſtice, tho' in theſe Times they were not ſo much conſider'd as they ought to have been. The King came to the Upper-Houſe, while this *Remonſtrance* was reading in the Lower, and ſending for the latter, ſpoke to them thus, *It may ſeem ſtrange that I come ſo ſuddenly to end this Seſſion before I give my Aſſent to the Bills: I will tell you the Cauſe, tho' I muſt avow that I owe the Account of my Actions to God alone.* You obſerve the Stile. One wou'd think every Man is accountable for his Actions to Reaſon and Juſtice. Again; *Every body knows that a while ago the Houſe of Commons gave me a* Remonſtrance, *how acceptable may be eaſily imagin'd, and for the Merit of it I will not call that in queſtion, for I am ſure no wiſe Man can juſtify it. Selden, Coke, Glanville,* and the major Part of the Parliament *did juſtify* it, and his Majeſty calls them Fools for it. The Archdeacon giving himſelf the ſame Airs, ſays, The King *after this Manner ſhew'd his Reſentment*. Mr. *Coke*, whoſe Authority is at leaſt as good as *Echard*'s, turns it thus, *Did ever King of* England *but this King's Father, treat a Parliament or either Houſe at this Rate before? At the Opening of the Parliament he call'd them* Fools *if they wou'd not do as he wou'd have them; and now he calls them ſo again,* or *no wiſe Men, for telling him their Grievances.* We have ſeen by their Counſels what wiſe Counſellors his Majeſty had about him, *Villiers, Laud, Conway, Weſton, Neile.* The Fools the King ſpeaks of here, are the above-mention'd *Selden, Coke, Glanville, Pym, Wandsford, Diggs, Whitby, Noy, Wentworth, Philips, Hakewell, Seymour, Strangeways, Martin, Rich, Creſwell, Littleton, Hobart, Strode, Hollis, Waller, Hampden, Hayman, Coriton, Valentine, Elliot, Corbet, Heveningham,* &c. Of one of theſe, *Wentworth*, the Archdeacon affirms, he was a more able Miniſter than *Wolſey, Cromwell, Burleigh, Walſingham*, or in a word, a more able Miniſter than ever was known in *Britain* from the Reign of *Caſſibelan* to that of King *James*; yet this, the wiſeſt of Men, *juſtify'd the Remonſtrance*; which ſhews the Inconvenience of ſpeaking in a Paſſion, or rather of hearkening to proud, malicious Counſellors, ſuch as *Villiers* and *Laud*. I do not repeat the whole Speech, it being all in the ſame Stile. His Majeſty told the Parliament he *cou'd not want* Tonnage *and* Poundage; and having paſt the Subſidy and other Bills, the Lord-Keeper prorogu'd them. One of thoſe Bills was for *Reſtitution in Blood* of *Carew Raleigh* Eſq; Son to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and another to confirm the Letters Pattents made by King *James* to the Earl of *Briſtol*, who upon *Buckingham*'s Death ſo well reconcil'd himſelf

Tonnage and Poundage.

Illegal Taxes.

The King's Stile.

P. 441.

*A.D.*1628. ſelf to the Court, that 'twas viſible he ſided with the Country only becauſe the Country ſided with him. The reverend Hiſtorian affirms the King had made the *greateſt Conceſſions*. Every thing is ſuperlatively good with him that gives Credit to the Cauſe he eſpouſes. Theſe *greateſt Conceſſions* are really nothing at all: For the *Petition of Right* did but confirm old Statutes, it added no new Liberties; and *Clarendon* ſays 'twas no *Prejudice to the Crown*, which he and *Echard* always underſtand *Liberties* to be. The latter owns that as great as theſe Conceſſions were, the Court endeavour'd to evade them, tho' the Parliament had purchas'd them with the largeſt Subſidies that had ever been granted. Thus was this Parliament alſo diſmiſs'd with Anger, and by the following Reflections we may perceive what wiſe Men his Majeſty's Counſellors were. " The Crimes for which " the King inveigh'd ſo againſt the Parliament, " were for repreſenting their Grievances, and the " dangerous and feeble State of himſelf and the " Kingdom; for explaining how the Cuſtoms had " been taken againſt Law, yet declaring their Rea- " dineſs to relieve him, and reconcile him to his " Subjects. For whom was it the King thus con- " tended? But for a Favourite who againſt his " Father's Will, and Advice of his Council, with- " out a Declaration or Reaſon ſhew'd, the next " Day after the King's Father's Death, excited " him to make War againſt the King of *Spain*, " and after made him diſſolve the Parliament, as " we read in the Biſhop of *Litchfield*'s Life of " Archbiſhop *Williams*, to ſave himſelf from be- " ing impeach'd in it. So he did the ſecond Par- " liament, and then engag'd the King in a War " againſt *France*, wherein he himſelf was the Ag- " greſſor; and in the Management of thoſe Wars " brought greater Loſs and Diſhonour to the Na- " tion than ever was before; a Favourite who " impoveriſh'd the Crown to ſupport his intole- " rable Ambition and Avarice."

Ill Counſellors.

England in Diſgrace

Buckingham, when he left *France*, promis'd the *Rochellers* to ſend them Relief, but his own Indifference in the Quarrel of thoſe Proteſtants, or his own Danger and Difficulties at home, hinder'd him from going abroad. The *Rochellers* ſent Deputies after Deputies for nine Months together, to preſs him to perform his Promiſe. King *Charles* wrote a Letter to the *Mayor, Sheriffs, Peers, Burghers, and Inhabitants* of the City of *Rochelle*, dated the 19th of *May* 1628.

Rochellers

Gentlemen,

The King's Letters to them.

BE not diſcomforted tho' my Fleet be return'd, hold out to the laſt, for I am reſolv'd that all my Fleet ſhall periſh rather than you ſhall not be reliev'd; and to this End I have countermanded it, and have ſent Ships to make them change their Deſign that they had taken to come back. I ſhall ſhortly ſend you ſome Number of Ships to re-inforce it, and with the Help of God the Succeſs will be happy for your Deliverance.

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.

A Week after his Majeſty wrote them another Letter, and ſent it by a Soldier, ſeal'd with the Arms of *England*.

Gentlemen,

I Have been troubled to hear that my Fleet was upon the Point of returning without anſwering my Commands, which were to force the Entry of your Proviſions whatever came of it; and have given it new Orders to return into your Road, and not ſtir till it has reliev'd you with Victuals, or that I have ſent them an additional Strength, for which I have caus'd Men to work with all Diligence. Be aſſured that I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the Force of my *Kingdom for your Deliverance, until it pleaſe God to bleſs me with giving you an aſſur'd Peace.* *A.D.*1628

Gentlemen,

Given at our Palace at *Weſtminſter, May* 27. 1628. Old Stile.

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.

The Author makes theſe Obſervations upon the two Letters, " That which follow'd ill ſuited with " theſe fine Promiſes, which at the bottom ſerv'd " only to amuſe the poor *Rochellers*, if we may " judge by the Proceedings of *Buckingham* and " *Denbigh*, and their Fleet before *Rochelle*, and " by the tricking Delays made uſe of here for " ſending Relief, which in the End was of no " Service to the Beſieg'd, for it aſſiſted them with " no manner of Proviſions or Victuals, only ſerv'd " to tantalize them at a Diſtance, but to their " ſad Coſt and Miſery; for when the *Engliſh* " ſhew'd themſelves at the Head of the Bay, the " Mayor and his Council caus'd more than 200 " Hogſheads of *Pilchards*, which were little cor- " rupted, to be thrown away for fear of bringing " a Contagion into the City, and believing they " ſhou'd have no Need of them, Succours being " ſo near the Gates. But Cardinal *Richlieu*, who " was at the Siege in Perſon, was well inform'd " that the Fleet wou'd not do him any great Hurt, " nor the City much good; and he knew pretty " well it only rode there to make a Shew and no " more: For what the Deputies built in the Day- " time with the King, the Queen overthrew in " the Night, and kept the King her Brother from " receiving any Damage, not valuing how much " ſhe thereby wounded the *ſacred Word* of her Huſ- " band, or the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation." *Ludlow* ſpeaks of the fatal Conſequences of the Loſs of *Rochelle*; by this Means *that ſtrong Town of* Rochelle, *wherein the Security of the Proteſtants of* France *chiefly conſiſted, by this Treachery was deliver'd up to the Papiſts, and thoſe of the Reform'd Religion in all Parts of that Kingdom expos'd to the Rage of their bloody and cruel Enemies.* *P.* 66.

P. 67.

Of the Fleet which thus in vain appear'd before *Rochelle*, the Duke of *Buckingham* was to have been Admiral and General of the Land Forces, as at the Expedition of the Iſle of *Rhe*. About the latter End of *Auguſt* he went to *Portſmouth* to embark with Succours for that diſtreſs'd City. *He had a Power*, ſays *Larrey*, *ſtrong enough to beat the* French *and raiſe the Siege; but it had no better Succeſs than the former; and if you believe a great many Hiſtorians, no better Deſigns. This was not, however,* Buckingham's *Fault, whoſe Death prevented the Execution of his Intentions, whether they were to betray or ſuccour the Beſieg'd.* For tho' there is not the leaſt Hint of Double-dealing in thoſe impartial Hiſtorians *Clarendon* and *Echard*, *Buckingham*, if not his Maſter, was very much ſuſpected not to be in earneſt in the *French* Expeditions. On the 23d of *Auguſt*, as the Duke was coming out of his Chamber to Breakfaſt, juſt as Sir *Thomas Fryer*, one of his Colonels, was taking Leave of him, one *Felton*, a diſcarded Officer, ſtabb'd him to the Heart with a Knife, accompanying his Blow with theſe Words, *Lord have Mercy on your Soul.* The Duke fell dead to the Ground without ſpeaking a Word, tho' ſome pretend he was heard to ſay in falling, *the Villain has kill'd me.* The Murderer might have eſcap'd, if he had not been frightened with the Noiſe of the Domeſticks, who cry'd out the *French* had murder'd the Duke, laying it to the Duke *de Sobiez*'s Charge, who often ſollicited the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo earneſtly to haſten the Succours, that thoſe who ſaw him did ſometimes think he was quarrelling about it; *Felton*, to excuſe the *French*, who were like to be maſſacred, ſtept forth and ſaid, *I am he who did it, let no in-*

Duke of Buckingham *kill'd by* Felton.

His Deſigns ſuſpected.

Whitl.

 nocent

11 J. L. 65

A.D.1628. *nocent Man ſuffer for it*; ſo he was ſeiz'd without offering to eſcape, and ſent to Priſon.

Ghoſt. If any one has the Curioſity to read a very long Story of the *Ghoſt* of Sir *George Villiers*, the Duke's Father, which appear'd to warn him of his Fate, he may find many Pages upon it in the Lord *Clarendon* and Archdeacon *Echard*'s ſober Hiſtories; but unleſs the Reader is diſpos'd to give more Credit to it than I do, it will be no more worth his while to read it, than I think it worth mine to write it. *Echard* ran away with this old Woman's Tale, as with that of the *Devil* and *Oliver Cromwel*, and thought it a wonderful Rarity, as being in ſuch a notable Hiſtory as that of the *Rebellion*; but unfortunately it was told before by *Lilly* the Aſtrologer in his *Obſervations on the Life of King* Charles I. and indeed the *Conjurer* had much more Right to raiſe this Devil than the Earl of *Clarendon* or the *Chriſtchurch Men*; who, be what they will, are not reckon'd among the Conjurers. *Lilly* informs us, the Ghoſt of Sir *George Villiers* appear'd to old *Parker* of *Lambeth*, who had been intimate with Sir *George* the Duke's Father, and bad him *go tell his Son the Duke of* Buckingham, *to refrain ſuch and ſuch Company, or he wou'd come to Deſtruction*, and *that by ſuch a Token*. The Duke ſlighted the Advice, and the Ghoſt coming to *Parker* a ſecond time, pull'd out a Dagger or Knife, ſaying, *that ſhou'd end his Son if he refrain'd not that Company*. *Parker* carries the Meſſage, and the Duke deſir'd him to trouble him no more about it. A Month after he met *Parker* on *Lambeth-Bridge*, and ſaid, *Now, Mr.* Parker, *what ſay you of your Dream? Parker* reply'd, *I wiſh it may never come to paſs*. But within ſix Weeks, ſays *Lilly*, he was ſtabb'd, and ſoon after the Dream or Viſion *Parker* dy'd. The Duke had doubtleſs himſelf boding Thoughts of ſome untimely End to a Life which his Conduct had render'd odious to the People; and what he ſaid to Biſhop *Laud* when he took his Leave of him, is more credible than the Apparition, *I know your Lordſhip has good Acceſs to the King, pray put his Majeſty in mind to be good to my poor Wife and Children*. The King was at *Southwick*, Sir *Daniel Norton*'s Seat, four Miles from *Portſmouth*, when the melancholy News came to him: He receiv'd it with remarkable Concern and Sorrow; but thro' the whole Kingdom, according to *Larrey*, the *Duke's Name was never mention'd but to be ill ſpoken of*. However, his Majeſty's Favour follow'd him to the Grave, and he had the Honour to be bury'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey* among the Tombs of the Monarchs of *England*. In common Prudence only, the Court ſhou'd have taken hold of this Opportunity to have wip'd off the Odium againſt the Government contracted by *Buckingham*'s Male-adminiſtration. He was dead, and it was only to have left him where Life did to have caus'd a good Agreement between King and People. But as I have hinted elſewhere, and muſt again hint, this Government ſeem'd to ſtudy what wou'd be moſt unpopular, and to rule in Spite. The Memory of *Buckingham* was generally hated, and therefore the Lord *Clarendon*, with particular Applauſe, tells us, *The King admitted very few into any Degree of Truſt, whom he believ'd to have been his Grace's Enemies*; which indeed is not true, for he admitted Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, one of the Duke's greateſt Enemies, into the greateſt Degree of Truſt. Again; no Prince ever expreſs'd a more tender Concern to the *Family, and all that was dear to this great Man*, as was Biſhop *Laud* in an eſpecial manner; and yet the Archdeacon acknowledges his *great Misfortune was the Want of a wiſe Friend*. Then it was no Misfortune to him that, as *Larrey* ſays, *he hated Parliaments, was a bad Proteſtant, a barefac'd* Arminian, *a maſqu'd* Papiſt, *a Man of no Religion or Experience*. The Aſſaſſin *Felton* was at firſt far from repenting of the bloody Act, but at laſt he became ſenſible of his Sin, and begg'd when he was condemn'd, that the Hand which did it might be cut off before he was executed. He declar'd he was provok'd to it by the *Remonſtrance againſt him*, and his having been ſo often ſcreen'd from Parliament. While he lay in Priſon in *London*, he was viſited by many, to whom he vindicated the *Puritans*, whoſe Enemies charg'd them with ſetting him on; and *Felton* proteſted they knew nothing of his wicked Intent. It is very likely that Biſhop *Laud* wou'd have extorted ſuch a Confeſſion from him; for of all the Lords of the Council, that *pious* Prelate was the only one who, contrary to the Laws of the Land, threaten'd him with the *Rack*. *Felton* reply'd, *I know not whom I may accuſe, perhaps Biſhop* Laud *or any other in that Torture*. His Majeſty ſeem'd inclin'd to the Biſhop's merciful Motion, by ordering the Judges to give their Opinion upon it, and they all agreed that *by Law he might not be put to the Rack*. Being try'd and condemn'd at the *King's-Bench*, he was executed purſuant to the Sentence, and his Body ſent to *Portſmouth*, where it hung on a Gibbet for ſome time, and was afterwards ſtolen away Gibbet and all.

A.D.1628.

Laud's Cruelty.

Felton hang'd.

As many ill Qualities as may be deduc'd from the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Actions, it ought to be remember'd that he was generous, eaſy of Acceſs, polite in his Manners, pleaſant in Converſation, and had a Genius equal to his Station, conſidering the Buſineſs that was to be done in it, if he had not been a Slave to his Paſſions, in which the Luſt of Power and Women was moſt prevalent. Revenge and Cruelty were laid to his Charge, and ſuch a Haughtineſs towards thoſe who had diſpleas'd him, that 'tis ſaid he once told the Queen herſelf, *I wou'd have you know there have been Queens beheaded in* England. After his Death *Laud*, now Biſhop of *London*, grew daily more in Favour with the King, to his Majeſty's great Misfortune; there not being a Man in *England* who was leſs fit for his Service, whether we conſider his Temper or his Abilities in ſo difficult and troubleſome a Juncture.

Buckingham's Character.

Laud a Favourite.

I am very far from giving into Tales of *Ghoſts, Apparitions, Preſages*, and *Omens*, with which the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard*'s Hiſtories abound, yet I can't help taking notice of an Accident which happen'd as *Laud* and *Neile* were conſecrating their good Brother *Mountague*, for at that very Inſtant News came of the Duke's being ſtabb'd.

One of the firſt Things *Laud* did after his Promotion to *London*, was to procure a Pardon for their other good Brother *Roger Manwaring*, and a very rich Benefice to be holden by Diſpenſation, with the Rectory of *St. Giles's in the Field*. *This Prelate*, ſays *Larrey*, *was extremely ſollicitous to keep up the King's Hatred and Diffidence of Parliaments. All that was done this Year, or the following, ſerves only to inflame or to incenſe both Parties more and more againſt each other.* Can any thing be plainer than the Source of all the Misfortunes which befel this King and Kingdom? Was it not his Majeſty's ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd by other Men's Paſſions, and giving Ear to the Counſels of ſuch *fiery Spirits as* Laud, which Judge *Whitlocke* ſaid was hot enough to ſet the World in a Flame?

Sets the King againſt Parliaments. P. 152.

Manwaring preferred.

We have mention'd the *Remonſtrance* againſt *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which was drawn up by the Parliament, and the Delivery of it prevented by a Diſſolution. Wiſe and ſober Men wou'd at leaſt have abated of the Rigor of levying that illegal Tax, or not have permitted it to be levy'd with Circumſtances to render it ſtill more odious. But the Miniſters in this Reign had infected the publick Officers with a Contempt of Law, and a tyrannical Air, which muſt be very provoking to a free and injur'd People. *John Rolle* Eſq; a Merchant and Member of Parliament for *Kellington* in *Cornwall*, had his Goods ſeiz'd by the Cuſtom-houſe Officers, for not paying ſuch Cuſtoms as

Weak Counſellors.

*A.D.*1628. the Farmers demanded. Mr. *Rolle* apply'd to the Commiſſioners for Redreſs, and one of them told him, *Privilege of Parliament extended only to Perſons and not Goods.* Whatever Language theſe Gentlemen us'd then, Members of Parliament now never hear it at that or any other Board. *If all the Parliament were in you*, ſaid another of them with more Inſolence, *we wou'd take your Goods.* "Thus it is, according to *Larrey*, that "theſe odious Miniſters of arbitrary Power, by "their Proceedings, make ſuch a Power inſup-"portable, and by their Oppreſſions ſome Times "incite the People to Rebellion." About the ſame Time Mr. *Richard Chambers* a Merchant of *London*, had his Goods alſo ſeiz'd under the ſame Pretence. Mr. *Chambers* brought a Writ of *Replevin*: The Barons of the Exchequer granted an Injunction againſt it. The Merchant offer'd to give Bond for the Payment of ſuch Duties as the Court ſhou'd direct; but the Barons refus'd his Security, and wou'd oblige him to pay what the Farmers requir'd; which *Chambers* refuſing, the Cuſtom-houſe Officers, very ready at ſuch Work, detain'd double the Value of the Cuſtoms out of Mr. *Chambers*'s Merchandize. *Samuel Vaſſal* Eſq; a Merchant of *London*, and afterwards Citizen in Parliament for that Capital, was proſecuted by the Attorney-General Sir *Robert Heath*, for not paying 5 *s.* 6 *d.* for every hundred Pounds Weight of Currants. Mr *Vaſſal* pleaded the Statute *de Tallagio non concedendo*; the Attorney-General demurr'd; Mr. *Vaſſal* join'd in the Demurrer, but the Court of Exchequer wou'd not hear his Counſel, ſaying, *The King is in Poſſeſſion, and we will keep him ſo.* Rare Judges! They committed Mr. *Vaſſal* to Priſon. The Proceedings agreeing very ill with the *Petition of Right*, the King commanded it to be printed, with his Anſwer and other Additions *Norton* the Printer confeſs'd he had wrought off 1500 Copies without thoſe Additions; but they were ſuppreſs'd by Warrant, and the Attorney-General commanded that no more ſhou'd be printed, and thoſe that were ſhou'd not be publiſh'd. *Coke* adds, *Theſe were the juſt and religious Acts of this pious King; and can any Man believe the Parliament at their Meeting ſhou'd, without Breach of Truſt, ſit ſtill*, and not repreſent theſe Things to him? Far from thinking ſo much like an *Engliſh* Man as Mr. *Coke*, Grandſon of the great Lawyer and Judge Sir *Edward Coke*, Archdeacon *Echard* draws the Curtain, and diſcovers the King in ſecret Council with his Miniſters juſt before the next Seſſion of Parliament; and Directions were given, "That if the "Houſe of Commons proceeded to accuſe the "King's Servants, to aſperſe his Counſellors, *to "ſpeak of them is to aſperſe*, to handle Matters of "Religion improper for them, *there* Laud *appears "as much as if he had given it under his Hand and "Seal*, to raiſe Objections againſt his Majeſty's "Speech, then the Privy-Counſellors were to in-"timate that thoſe Debates tended to a Breach, "and the King ſhou'd immediately declare he "wou'd not ſuffer it. Thus, continues *Echard*, were Matters prepar'd for the ſecond Meeting of Parliament. The Simplicity of the Hiſtorian in telling this Tale, is very ſingular. The ſecret Committee of Council adviſ'd the King before-hand to hear no Complaints againſt his Servants, and to ſupport the Abettors of Popery in their ſuperſtitious Innovations. Theſe were call'd *Arminians*: For beſides the heretical Doctrine of *Arminius*, which King *James* had labour'd ſo much to root out in *Holland*, the *Engliſh Arminians* preach'd another Hereſy, that the King's Power was abſolute and arbitrary, and muſt be obey'd under Pain of Damnation.

Tyrannical Proceedings.

Coke 278.

Whitl. 11.

Evil Counſellors.

There was another Preparation for the Meeting of Parliament, the Conſequence of which was like the Conſequences of almoſt every Step of this Miniſtry, the making more ill Blood, and preparing Matters for the future terrible Diviſion between King and Parliament. *Weſton* the new Treaſurer had bought off Sir *Thomas Wentworth* from the Country Party, and he was made a Privy-Counſellor, Lord-Preſident of the *North*, and Viſcount *Wentworth*. The Archdeacon tells us with the former Simplicity, *Being thus gain'd, he became a devout Friend to the Church.* Exquiſite Nonſenſe! As if Bribery and Treachery wou'd lead a Man to true Religion and Devotion. The Lord *Digby*, whom the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* allow to be as much for *Church* and *King* as Dr. *Laud*, ſaid of this great Man, and *Noy* ſoon after alike corrupted with the Attorney-General's Place, "Sir *Thomas Wentworth* and Mr. *Noy* were "moſt keen and active Patriots when the *Petition "of Right* was in Agitation, and *Wentworth* the "firſt Mover and Inſiſtor for this Clauſe, *That for "the Comfort and Safety of Subjects, his Majeſty "wou'd be pleas'd to declare his Will and Pleaſure, "that all his Miniſters ſhou'd ſerve him according "to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.* And "to whom now can all the Inundations upon Li-"berties under Pretence of Law, and the late "Shipwreck of our Property be attributed more "than to *Noy*? And all thoſe other Miſchiefs, "whereby this Monarchy hath been brought al-"moſt to the Brink of Ruin, ſo much to any as "to that GRAND APOSTATE to the Common-"wealth Sir *Thomas Wentworth*? *Who*, ſays *Echard*, *coming to a right Underſtanding with Biſhop* Laud, *they two enter'd into an inviolable League of Friendſhip*: What muſt that League be but a Confederacy againſt the Commonwealth, which the Lord *Digby* tells us the Grand Apoſtate *Wentworth* had betray'd?

*A.D.*1628. Wentworth *bought off.*

So is Noy. Ruſhw. 1356. *Ld* Digby *againſt them.*

Wentworth *a Confident of* Laud's.

Before the Parliament met, there had been a Feint made to relieve *Rochelle* with the Fleet and Forces which were to have been commanded by *Buckingham*. The Earl of *Lindſey*, their Commander after the Duke's Death, ſail'd to *Rochelle*, but return'd without doing any Service. Upon this the *Rochellers*, in the laſt Diſtreſs and Deſpair, were forc'd to ſurrender themſelves, their Religion, Rights, and Liberties, and thoſe of all the Proteſtants in *France*, into the Hands of their moſt cruel implacable Enemy Cardinal *Richlieu*, as has been already hinted. The *Germans* under *Dalbier* were diſpos'd of to the King of *Denmark*, to whoſe Aſſiſtance were ſent the Lord *Vere* and General *Morgan* with a good Body of Troops; but all Enterprizes in theſe Times, had the Succeſs which attends raſh or ungrateful Counſels: And had not Biſhop *Laud* and his Brethren triumph'd in the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion* Court, and *Spiritual* Courts, there wou'd have been no Triumphs in this Period of our Hiſtory. *Coke* on this Occaſion ſpeaks the Truth, tho' a little coarſely; "The War "againſt *France* was not more inconſiderately be-"gun about two Years before, than the Peace "made with it was ſecret. The firſt Time it "was heard of, was at the Siege of *Privas*, where "the Peace was proclaim'd between *Lewis* XIII. "and his good Brother of *England*. The *Reform'd* "were aſtoniſh'd and confounded that the King "of *England*, who brought them into the War, "ſhou'd leave them out of the Peace. Upon "this *Privas* ſurrenders, ſo does *Caſtres*, and then "*Nimes*. The Duke *de Rohan* is forced to ſub-"mit, the Power of the Proteſtants is rooted out, "and while the King of *England* is making War "againſt the Parliament, *Richlieu* marches into "*Italy*, takes *Saluſſes* and *Pignerol* from the Duke "of *Savoy*, which prepar'd the Way for the ex-"orbitant Power of *Lewis* XIV." But Mr. Archdeacon has a good Excuſe for abandoning the *Reform'd* in *France*. The *King by aiding thoſe of* Rochelle, *train'd up his own Subjects in the School of* Rebellion, *and taught them to confederate with Foreigners, and at length brought down the Judg-*

Rochelle.

All foreign Enterprizes unſucceſsful.

K. Charles *the Occaſion of the Ruin of the* French *Proteſtants* *P.* 290.

P. 411. Echard *againſt them.*

ments

A.D.1629. *ments of Heaven upon his own Head.* If this will bear Reflection, it muſt be by Perſons of more Patience and Inſenſibility than I can boaſt of. We are told there were ſome popular Steps taken at this Time, Archbiſhop *Abbot* is ſent for to Court, and receiv'd with Solemnity; Dr. *Potter*, a true Proteſtant Divine, is made Biſhop of *Carliſle*; and *Mountague*'s Appeal call'd in by Proclamation, after he was made a Biſhop, to ſhew what an Abhorrence the Court had for a Doctrine which they wou'd not ſuffer to be condemn'd.

A.D.1629. On the 20th of *January* the Parliament met, and *Echard* wonders they had not entirely bury'd their Jealouſies after the *Petition of Right* had been ſo exactly obſerv'd by filling the *Fleet* and *Marſhalſea* with Priſoners for not paying Cuſtoms levy'd without Conſent of Parliament. The Houſe of Commons took the Matter into Debate immediately, *The Jealouſy of the Nation*, to uſe *Larrey*'s Words, *appear'd rous'd, the ſame Complaints, the ſame Commotions, and the ſame Ardor as in the foregoing Seſſion on the* Petition of Right. The Caſe of Mr. *Rolle*, a Member, was enquir'd into; upon which another Member ſpoke thus, "It is "Time now, Gentlemen, to ſhew your Zeal for "the Defence of your Laws; your Liberty is at "Stake if you do not haſten to its Support. It "is attack'd in its Sanctuary, in the Perſon of one "of your Members. Nay, even all the Parliament is attack'd by the Inſolence of the Officers of Cuſtom: The Seizure of Perſon and "Goods is put into Practice: They begin by "plundering and impriſoning, and afterwards ask "our Conſent to our Slavery, by giving our Sanction to the Bill for the raiſing this Tax, *&c.*" The King on his Side order'd the Parliament to attend him at the *Banquetting-Houſe*, where "He "commended the Houſe of Lords, who having "the Honour by their Dignities to be near the "Majeſty of Kings, were by that Means more "affectionate to the Crown; but complain'd of "the Houſe of Commons, who, he ſaid, were "too reſtleſs, too jealous, too factious; and under Colour of preſerving their Privileges, diſputed the Rights of the Sovereign. He ſpoke "of the Tax in queſtion, as of a Right he held "by the Gift of the People, and never had a "Thought of holding it otherwiſe." How then came the Goals ſo full of Merchants, for not yeilding to pay it till 'twas ſo given? *As to arbitrary Power, he told them he had as great an Averſion to it as they*; which having particular Reference to the Impriſonment of the Subjects for refuſing Payment of Cuſtoms not granted by Parliament, is very extraordinary. The Courtiers hurrying on the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, caus'd a juſt Jealouſy that they wanted to have it diſpatch'd to rid themſelves of the Parliament, and therefore the latter reſolv'd not to paſs it till they had provided for the Security of Religion; for notwithſtanding the Lord *Clarendon* repreſents it every where as more ſecure than ever, others knew the contrary; and Mr. *Rous* a Member of the Houſe of Commons ſpoke thus; "What we "are now upon, *Gentlemen*, is of greater Concern "than our Laws and Liberties, it concerns the "Security of our Religion to which our Laws "and Liberties are link'd, and become ſo inſeparable, that the diſ-uniting of the firſt certainly "deſtroys the two other." We ſhou'd remember they were told not *to meddle* with Religion, it being a Thing improper for them. It was indeed to meddle with *Laud*, and that was now as bad as their meddling with *Villiers* before. Mr. *Rous* went on, "We ſuffer *Popery* to come in again "into the Land, and to increaſe; we have open'd "our Gates to it, and like another *Trojan* Horſe, "it has got within our Walls." He enlarg'd upon the Growth of *Arminianiſm*, which is *the Egg of Popery*: *If you ſuffer it to hatch and grow up, you'll ſoon hear the* Arminians, Laud, Neile, Piers, Wren, Mountague, Lyndſay, Skinner, *ſpeak the Language of Papiſts.* He concludes, *Let us now, by the unanimous Conſent and Reſolution of us all, make a Vow and Covenant henceforth to hold faſt to our God and our Religion, which are the Centre of the Publick Peace, and ought to be ſo of our Care and Debates.* Mr. *Pym* ſaid, "The Toleration of *Popery*, and the "Liberty given to *Arminianiſm*, wou'd deſtroy the "Kingdom if not ſpeedily prevented; that the "Doctrine was pernicious, and oppoſite to that "of the firſt Reformers, and the Canons of the "Church of *England*. He added, *It is the Duty of Parliaments to eſtabliſh the true Religion, and puniſh the falſe.* If it was their Duty, it cou'd not be *improper* for them. *That the Parliaments have always inſiſted on their Right to do it; that they have confirm'd general Councils; that* Henry III. *did nothing againſt the Pope but with Advice of Parliament.* And he exhorted the Houſe to preſerve *their Rights, to enquire into the falſe Doctors and their Books.* He mention'd the Novelties introduc'd by *Coſins* into his Church, where Images of Saints and Angels were ſet up, as alſo Crucifixes and lighted Candles, with other *Romiſh* Cuſtoms. Secretary *Cook* brought a Meſſage to haſten the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*; and again another to the ſame Purpoſe; but the Houſe *reſolv'd that Religion ſhou'd take Place before that Bill.* Sir *Francis Seymour* made a warm Speech in this Debate, but Means were afterwards us'd to gain him as Sir *Thomas Wentworth* had been gain'd. Worthy Sir *Robert Philips* ſaid, *Two Sects are damnably crept in to undermine the King and Kingdom, the one* Popery, *the other* Arminianiſm. Is there a Vicar or Curate, who wou'd not ſtare to hear it ſaid that Archbiſhop *Laud* was a *Sectary*, yet ſo he is term'd by this noble Patriot Sir *Robert Philips*. Such Speeches cou'd not but be moſt ungrateful to the Court and their Creatures. One *Lewis* cry'd, *The Devil take the Parliament.* It ſeems he was a Diſciple of pious Biſhop *Laud*; and Archdeacon *Echard* does not approve of the Parliament's ſending for *Lewis*, becauſe the Words were not ſpoken in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel. Secretary *Cook* brings a third Meſſage for the *Tonnage* and *Poundage* Bill, which was thought ſo reaſonable, ſays the Archdeacon, that Sir *Thomas Edmunds* one of his Majeſty's domeſtick Servants, *preſs'd earneſtly for a Compliance.* 'Tis a Quibble to ſay how ſimple this Hiſtorian is, he certainly ſhou'd have produc'd another Spokeſman to have ſeconded Sir *John Cook* effectually. Mr. *Coryton* reply'd to *Edmunds*, and the Houſe ſent an Anſwer to his Majeſty, that *theſe Meſſages were inconvenient, breeding Debate and Loſs of Time.* Sir *John Elliot* ſpoke with his uſual Warmth, *We ſee ſome among our Biſhops who are not orthodox*; witneſs the two Biſhops complain'd of the laſt Meeting of Parliament, *Neile* and *Laud*. Let us *enquire whether there are not ſuch amongſt us; let us not be afraid to exclude them from the Government both in Church and State, leſt they corrupt one and the other. It is the Clergy's Buſineſs to inſtruct the People, but it belongs to the Parliament to reſtrain the Clergy when they err from ſound Doctrine. The Church of* England *wou'd be in a piteous Caſe if it was otherwiſe; if ſhe was abandon'd to thoſe new Doctors who trump up to us a new* Liturgy *that was unknown to our Reformers.* It is our Buſineſs to be watchful over theſe *ill-meaning Paſtors, and not to ſuffer them to infect the Church and deſtroy the orthodox Faith.* The Houſe of Commons being mov'd with the Speeches of theſe three Members, after ſome Debate paſt the Vow propos'd by Mr. *Rous*:

We the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, do claim, proteſt, and avow for Truth the Senſe of the Articles which were eſtabliſhed by Parliament in the thirteenth Year of our late Queen Elizabeth, **which by the publick**

Parliament.

P. 154. *Warm againſt Grievances*

ib.

England *enſlav'd.*

P. 155. *The King's fine Speaking.*

ib. 156.

Popery encourag'd,

Laud *a Sectary.*

Sir Francis Seymour *bought off.*

Laud *an Innovator.*

And Superſtition.

A Vow paſt.

A.D.1629. lick Act of the Church of England, and by the general and current Expoſitions of the Writers of our Church have been delivered unto us; and we reject the Senſe of the Jeſuits and Arminian, and all others wherein they differ from us. Both Houſes join'd in an Addreſs to the King for a general Faſt. The Anſwer was an angry one, *Fighting will do you more good than faſting, tho' I do not diſapprove of the latter.* The Houſe of Commons ſoon after preſented a Declaration, that "They were reſolv'd to apply themſelves entirely to the ſecuring of their Religion, "which was equally in Danger from *Arminians* "and *Papiſts*; they hop'd their Zeal wou'd meet "with his Majeſty's Approbation, becauſe his Piety and Glory were concern'd in the Peace of "the Kingdom; that Schiſm and Hereſy ſhou'd "not prevail over the Reformation." How aſtoniſhing is this? They here call Biſhop *Laud* a *Schiſmatick*; that very Biſhop who had proſecuted the moſt religious and learned of our Divines as guilty of Schiſm. "They pray'd that their Care of Re-"ligion might have Precedency of the *Tonnage* "Act;" and he requir'd the contrary, adding, *I am zealous for the Defence of the Church, and well inform'd it is in no Danger.* But that Information came from *Laud*, whom the Parliament did not look upon as a Member of the Reform'd Church of *England*, but as one fallen into the *Schiſm* and Sin of *Arminianiſm*. And now, according to *Echard*, the *Spirit being rais'd, it was the Art of ſubtle Men to keep it up.* This is the poor Sophiſtry, which runs thro' his Hiſtory; a wretched Copy of *Clarendon's*. How ſoon wou'd the Art of theſe ſubtle Men have been render'd uſeleſs and vain by the King's hearkening to the humble and earneſt Petition of the Parliament for the Security of their Religion againſt Popery and its Abettors? Had the Laws been put in due Execution againſt Papiſts, and the Authors of popiſh Innovations been diſcountenanc'd, the Art of the ſubtle Men wou'd have been of no more Uſe to them, than the Wiſdom of the wiſe Men proves to be in the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*. The Houſe debated a Declaration of the King's prohibiting Diſputes about Religion, which they judg'd to be the Advice of *Laud* and *Mountague*. They complain'd of the King's pardoning the latter; and obſerv'd, that tho' the Warrant to draw his Pardon was for him only, yet three other ſuch Divines were put in, *Coſens*, *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*. Upon which a Member cry'd out, *In this* Laud *is contracted all the Danger we fear; for he that procur'd theſe Pardons may be the Author of theſe new Opinions.* In the Height of the Debate about Religion, Mr. *Rolle's* Warehouſe was lock'd up by a Purſuivant, and himſelf call'd out of the Houſe and ſerv'd with a *Subpœna*. Sir *Humphry May*, a Privy-Counſellor, declar'd the King and Council knew nothing of it; and the Attorney-General wrote to Mr. *Rolle* to excuſe it as a Miſtake. The Matter was referr'd to the Committee of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, who receiv'd Petitions from ſeveral Merchants under Proſecution for refuſing to pay that Cuſtom as the Farmers demanded it. Mr. *Noy*, who was not yet Attorney-General, ſaid, *We cannot ſafely give unleſs we are in Poſſeſſion; for it will not be a Gift but Confirmation; neither will I give without a Declaration in this Bill, that the King hath no Right but by our free Gift. If it will not be accepted as it is fit for us to give, we cannot help it: If it be the King's already, we do not give it.* It was high time to take off a Man who had ſo much Law and Reaſon about him, and who conſequently muſt do a great deal of Miſchief where Reaſon and Law were againſt him. The Houſe ſent to the Barons of the *Exchequer* to vacate their Orders for ſtopping Merchants Goods. The Barons anſwer'd, Thoſe Orders did not determine the Right of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Thus the Merchants had been all along impriſon'd and plunder'd for refuſing to pay a Tax, which the Judges durſt not determine they ought to pay. The Anſwer of the Barons being unſatisfactory, the Houſe reſolv'd to enquire farther into their Proceedings. At the ſame time an Information was prepar'd in the *Star-Chamber* againſt Mr. *Chambers*, while his Petition lay before the Parliament; which the Houſe ſo reſented, that they ſent Sir *William Acton*, Sheriff of *London*, to the *Tower*. Several Cuſtom-Houſe Officers being examin'd, and charged with Breach of Privilege in the Caſe of Mr. *Rolle*, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, that *what they did was by his own direct Order.* 'Twas ſaid in the Debate, that *theſe Interruptions proceeded from ſome Prelates and others Abettors of the Popiſh Party, who fear to be diſcover'd, and wou'd provoke to a Breach.* Here again we are told that *Laud*, *Neile*, *Mountague*, and the like Prelates, were uſing not the Art of ſubtle Men, but the Zeal and Fury of Bigots, to make a Breach between his Majeſty and his People. It is neceſſary for me to remind the Reader often of the Deſigns of the Enemies of our happy Conſtitution in Church and State, for that they have endeavour'd in their Hiſtories to turn the Tables upon us, and prove that the Lovers of the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty were the Authors of that fatal *Breach*. Enquiry was made concerning ten popiſh Prieſts arraign'd at the *King's-Bench*, of which one only was condemn'd, and he repriev'd, and the other nine were releas'd. Sir *Robert Philips* complain'd, that 500 at a time have been ſeen coming from Maſs in *Somerſet-Houſe*; and that there are 940 *Engliſh Scots* and *Iriſh* in Religious Houſes in the *Netherlands* maintain'd by the Papiſts of *England*. The reverend Hiſtorian confeſſes, that tho' the Secretary and Attorney-General gave fair Accounts of the King's Juſtice and Mercy in Execution of the *Penal Laws*, yet *they cou'd not qualify the general Outcry*. What a Wonderment he makes of it? We have ſeen how frequently his Majeſty had promis'd to have thoſe Laws duly executed at the Parliament's Requeſt. Here are ten *Romiſh* Prieſts arraign'd, one of them only condemn'd, he repriev'd, and nine releas'd by *Hyde* the Chief Juſtice. *Echard* is amaz'd that the Houſe of Commons wou'd not take the Secretary and Attorney-General's Words againſt the Matter of Fact then before them.

A.D.1629.

Laud *a Schiſmatick.*

Laud *accus'd in Parliament as the Cauſe of all Miſchief.*

Noy againſt giving is bought off.

Money illegally taken.

Biſhops for the Papiſts.

The Parliament adjourning for three or four Days, when they met they receiv'd a Meſſage from his Majeſty to adjourn, *being weary'd with their great Delays*, ſays *Echard, and ill Succeſs*. At other times the King's *chief Struggles were for Supplies, but now he ſtrove only for Confirmation of what he had poſſeſs'd ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown.* He takes care not to ſay againſt Law, becauſe without Conſent of Parliament; and it is plain enough his Majeſty was ſo willing to have his Right to *Tonnage* ſuppos'd to be hereditary, notwithſtanding what he himſelf had ſaid to the contrary, that he was determin'd not to ſatisfy the Parliament concerning Religion for a Preſent which leſſen'd the Idea he had conceiv'd of his Prerogative, and ſubjected a Tax the Crown had been many Years in Poſſeſſion of by the Gift of the Parliament only, to the ſame Gift ſtill: A Tenure the King did not think ſo honourable, or ſo certain, as that of Inheritance. *Sanderſon*, ſuch another Hiſtorian as *Echard*, tells us the King cou'd not *in Honour* ſuffer the Commons, that *School of Diſſention*, to inſiſt on a Right to diſpoſe of their own Money; tho' in the ſame Page he allows that his Majeſty took that Tax *preſuming* it wou'd be given him: and ſo it had been without queſtion, if the King wou'd have ſatisfy'd the Parliament concerning Religion. P. 130, 134.

The Meſſage to adjourn had been comply'd with very unwillingly, the Houſe of Commons look-

*A.D.*1629. looking upon it as a ſort of Infringement of their Privileges; and when they met again it was with the ſame Zeal for the Defence of their Liberties. Sir *John Elliot* began the Debate with a Complaint againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*, whoſe Merit was an inviolable Attachment to Popery and arbitrary Power, tho' he was an occaſional Conformiſt, and went to Church with the other Courtiers. Under Colour of that Conformity he did the Papiſts more Service than he cou'd have done had he gone to Maſs. The Character given of him in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory has more viſible Marks of Invention than moſt of the other Characters. " His Education had been very good " amongſt Books and Men. After ſome Years " Study of the Law in the *Middle Temple* he tra- " vell'd into foreign Parts, and at an Age fit to " make Obſervations and Reflections, out of which " that which is commonly call'd *Experience* is con- " ſtituted". A very elaborate Deſcription of the Conſtitution of Experience. Reflections and Obſervations upon Facts in antient and modern Hiſtory wiſely made, are more uſeful than what a Man can ſee or hear in his Travels, which ſurely is never call'd Experience; and tho' *Weſton* travell'd at an Age fit to make Obſervations and Reflections, it is not explain'd to us that he made them. But it is ſaid, that having ſpent his Fortune at Court, and drawn in his Friends to be bound for him, he was at laſt promoted, and doubtleſs had too much Experience to think he cou'd repair his broken Fortune by defending the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. The following Allegory has a Quaintneſs in it which is not very common: " He did ſwim in thoſe troubleſome and " boiſt'rous Waters, where the Duke of *Bucking-* " *ham* rode Admiral with a good Grace"; to *ſwim* with a Grace in a Storm is a Flower in Eloquence; " when very many who were about " him were drown'd, or forc'd on Shore with " ſhrewd Hurts and Bruiſes; which ſhew'd he " knew well, how and when to uſe his Limbs and " Strength to the beſt Advantage; ſometime on- " ly to avoid ſinking, and ſometime to advance " and get ground". I have made this ſhort Digreſſion to let the Reader a little into the Nature of the Lord *Clarendon*'s Characters, which are ſometimes too fulſome, ſometimes too malicious, always too partial to give great Delight to an honeſt Mind. 'Tis acknowledg'd in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, that the *Treaſurer* Weſton's *Wife and all his Daughters were declar'd of the* Roman *Religion; and tho' he himſelf and his Sons ſometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have Zeal for it; and his domeſtick Converſation and Dependants with whom only he us'd entire Freedom were all known Papiſts.* Such was the Favourite of a King, whom the ſame Hiſtorian repreſents as zealous for the Proteſtant Religion; but he explains it all away afterwards: *Weſton* never *had Reputation and Credit with the Popiſh Party*; not with the Party with whom he only us'd *entire Confidence*, his *Friends* and *Dependants*; which is ſo much in Probability, that a Man muſt be an Infidel not to believe it. Sir *John Elliot* ſpoke againſt *Neile* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and more eſpecially againſt the great *Lord Treaſurer, in whoſe Perſon all Evil is contracted. I find him acting and building on thoſe Grounds laid by his great Maſter the Duke, and that his Spirit is moving to theſe Interruptions. Theſe Men break Parliaments for fear Parliaments ſhou'd break them. I find him the Head of the great Party the Papiſts.* *Echard* too ſays he had no Credit with them. *All Jeſuits and Prieſts derive from him their Shelter and Protection.* Buckingham *is dead, but he revives in the two Chiefs,* Neile *and* Weſton, *who are animated with the ſame Spirit, and tread in the ſame Steps; but let not that hinder us from doing our Duty.* He was going on when Sir *John Finch* the Speaker deliver'd a Meſ-

Weſton *Lord Treaſurer complain'd of.*

ſage from his Majeſty commanding them again to *adjourn*. Thus in five Days they had had two Meſſages to *adjourn*, both of them unparliamentary and irregular. The Houſe ſaw that as often as they offer'd to make Enquiry into Male-Adminiſtration their Debates wou'd be ſtopp'd by a Command to *adjourn*. They reſented this Irregularity in the Speaker, whoſe Duty it was not to deliver any ſuch Command: for the Adjournment did properly belong to themſelves. Sir *John Elliot* being about to deliver a Remonſtrance on the Subject of his Complaint, which bore hard on *Neile* and *Weſton*; that Court Tool the Speaker *Finch* boldly refus'd to read it, nay, the very Clerk was ſo far gain'd too, that he alſo refus'd it. Sir *Miles Hobart* fearing the Speaker wou'd have deſerted the Service lock'd the Door of the Houſe, and Mr. *Strode* ſaid, *Let the Remonſtrance be read, that we may not be turn'd off like ſcatter'd Sheep, and ſent home as we were laſt Seſſions with a Scorn put upon us in Print.* Then Sir *John Elliot* read the *Remonſtrance*, and it was propos'd to put the Queſtion; but *Finch* the Speaker cry'd, *I am otherwiſe commanded by the King.* The great *Selden*, a Name of more Weight than any Name in the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, ſaid, *Dare you not put the Queſtion when we command you? If you will not put it, we muſt ſit ſtill and do nothing. We are here by Command from the King under the great Seal, and you before both Houſes are appointed our Speaker, and do you refuſe to perform your Office?* Sir *Robert Philips* urg'd Precedents for the Right of the Houſe to *adjourn* itſelf; and that moſt learned Lawyer and reverend Judge Sir *Edward Coke* ſaid, *The King prorogues, but the Houſe adjourns. Finch* cou'd make no other Anſwer to this, than that his Majeſty *had expreſsly commanded him to riſe as ſoon as he had deliver'd the Meſſage of Adjournment.* Accordingly he roſe and left the Chair. But Mr. *Denzil Hollis* and Mr. *Benjamin Valentine* drew him back, and held him down in it by Force. We muſt interrupt the Story to obſerve that his Majeſty by this Meſſage exerciſed the moſt arbitrary Act of Power, which ever was acted by King of *England*, and that in the moſt flagrant manner, in plain Violation of the Privileges of Parliament. Sir *Thomas Edmunds* and other Privy-Counſellors, then in the Houſe, endeavour'd to free the Speaker. Mr. *Hollis* cry'd, *He ſhall ſit till he pleaſes us to riſe. Finch* fell a weeping; the Betrayers of the Cauſe of Liberty have generally ſuch noble Spirits; and ſpoke thus with an Interruption of Tears, *I do not ſay I will not, but I dare not.* He deſir'd *they would not command his Ruin, in regard he had been their faithful Servant; but he durſt not ſin againſt the expreſs Command of his Sovereign.* Mr. *Selden* reply'd, *I ever lov'd your Perſon, but I cannot chuſe but condemn you now, that you being a Servant of the Houſe ſhou'd refuſe their Commands; which Obſtinacy will be a Precedent to Poſterity, if it ſhou'd go unpuniſh'd.* He therefore wiſh'd him to proceed; which he ſtill refus'd, and fell a weeping afreſh. Sir *Peter Hayman*, a Countryman of his, ſaid, *I am ſorry you are my Kinſman, for you are the Diſgrace of your Country, and a Blot of a noble Family. Poſterity will remember you with Scorn and Diſdain. For my part, ſince you will not be perſuaded to do your Duty, I think it fit you ſhou'd be call'd to the Bar, and a new Speaker choſen.* *Finch* knew well enough their Power was not to laſt long, and there was nothing to be got by them, but much by obeying the King; ſo he remain'd inflexible. *Echard* not regarding what thoſe very eminent Lawyers *Selden* and *Coke* had ſaid of the Right of the Commons, and the Duty of a Speaker, applauds *Finch*'s *Fidelity to the King*, which prevail'd over his Duty to his Country. The Houſe perceiving it, and knowing this was the only Opportunity they ſhou'd have to bear their Teſtimony againſt a long

*A.D.*1629. *The King's irregular Conduct.*

Finch *a Court Tool.*

The King very arbitrary.

Finch's *Character.*

A.D. 1629. Roll of Enormities drawn up in a Proteſtation againſt the Miniſtry, they order'd it to be read, and every Article had a *Plaudite* from the Members.

Commons Proteſtation.

" 1. Whoever ſhall bring in Innovations in Religion, " or by Favour ſeek to introduce *Popery* or *Arminianiſm*, or Opinions diſagreeing from the " true and Orthodox Church, ſhall be reputed a " capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Commonwealth. 2. Whatſoever Counſellor ſhall adviſe " the taking or levying the Subſidies of *Tonnage* " and *Poundage* not granted by Parliament, " ſhall be reputed an Innovator in the Government, and a capital Enemy to the Kingdom " and Commonwealth. 3. If any Merchant or " Perſon whatſoever ſhall voluntarily yield or pay " the Subſidies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage* not being granted by Parliament, he ſhall likewiſe be " reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of *England*, " and an Enemy to the ſame". After we have ſeen how all theſe Enormities were committed, and ſhall ſee how the Miniſters will continue to commit and increaſe them, is it not very merry to hear *Warwick* tell us they voted againſt *Innovations in Religion, and paying* Tonnage *and* Poundage, *as if there had been ſuch a Deſign?* There is ſomething extremely ridiculous in it when *Effronterie* and Stupidity meet together. The King hearing of *theſe Diſorders*, ſays the Archdeacon, he means only Votes of Parliament, ſent a Meſſenger to the Serjeant of the Houſe of Commons to bring away his Mace; this is no Diſorder with him, which being remov'd from the Table *would ſtop all Proceedings*. Whoever knows leaſt of the Conſtitution knows that the Serjeant is a Servant to that Houſe, and that no King ever pretended to take him from their Service on purpoſe to ſtop Proceedings. The Door being lock'd his Majeſty was ſo provok'd, according to the reverend Hiſtorian, that without more ado he ſent to *Maxwell*, Uſher of the Black Rod, to call them up to a Diſſolution. He too finding the Door lock'd, the next Recourſe is to Arms. *He in great Indignation*, to uſe the Archdeacon's Words, *ſent for the Captain of his Guards* to force an Entrance. But the Parliament having ſate thus two Hours adjourn'd to the 10th of *March*, as they were commanded, and the forcible Entry into their Houſe was not made till ſome Years after. Biſhop *Williams*, who foreſaw the diſmal Effects of ſuch arbitrary Counſels and Actions, endeavour'd to prevent the fatal Effects of them, and importun'd the Lord *Weſton* to carry this Meſſage from him to his Majeſty: *That the Parliament might meet again for all this, and that there might be a Conference between the Two Houſes to debate about Differences; that he hop'd the Lords wou'd check, if not cenſure the* Commons, *who were ſo very rude.* His Advice to let the Parliament ſit was good, but his Reaſon very unpromiſing, and given rather to flatter the imperious Humour of the Court, than that it was his Judgment; which was too good to imagine the Lords wou'd take upon them to cenſure the Commons for aſſerting their Rights, which they did in the preceding Votes; and did no more than was their Right to do both as to the Speaker and Proteſtation, whatever is inſolently and impertinently ſaid to the contrary.

Inſufferable Tyranny.

P. 41.

Echard miſtakes in placing the Impriſonment of the Members before the Diſſolution of the Parliament. His Guides *Warwick* and *Sanderſon* affirm they were impriſon'd after the Parliament was diſſolv'd. The King came to the Houſe of Peers on the 10th of *March*, and made a Speech to them without ſending for the Commons, who being to be ſeverely handled in it, 'twas certainly very decent, tho' not very regular, to let them be out of the hearing of it. *It is merely the undutiful and ſeditious Carriage of the Lower Houſe*, ſaid his Majeſty, *that has made the Diſſolution of this Parliament.* Then after ſome Praiſes beſtow'd on the Houſe of Lords, he ſaid, *It is ſo far from me to adjudge all the Houſe alike guilty, that I know that there are many there as dutiful Subjects as any in the World.* Every *Engliſhman* having a Duty to his Country as well as to his King, one knows not well what is meant by dutiful in this King's Speech, unleſs it be an abject, ſlaviſh Submiſſion to arbitrary Power. What follows in the Speech, *It being ſome few Vipers*, is a Figure which in *Plebeian* Rhetorick is term'd calling of Names; but the Objection I make to it is, that theſe *few Vipers* were by much the Majority of this Houſe of Commons. The Parliament being diſſolv'd, the King as he was diſrobing in a ſort of Fury ſaid, *He wou'd never put on thoſe Robes again.* He publiſh'd a Declaration of the Cauſes why he did it; wherein, according to *Echard*, is a *fair Account* of his taking *Tonnage* and *Poundage* contrary to Law. He complain'd of the Parliament's falling upon his Miniſters, in which they were miſled by ſome *Vipers, who like Empericks and lewd Artiſts*, more calling of Names, *ſtrove to make new Work, and to have ſome Diſeaſe afoot to keep themſelves in Requeſt, and to be employ'd in the Cure.* What Elegance, what Decorum! and at the ſame time how keen the Satyr, and how conſiſtent with the Imperial Stile! There were as ſevere Writings publiſh'd againſt theſe Miniſters, particularly *Weſton* and *Laud*, who were accus'd of adviſing the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and in thoſe anonymous Writings threaten'd with a tragical Exit, if, ſays *Larrey*, they did not repent of their Wickedneſs, which was alledg'd to be ſo enormous, that *neither God nor Man con'd let it eſcape unpuniſh'd.*

A.D. 1629.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

P. 164.

Warrants were directed to Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Henry Hammond*, Sir *John Corbet*, Sir *John Heveningham*, Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *John Barrington*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Strode*, Mr. *Coryton*, Mr. *Valentine*, Mr. *Long*, to appear before the Council; and they appeared accordingly. Mr. *Hollis* was ask'd a Queſtion becoming the Wiſdom of *Roman* Senators, *Why did you ſit above ſome of the Privy-Council ſo near the Speaker's Chair?* He reply'd, *I ſeated myſelf there ſome other times before, and took it as my Due there, and in any Place whatſoever*; on Account of his noble Birth, Son to the Earl of *Clare*. *That he came into the Houſe with as much Zeal as any other to ſerve his Majeſty; yet finding his Majeſty was offended, he humbly deſir'd to be the Subject rather of his Mercy than of his Power.* The Treaſurer *Weſton* anſwer'd, *You mean rather of his Majeſty's Mercy than of his Juſtice.* Mr. *Hollis* reply'd, *I ſay of his Majeſty's Power.* Sir *John Elliot* was charg'd for Words ſpoken; to which he anſwer'd, *Whatſoever was ſaid or done by me in that Place, and at that Time, was in the Capacity of a publick Man, and a Member of the Houſe; and I am and ever will be ready to give an Account of my Sayings and Doings there, whenever I ſhall be called unto it by that Houſe, where I conceive I am only to be queſtion'd; and in the mean time I being now but a private Man, I will not now trouble myſelf to remember what I ſaid or did there as a publick Perſon.* Which ſeems to denote that the Parliament was not then in Being; and if the Council had queſtion'd theſe Gentlemen before the Houſe broke up, they wou'd doubtleſs have been queſtion'd themſelves ſeverely. Sir *Miles Hobart*'s Offence was locking the Door of the Houſe, and putting the Key in his Pocket. *Sanderſon* tells us he was accus'd as doing it by the Command of the Houſe: But Sir *Edward Peyton* informs us, he was remember'd for it on another Occaſion. An ordinary Officer, one *Richard Plumley*, pretending a Quarrel with Sir *Miles*, took an Advantage of him, pull'd him out of his Coach, and beat him ſo that he dy'd. *Plumley* was ſo far from being puniſh'd, *that he was made Admiral of the* Iriſh *Seas*, and knighted when juſtly he ſhou'd have

Members impriſon'd.

P. 59.

*AD.*1629. been try'd *for his Life*. All theſe Gentlemen were committed to Priſon for doing their Duty; that is, for ſpeaking freely in Parliament, and refuſing to anſwer out of it what they ſaid in it. *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Strode* and *Valentine* were ſent to the *Tower*, the reſt to the *Fleet* and *Gatehouſe*.

Proclamation againſt Parliaments.

The Declaration before-mention'd was follow'd by a Proclamation containing this frank Confeſſion of the Deſigns of the Court to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government: *The Calling again of a Parliament is for ill Ends divulg'd and ſpread about. His Majeſty did therefore declare, that the late Abuſes had driven him out of the Courſe of frequent meeting his People in Parliament, and did command his Subjects not to preſcribe him any time for Parliaments.* " From theſe plain in-
Brit. Con. p. 361. " conteſtable Facts, *ſays Mr.* Acherley, may be " taken a View of the Matters controverted be- " tween this King and his Parliament; what were " the Power his Majeſty aſpir'd to, and what were " the Rights the Lords and Commons contended " for". The Lord *Clarendon*, or ſome body for him, is forc'd to confeſs here, *the People concluded no more Parliaments were to be expected*, and that therefore there was really an Intention to *alter the Government*; of which a greater Inſtance cou'd not be than this publick declaring, as was interpreted, *there ſhou'd be no more* Parliaments. The *French* Jeſuit *Orleans*, who was a Confident of our abdicated King *James*, and whoſe Hiſtory is recommended to us by Archdeacon *Echard*, gives us more of this Secret than a cunning Man wou'd have done. *Clarendon* owns the *King held the Queen in perfect Adoration*; and *Orleans* ſhews us how ſhe put him upon the fatal Deſign of altering the Government. *I muſt in Juſtice to the Queen declare, That ſhe being a Daughter of* France *was full of that Spirit which warms the Blood of abſo-*
P. 352. *lute Monarchs; and as ſuch looked on a limited Authority*, that was not to be us'd without Art, *as no better than Servitude; and therefore ſhe made the utmoſt Efforts to reſcue the King her Husband from under all Reſtrictions of Laws, Oaths*, &c.

The above-mention'd Gentlemen were not only impriſon'd, but the Studies of ſome of them, as the great *Selden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Long* and Mr. *Strode* were ſeal'd up, and Proſecutions order'd againſt moſt of them in the *Star-Chamber*, to break the ſtubborn Spirit of Liberty, which gather'd Strength by Oppoſition; ſo the chief Aſſertors of it were tempted to make their Peace with the Court. Something has been ſaid already of that grand Apoſtate Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, who gave himſelf up Body and Soul to *Laud* and his Meaſures. The good Queen juſt mention'd perſuaded the King to make *Laud* his Favourite on the Death of *Buckingham*; and ſhe afterwards got *Laud* to *gain Wentworth* to aſſiſt her in the wicked Project to introduce a tyrannical Government. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* was ſpoke to to gain Sir *John Elliot*; but his Virtue was impenetrable. Sir *John Saville* cou'd not reſiſt the Temptation; and he was made a Lord, and Comptroller of the Houſhold. Sir *Dudley Deggs* was alſo found frail in the Day of Trial, and was made Maſter of the *Rolls*. *Heath* after a little more Court Drudgery was remov'd to the Bench of Judges to make room for *Noy* to be Attorney-General, and Sir *Edward Littleton* was made Sollicitor. Theſe Men did not give themſelves up by Halves, or keep any Reſerve of Conſcience or Honour, *Littleton* only in ſome ſmall Degree excepted. It may be ſaid of all the reſt what I have read of *Noy*, he ſacrific'd all his Knowledge of the Law, and his great Learning, *to the Favour of* Laud, *and had as deep a Hand in all the illegal Practices of this Miniſtry as any one*. Inſtead of declaiming on the Characters of theſe odious Miniſters, as *Echard* does after *Clarendon*, I will repeat what a learned Writer ſays of their Admini-

Parliament Men corrupted.

Acherley, 353.

ſtration after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, by which will be ſeen what Steps were taken to change the Form of the Conſtitution; and if what Mr. *Acherley* tells us is true, *Clarendon* and *Echard* are falſe in every Page. " The King's P. 360. " Miniſters by whom he adminiſter'd gave them- " ſelves over to Licentiouſneſs and wanton Acts " of Power; for they thinking themſelves freed " from Parliamentary Inquiſitions, and being above " the Reach of ordinary Juſtice, and ſecur'd from " extraordinary, imagin'd *that* no Fault which was " like to find no Puniſhment. Proclamations ſup- " ply'd Defects in Law. *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, " and other Impoſitions on Merchandiſe, were " collected by Order of the Privy-Council; and " the Members came now to be puniſh'd, as he " threaten'd at the Cloſe of the laſt Parliament; " by which the principal Privilege, *viz.* Freedom " of Speech was, as the Miniſters hop'd, to be " quite extinguiſh'd. The Miniſters therefore " caus'd three Members of the Houſe of Com- " mons, Sir *John Elliot*, *Denzil Hollis* and *Benja- " min Valentine* to be proſecuted by his Majeſty's " Attorney-General for Words ſpoken by them " in their Debates in Parliament; and without any " Regard to Parliamentary Privileges theſe Mem- " bers were condemn'd and fin'd, Sir *John Elliot* " 2000 Pounds, Mr. *Hollis* 1000 Marks, and Mr. " *Valentine* 500. All of them were impriſon'd " till they ſhou'd pay their Fines, which Impri- " ſonment was accompany'd with ſome arbitrary " Severities; for theſe Gentlemen were deny'd not " only Pen, Ink, and Paper, but their Wives were " in their Sickneſſes deny'd Admittance, and con- *Tyrannical Proceed-* " ſequently the Rigor of the Puniſhment com- *ings*, " prehended an additional Sentence of *Divorce* " between them and their Wives, inſomuch that " Sir *John Elliot*, after many Years Confinement, " ſunk and dy'd under the Oppreſſion. But this " Proſecution and Condemnation being a Wound " given to the two Eſtates of Lords and Com- " mons in their tendereſt Privilege, and having " rais'd great Diſcontents, was in the Reign of " King *Charles* II. revers'd and unanimouſly de- " clar'd *illegal*: In which *Reverſal*, as in a Look- " ing-Glaſs, the Proſecution, Impriſonment, and " Death of that Patriot, and the Power of the " Miniſters by which he, and in him the un- " doubted Rights and Privileges of Parliament, " and of all the Commons of *England* were tram- " pled under Foot, appear to this Day in Colours, " adminiſtring a Deteſtation of ſuch Proceedings." *Deteſted.*

I chuſe to keep to this Lawyer-like Stile, for the greater Authority of the Quotation, which proves how this King's Miniſters executed the Project to alter the Form of Government, in the Opinion of thoſe who can beſt judge of it, the Lawyers of *England*.

Walter Long Eſq; of *Wiltſhire* was proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber* in *an unprecedented* Manner, ſays the ſame learned Lawyer, for ſuffering himſelf to be choſen a Burgeſs for *Bath* when he was High-Sheriff of *Wilts*. He was condemn'd and fin'd 1332 *l.* for abſenting himſelf from that County during the Seſſion of Parliament, and impriſon'd in the *Tower*. " This was an Addition, *continues my* " *Author*, to the Number of Violations of parlia- " mentary Privileges, which in theſe Times were " treated as the vileſt Clogs to Government." That Queſtion had been lately determin'd in the Caſe of Sir *Edward Coke*, who being made High-Sheriff of *Buckinghamſhire* to prevent his being elected a Member of Parliament, was notwithſtanding choſen a Burgeſs for a Borough in another County, and his Election was voted and reſolv'd to be good by the Houſe of Commons. Mr. *Acherley* again; " The King's Miniſters being thus freed of Fear, " quarter'd great Companies of Soldiers and Sea- " men on private Houſes; many People were put " to death by *Martial Law*, who ought to have " been

A.D. 1629. " been try'd by the Law of the Land, conſequent-
" ly, in the *Opinion of this learned Lawyer, many*
" *People were murder'd.* Others by the ſame *Mar-*
" *tial Law* were exempted from the Puniſhments
" which by the Laws of the Land they deſerv'd."
This is confirm'd by the Lord *Clarendon* himſelf,
who has given us ſo much Eulogy on the Bleſſings
of this Reign: *It rais'd an Aſperity in the Minds of*
more than the common People: This Diſtemper was
ſo univerſal, that the leaſt Spark ſtill meeting with
combuſtible Matter enough to make a Flame, all wiſe
Men look'd upon it as a Prediction of the Deſtruction
and Diſſolution which wou'd follow. But none of
the wiſe Men about the King wou'd adviſe him to
take one Step towards curing that Diſtemper, and
calming the Minds of the People. *Clarendon* a-
Miſerable Times. gain; *There was no Serenity in the Countenance of*
any Man who had Age and Experience to conſider
Things to come. Let us now obſerve how very
conſiſtent one Part of his Hiſtory is with the o-
P. 76. ther. " It is no wonder if *England* was generally
" thought ſecure with the Advantage of its own
" Climate; the Court in great Plenty, or rather,
" which is the Diſcredit of Plenty, Exceſs and
" Luxury; the Country rich, and which is more,
" fully enjoying the Pleaſure of its own Wealth,
" and ſo the eaſier corrupted with the Pride and
" Wantonneſs of it; the Church flouriſh'd, Trade
" increas'd, the Royal Navy in Number and E-
" quipage much above the former, very formida-
" ble at Sea. *What comes after is ſaid more in flat*
" *Contradiction of the Truth, even than what went*
" *before.* The Reputation of the Greatneſs and
" Power of the King much more with foreign
" Princes than any of his Progenitors. Laſtly,
" for a Compliment of all theſe Bleſſings, they
" were enjoy'd by and under the Protection of a
" King of the moſt harmleſs Diſpoſition, the moſt
" exemplary Mercy, *&c.*" Foreigners generally have
not the ſame Byaſs to a Side as the Hiſtorians who
are Natives, and by Education or Principle are al-
ways liſted on the one or the other. Monſieur
P. 167. *Larrey* writes thus of theſe bleſſed Times: " He
" was reſolv'd to act without the Aſſiſtance of
" Parliaments, rather than give them any Satiſ-
" faction. He continu'd to levy Taxes that were
" not granted him to ſupply his Wants: *Tonnage*
" and *Poundage* were collected; and to that was
" added another Tax on the Inhabitants of the
" Sea-Port Towns and Foreſts, which was levy'd
" with as much Haughtineſs and Rigor as if they
" had been the inſeparable Rights of the Crown,
" incenſing the Nation more by theſe kind of
" Taxes which infring'd on their Liberties, than
" he cou'd have done by much greater, that had
" only drain'd their Purſes, and not infring'd their
" Liberties. *Popery* was tolerated, and *Arminia-*
" *niſm* favour'd. *Neile* and *Laud* were the Cauſe.
" Nevertheleſs it was long before they came to a
" Rupture, tho' it may be properly ſaid, they were
" only without War and not in Peace. The Death
" of the Emperor *Ferdinand* gave the King new
" Hopes to reſtore the Prince *Palatine* his Ne-
" phew, and he ought then to have quitted theſe
" vain Diſputes about Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline,
" which caus'd his Subjects Hatred, and to have
" apply'd himſelf to have reliev'd a Family that
" nearly concern'd him, and to procure the Re-
" ſtoration of their Dominions: But he only ſent
" the Earl of *Arundel* to congratulate the new
" Emperor, and ſollicit for the *Palatinate.*" This
Negotiation was like all the former; and the Lord
P. 339. *Arundel* being referr'd to the Duke of *Bavaria*,
that Prince anſwer'd haughtily, *I conquer'd the* Pa-
latinate *with my Sword, and with my Sword I will*
maintain the Poſſeſſion of it. " Thus the Earl of
Engliſh Miniſters ill us'd abroad. " *Arundel* return'd without obtaining any Thing,
" and King *Charles* being altogether taken up with
" his Epiſcopal Diſputes, neglected his Nephew's
" Fortune, to light up the Fires of Civil Wars in
" his own Dominions." *Coke* informs us, his Am- *A.D* 1629.
baſſador Sir *Henry Vane*, who was alſo ſent to *Ger-*
many about the *Palatinate*, was treated in a *more*
rough, ſcornful, and diſhonourable Manner, than any
even of King *James*'s Miniſters who had been ſent
on the ſame Errand. Such was his Majeſty's Re-
putation abroad, ſuch the Happineſs and Tranqui-
lity at home.

A Peace being concluded with *France*, *Echard* *Peace with France and Spain.*
tells us the Articles contain'd *nothing extraordinary.*
However the King was pleas'd at the Inſtance of
the Queen to order the Releaſement of ſeveral
Popiſh Prieſts and others, who were then confin'd
in ſeveral Priſons according to the Laws. Her
Majeſty was about the ſame Time brought-to-bed
of a Prince who was chriſten'd *Charles*, but dy'd
an Hour after. The War with *Spain*, if it de-
ſerves that Name, remain'd ſtill on the ſame foot.
The *Engliſh* as well as the *Spaniards* committed
few Acts of Hoſtility; but the Court of *Spain*
thought fit to ſend Sir *Peter Paul Rubens*, the fa-
mous Painter of *Antwerp*, Secretary and Gentle-
man of the Chamber to the Archdutcheſs *Eu-*
genia, to propoſe a Treaty of Peace; and as the
Archdeacon diſcreetly expreſſes it, *he ſeem'd* to of-
fer Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which our Court
no doubt *ſeem'd* to accept of; but the Negotia-
tion had no Effect till *Don Carlos de Colonna* came
over next Year, and concluded the Treaty between
England and *Spain*, which was ſolemnly ſworn
upon a *Latin* Bible brought for that Purpoſe by
Biſhop *Laud.*

Among other illegal Ways of raiſing Money, a *Monopolies.*
Corporation of *Starch-Makers* was ſettled, who
were to pay a round Sum for their Monopoly, a
Precedent for other Monopolies on a like Pay-
ment. One *Atkinſon* being ow'd a great Sum of
Money by a Servant of the King's, ſu'd him for
his Debt. Immediately the Earl of *Montgomery*
Lord-Chamberlain, ſent the Creditor to Goal for
ſuing him without his Leave. *Atkinſon* brought
his *Habeas Corpus*, and was diſcharg'd. The Earl
reſenting it, committed *Atkinſon* again to Priſon
in Contempt of the Court, and, ſays *Whitlocke*,
to the Admiration of all *wiſe Men*; for there were
ſome Men of Wiſdom on the Side of the Laws
and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation. Three of
the Judges, *Jones*, *Whitlocke*, and *Croke*, granted a
new *Habeas Corpus*, which the faithful *Hyde* Chief-
Juſtice refus'd: But before the Return of it, the
Earl of *Montgomery*, upon *wiſer Thoughts*, releas'd
Atkinſon. *Heath* the Attorney-General, not yet a
Judge, fit, as *Whitlocke* ſays, for ſuch Work, ex-
hibited an Information in the *Star-Chamber* againſt
Mr. *Chambers* the Merchant, who had been before *Chambers.*
plunder'd for not paying Tonnage and Poundage
contrary to Law. His Crime was for ſaying, *Mer-*
chants have more Encouragement, and are leſs ſcrew'd
up in Turkey *than in* England. Mr. *Chambers* con-
feſs'd the Words, but he ſpoke then of the inferior
Officers of the Cuſtoms, who had much wrong'd *Tyranny again.*
him, without reflecting on the Government; yet
the Court fin'd him 2000 Pounds, and order'd
him to make a Submiſſion, which this generous
Citizen refuſing as unjuſt and falſe, the Fine was
eſtreated into the *Exchequer*, where he pleaded
Magna Charta and other Statutes againſt it, *as not*
being by legal Judgment of his Peers, nor ſaving his Coke, 288
Merchandize; but the *Barons* wou'd not ſuffer his
Plea to be fil'd: He was thrown into Priſon, and
a *Habeas Corpus* deny'd. Thus, ſays *Coke*, " You
" ſee the Fruits of the *Petition of Right*, and the
" King's repeated Declarations to maintain the
" Laws of the Land, and the Liberties and Pro-
" perty of the Subject." *Whitlocke* adds, after 12
Years Impriſonment and long waiting for Satisfa-
ction for his Loſſes, *Chambers* at laſt dy'd in Want.
The Judges were ſomewhat perplex'd about the
Habeas Corpus for the Parliament-Men, and wrote *Ill Judges.*
a Letter to his Majeſty, *That by their Oaths they*
were

A.D.1629. *were to bail the Priſoners.* The Lord-Keeper *Coventry*, as *fit* a Man as *Heath*, wou'd not acknowledge that he had ſhew'd the Letter to the King as the Judges had deſir'd him, but told Judge *Whitlocke* whom they deputed to receive his Anſwer, that he and his Brethren muſt attend the King at *Greenwich*; where his Majeſty expreſs'd himſelf to be diſpleas'd with their Determination, and commanded them not to deliver any Opinion in the Caſe. The Priſoners were afterwards remov'd to ſeveral Priſons, and a Letter came from the King to the Judges, that this was done becauſe of their inſolent Carriage at the Bar. At laſt the Judges declar'd they wou'd bail them upon Sureties for their good Behaviour. The famous *Selden* pray'd that his Sureties might be taken, and the Matter of the good Behaviour omitted as a diſtinct Thing. The reſt of the Priſoners ſtood to what *Selden* mov'd, but the Court remanded him and them to the *Tower*. Who wou'd not gladly have ſuffer'd in that Cauſe for which the great *Selden* was a Sufferer? And how idle is it for the Author of *the Hiſtory of the Rebellion* to talk of Law, Learning, Wiſdom, and Reaſon, while *Selden* was a Priſoner for the Defence of them. The Shame of keeping theſe Patriots in Goal was ſo great, that it was intimated to them, if they wou'd petition the King they ſhou'd be releas'd, but they refus'd to do it; and ſome of them moving for better Uſage in their Priſons, *it cou'd not be obtain'd*; which ſufficiently proves the Deſign of this King and his Miniſters to *alter the Form of Government*, or in other Words to deſtroy the Conſtitution of *England*, which was reſtor'd at the Revolution, and has ſince then ever flouriſh'd.

Members of Parliament ill treated.

Whitl. 14.

Tumult.

Some time this Year there happen'd a very great Tumult in the Street, occaſion'd by the arreſting one *Billingham*, an Iſle of *Rhe* Captain, who was reſcu'd by the Templars under Pretence that the Serjeants took him within their Precincts. The Lord-Mayor Sir *James Cambel* march'd at the Head of 500 Citizens to recover the Priſoner, and a hot Skirmiſh enſu'd, in which ſome of the Lord-Mayor's Company were kill'd, and ſeveral wounded; but the Tumult being ſuppreſs'd, the Offenders were ſeiz'd, and two of the principal, Captain *Aſhurſt*, and Mr. *Stamford* Servant to the late Duke of *Buckingham*, try'd, condemn'd, and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* had before been pardon'd for Murder.

Sir Robert Dudley.

A Book appear'd at this Juncture written by Sir *Robert Dudley*, under the Name of the Duke of *Northumberland* then in *Italy:* It was entitled, *A Propoſition for his Majeſty's Service, to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments.* 'Twas a Project to raiſe Money without them; for diſperſing which, the Earl of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Clare*, Mr. *Selden*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, and Mr. *St. John*, were committed to Priſon. But Sir *David Fowlis* diſcovering the Author of that Pamphlet, theſe Lords and Gentlemen were releas'd. Sir *Edward Peyton* makes more of this Manuſcript, and inſinuates that it was written with the King's Privity; his Story is this, "*Pickern* Maſter-Falconer, P. 58. "found the written Project in the King's Cabi- "net, it being open, and ſeeing what it was, he "brought it to *Car* Earl of *Somerſet*, who ſhew'd "it to Sir *Robert Cotton*, the Earl of *Clare*, Mr. "*St. John*, and Mr. *Selden*, who had frequent Meet- "ings; Sir *Robert* had a Man who in his Cups told "it to a falſe Brother, and he betray'd them all." The Court found it neceſſary to proſecute theſe Gentlemen for ſpreading their Libel, in order to clear themſelves; but the Proſecution was ſtopp'd in reſpect of the great Joy on the Birth of the King's Son.

A.D.1630. *Earl of* Pembroke's *Death.*

We muſt open the next Year with the ſudden Death of *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, which is ſaid to have been foretold by the famous *Fortune-Teller* the Lady *Davis*, who was impriſon'd for it. Her Prophecy was, that he ſhou'd not out-live his Birth-day when fifty Years old. The ſame was predicted, according to *A. Wood*, by Mr. *Thomas Allen* of *Glouceſter-Hall* in *Oxford*. He was very pleaſant and healthful that Day; he ſupped at the Counteſs of *Bedford*'s, and when he came home, ſaid, *He wou'd never truſt a Woman Prophet for Lady* Davis's *ſake*. He ſeem'd very well after he was in Bed, ſomewhat late in the Night, and had not been there long before he fetch'd a deep Sigh and dy'd away. By his Death the Office of Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford* became vacant, and no doubt his Succeſſor, right or wrong, will be Dr. *William Laud* Biſhop of *London*; who, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by Biſhop *Williams*'s Intereſt, had a great Majority of Voices. Mr. Archdeacon cannot help it. Now it happens that he was not choſen duly at all; for in the Hiſtory of his *Tryal* printed by Order of Parliament, we read, "By indirect Means P. 71. "this Prelate procur'd himſelf to be elected Chan- "cellor upon the Death of the right honourable "*William* Earl of *Pembroke* in *April* 1630, whoſe "noble Brother was then really elected by moſt "Voices, tho' miſ-calculated by Practice in the "Scrutiny by this Prelate's Creatures. What Al- "terations were there made upon his Advance- "ment and Chancellorſhip, will appear by theſe "ſubſequent Depoſitions of Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, "Mr. *Corbet* of *Merton-College*, Mr. *Nixon* Alder- "man of *Oxford*, Mr. *Bendy*, Dr. *Wallis*, &c. *Echard* of this Dr. *Laud* again; *He was the greateſt Patron of Religion, the greateſt Promoter of Diſcipline and Government*; as will be ſeen with a Vengeance in Dr. *Leighton*'s unjuſt, barbarous, and bloody Treatment by him; *The greateſt Benefactor to the Deſigns of Piety*, &c. It will not bear repeating. He ſays after this, *The Parliament having omitted the proper Seaſon for Accommodation:* His ſtupid Meaning is of yielding up all their Rights to the Will of the Prince: *The Court was neceſſitated to have Recourſe to ſuch Ways of raiſing Supplies, as upon great Exigencies had been practis'd in former Times.* Here he takes upon him to form a Judgment by his own private Senſe, directly oppoſite to the Senſe of the Nation. He knew the proper Seaſon to accommodate Matters better than the Parliament of *England*, but he is not ſo fair as to tell us that Accommodation cou'd not be made without their giving up all Redreſs of Grievances; and he then aſſerts, directly oppoſite to the Opinion of *Selden*, *Coke*, *Glanville*, *Whitlocke*, and even *Noy* and *Littleton*, before they apoſtatiz'd, that his Majeſty did no more than what was uſual, and his Right in raiſing Money without Conſent of Parliament. This Writer has been ſufficiently dealt withal elſewhere; but as his Hiſtory apes that of the *Rebellion*, it muſt ſometimes undergo Animadverſion. Let us read what a learned Lawyer ſays on this Subject; "The deepeſt, moſt dangerous Ach. 364. "Wound that was ever given this Conſtitution, "was the aſſuming a Legiſlative Power to impoſe "Taxes in a new Manner." The Archdeacon avers it was *formerly practis'd*; it refers to Ship-Money, of which more hereafter

A.D.1630.

Money Projects.

A Commiſſion was granted ſomething like that to *Empſon* and *Dudley* in *Henry* VII's Time. It was to compound for defective Titles to Poſſeſſions, as *Empſon* and *Dudley*'s was to take Fines and Forfeitures on obſolete Penal Laws. The Judges oppos'd this Deſign, and were the Occaſion of quaſhing it. But tho' the King receeded, yet the Tendency he diſcover'd to it, depriv'd him of the Merit of dropping it; for it look'd according to the Archdeacon, *as if the Court were purſuing Meaſures not juſtifiable by Law.* Indeed almoſt all their Meaſures did ſo look, and this therefore was the leſs to be wonder'd at.

The next Project was *Wentworth*'s, but it was only the Revival of that mention'd after the Coro-

*A.D.*1630. nation to raiſe Money by *Knighthood*. This Impoſition was equally illegal, whimſical, and ridiculous, as far as any thing can be ridiculous, which is illegal. The learned Barriſter tells us, "His "Majeſty's Miniſters levy'd Money by Fines and "Impriſonments upon all Men of 40*l. per Annum* "and upwards, who refus'd to take upon them "the Order of *Knighthood*, tho' in Reſpect of their "Eſtates and Qualities they were altogether unfit." Ach. 363.

Knighthood.

Larrey enlarges on it. "The King had Recourſe "to extraordinary Levies to ſupply his Neceſſities. The Creation of a great Number of "Knights was one Project, and the Subject of "Mirth and Raillery in thoſe Times; for it ſeems "as if *Knighthood* was but of little Uſe in a Reign "wherein all was quiet and peaceable. The King "had ended all War, and had no Enemies unleſs "he look'd on his Subjects as Enemies, who oppos'd introducing Innovations in Church and "State." The good Lord-Keeper *Coventry* was one of the Commiſſioners for levying of this merry Tax, which oblig'd the Yeomen of *England* to paſs over the Heads of the Eſquires and Gentlemen, and commence Knights. Thus they were thruſt into Knighthood, or into a Goal upon refuſing to pay this unjuſt romantick Impoſition, which turn'd Induſtry into Errantry. 'Tis a poor Excuſe for extorting this Payment, that but 14000 Pounds of it came into the King's Purſe, tho' 100000 Pounds was taken out of the Subjects. To oppreſs the People, and let others have the Benefit of it, if Benefit can ever come from Oppreſſion, adds Weakneſs to the Injuſtice; and ſeveral as unwarrantable Projects and Monopolies had the like Infirmity.

Power abroad.

Notwithſtanding the King's Wants, according to the Archdeacon, *the King exerted ſome Power in foreign Parts*. How quaintly he expreſſes it! *Woods Rogers* of *Briſtol* exerted ſome Power in the *South-Sea*, and took a Town, which we fear is more than we ſhall find in this Piece of Hiſtory. The King was ſo far from being in Want, that there was a flowing Treaſury, as we read in *Acherley*: "By all which unpleaſing and provo"king Ways, *the King receiv'd* vaſt Sums of Mo"ney, not only from Perſons of Quality, but from "Perſons of any reaſonable Condition throughout "the Kingdom." It wanted but a ſmall Portion of common Senſe to foreſee that a ſevere Account muſt one time or other be given for Money extorted thus from the People. The victorious *Guſtavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden* had penetrated into *Germany*, with a brave tho' ſmall Army, to deliver the *Germans* from the Tyranny of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in which the King of *England* was nearly concern'd; and *Echard* informs us, he reſolv'd to take hold of this Opportunity to recover the *Palatinate* for the Elector *Palatine*. His Ambaſſador at *Ratisbone* met with nothing but fair Words, and he therefore ſent an Army of 6000 Men under the Marquis of *Hamilton* to join the King of *Sweden*. Theſe Forces were rais'd in *Scotland*, and before the Marquis cou'd embark, the Lord *Ochiltrey* charg'd him with High-Treaſon, as raiſing that Army to make himſelf King of *Scotland*. *Weſton* the Treaſurer encourag'd this Charge, and urg'd it home to the King, who freely told *Hamilton* what he was accus'd of, but added, *That the World may know what Confidence I have in you, you ſhall lie this Night in my Chamber*. For, to uſe *Echard*'s Words, *it was the King's Principle never to ſuſpect or deſert his Friends*. Theſe Men never conſider what they ſay; the King's Miniſters are his Friends. Cou'd they do no ill, and muſt they never be deſerted? A very wiſe Principle truly, and like to have good Effects in a Government no better belov'd than this was, which affected rather to provoke than appeaſe the People. We are coming to an Inſtance of this Diſpoſition, which cannot be written or read without Horror and the utmoſt Indignation againſt *Laud*, who was the Cauſe of it. 'Tis a Scandal to all Hiſtory, and has no Parallel in any other. I have large Memoirs relating to it, and ſhall therefore enter into the Detail. *A.D.*1630.

Hamilton *ſent with Forces to* Germany.

Laud's *Cruelty.*

The horrid Treatment of Dr. Leighton.

Alexander Leighton Doctor of Divinity in the two Univerſities of St. *Andrews* and *Leyden*, one *Zachary Grey* a *Cambridge* Doctor of Laws, as impudently as falſly aſſerted he never took his Doctor's Degree, was Father of the ſeraphick Dr. *Leighton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and Sir *Ellis Leighton* who however was a Scandal to his Name. When the *High-Commiſſion* Court and Spiritual Courts had render'd *Laud* and his Brethren odious to the Nation, ſeveral Gentlemen and Citizens came to Dr. *Leighton*'s Houſe in *Blackfriars*, to deſire him to draw up Articles againſt the Oppreſſion of thoſe Prelates, which after much Perſuaſion he did; and thoſe Articles being expatiated upon, made a Book call'd *Sion's Plea againſt Prelacy*. The Gentlemen and Citizens deſir'd him to go beyond Sea and print it, but he wou'd not do it till ſeveral pious, learned, and judicious Miniſters and others, ſome of them Members of Parliament, ſet their Hands to it in Approbation of its Contents. Dr. *Leighton* then went abroad, and return'd with an Impreſſion of it, to his very great Charge and Loſs. Two Copies of the Book were deliver'd to the Parliament a few Days before they were diſſolv'd, and it was not long after that as he came out of *Blackfriars* Church, *Croſs* and *Tomlins*, two High-Commiſſion *Purſuivants*, arreſted him, and dragg'd him with great Force and Violence to the Houſe of *Laud* Biſhop of *London*, who returning from *Clapham* with Dr. *Corbet* in his Coach, *Leighton* demanded to be heard. *Croſs* made as if he ſhou'd; but inſtead of it, he brought him through a ſubterraneous Paſſage to a Door not open'd ſince Queen *Mary*'s bloody Reign; and having provided Bolts to put on his Hands, he was carry'd with a huge Multitude of Bills and Staves to *Newgate*, where in the Entry his Wife was almoſt kill'd, and himſelf was caſt into a *naſty Dog-hole* full of Rats and Mice, no Light but from the uncover'd Roof, no Place but the Ruins of an old Chimney for Fire; no Bedding, and no Meat nor Drink from Tueſday-Night to Thurſday-Noon. In this doleful Place and Plight they kept him, with two Doors ſhut upon him, for the Space of fifteen Weeks, ſuffering none to come at him, not even his Wife in all that time. I copy this from a Manuſcript drawn up by Dr. *Leighton* himſelf, and afterwards preſented to the Parliament. Four Days after his Commitment, *the High-Commiſſion Court* Purſuivant, with other Ruffians belonging to that impious Court, came to Dr. *Leighton*'s Houſe in *Blackfriars* under Pretence of ſearching a *Presbyterian*'s Houſe for *Jeſuits Books*, laid violent Hands upon his diſtreſs'd Wife, and us'd her with ſuch barbarous Inhumanity as is a Shame to expreſs. They rifled every Soul in the Houſe, and held a cock'd Piſtol to a Boy's Breaſt of five Years old, threatning to kill him if he wou'd not tell where the Books were; at which the Child was ſo frightned that he never recover'd himſelf. They ſpoil'd and carry'd away all the Doctor's Books, Houſhold-Stuff, Apparel, Arms, *&c.* notwithſtanding Mrs. *Leighton* told them there wou'd be a Day of Reckoning for it. They took away alſo a great Number of Books belonging to the Doctor from one Mr. *Archer*, with whom he had left them for Security. The Keeper of *Newgate* deny'd him a Copy of his Commitment, and the Sheriffs of *London*, *Arthur Abdy* and *Robert Cambel*, refus'd to bail him upon his Wife's Petition according to the Statute in that Behalf, one of the Sheriffs ſaying, *He wiſh'd the Laws of the Land, and Privileges of the Subject, had never been named in Parliament*. At fifteen Weeks end he was ſerv'd with a *Subpœna*, and an Information was laid againſt him

A.D.1630. him by that *fit* Tool Sir *Robert Heath* then Attorney-General, who came to him in *Newgate*, and told him the King was inform'd *he wou'd not be examin'd.* Dr. *Leighton* reply'd, *I have the more Wrong, and the contrary will appear*; *I am willing to be examin'd by the meaneſt of his Majeſty's Subjects coming with lawful Authority, tho' I refus'd to anſwer before the High-Commiſſioners, as having no lawful Authority.* He then gave his Reaſons, with which *Heath* ſeem'd to be ſatisfy'd. Sir *Henry Martyn* and Dr. *Reeves* two Civilians, with the Clerk of the *High-Commiſſion* Court, and ſeven or eight of the Commiſſioners, had before been with him in *Newgate* to examine him, and he refus'd it; for that they *had by an unlawful Warrant violently caſt him into a loathſome Priſon*; that *by the Laws of God and Man they were forbidden to meddle with the* Body or Goods of the Subject. Sir *Henry Martyn* and Dr. *Reeves* told him they were order'd by the King to take his Examination. Dr. *Leighton* ſaid, *'tis more than I know*; *if you will lay aſide your Commiſſion, and examine me by the King's Command, I will anſwer.* Sir *Henry Martyn* reply'd, *Not ſo.* Dr. *Leighton* to him, *Not ſo neither as you wou'd, will I be examin'd*; which made *Heath* the Attorney accoſt him as he did. Sir *Henry* and he had much Diſcourſe about the *King's Supremacy*, the *Hierarchy*, going to *Religious Aſſemblies* different from Church-Worſhip, Faſting and Prayer; by which it appears that if Sir *Henry Martyn* underſtood Civil Law no better than he did Divinity, Dr. *Leighton* wou'd have made as good a Judge of the *Admiralty*. *Reeves* ſaid, *I believe in my Conſcience you have done more Hurt than the Jeſuits*; but that Civilian making his Belief ſerve inſtead of Reaſon and Argument is not much to be regarded. Sir *Henry Martin* looking ſtedfaſtly upon *Leighton*, and ſeeing his Countenance thro' long faſting, beaſtly Lodging, and other Affliction very pale and meagre, the Tears ruſh'd into his Eyes. But *Reeves*, another Tool of *Laud's*, was inſenſible, as was alſo the Attorney *Heath*, who on Aſſurance that he ſhou'd come off as he pleas'd, got a Confeſſion out of the Doctor that he wrote the Book he was charg'd with; and at a ſecond Conference promis'd him not only Pardon but Favour, if he wou'd confeſs who ſet him on; which Dr. *Leighton* refuſing, he was immediately brought into the *Star-Chamber* Court, and requir'd to put in Anſwer to a long Invective call'd an Information; which he did very amply, and to the Satisfaction of all religious, reaſonable Perſons. But no Council durſt plead for him; and tho' he was ſo ill in Priſon, that four Phyſicians and an Attorney certify'd his Caſe to be deſperate, ſuppos'd to be the Effect of Poiſon, yet abſent, ſick, and unheard, the following Sentence paſs'd upon him, as it is *verbatim* in his *Petition* to the Parliament. "This horrid Sentence was to be inflicted "with *Knife*, *Fire* and *Whip* at and upon the Pil- "lory, with 10000 *l.* Fine; which ſome of the "Lords of the High-Commiſſion Court conceiv'd "ſhou'd never be inflicted, only it was impos'd "as on a *dying Man* to terrify others. But Dr. "*Laud* and his Combinants caus'd the ſaid Sen- "tence to be executed the 26th Day of *Novem- "ber* following with a witneſs: for the Hangman "was arm'd with ſtrong Drink all the Night be- "fore in Priſon, and threatning Words to do it "cruelly. Your Petitioner's Hands being ty'd to "a Stake (beſides all other Torments) he receiv'd "thirty-ſix Stripes with a terrible Cord. After "which he ſtood almoſt two Hours in the Pillo- "ry in cold Froſt and Snow; and then ſuffer'd "the reſt, as cutting off the Ear, firing the Face, "ſlitting of the Noſe. *Here the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, when the Petition was read, was order'd to ſtop*; *and when he was going on again, the Compaſſion of the Houſe was ſuch, that he was bid to ſtop again till they had recover'd themſelves*; *but* Laud *and his Brethren of the High-Commiſſion Court heard it all with Pleaſure, as with Pleaſure does* Echard *write it. The Petitioner proceeds:* "He was made a Theatre of Miſery to Men and "Angels; and being ſo broken with his Suffer- "ings that he was not able to go, the Warden of "the *Fleet* would not ſuffer him to be carry'd in "a Coach, but hurry'd him away by Water to "the farther endangering of his Life, *&c.*" Dr. *Leighton* between the paſſing and Execution of the Sentence found Means to make his Eſcape out of the *Fleet*; which News was immediately carry'd to *Laud*. *It was brought to me on* Thurſday *Night*, ſays that cruel Prelate in his Diary. By this and what follows out of the ſame Diary, we ſee who it was who was moſt buſy in this bloody Work. "He was taken again in *Bedfordſhire*, and brought "back to the *Fleet*. On *Friday Nov.* the 26th "Part of the Sentence was executed upon him "in this manner, *much the ſame as we have related it.* And ſays Biſhop *Laud* again: "On that "Day ſevennight his Sores upon his Back, Ear, "Noſe and Face being not cured, he was whipp'd "again at the Pillory in *Cheapſide*, and there had "the Remainder of the Sentence executed by "cutting off the other Ear, ſlitting the other Side "of the Noſe, and branding the other Cheek". This helliſh Cruelty which the Parliament cou'd not bear the hearing of, does Biſhop *Laud* dwell upon, not in a publick Aſſembly only, where he might be oblig'd to hear it, but in his Cloſet where he might have avoided it, and yet he meditates upon it with Delight. This is the Biſhop of whom *Echard* ſays, No Man in the World was ſo *fit* to make a *Chancellor of the Univerſity of* Oxford, conſidering his *Religion* and *Charity*. Mr. *Elphinſton* and Mr. *Anderſon*, two *Scots* Gentlemen, were fin'd 500 *l.* apiece for helping Dr. *Leighton* their Countryman to fly from this infernal Puniſhment, without any Crime committed, as appears by the Parliament's giving him 6000 *l.* and making him Warden of that Priſon where he ſo long liv'd in loathſome Confinement. The *Laudean* Prelates were the *Jehu's* of this Court, and had the greateſt Hand in all the tyrannical Proceedings there. One of them, *Harſnet* of *York*, when Mr. *Long* a Member of Parliament was brought into it for attending the Service of the Houſe, being Sheriff of *Wiltſhire*, brow-beat Mr. *Long's* Council, who pleaded ancient Records touching the Privileges of Parliament to exempt Members from the Juriſdiction of that deteſted Court: *Don't trouble us*, ſays *Harſnet, with Moth-eaten Records: We ſit here not to be guided by Precedents, but to make Precedents*; and ſo proceeded to cenſure. Was it not high time to take care of ſuch Prelates and ſuch Practices? Not only the *Star-Chamber*, but *Weſtminſter-Hall* was *exercis'd with ſome irregular Caſes*, as the Archdeacon ſays it. Sir *Henry Martyn* made a great Complaint to his Majeſty againſt the Judges of the *King's-Bench* for granting Prohibitions againſt his Court. The King commanded the Judges to appear; and they juſtify'd their Proceedings to be according to Law, from whence they cou'd not depart by vertue of their Oaths; which proves plainly that his Majeſty's Privy-Couſellors made light of the Law, when their Paſſions or Intereſts were controul'd by it.

A.D.1630.

Laud's Inhumanity.

P. 443.

About three Years before this there was eſtabliſh'd a *Society* for buying in *Impropriations* for augmenting poor Vicarages, and maintaining a Preaching Miniſtry. An excellent Project! and it had the Succeſs it deſerv'd. *It is incredible what large Sums were advanc'd in a ſhort time towards ſo laudable an Employment*, according to Dr. *Fuller*. This Society choſe four Divines, Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Sibbs*, Mr. *Offspring*, Mr. *Davenport*; four Lawyers, *Ralph Eyre*, Eſq; *Simon Brown*, Eſq; of *Lincoln's-Inn*, *Charles Sherland*, Eſq; of *Gray's-Inn*, *John White*, Eſq; of the *Middle-Temple*; and four

Feoffees.

*A.D.*1630. Merchants, Mr. *John Geering*, Mr. *Richard Davis*, Mr. *George Harwood*, Mr. *Francis Bridges* to be their Feoffees; who ſucceeded ſo well, that *Fuller* thinks *within* 50 *Years* Purchaſes wou'd rather have been wanting than Money to make them. Theſe worthy *Feoffees* preſented the moſt religious and ſober Miniſters to the Livings they purchas'd, whom *Laud* look'd on with a jealous Eye, leſt they ſhou'd prove a Thorn in the Sides of Epiſcopacy; though when that Prelate oblig'd *Noy* the Attorney to proſecute the Feoffees in the *Exchequer*, Fuller *owns it appear'd they preferr'd no Miniſters, whoſe Sufficiency and Conformity were not firſt examin'd by the Biſhop.* Mr. *White*, afterwards Chairman of the Committee upon inſufficient ones, offer'd Biſhop *Laud*, that if he diſlik'd either the Feoffees or their Divines, they wou'd willingly ſubmit to any Alteration. But *Laud* would be ſatiſfy'd with nothing leſs than the diſſolving a Society, who had the Impudence to ſet up a pious Preaching Miniſtry. And it had been well if he had not puſh'd the Matter farther. The Court of *Exchequer* condemn'd the Proceedings of the *Feoffees* as dangerous to the Church, and pronounc'd their Gifts and Feoffments illegal, broke the Society, and ſeiz'd the Money which had been given by religious Perſons for the Subſiſtence of religious Miniſters. Dr. *Fuller* charges *Laud* with this worſt Sort of Sacrilege.

P. 143.

Laud's *Sacrilege.*

Mr. Huntley, *a Miniſter, perſecuted.*

Mr. *Huntley*, a Miniſter of *Kent*, having been thrown into Jail by the *High-Commiſſion Court*, brought his Action againſt *Barker* the Keeper, and ſome of the Commiſſioners by Name, whom after long Debate the Judges order'd to anſwer. *Laud*, chief of that deteſtable Court, took the alarm, and repreſented to the King that the Commiſſioners wou'd be ruin'd, if they were accountable for their Doings. Upon which his Majeſty ſent Dr. *Reeves*, his Advocate, to the Lord Chief Juſtice, requiring him to proceed no farther. The Judges in this ſingular Caſe reſolv'd not to break their Oaths, but to inſiſt upon it that the Commiſſioners ſhou'd anſwer; and thoſe petty Tyrants had behav'd ſo ill, and were become ſo obnoxious and odious, that even the Privy-Council approv'd of it, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of *Laud* Biſhop of *London*, and *Neile* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who ſpoke vehemently againſt it.

Birth of K. Charles *the* IId.

On the 29th of *May* the Queen was deliver'd of a Son at the Palace of St. *James*'s about Noon. At which time a Star appear'd in a clear Sky to the Wonder of *numberleſs Spectators*, according to *Echard*; as if it prognoſticated what a Bleſſing he was to be to this bleſſed Nation, as will be ſeen in his Hiſtory. The Hiſtorians who make the moſt of this Prognoſtick, are a little puzzled how to reconcile the Glory of this Appearance with that Prince's Misfortunes and Miſmanagements. *Sanderſon*, as conſiderable an Author as *Echard*, aſſures us it was a Miracle wrought by God in Favour of the new-born Prince; and the latter takes notice of it in the ſame manner. *Larrey* obſerves upon it: *Theſe Interpreters of the heavenly Signs carry'd their Predictions higher; and they wou'd needs have it that this wondrous Star promis'd the Prince, whoſe Birth it ſhone on, not leſs than the Conqueſt of the* Eaſt, *which way it pointed.* But if it had been a *Blazing Star* it cou'd not have been more diſagreeable to the *Puritans*, who did not at all join in the *ſurpaſſing Exultation* on that Occaſion. *Heylin* thinks he has got great Advantage againſt the Proteſtants for their Behaviour at the Birth of the Prince; and I ſhall ſhew how in his own Words: "I can tell you it was otherwiſe "with too many of the *Puritans*, who had laid "their Line another way, and deſir'd not that the "King ſhou'd have any Children; inſomuch that "at a great Feaſt in *Friday-ſtreet*, when ſome of "the Company ſhew'd great Joy at the News of "the Queen's firſt being with Child, a leading "Man of that Faction, whom I cou'd name were "it worth while, did not ſtick to ſay, *I can ſee "no ſuch Cauſe of Joy for the Queen's being with "Child; God has already provided better for us than "we deſerve, in giving ſuch a hopeful Progeny to "the Queen of* Bohemia *brought up in the* Reform'd *Religion; whereas it is uncertain what "Religion the King's Children will follow, when "brought up under a Mother ſo devoted to the "Church of* Rome. I remember very well, that "being at a Town one Day's Journey from *London* when the News came of the Prince's Birth, "there was great Joy ſhew'd by all the reſt of the "Pariſh in cauſing Bonfires to be made, and the "Bells to be rung, and ſending Victuals unto thoſe "of the younger Sort, who were moſt buſily em-"ploy'd in that publick Joy: But ſo that from the "reſt of the Houſes being of the *Presbyterian* or "*Puritan* Party, there came neither Man nor "Child, nor Wood nor Victuals, their Doors be-"ing ſhut cloſe all that Evening as in a Time of "general Mourning and Diſconſolation". Here is an Accuſation againſt the *Presbyterians* and *Puritans* by their moſt inveterate Enemy *Heylin*, a Creature and Tool of *Laud*'s, that their Souls ſighed for the Succeſſion of the Proteſtant Line, which now is in Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Great Britain*, even before the Birth of the two laſt Kings of the Houſe of *Stuart*. The Queen of *Bohemia*, as has been intimated elſewhere, had endear'd herſelf and her Poſterity to all true Proteſtants in *Britain* by her great Zeal for the Reform'd Religion; inſomuch that when it was propos'd to marry her Son to the Emperor's Daughter, if he was educated in the Imperial Court, the pious Queen declar'd *ſhe had rather be his Executioner*, than ſuffer her Child to be bred up in Idolatry. Shou'd we not hope, as we pray, for an Eternity of Bleſſings on the Poſterity of a Princeſs, who in the midſt of Misfortunes preferr'd Religion to Empire? And may not the *Puritans* and *Presbyterians* reaſonably value themſelves on their early Devotion to the Intereſts of that Royal Houſe who now wear the *Britiſh* Crown. A Merit their Adverſaries have ſo little Claim to, that they take Pride in nothing more than the wicked and obſtinate Oppoſition they have conſtantly given it, and conſtantly will give it, notwithſtanding they may thro' falſe Policy be employ'd and careſs'd, which will bear farther Remarks in a more proper place.

P. 141.

P. 236.

Obſervat. on L'eſtr. *p.* 96.

Puritans not pleas'd with it.

They long for the Proteſtant *Succeſſion.*

It was not the ſober and religious inferior Clergy only, who met with Vexation, the Fathers of our Church felt the Weight of the Diſpleaſure of *Laud* and his Brethren. The very learned and pious Dr. *Davenant* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, one of the moſt eloquent Preachers of his Time, preaching in his Courſe a *Lent*-Sermon at *Whitehall* before the King and Court, and handling the Point of *Predeſtination* according to the 17th Article of the Church of *England*; the King took Offence at it, and *Harſnet* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Neile* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, told him ſo after Sermon, as did alſo the Earl of *Montgomery* Lord Chamberlain. Accordingly he was two Days after ſummon'd to appear before the Privy-Council, where Biſhop *Davenant* preſented himſelf on his Knees; and Dr. *Fuller* tells us, he might have continu'd on his Knees for any Favour the Biſhops *Laud*, *Harſnet*, or *Neile* ſhew'd him; *but* the temporal *Lords bad him riſe and ſtand to his Defence, being as yet only accus'd not convicted.* *Harſnet* ſpoke with great Vehemence againſt him, upbraiding him with King *James* and the preſent King's Favour to him, and charging him with diſobeying the King's Declaration forbidding the meddling with controverted Points in Sermons. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſaid very juſtly, that an eſtabliſh'd Article of the Church cou'd not be deem'd a Point in Controverſy, and his preaching upon it therefore was no Breach of the Royal Command: But *Harſnet*, to whom *Laud*

*A.D.*1631.

Biſhop Davenant.

Biſhop Davenant *ſummon'd before the Council.* P. 138.

left

*A.D.*1631. left this invidious Work, continu'd to rebuke the Biſhop with his wonted Fierceneſs; and to make the Matter up as well as he cou'd, his Lordſhip ſaid, *I am ſorry I underſtood not his Majeſty's Intention, if I had I ſhou'd have made Choice of ſome other Subject which might have given no Offence; and for the Time to come I ſhall conform myſelf as readily as any other to his Majeſty's Command.* The Earl of *Arundel* approv'd of Biſhop *Davenant*'s Anſwer, and adviſ'd him to ſay no more, the Privy-Council being ſatisfy'd that his Sermon was not an intended Violation of his Majeſty's Declaration: So his Lordſhip was diſmiſs'd, and the Lord Chamberlain afterwards introducing him to the King, he kiſs'd his Majeſty Hand. Thus ended an Affair which, as *Fuller* obſerves, the good Biſhop's Adverſaries *Harſnet, Neile*, &c. *hop'd wou'd make him fall totally and finally from the King's Favour.*

St. Paul's *Church.* It is not one of the leaſt important Paſſages in Archdeacon *Echard*'s Hiſtory, where he relates at large the Activity of Biſhop *Laud* in the Repair of the Cathedral of St. *Paul.* I ſhou'd have taken as much Pleaſure as himſelf in viewing the maſterly Strokes of that great Architect *Inigo Jones*; I ſhou'd have been as much charm'd with the *Corinthian* Pillars, the *Cherubims*, &c. but I ſhou'd not have been in Aſtoniſhment, as he is, that *this new Structure of the principal Church in the Metropolis of the Kingdom* met with Exceptions and Murmurings, occaſion'd by *Laud*'s cauſing Shops and Houſes to be pull'd down without the Conſent of the Owners, to make room for the Building. If the Owners did not conſent, their having *a reaſonable Compenſation* is no Satisfaction. Common Senſe teaches every one, that for a Man to be turn'd out of his Houſe, Way of Trade and Living, is not to be compenſated by paying him a reaſonable Price for his Houſe. If the Owners did not conſent, the Sheriff of *London* was requir'd to force their Property from them, to demoliſh their Houſes, and drive away the Tradeſmen to ſeek out new Dwellings and Shops. *Laud* got Briefs for Contributions throughout the Kingdom, and Letters Monitory were ſent from the Lords of the Council to quicken the Gentlemen in the Country in raiſing Money for ſo righteous and religious a Work. Sir *Francis Knollys* and Sir *Thomas Vachel*, two Juſtices of the Peace in *Berkſhire*, who were not over forward in it, as not liking either *Laud* or his Projects, were check'd for delaying to gather in the Contribution-Money, and not giving liberally themſelves. By this compulſory Method great Sums of Money were rais'd, and *this one Thing*, according to Archdeacon *Echard*, *was enough to remove all other Prejudices againſt* Laud. The Privy-Council having little elſe to do, and being under the Influence of that Prelate, publiſh'd an Order that no Body carry any Thing in the *Church which may profane it*; *that Parents ſhou'd be puniſh'd for Childrens playing in the Church at any Time*, &c. We defy all Hiſtory to ſhew any thing ſo trifling in the Acts of any Council that was ever thought worth naming.

Hamilton *in* Germany. We muſt now take ſome Notice of the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Expedition in *Germany*, where he commanded an Army of 6000 *Engliſh* and *Scots*, ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*. A Treaty had been made between the King of *Sweden* and the Marquis, without any mention of King *Charles*, for fear of offending the Emperor. Neither was any mention made of recovering the *Palatinate*. This *Fear and Precaution of the Kings*, ſays *Larrey*, *appear'd in his Letter to the Queen of* Bohemia, excuſing his making Peace with *Spain*, as being done with a View of engaging that Monarch to mediate for the Reſtitution of the Elector *Palatine*'s Dominions. *That is to ſay*, continues the *French* Hiſtorian, *King* Charles *ſuffer'd himſelf to be amus'd by the Artifices of the* Spaniards *as his Father had been before*, being as timorous and irreſolute as *he, dreading War, and loving Peace.* The Lord *Clarendon* is ſo far from owning any thing of this, that he aſſures us King *Charles* was very formidable to all the Kings in *Europe*, and had as great a Reputation abroad as any of the *Plantagenets.* The 16th of *July Hamilton* ſail'd from *Yarmouth* for *Zealand* in *Denmark*, where arriving ſafely, he went directly to that Court. From *Zealand* he proceeded to *Pomerania*, where he landed his Army, and went himſelf to wait upon the King of *Sweden*, then preparing for the Battel of *Leipſick*. His Majeſty appointed thoſe Forces to cover the Towns in that Province, to ſecure his Retreat in Caſe he was forc'd to make one. *Guſtavus* was victorious in the Battel, and wrote a Letter to the King of *England* with his own Hand, to inform him of his Succeſs, and exhort him to continue his Aſſiſtance; but in the main he did not much rely upon it; and *cou'd not*, according to *Larrey*, confide in a Prince *who kept ſuch Meaſures with one of the moſt dangerous Enemies of the common Cauſe.* We ſhall in the next Year ſee to what Purpoſe the Marquis of *Hamilton* and his 6000 Men were ſent to *Germany*.

*A.D.*1631.

P. 242.

In *England* there was an uncommon Trial of a Nobleman *Mervin* Lord *Audley* Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, for a Rape committed on his own Wife by his Servant *Broadway*, himſelf holding her while his Man raviſh'd her; and for Sodomy with *Fitzpatrick* another of his Servants. The Lord-Keeper *Coventry* was made Lord High-Steward on this Occaſion, aſſiſted by eight Judges. The Trial was in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and there were twenty-ſeven Peers. The horrid Crime was ſufficiently prov'd, all the Peers, except *Dudley* Lord *North*, voted him guilty of the Rape, and fifteen of them declar'd him guilty of the Sodomy: So he was condemn'd to be hang'd, but the Sentence was mitigated, and he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. *Broadway* and *Fitzpatrick* were executed at *Tyburn*. *Audley's Trial.*

*A.D.*1631.

The next Project to raiſe Money was by ſealing of *Cards* and *Dice*, and that of Knighthood was proſecuted with Vigor. *Wentworth* now at the Head of all arbitrary Counſels, dipp'd deeply in the Guilt of this ſcandalous Project, and procur'd three of his Countrymen *James Maliverer* Eſq; *William Ingleby* Eſq; and *Thomas Moyſer* Eſq; all of *Yorkſhire*, to be fin'd ſeverely, *Maliverer* 2000 Pounds, as a Compoſition for the Order of Knighthood, whereas he might have been a Baronet for half the Money. Other Perſons were fin'd grievouſly in other Parts of *England* to their *utter undoing*, according to *Ruſhworth*. A Charter was granted to the Soap-Makers of *Weſtminſter* for 10000 Pounds down, and 8 Pounds a Year, which brought a good Revenue into the Exchequer yearly. Two Proclamations publiſh'd at this Time were worth remembring, one for the *better Direction of thoſe who come to Court to be cur'd of the King's Evil, the other againſt eating and ſelling of Fleſh in* Lent. *Projects for Money.*

Biſhop *Laud* was all this while very buſy with his Proſecutions in the *High-Commiſſion* Court, and in all other Courts where he had Influence. Mr. *Thomas Ford* of *Magdalen College Oxon*, Mr. *Giles Hodges* of *Exeter-College*, were ſummon'd to appear before the Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, Dr. *Smith* Warden of *Wadham-College*, from whom *Fuller* tells us they appeal'd to the Proctors, as ſuſpecting *Smith* to be partial. Their Crime was for touching upon Controverſy contrary to the King's Inſtructions, which were intended chiefly to hinder the preaching againſt *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*. The Proctors were Mr. *Atherton Bruch* of *Braſen-Noſe College*, and Mr. *John Doughty* of *Merton*, who receiv'd their Appeals. *Laud* immediately complain'd to the King then at *Woodſtock*, and his Majeſty immediately appointed the Buſineſs to be brought before himſelf, who heard the Cauſe in *Auguſt*, and Oxford Divines *expell'd.*

*A.D.*1631. the Iſſue of it was, Mr. *Ford*, Mr. *Thorn*, and Mr. *Hodges* were ſentenc'd to be baniſh'd the Univerſity; and the two Proctors Mr. *Bruch* and Mr. *Doughty* were turn'd out of their Offices. At the ſame time the very learned and reverend Dr. *Prideaux* Rector of *Exeter-College*, and Dr. *Wilkinſon* Principal of *Magdalen*, receiv'd a ſharp Admonition for giving countenance to thoſe three Divines who were expell'd *Oxford* for preaching againſt the Hereſy of *Arminius*, which *Laud* took into his Protection. Mr. *Ford* refus'd to make any Addreſs to be reſtor'd to the Univerſity; and the Rage of Biſhop *Laud* did not ſtop at his Expulſion, for being inform'd that the Town of *Plymouth* intended to chuſe him Lecturer, Letters were ſent to require them not to do it on Pain of the King's Diſpleaſure. There is nothing but Severity and Irregularity.

Sir Giles Allington.

While the infamous Tryal of the Lord *Audley* was depending, Sir *Giles Allington*'s Caſe was proſecuted in the *High-Commiſſion* Court. The Knight had marry'd his Niece contrary to *Admonition and Authority*, as *Echard* phraſes it. *Sanderſon* affirms he had the Opinion of Council upon it before Marriage. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had indeed admoniſh'd him againſt it as inceſtuous, and he was afterwards queſtion'd for it in the *High Commiſſion* Court. *Allington* was rich and cou'd bleed freely, ſo they were very loath to part with him. Sir *Giles* apply'd to the Court of *Common-Pleas* for a Prohibition. The Court order'd a Rule for it. Immediately Biſhop *Laud* runs to the King again, who blam'd the Judges, and *Laud* threaten'd to excommunicate them if they granted a Prohibition; ſo the *High-Commiſſioners* proceed and ſentence *Allington* to pay 12000 Pounds to the King, and give 20000 Pounds Security not to cohabit or be in private with his Wife, as alſo to do Penance in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s *London*, and Great *St. Mary*'s at *Cambridge* in which County he liv'd. He and his Wife paſs'd thro' that Ceremony; but, ſays *Sanderſon*, no Penalty of the Purſe, or Shame of the Sin, cou'd keep them long aſunder.

St. Paul's.

Biſhop *Laud* going forward with repairing and decorating his Cathedral, ſet up certain Images, which, according to *Ruſhworth*, were to *the Diſcontent of many Perſons*. The King came himſelf to viſit this Church in a kind of Proceſſion. Above 80000 Pounds were gather'd by the Briefs, beſides 19000 Pounds laid out by Sir *Paul Pindar*. *Echard* aſſures us the *Prebends* were afterwards turn'd out of their Stalls, and Horſes put in their Places by the *Puritans*.

Hamilton.

We have hinted that the Marquis of *Hamilton* had been accuſed of High-Treaſon, and now the Lord-Keeper and Judges conſider how to examine into the Truth of it. The Lord *Rea* a *Scotch* Baron impeach'd *Ramſay* and *Meldrum*, two of his Countrymen, for exciting him to go beyond Sea to join in the Conſpiracy; but they poſitively denying it, and no Witneſſes being produc'd, *David Ramſay*, who was a Soldier, offer'd to clear himſelf by ſolemn Combat. The Lord *Rea* accepted the Challenge; upon which a Court of Chivalry was erected, and *Robert* Earl of *Lindſey* made Lord-High-Conſtable of *England* on that Occaſion. The Sureties for the Lord *Rea* were Sir *Robert Gordon*, Sir *Piercy Crosby*, Sir *Walter Crosby*, Sir *William Forbes*, and *William Innys* Eſq; For *Ramſay* the Earl of *Abercorn* and the Earl of *Roxburgh*. Mr. *Selden* was one of the Lord *Rea*'s Council, and *Tuttle-Fields* was appointed to be the Place of Combat; but before it was to be decided, his Majeſty ſent *Richard St. George* King at Arms, with a Letter to the Lord High-Conſtable, by which he revok'd his Letters Pattents for the Tryal of this Cauſe.

Hamilton *in* Germany.

In the mean time the Marquis of *Hamilton*, by Command of the King of *Sweden*, quarter'd his little Army at *Cuſtrein*, *Frankfort* upon *Oder*, *Landſberg*, *Croſar*, and other neighbouring Towns in *Pomerania*, where a third Part of his Soldiers languiſh'd and dy'd of various Sickneſſes. The Marquis was afterwards order'd to join General *Banier* and beſiege *Magdeburgh*, which was attempted without Succeſs, and *Hamilton* receiv'd Orders to march to *Halberſtadt*. Sir *Henry Vane* was then in the King of *Sweden*'s Camp, Ambaſſador from *England*, but cou'd get no other Anſwer from that Prince about the *Palatinate*, than that he cou'd not undertake the War with the *Bavarian*, who was in Poſſeſſion of it, unleſs King *Charles* wou'd enter into a War with *Spain*, which he knew was not to be expected when a Treaty of Peace had been juſt concluded between the Kings of *England* and *Spain*. The Marquis of *Hamilton* was ſoon after this recall'd, and an End put to an Enterprize which like all the foreign Enterprizes of the *Engliſh* ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, is hardly worth our Remembrance. *A.D.*1631.

*A.D.*1632. The King of *Sweden* fell the next Year in the Field of *Lutzen*, where his Army was crown'd with Victory; and the King of *Bohemia* dying of the Infection at *Mentz*, the Earl of *Arundel* was ſent to *Holland* to invite the belov'd Queen and her Children into *England*; but that Princeſs excus'd her not accepting the Invitation on account of her great Sorrow, which render'd her uncapable of taking ſuch a Journey.

Kings of Sweden *and* Bohemia.

Ld Wentworth *and Mr.* Bellaſis.

This Year the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth* was ſent Deputy to *Ireland* to tyrannize there as he had done in the Court of the *North*, of which he was Lord-Preſident, and of which Mr. *Edward Hyde* ſaid in Parliament, *It was a Maſs of new exorbitant intolerable Power*. He had not been long Preſident of the *North*, before he procur'd Mr. *Bellaſis* Son and Heir of the Lord Viſcount *Faulconberg*, to be ſummon'd before the Council for ſtanding with his Hat upon his Head, and looking in his Face as he paſs'd by him with the Mace carry'd before him. Mr. *Bellaſis* anſwer'd that his Face was turn'd another Way, he being talking with the Lord *Fairfax*, and the Lord *Wentworth* paſs'd before he was aware of it. The Council commanded him to kneel, which he did ſeemingly only, and poſitively refus'd to ſign a Submiſſion that he was ſorry he had given Offence to the ſaid Lord, upon which he was ſent to Priſon. When he was ſummon'd to appear again, he ſaid he hop'd it wou'd be underſtood that his Submiſſion was to have relation to the Lord *Wentworth*'s Place and not to his Perſon; but his Friends prevail'd with him to ſubmit in the Form that was tender'd to him, thinking his Honour was ſav'd by giving the Board and *Wentworth* eſpecially to underſtand how he himſelf underſtood his Submiſſion.

Mr. Sherfield's *Suffering.*

The Archdeacon telling us of ſeveral Church-Promotions, extols Biſhop *Laud*'s great Care in recommending Perſons to Eccleſiaſtical Preferments who were of the *greateſt Probity*; and then is ſo weak as to name them, *Neile* tranſlated to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, *Curl* tranſlated to *Wincheſter*, *Pierce* promoted to *Bath and Wells*, *Lyndſay* to *Peterborough*. He informs us alſo that he got Mr. *Francis Windebank* his old Friend, to be made Secretary of State, *tho' ſuch an Advocate and Patron to Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits*, to uſe his own Words, that he was himſelf reckon'd a Papiſt. Now it was that Biſhop *Laud*'s Integrity ſhone out bright again in the Proſecution of *Henry Sherfield* Eſq; Recorder of *Salisbury*. That worthy Gentleman was ſcandaliz'd at ſome Painting in Glaſs in a Window of *St. Edmund*'s Church in that City, where the Creation of the World was repreſented in Emblems which ſuited ill with Religion, for Almighty God was painted there like an old Man. The Recorder order'd that blaſphemous Picture to be taken down as a Diſhonour to the

A.D.1632. *Reformation*, for which he was cited to the *Star-Chamber*, where he pleaded the Scripture that forbids ſeverely the making any Pictures of the Deity, and the Act of Parliament 13 Q. *Eliz.* which orders ſuch Pictures to be pull'd down as Monuments of Superſtition, purſuant alſo to another Statute of *Edward* VI. Notwithſtanding this Plea of Religion and Law, and the very plain Plea of Reaſon and Senſe, the Court fin'd him 500 Pounds. *Laud* who ſate then in Court, endeavour'd to juſtify the Blaſphemy of painting the Creator like a Creature, and was ſo very weak as to quote the *Antient of Days*; but the Earl of *Dorſet* reply'd, *The Antient of Days is the Eternal God, who is injuriouſly repreſented in that Picture as an old Architect with a Pair of Compaſſes drawing the Plan of the Univerſe.* "The People murmur'd, ſays "*Larrey*, at Mr. *Sherfield*'s Sentence, who they "thought had Scripture and Law on his Side." Mr. *Nathaniel Bernard* Lecturer of St. *Sepulchers London*, in a Sermon preach'd at St. *Mary*'s in *Cambridge* on this Text, *The Glory is departed from* Iſrael, *becauſe the Ark of God was taken away*, was by Procurement of *Laud* cenſur'd in the *High-Commiſſion* Court, for delivering ſome ſmart Paſſages againſt Poſſibility of Salvation in the Church of *Rome* according to the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*. Mr. *Bernard* was order'd to make a Recantation which was drawn up for him, but he refus'd to ſign it, and was fin'd 1000 Pounds, ſuſpended his Miniſtry, condemn'd in Coſts of Suit, and thrown into Goal, where he dy'd, his ill Uſage there ſhortening his Life. But Dr. *Fuller* obſerves, *He that maketh Inquiſition for Blood, either has been or will be the Avenger of it.* *Laud* was the Man meant here. Dr. *Comber*, ſays *Fuller*, *Vice-chancellor*, gave *ſpeedy notice of the Sermon to Dr.* Laud *Biſhop of* London. But as quick as he was, the Biſhop's Univerſity-Agents had ſent him Information of it before. About the ſame Time the very eminent Mr. *Arthur Hilderſham* Miniſter of *Aſhby de la Zouche*, who had been ſilenc'd before by Biſhop *Neile*, and reſtor'd by Dr. *Ridley* Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Vicar-General, was again ſilenc'd by the Spiritual Court at *Leiceſter*, where Sir *John Lamb* and *Sibthorpe* did *Laud*'s Buſineſs; but the Piety and Merit of this celebrated Divine, made even the vile Court of *Leiceſter* aſham'd of keeping ſuch a Miniſter out of his Pulpit, to which they reſtor'd him a few Months after. This Year another Proclamation was publiſh'd for keeping of *Lent*; and another, that all Gentlemen keep their Reſidence at their Manſions in the Country, and not inhabit in the City of *London* or Places adjacent, that they might not bring Infection to Town with them. Every Year is productive of Proclamations; ſometimes twenty, ſometimes more yearly. Not a word has been heard of a Parliament for about four Years, and *Laud* rules without Controul in the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, and other ſpiritual Courts; and how the Proteſtant Religion advanc'd, we may find ſooner in *Fuller*'s than in *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory. A grave Divine preaching before the Univerſity at St. *Mary*'s *Cambridge*, had this Paſſage in his Sermon, *As at the* Olympian *Games he was counted the Conqueror who cou'd drive his Chariot Wheels neareſt the Mark, yet ſo as not to hinder his running or to ſtick thereon:* Metaque Fervidis Evitata Rotis; *ſo he who in his Sermon can preach near* Popery, *yet no* Popery, *there* is your Man. "Indeed it now began to be "the general Complaint of moſt moderate Men, "that many in the Univerſity, both in the Schools "and Pulpits, approach'd the Opinions of the "Church of *Rome* nearer than ever before," as Dr. *Fuller* writes; who being an orthodox Divine, and of that Univerſity, and of that Time, muſt know theſe Things better than *Clarendon* and *Echard*, who both aſſure us on their exemplary Veracity, that great Care was taken by Biſhop *Laud* to prefer Perſons of the *greateſt Probity* in the Church, tho' we read theſe Perſons came nearer Popery than ever. 'Tis neceſſary to digreſs thus on Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, to ſhew how induſtriouſly thoſe two Writers conceal the Attachment of Biſhop *Laud* and his Brethren to the Papal Hierarchy and Superſtition, in Oppoſition to the Senſe of the moſt pious and moſt worthy of our Proteſtant Biſhops and Clergy.

A.D.1632.

Mr. Bernard.

Ruſhw. 140.

P. 167.

P. 166.

Echard begins his Account of the King's Journey to *Scotland*, as pompous as all other his Relations, where he intends that the King or Biſhop *Laud* ſhall make a ſhining Figure. "The *Scots* "Nation, *ſays he, tho' very falſly*, by King *James*'s "pacifick Deportment whilſt there, and his obli- "ging Bounty whilſt in *England*, had with great "Plenty enjoy'd a continual Peace for above forty "Years, which none of their Records can give "an account of for ſo long a Time before." The Author of the *Memoirs of the Church of* Scotland, writes quite contrary to this: "Nothing but a dark "Proſpect of Perſecution, and a Cloud threatning "Diſſolution to the Church, now appear'd; the "Priſons were fill'd with depriv'd Miniſters, and "the remote Parts with the Baniſh'd, the King's "Letters coming every Poſt, preſſing to more "and more Severities, *&c.*" Such was K. *James*'s pacifick Deportment, and King *Charles*, his Son, according to the ſame Author, *was no leſs zealous than his Father in the Epiſcopal Part of Church-Affairs, and the Church of* Scotland *got no Advantage by the Change.* Both theſe two Kings were afraid of drawing their Swords againſt any foreign Power; and this abject Fear which render'd them contemptible to all Nations round them, is the *pacifick Deportment* ſo much declaim'd upon by ſuch Writers as the Archdeacon. They tell you you are in profound Peace, when the Laws of both Kingdoms are violated, and the beſt Men in both are either thrown into Goals, or driven from their Habitations into remote Baniſhment. No two Kings were ever ſtouter in their Attacks on the *Britiſh* Conſtitution: But what ſays *Coke* of one of them? *King* Charles *proſpering, as he thought in his domeſtick War, having taken more Priſoners in it, I mean Members of Parliament and* Hertfordſhire *Conſtables, than his Father and he had done in all their Wars againſt* France, Spain, *and the Empire, for the Recovery of the* Palatinate, *was very unwilling to enter into a forcign*, &c.

A.D.1633.

P. 290.

Echard then gives us what he calls a true Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*, much like the Truth of his other Hiſtory. *It was govern'd firſt by Superintendents, and afterwards by Biſhops*; but he does not ſay that thoſe *Superintendents* were ſubjected to the General Aſſembly of Presbyters: And he is no more true than he is in other Places, when he tells us thoſe Superintendents were remov'd to make way for Biſhops again; *Epiſcopacy* being never ſuffer'd in *Scotland* till ten Years after King *James* had conform'd to the Church of *England*. *The Church of* Scotland *all this while exercis'd a compleat* Presbyterial *Government, and no other. There were exact regular Meetings of* Kirk *or Parochial Seſſions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Aſſemblies*; *the Nobility upon all Occaſions ſign'd the Book of Polity*, the Foundation of the Presbytery, *and thoſe Miniſters who retain'd the Title of Biſhops*, did not, as the Archdeacon affirms, *govern the* Kirk, *having nothing left them but a* miniſterial *Authority, and were equally ſubjected to Presbytery, Synod, Aſſembly*, &c. The Hiſtorian gives us a melancholy Inſtance of it in the Perſon of the titular Biſhop of *Orkney*, who, as a private Miniſter, was cenſur'd by the Aſſembly for ſolemnizing the *adulterous Marriage of the Queen*, King *James*'s Mother, with *Bothwel*, for which they depriv'd him, and reſtor'd him to his Miniſtry afterwards upon his Humiliation. They were allow'd to be call'd Biſhops; but to uſe the

Ill Government in Scotland.

Church of Scotland.

Mem. Ch. Scotl. 52.

Ib. 72.

Ib. 73.

Words

*A.D.*1633. Words of the *Scots* Hiſtorian, they were really only *Superintendents*, and not that neither very long, for the Aſſembly *Anno* 1574, *voted the* Biſhops *to be only Paſtors of one Pariſh, and delated ſeveral of them for not preaching: They actually depos'd the Biſhop of* Dunkeld, *and delated the Biſhop of* Glaſgow *for the like Offence.* The next Year the Aſſembly voted, *That the Name of Biſhop is common to every one that hath a particular Flock, over which he hath a peculiar Charge to preach the Word and adminiſter the Sacraments. No Biſhop was to appoint Miniſters without the Conſent of the Flock, nor to ſuſpend other Miniſters without the Conſent of his Brethren.* Such were the Biſhops in the *Scots Kirk*, and ſuch their Way of governing. They preach'd God's Word, adminiſter'd the Sacraments, and were called Biſhops ſometimes, and ſometimes Presbyters; as *Tallents* tells us after *Binius* the Biſhops of *Rome* or *Popes* were for 200 Years after Chriſt. Tho' *Echard* inſinuates that the *Kirk* Biſhops had as much Power as *Spotſwood* and *Sharp* uſurp'd afterwards in the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrew*'s. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld, Galloway, Brechin, Dumblain* and the *Iſles* were of this very Aſſembly, and acknowledg'd they underſtood themſelves to be Biſhops in ſuch a Presbyterial Senſe only, for which they are cenſur'd by Archbiſhop *Spotſwood*. Two Years after, in 1577, the Aſſembly ordain'd that all Biſhops be call'd by their own Names; and the next Year they voted the very Name of *Biſhop* to be a *Nuſance*. If *Echard*'s *true* Hiſtory is ſuch, what muſt his *falſe* be. He proceeds: In the Year 1580, *Epiſcopacy* was condemn'd as contrary to the Word of God, and *Presbytery* eſtabliſh'd by *Tumult*. There is ſomething elſe beſides Falſhood in this Aſſertion, which is ſo common in his other Hiſtories that I need not name it, and it breaks in too much upon Decency. The Preamble to the Act which paſs'd in 1580, ſhews it was not the Effect of Tumult; *Foraſmuch as* Epiſcopacy, *&c. was brought in by the Folly and Corruption of* Men's Inventions *to the great Overthrow of the true* Kirk, *the whole Aſſembly in one Voice, after Liberty given to all Men to reaſon the Matter, none oppoſing themſelves in the Defence of the ſaid pretended Office, findeth and declareth the ſame unlawful, as being unſcriptural, and having no Warrant from the Word of God.* In the Year 1592, ſpoken of by the Archdeacon, King *James* gave his Royal Aſſent to a Statute confirming the Privileges of the *Kirk*, their Aſſemblies, Synods and Presbyteries, by a very good Token, of which not a Syllable from the reverend Hiſtorian; *That the Aſſembly then ſitting order'd a Deputation to the King, to admoniſh him, in the Name of the Eternal God, to have reſpect in time to the Eſtate of true Religion, to the many Murthers and Oppreſſions daily multiply'd thro' Impunity, and to diſcharge the kingly Office in both, as he will eſchew the fearful Challenge of God, and avert his Wrath from himſelf and the whole Land.* Which Admonition, it is ſaid, the King never forgave them. Indeed he cou'd not but be much more taken with the Compliment of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, that he had the *Holy Spirit* in him, than with ſuch homely Truth as the *Scots* Kirk told him, and conſequently like *Whitgift*'s Church much better than that he was educated in. The Archdeacon continues his *true* Hiſtory thus: " King " *James* finding the increaſing Power of the Mi- " niſters and Preachers, which often overtopp'd " that of the Civil Magiſtracy, took Occaſion " and Advantage from ſome of their Exorbitan- " cies and Miſcarriages to reſtore *Epiſcopacy* in " the Nation by a Parliament, *A. D.* 1612". Had there been one word of Truth in this Paſſage beſides the Reſtoration of Biſhops, we wou'd have forgiven it. The firſt *Exorbitance* and Miſcarriage we meet with after the Statute for eſtabliſhing the *Kirk*, was an Act of the ſame *Aſſembly*, ordaining, *That no Miniſter within this Realm utter from the Pulpit any raſh or irreverent Speeches againſt his Majeſty or his Council, or their Proceedings, under Pain of being depos'd.* Which, ſays the *Scots* Hiſtorian, *effectually clears them from the Charge of being mutinous, and of refuſing to ſubmit to Authority.* Indeed the Synod of *Fife* did the next Year order a *Faſt*, for the Reaſons mention'd at large in *Calderwood*; and ſome of their Members were deputed to the King, to tell him *that which his true Subjects think*, the Words of the Deputation, *touching his too much bearing with, favouring and countenancing* Papiſts *and* Traytors, *his Negligence in repreſſing* Idolatry, *&c. And to declare freely to his Majeſty the Reſolution of all godly and faithful Subjects, That they are ready to give their Lives rather than to ſuffer the ſame.* Did *Whitgift, Bancroft, Neile, Laud, Harſnet, Wren, Coſens, Mountague*, and their Brethren of the ſame Stamp, talk ſo to him after he came to *England*? How can the Presbytery hope to continue in *Scotland*, when at the Inſtigation of thoſe Prelates he was about to extirpate it in *England*? Inſtead of the Archdeacon's *Exorbitances* and *Miſcarriages* read the *Scots* Hiſtorian. " In the next Year following, " and then after, the Miniſters ſtruggled with the " Defection of the Times, the refractory Diſpo- " ſition of the Prince, *which the reverend Hiſto- " rian terms his* Pacifick Deportment, and the " growing Inſolencies of the Courtiers, till they " were cruſh'd". The Miſcarriages and Exorbitances are all on the Court Side; and *Echard* beſpatters the Church of *Scotland* with them, to juſtify the Inſolencies of the Courtiers. It is not deny'd but the Miniſters had ſome Reaſons for their Admonitions. The King *ſaid he wou'd not decline the Judgment of the Aſſembly, provided it was done privately.* To which an old Presbyter, *Andrew Melvin*, reply'd bluntly, *We cannot juſtify private Rebuke for open Offences.* Some time after this his Majeſty and the Presbyters were in a manner reconcil'd. The King in a ſolemn Speech thank'd God that he was bred in that *Kirk*, the *pureſt* Kirk *in the World*; and ſaid thoſe bitter things againſt the Church of *England* which are repeated in the Introduction He took a ſoft Way to have his Ends of them for their Admoniſhments. He began with the poorer Miniſters, whom in my Author's Words *he wheedled or bought off.* He then eaſily got an *Aſſembly* to petition the Parliament in the Name of the Church, that ſome Commiſſioners from them might ſit and vote with that Repreſentative. The Presbyters greedily enough ſwallow'd this Bait. After which little Oppoſition was made to the Appellation that was to be given them, which cou'd not well be any other than that of Biſhop. But theſe Presbyters forming an Aſſembly at *Dundee*, it was not reckon'd legal, ſo many *Presbyteries* proteſting againſt it, and another Aſſembly met at *Aberdeen*; however, the former gain'd their Ends, the King ſupporting them; and an Act paſs'd three or four Years before he came to *England*, to admit the Kirk's Commiſſioners to ſit in Parliament as *Biſhops*. After which Epiſcopacy with the Dignities, Powers and Revenues arriv'd by ſeveral Gradations to the Pitch King *James* intended, to mortify the Presbytery for their Admonitions. The *Scots* Hiſtorian cloſes his true Hiſtory of this Matter thus: " I have been more " particular in this Part, as it relates to the Man- " ner how *Epiſcopacy* got at firſt Footing in the " Church of *Scotland*; that the Fraud, the Artifice " and hypocritical Fawnings, the arbitrary and " outrageous Dealings which were practis'd with " the Miniſters might appear, as alſo the Strug- " glings and Oppoſition it met with for ſo many " Years. The Time drew near that the King " was to receive an Addition of Glory, and be " called to a Kingdom infinitely more opulent,

Ib. 81.

Ib. 82.

Ib. 83.

P. 87, 89.

Calderw. 186.

Mem. Ch. of Scot. 125. *K.* James *admoniſh'd*

*A.D.*1633.

Mem. Ch. of Scot. 151.

A.D.1633. " populous and powerful than his own, and withal " wrapt up in that Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy which " he ſo much deſir'd. In the mean time he dai- " ly ſpent the Hours in Conteſts with the Mini- " ſters, oppreſſing, impriſoning, removing, baniſh- " ing; ſo that he no ſooner was become a King " of an *Epiſcopal* Church, but as was always na- " turally the Spirit of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, he " became a Perſecutor: nay, a Perſecutor of that " very Church, which, as before is obſerv'd, he " had in the Face of the Aſſembly, with Eyes " and Hands lifted up to Heaven, ſolemnly prai- " ſed and bleſſed God for being born in it". Now *Echard: He nominated thirteen new Biſhops for ſo many Epiſcopal Sees as had been in the Church in the Days of* Popery; *which Biſhops he alſo arm'd with the Power of an* High Commiſſion, *the better to cure the Spirit of the* Presbyterians. *He advanc'd towards an Uniformity with the Worſhip and Ceremonies in* England. " This was the Time, *in* " *the Words of the* Scots *Hiſtorian*, when Mr *John* " *Spotſwood*, who was proſecuted even by the " King's Friends in the Church for having been " openly at *Maſs* in *France*, was protected by the " King from their Cenſure, and afterwards made " Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew's*". King *James* was ſo earneſt in advancing abſolute Power in *Scotland*, that he offended even his own Biſhops by propoſing in Parliament when he was at *Edinburgh*, *A. D* 1617. that *whatever he himſelf did with the Advice of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in the external* Polity *of the Church ſhou'd have the Force of an* Eccleſiaſtical *Law*. The Miniſters ſign'd a Proteſtation againſt that notorious Invaſion of the Rights of the *Kirk*. Wherefore he reſolv'd to exerciſe that Power without the *Ceremony of an Act*. One of his wiſe Reaſons for it was, that King *David* gave Orders concerning Church Mat-
P. 162. ters, as we read in *Salmonet* But the very Biſhops in *Scotland* oppos'd this. So he got an Aſſembly at *Perth* to agree to the *Articles* which go by that Name. 1. *Kneeling at the Sacrament*. 2. *Private Communion*. 3. *Private Baptiſm*. 4. *Confirmation*. 5. *Holidays*. Orders were ſent to all Miniſters to exhort the People to conform to theſe *Articles*, and to preach upon the Lawfulneſs of
Ib. 163. them. But according to my Author, " This it " was never in their Power to do; nor where Mi- " niſters did conform was it in their Power to " make the People comply with, or hear them: " But a dreadful Rent being thus made in the " *Church*, the People divided from their Paſtors,
P. 165. " and diſſenting Miniſters ſet up private Commu- " nions, and were almoſt univerſally follow'd. The " *High Commiſſion* was the higheſt Exerciſe of Ty- " ranny that was ever practis'd by any King in " *Great Britain*, ſince Laws and Conſtitutions " were allow'd to be the Rule of Government; " for it actually put the King in Poſſeſſion of the " Bodies and Goods of all his Subjects, and em-
P. 166. " power'd him to uſe them as he pleas'd without " the ordinary Forms of Juſtice, and merely by " the Agency of the Clergy, making the Biſhops " Inſtruments of arbitrary Power, not only to de- " ſtroy the Liberties of the Church, but even of " the whole Country, Clergy and Laiety. There's " ſcarce any Kind of Cruelty, Injuſtice and Op- " preſſion to be nam'd in the World, which was " not practis'd on the Miniſters of the Church; " the Biſhop of St. *Andrew's* telling them at one " of his Meetings, *He ſhou'd proceed to Sentence* " *without having Regard to Wives, Children or* " *Eſtate*". When the Articles of *Perth* were *brought into Parliament* in the Year 1621. to be paſs'd into an Act, they met with great Oppoſition. But the King *by the Management of the Members*, ſays the ſame Author, *and the Aſſiſtance of the Biſhops got a Majority to vote it*. Many noble Lords declaring their Diſſent to it with much Earneſtneſs, as the Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Montieth*, Earl of *Eglington*, Earl of *Linlithgow*, Earl of *Kintail*, Lord *Gray*, Lord *Roſs*, Lord *Yeſter*, Lord *Cathcart*, Lord *Couper*, Lord *Burlie*, Lord *Torpichen*, Lord *Balmerinoch*, Lord *Elphingſton*, Lord *Forbes*. The Earl of *Mortoun*, the Earl of *Buchan* and the Lord *Lauderdale* ſtaid without the Parliament-Door, becauſe they wou'd not vote for it; and of the Commiſſioners for Shires and Burghs forty-four voted againſt it, beſides nine Lords and twenty-ſix Commiſſioners that were Neuters, and came not to the Houſe. So far was the Hierarchy from being the general Senſe of the *Scots* Nation, as the Archdeacon and other Eccleſiaſtical Writers wou'd make us believe. Upon King *Charles*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, the Epiſcopal Party receiv'd all poſſible Encouragement. The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* was made Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and eight other Biſhops Privy-Counſellors, to the unſpeakable Diſcontent of the People, as well Nobility as Gentry and Populace. For tho' a long and cruel Perſecution had in ſome meaſure ſuppreſs'd that Spirit of Liberty which animated the *Scots* after the Reformation, yet the Diſguſt rais'd by the Tyranny of the High-Commiſſion Court lay hidden like latent Embers, and only wanted Wind to be blown into a Flame.

That Wind cou'd not be wanting when King *Charles* carry'd *Laud* with him to *Edinburgh*, there being a Kind of Fatality in all this Prince's Counſels leading to the Ruin that attended them. The Earls of *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Holland*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and other Lords waited on his Majeſty to *Scotland*, where he was crown'd the 18th of *June* by *Spotſwood* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Roſſe* and *Murray*. One muſt believe that *Laud*'s Activity, ſo much applauded by *Echard*, appear'd here as well P. 297. as in other Places. *Larrey* ſpeaks thus of him: " The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* ought to have been " on the Right of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*; " but *Laud*, who had the Direction of the Cere- " mony, ſeeing he was not in his Pontifical Robes " as the others were, being a Perſon who abhorr'd " Pomp, had the Boldneſs to pull him forcibly " from his Place, and to ſubſtitute the Biſhop of " *Roſſe* in his ſtead. To this outrageous Inſult " *Laud* added Words that were not leſs inſulting: " *Are you a* Churchman, *and dare you appear here* " *without a Habit ſuitable to the Epiſcopal Digni-* " *ty and the Solemnity of this Day*? The *Scots* ſaw " by this Action what was to be expected from " ſuch a Man, who was zealous for Epiſcopacy " even to Superſtition; but they knew him much " better ſoon after". *Echard* himſelf can't help ſpeaking ſome Truths on this Occaſion: "The *Scots* " look'd with an evil Eye on the Biſhop of *Lon-* " *don*, and with a worſe when they heard him " preach in the Royal Chapel chiefly on the Be- " nefit of Conformity, and the Reverence due to " Ceremonies. They grew more exaſperated when " the King during his Stay erected and endow'd " an Epiſcopal See at *Edinburgh*, and committed " the framing and compoſing a Liturgy for the " Church of *Scotland* to a ſelect Number of " Biſhops". Theſe ſeveral Steps were with great Indignation complain'd againſt. And *Laud*'s Foot was viſible in every one of them, that Prelate haunting his Majeſty like his evil Genius.

The King in Scotland.

The Parliament which the King held at *Edin-* Scots *Par-*
burgh granted him a Subſidy, and paſs'd ſeveral *liament.* Acts in a few Days; but warmly oppos'd two Bills which were brought to them relating to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. " They thought, ſays *Larrey*, the " King's Zeal for *Epiſcopacy* was but an ill Omen, " and look'd like a melancholy Prelude to their " Diviſions. The firſt of the two Bills was for " *revoking Alienations formerly made of Tithes and* " *other Eſtates of the Clergy*". This Act was not conteſted ſo much as the ſecond concerning *Eccleſiaſtical Habits*, the Direction of which was to be

*A.D.*1633. left to his Majesty, and so the *Surplice* wou'd be impos'd on the *Kirk*, for which they had an Abhorrence. *Larrey* assures us the *Presbyterians* had the major Vote in this Parliament. And how wise were the Counsellors who put the King on such a Novelty at such a Juncture? His Majesty endeavour'd to intimidate the House by drawing a List of their Names out of his Bosom, and telling them *he wou'd mark down those that were well or ill affected to him, and that he wou'd remember both.* He was pleas'd to tell his Parliament in *England*, he *scorn'd to threaten his Inferiors*; but this Menace is no great Proof of it. However, many of the Members persisted strongly in their Opposition, and thirteen of the Lords spoke with as much Vehemence as the Commons. Some time after a Pamphlet appear'd, in which the *Scots* complain'd that there was an Infringement of their Laws and their Religion by the King's awing the Parliament with his Presence. The Pamphlet was written by one *William Hagg* who fled for it; but being found in the Custody of the Lord *Balmerine*, he was charg'd with it, try'd by his Peers for Treason in concealing it, and condemn'd to lose his Head; but, says *Echard*, he obtain'd a *most gracious Pardon*. I wonder he had not translated *Salmonet*: The King *cou'd not resist the Mildness of his Nature, always delighting in Mercy, which he preferr'd to all his other Virtues*; as appear'd by his putting this Lord in the last Hazard of Life for a little Pamphlet which had but too much Truth in it. Neither of these impartial Historians let us know how *Balmerino* came by this most *gracious Pardon*, as Mr. *Ackerley* does. The *Scots* in general associated to *execute military Justice after the old* Scotish *Fashion by cutting to pieces the Judges, and by burning their Houses, if* Balmerino *was executed.* Archbishop *Spotswood* was in so much haste to carry his Information against this Peer after the King to *London*, that he began his Journey on a *Sunday*. Indeed *Salmonet* the *French* Papist is a little fairer in this than the Archdeacon; for he gives us a Hint of the *Scots* Resentment at the Tryal of Lord *Balmerine*: *The People got together at the Palace Gate, and threaten'd the Judges as they went in.*

P. 299.

The King threatens them.

P. 385.

The Earls of *Rothes*, *Cassils* and *Lothian*; the Lords *Lindsay*, *Torpichen*, *Sinclair*, *Couper*, and four more enter'd their Dissent to the *Habit* Act. But the Majority being prepar'd to pass it, their Opposition had no other Effect than to shew the Court the good Reasons which ought to have hinder'd the bringing in the Bill. *Rushworth* tells us, 'twas observ'd that at the Dissolution of the *Scots* Parliament the King look'd on those Lords with an unfavourable Aspect. The *Presbyterians* presented a Petition to him complaining of the five Articles of *Perth*, which had occasion'd so great a Division in the Church, that the Episcopal Clergy were generally abandon'd by their Flocks. *King* Charles *animated by* Laud, they are *Larrey*'s Words, *press'd the Observance of those Articles, and the* Presbyterians *were obstinate in their Refusal. Salmonet* informs us, that the Rumour of a *Liturgy* was already spread amongst the People, who were alarm'd at it, and disgusted at the making all the Bishops Privy-Counsellors. He errs in that, there were only eight of the thirteen Bishops made Lords of the Privy-Council. In this Ferment did the King leave his antient Kingdom, and every Step he took after his Return to *England* serv'd only to increase it.

P. 301.

Dr. Laud *made Abp. of* Canterbury.

P. 12.

No sooner was he return'd to *Whitehall* than he gave fresh Occasion of Disgust to both Kingdoms by advancing Dr. *Laud* to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, vacant by the Death of the most Reverend, Learned and Pious Dr. *Abbot*. *Laud* had been twice offer'd a Cardinal's Cap: But *Echard* affirms, that upon his Refusal the Tempter left him for ever. One of the most flagrant Falsities in Story; for as I have observ'd twice elsewhere, the Lord *Wiquefort* informs us in his Treatise of *the Ambassador and his Function*, that he treated with Count *Rosetti*, the Popish Agent in *England*, for a Pension of 48000 Livres a Year; which if the Pope wou'd have settled upon him, he wou'd not only have accepted of the Cardinal's Cap, but have gone to *Rome*, and have dwelt with the Pope and his Cardinals as long as he liv'd. *Larrey* also takes notice of this Negotiation. We have already observ'd, that the Author of *Clarendon*'s History represents good Archbishop *Abbot* as unfit for that high Station. The Reader is desir'd to compare it with what follows out of the *French* Historian: "While *Abbot* was alive "*Laud* observ'd some Measures: for tho' that Prelate was in Disgrace, he was never the less respected by the Church, by the Universities, and "the whole Kingdom. Tho' he was stripp'd of "Part of the Temporalties of his Bishoprick, and "deprived of the Functions; yet the Character of "so eminent a Post which he still held, and his "Learning and Integrity were Barriers which *Arminianism* durst not attempt to force". The Archdeacon enters again into *Laud*'s Panegyrick, and with some Tautology repeats that "his Heart "was entirely set on the Advancement and Grandeur of the *Church*. He continu'd Archbishop "in great Splendor seven Years. His Proceedings "were with the utmost Vigor and Authority. He "brought the Grandeur and Advancement of the "Church of *England* to that Height, that it shew'd "rather a Rivalship than a Resemblance of the "Church of *Rome*". *What an Applause is there, to rival the Idolatry of the* Roman *Worship, and the Tyranny of its Hierarchy.* "In this and all his "great and pious Designs, he had the hearty Concurrence of the King, and caus'd his Friend "Dr. *William Juxon* to be made Bishop of *London* and Lord High Treasurer, and many of "the inferior Clergy to be advanc'd into Civil "Offices; Doctors and Ministers of Parishes were "every where made Justices of the Peace. As "he lov'd Pomp and Ceremony, he promoted "Beauty and Regularity. He caus'd the Communion Table to be plac'd Altar-wise, and to "be rail'd in. He was strict about the Surplice "and Vestments. His Greatness was too big for "Opposition. He was a vigorous Actor, and had "a singular Influence at the *Council Table*, in the "*Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission* Courts, so "many Channels to convey the Royal Authority "to Subjects for the Good of them and the Publick. But what gave the greatest and most "Dislike to him, was that he wou'd not suffer "the common Vices of great Men to go unpunish'd". He design'd the Discipline of the Church shou'd be felt, as it was with a Vengeance while 'twas subjected to his Tyranny. This is scarce a half Length of *Laud*'s Picture, as the Archdeacon has drawn it; but it contains enough to shew the Painter might have done it winking, as well as with his Eyes open according to real Likeness. I will not copy much after *Prynne*, because what he says of this Prelate may be thought to be sharpen'd by the Sharpness of his Sufferings owing to *Laud*'s Revenge and Cruelty. I will now content myself with what a foreign Author writes of him upon his Advancement to the Archiepiscopal Dignity. "Historians "say this new *Phaeton*'s Head was turn'd with "Advancement, and that he did not fall from "the Height which Fortune rais'd him to, till "after he had set *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* in a Flame. As Primate of *England* he "undertook to govern the Church; nor had he "less Power in *Scotland*, supporting the Bishop of "St. *Andrews* and the Bishop of *Dunblaine* there. "In *Ireland* the Lord *Strafford* did whatever this "Prelate pleas'd, so that his Spirit spreading thro' "the

*A.D.*1633.

Laud's Pride and Superstition.

Larrey, 302.

Laud a Church Phaeton.

A.D.1633. "the three Kingdoms, was as it were the Soul "that gave them Motion. All Reſtraint being "taken off by Archbiſhop *Abbot*'s Death, he ap-"ply'd himſelf eagerly to render himſelf and his "Party triumphant, arrogating to himſelf an Au-"thority in the three Kingdoms, which defac'd "the King's Supremacy, and can be juſtly com-"par'd to nothing but the *Pope*'s What is moſt "to be wonder'd at, is that the King, enchanted "by this Archbiſhop, lent him his Power to raiſe "him above himſelf, and ſtil'd thoſe Perſons ſe-"ditious and Rebels who defended the Royal "Authority againſt the Infringements of this am-"bitious Prelate. The *High-Commiſſion* Court was "eſtabliſh'd in his Favour, and made up of Ec-"cleſiaſticks and Seculars devoted to him: The "*Star-Chamber* was not leſs on his Side, and no-"thing that reſiſted him went unpuniſh'd, *&c.*" I coud fill a large Volume with ſuch like Hiſtory of *Laud*, but I am and ſhall be tir'd with writing ſo much of him, which his thruſting himſelf into almoſt all Sorts of Buſineſs, renders unavoidable.

Church of Scotland. As ſoon as the King was return'd from *Scotland*, he ſends back Articles of Orders to be obſerv'd by the Dean of the Chapel-Royal in the Palace of *Holy-Rood* at *Edinburgh*; for Prayers to be perform'd there twice a Day after the *Engliſh* Manner; that the Communion be receiv'd monthly on the Knees; and that he who officiates on *Sundays* and *Holidays*, do it in a Surplice; which Orders the Biſhop of *Dumblaine* then *Dean* durſt not obey for fear of exaſperating the People. Biſhop *Laud* had a Warrant from the King to correſpond with that Dean, to whom he wrote ſeveral Letters to promote the Deſign, and to inform the King who comply'd with his Pleaſure, and who did not. The Biſhop of *Dumblaine* anſwer'd, *He did what he cou'd, but the Times requir'd Patience.* A plain Proof that *Laud*'s Innovations in the Church of *Scotland*, was in direct Oppoſition to their Religion and the general Inclinations of the People; which if he knew it, was to ſacrifice a kind Maſter to his own Bigottry and Obſtinacy; and if he did not know it, he was very unfit to ſit in the Seat of Council.

Ruſhw.

On the 13th of *October* the Queen was brought to-bed of her ſecond Son *James*, who was created Duke of *York*, and in time ſucceeded his Father in his Kingdom and his Misfortunes. The Tyranny of the *Star-Chamber* Court, and the ſlaviſh Submiſſion of the Judges who ſate there to the Will of *Laud*, is no where better ſeen than in the Tryal of *William Prynne* Eſq; of *Lincoln's-Inn*, for writing a Book againſt the Stage and the lewd Practices of the Players, which *Jeremy Collier*, a Prieſt of the ſame Principles with *Laud*, expos'd ſo ſucceſsfully ſome Years ago: But it is not at all ſtrange that a Biſhop ſuch as *Laud*, and a Miniſter of State ſuch as *Cottington, &c.* who are about an Edict enjoining the Profanation of the Lord's-Day, ſhou'd worry a learned Gentleman in a more barbarous Manner than ever was baited Bull, for writing againſt obſcene Plays and Players. The Book entitl'd *Hiſtriomaſtrix*, was publiſh'd ſix Weeks before the Queen acted a *Paſtoral* at *Somerſet-Houſe*. The Words excepted againſt were only in the Index, *Women Actors notorious Whores*; which Place the *Prelates and their Inſtruments*, in the Words of *Whitlocke*, *ſhew'd to the King, and inform'd both King and Queen, that his Book was purpoſely written againſt her and her Paſtoral*; which the Reader will obſerve to be the moſt brazen Falſhood that harden'd Fronts cou'd be guilty of, the Book being publiſh'd ſix Weeks before the Paſtoral was acted. The Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* proceeds, *Yet the King and Queen tho' thus exaſperated, did nothing againſt* Prynne *till* Laud *ſet Dr.* Heylin *to work, who bore* Prynne *a great Malice for confuting ſome of his Doctrines, to peruſe the* Hiſtriomaſtrix, *and to collect the ſcandalous Points out of them*; *which* Heylin *did*, tho' as *Prynne* affirms, *not at all warranted by the Text of his Book. The Archbiſhop went with theſe Notes to Mr. Attorney* Noy *on a Sabbath-day Morning*, and *charg'd him to proſecute* Prynne, *whom in the mean Time the Biſhops and Lords in the* Star-Chamber *ſent cloſe Priſoner to the* Tower. The Lord-Commiſſioner informs us why theſe Biſhops order'd this inhuman Proſecution, *Prynne had anger'd them by ſome Books of his againſt* Arminianiſm *and the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, and by ſome Prohibitions which he had mov'd.* Beſides that the Book *Hiſtriomaſtrix* was publiſh'd ſix Weeks before the Queen's *Paſtoral* was acted; it contain'd a thouſand Pages, and muſt be written many Months if not Years, and therefore cou'd not be intended againſt the Queen, as the Lord Commiſſioner tells us the *Biſhops* and *their Inſtruments* repreſented, and that it was purpoſely written againſt her Paſtoral, which cou'd not be in Being when Mr. *Prynne* wrote his Book. There is ſo good Authority for what we ſay of the Proceedings of theſe Biſhops and their Inſtruments, that I hope the Reader will ſpare a little Attention here: For this Accuſation of theirs being notoriouſly falſe, the Proſecution againſt Mr. *Prynne*, and the unjuſt and barbarous Uſage he met with from *Laud* and his Brethren, ought always to be remember'd when *Clarendon* and *Echard* are declaiming on their Piety; for nothing can be plainer than that this bloody Act was founded on the greateſt Injuſtice which cou'd be practis'd in a Court; and that *Laud*'s Activity was never more ſignal than in this impious Proceſs. Mr. *Hudſon* a Lawyer of *Gray's-Inn*, who open'd the Information againſt Mr. *Prynne*, told the Judges very frankly he was proſecuted becauſe he wrote againſt Plays, and the King, Queen, and Lords of the Council delighted in them; which the Lawyer aggravated by adding, that he alſo wrote againſt *Maypoles*. *Noy* that *Grand Apoſtate*, as the Lord *Digby* call'd him, charg'd Mr. *Prynne* with writing againſt *St. George* for *England*. Wou'd one think ſuch Stuff as this ſhou'd paſs in a Court where Perſons of Rank at leaſt were Judges, whatever their other Qualifications might be? *Noy* added, that *Prynne* had call'd *Stage-Players* Rogues, and had fallen upon *Men's Hair*, *Women's Hair*, *Biſhops*, and *Bonefires*. They are his very Words, and the Caſe is at large in *Ruſhworth*, to which I refer. The Reader will find the moſt eminent Lawyers in *England*, as Mr. *Atkins* afterwards Judge *Atkins*, Mr. *Holburn* afterwards Sir *Robert Holburn*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Hern*, pleading for Mr. *Prynne* their Brother Lawyer with equal Reaſon and Sobriety; and both Lawyers and Judges againſt him foaming at the Mouth with Virulence in Defence of a Parcel of deſpicable Wretches whom the Law terms *Vagabonds*. For as to harmleſs Interludes and Paſtorals repreſented by young People of Quality, *Prynne* diſown'd any Intention againſt Actors or Spectators; and Mr. *Atkins* explain'd the real Meaning of the Book in opening Mr. *Prynne*'s Anſwer. "That the ſaid *Prynne* taking into his "ſerious Conſideration the frequent Reſort of ſun-"dry ſorts of People to common *Stage-Plays* a-"bout the City of *London*, and having read *di-"vers Councils, Laws, and Statutes of this and o-"ther Realms againſt the frequenting* common "Stage-Plays, *and the Judgment and Opinion of "ſeveral Divines*, and other antient Authors and "divers Writers, allow'd by publick Authority, "and his own Judgment, running with thoſe, not "intending to have relation to the King, Queen, "State, or Government, or your Lordſhips, did "about ſeven Years ago compile this Book enti-"tled *Hiſtriomaſtrix*." When thoſe righteous Judges the *Star-Chamber* Lords came to paſs their Cenſure, they all made Speeches, there being no more Shame to ſpeak than to judge in ſuch a Cauſe. The Lord *Cottington* ſpoke firſt as well as he cou'd,

A.D.1633.

Whitlocke *Memorials*, *p.* 18.

Ruſhw. 220.

P. 224.

Mr. Prynne's Sufferings.

*A.D.*1633. Rushw. 231. and among other such Passages said, Prynne *in writing it was assisted immediately by the* Devil, *or rather he assisted the* Devil; so he condemn'd him *to pay the King* 5000 *Pounds, to stand twice in the Pillory, to have both his Ears cut off, one in each Place, and to be perpetually imprison'd.* He did not forget to have him degraded at *Oxford*; upon which the pious, meek, and charitable Archbishop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Laud*, who sate with remarkable Pleasure among Mr. *Prynne*'s never to be forgetten Judges, cry'd out, *I am sorry* Oxford *ever bred such an evil Member.* Thus according to the Custom of the *Star-Chamber*, the Chief-Justice *Richardson* spoke before Sentence, and said *he thought the* Devil *deserv'd to be punish'd for the Book as well as* Prynne. What Mouths they had? His own Words are, *I wou'd to God in Heaven the* Devil, *and all else that had their Heads and Hands in the Book were*, &c. *For I think they are all ill Willers to the State, and deserve severe Punishments as well as Mr.* Prynne *doth.* The Nonsense shocks one as well as the Injustice; and when by his Sentence he had shut up *Prynne* in Goal for Life, without Pen, Ink, and Paper, he added, *yet let him have some pretty Prayer-Book*, that was all they knew of Religion, *to pray to God to forgive him his Sins. Richardson* and other such Judges, had no Notion of praying without Book. The Earl of *Dorset* said, *The* Devil *had put Spectacles on* Prynne's *Nose.* Did not *Tully, Hortensius*, and the Senators of old *Rome* talk thus? The Earl concluded with an Encomium on his *Popish* bigotted Queen; *Were all such Saints as she, I think the* Roman *Church were not to be condemn'd.* For this *Saintship* I refer the Reader to Sir *Edward Peyton*, whose Words I do not make use of. It is not that I do not believe them, but to keep my History as clean as possible. The End of the Earl's Speech was, *I declare you to be a* Schism-Maker, *a Sedition Sower, a Wolf in Sheep's Clothing*; and then for a Name in Latin, *Omnium malorum nequissimum. I fine you* 10000 Pounds; then his Lordship gives his Reason for it, *which is more than you are worth; I will not set you at Liberty no more than a mad Dog; I condemn you to perpetual Imprisonment, as those Monsters that are no longer fit to live among Men.* His Lordship's odoriferous Breath holds out still longer; *Now for corporal Punishment, my Lords, whether I shou'd burn him in the Forehead and slit him in the Nose?* The Reader will remember that all this courtly Language and human Sentiments, are address'd to a Gentleman of greater Endowments both of Learning and Parts than his Judges, especially his Lordship, who goes on sweetly, *I shou'd be loath he shou'd escape with his Ears, for he may get a Peruke and so hide them, or force his Conscience to make use of his unlovely* Love-locks *on both Sides; therefore I wou'd have him branded on the Forehead, slit in the Nose, and his Ears cropt too.* Nay, after the Execution of the execrable Sentence, which wou'd hardly bear reading, but that we shall see these unrighteous Judges severely accounting for it even in this World, in their Persons and Estates, *Noy* in a Speech to this hated Court said, *He is mercifully dealt withal, he has been in Prison, he has been degraded, he has had his Ears cut off, and undergone all Shame.* Such were the Judgments of the *Star-Chamber*, which, according to *Echard*, was the *Bulwark for the* Liberty *of the subject*; and he regrets the Loss of it afterwards, when for this and other the like sanguinary, unjust, and unheard of Proceedings it was abolish'd. "The *Star-Chamber*, says *Larrey*, did "not contribute less than the *High-Commission* Court "to carry on *Laud*'s Designs, who, as it is said of "*Wolsey*, had a Desire to be stil'd the *Transalpine* "*Pope.*" Father *Orleans* owns *he was suspected to have had such an Ambition*; yet the Author of the *History of the Rebellion* is positive that *he was nothing ally'd to Popery.* How he was ally'd to Injustice and Cruelty, we have seen in Mr. *Prynne*'s infamous Prosecution; and how to Profaneness, we shall see by his procuring a new Book of Sports to *profane the Lord's-Day.* *A.D.*1633.

Divine Cathol. 68, 69.

P. 507.

A *French* Popish Author speaking of *Charles* I. says, *That like his Father he lov'd to retire from Error, witness his Endeavours to compromise the two Religions, ours and his own: He had the Archbishop of* Canterbury Laud *always with him, who being in his Heart a good* Catholick, *inspir'd the King his Master with a strong Desire to re-establish the Liturgy in* Scotland, *believing that if he cou'd but once gain that Point, there wou'd then be so little Difference between the orthodox Religion* Popery *and theirs, that it wou'd be easy to lead the King into it by Degrees. The Archbishop advis'd him to begin with* Scotland, *as the fartherest from the Heart of his Kingdom, telling him that a Commotion there wou'd not be so much to be fear'd.* Of this more hereafter; but what we have taken out of the *French* Papist's Book, proves the Falsity of the Assertion in *Clarendon*'s History, that Laud *was nothing ally'd to Popery.* It proves that he was a very *good* Papist *in his Heart*, and that he excited the King to impose the *Common-Prayer Book* on the *Scots*, which was the beginning of the Civil Wars. Thus the Light at Noon-day is not more apparent, than that this domineering Prelate was the Cause of those ruinous and sanguinary Wars that ensu'd between this Prince and his People. M.M. 195.

A Proclamation for Sports and Pastimes on the Sabbath-day, had been publish'd in King *James*'s Reign, and there was no better Reason for publishing it again now, than that it was generally detested by the People, who every where trembled to see *Sabbath-breaking* enjoin'd by an Edict. *Larrey* writes of it thus, *Neither King* James's *Authority, nor the Charms which Pleasure always carries along with it, cou'd prevail with the People, who look'd upon the Day of Rest to be* profan'd. *Thus his Edict had more Persons against it than for it, and consequently was but indifferently put in Execution; but nevertheless his Successor had a mind to revive it; and he was worse obey'd than King* James. *He added a new Decree to his Proclamation, which was more odious than the former.* And it is observable that *Laud* refin'd upon all the extraordinary illegal Acts of Government in the former Administration. Dr. *Fuller* informs us, the Archbishop was charg'd with not only *reviving but enlarging the Book of Sports.* He adds, in the Language of a true Protestant Doctor of the Church of *England*, "Many moderate Men are of Opi- "nion, that this *Abuse* of the *Lord's-Day* was a "principal Procurer of God's Anger since poured "out on this Land in a long and bloody Civil "War." One of the best Reasons given by King *James* for commanding his Subjects to commit this Sin was, that for want of Wrestling, Cudgel-Playing, and the like, on *Sabbath-Days*, they were render'd unfit for his Wars. 'Tis *Heylin* who says it, tho' his Brother *Echard* does not think there was any thing military in it, but that *Drinking, Gaming*, and *Dancing* on the *Sabbath-Day*, was commanded with a *pious Intention.* *Book of Sports.* *P.* 306. *P.* 147. *Obs.* L'estr. *p.* 113.

The Custom of Revels, Wakes, and other Parish Festivals, was at that Time grown to a great Enormity. Drunkenness, Lewdness, and Riot, were but the least Part of it; Fighting and Blood generally accompany'd it; no County in *England* was then, and is now more debauch'd and disturb'd by *Revels* and *Clerks Ales* than that of *Somerset*; and it was so scandalous even in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, that there was this Order made against it at the Sessions held at *Bridgwater* the 10th of *September* 1593. Somersetshire *Revels.*

That no Church-Ale, Clerks-Ale, Bid-Ale, *or Tipling be suffer'd; and that such only be suffer'd to tipple, as be or shall be lawfully licens'd according to the Order now made by us:* John Popham, Alexander

*A.D.*1633. ander Popham, John Court, Henry Walrond, Edward Hext, George Sydenham, Thomas Horner, John Colles, John May, John Rodney.

At that time twelve-month there was a ſecond Order made, That no *Church-Ales be admitted in any Part of this* Shire. It was ſign'd by the Juſtices at *Bridgwater* the 28th of *September* 1595. *John Popham* who was alſo Lord-Chief-Juſtice of *England*, Sir *George Sydenham*, *George Speke* Eſq; *Alexander Colles* Eſq; *Alexander Popham* Eſq; Sir *Edward Hext*, Sir *Henry Berkley*, *Henry Walrond* Eſq; *John Fraunces* Eſq; *John Lancaſter* Eſq; *Thomas Phillips* Eſq;

In *March* 1627, Sir *John Denham* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, being then in *Somerſetſhire* on the Weſtern Circuit, had a Petition deliver'd him againſt *Revels and Church-Ales* by the following Miniſters, Mr. *Adam Abraham*, Mr. *William Gyllet*, Mr. *Ralph Turner*, Mr. *John Ford*, Mr. *John Fathers*, Mr. *George Drake*; and the Baron iſſu'd an Order accordingly. Theſe Orders were this Year reviv'd by Judge *Richardſon* who went the Weſtern Circuit for *Lent*-Aſſize, at the Requeſt of the Juſtices, without the Conſent of Dr. *Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, who immediately gave his Patron *Laud* notice of it, and he immediately complain'd to the King. He alſo wrote to *Pierce* to know whether thoſe *riotous Meetings* might not be kept with *Decency* and *Sobriety*. Biſhop *Pierce*'s Anſwer was, that if the Order of the Judges againſt *Revels was revok'd, it wou'd be acceptable to the Gentry*; which is ſo directly contrary to the Truth, that one cou'd not believe a Clergyman was guilty of it, if the Truth was not before us. It was at the earneſt Requeſt of the Gentlemen of *Somerſetſhire*, that the Judges *Richardſon* and *Denham*, iſſu'd their Orders to *Lawrence Muſgrave* and all the Conſtables in that large County, to hinder ſuch unlawful Riots and Revels, thoſe Gentlemen giving for Reaſon at the Aſſizes, "That "many Perſons had been indicted for murdering "*Baſtards* begotten at Revels, and for other grand "Diſorders occaſion'd by thoſe intemperate Meet-"ings;" of which Dr. *Pierce* ſays not a Syllable in his Letter to his Patron the Archbiſhop; and what he ſaid of the Gentry, is ſo far from being true, that when Judge *Richardſon* came their Circuit again the next Year, they deſir'd him to repeat that Order, and he puniſh'd ſome Perſons for the Breach of it; which, and his requiring the Order to be read in Churches, irritated Archbiſhop *Laud* beyond Meaſure; and he complain'd of him again to the King, who now was oblig'd to concern himſelf in this unworthy Buſineſs, and *Richardſon* was ſummon'd to appear before the Council, where his Majeſty commanded *him to reverſe the Order at the next Aſſizes, as he wou'd anſwer the contrary at his Peril*; which he did, but in the following Terms of his *Charge*; *I at your Requeſt, together with my Brother* Denham, *have made a very good Order for ſuppreſſing unruly Wakes and Revels, wherein I thought I had done God, the King, and the Country good Service*; *but ſome ill-affected Perſons*, Biſhop *Laud* and Biſhop *Pierce*, *have miſinform'd his Majeſty concerning this Order, who has given me an expreſs Command to reverſe it, which I conceive is hardly in my Power to do, becauſe it was no Order made by myſelf, but by the joint Conſent of the whole Bench, and a mere Confirmation and Enlargement of divers Orders made by the Judges and Juſtices in this Circuit, in Queen* Elizabeth's, *King* James's, *and King* Charles's *Reigns, before ever I came into theſe Parts.* He then produc'd the *Precedents* as we have inſerted them, and added, *But being commanded to reverſe the Order, I do as much as in me lies revoke it*; *yet I doubt not if the Juſtices of the Peace will truly inform his Majeſty of the Grounds of the former Order, and of the great Diſorders occaſion'd by* Wakes *and* Church-Ales, *his Majeſty will give Order to revive it:* Upon which all the Juſtices there preſent, and it was a numerous Bench, drew up ſuch a Petition, that they might have *Favour and Allowance to ſuppreſs all unlawful Aſſemblies of* Church-Ales, Clerk-Ales, Bid-Ales, *and to puniſh all Diſorders then uſually committed*; and giving their Reaſon, *For that ſince the Rumour of the revoking former Orders, The Profanation of the Lord's-Day, riotous Tippling, Contempt of Authority, Quarrels, Murders, have increas'd*, &c. This Petition was ſign'd by *John* Lord *Fawlet*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *John Stawel*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Sir *Edward Rodney*, Sir *Francis Dodington*, Sir *John Horner*, *John Harrington* Eſq; *George Speke* Eſq; *William Capell* Eſq; *Edward Pawlet* Eſq; *John Windham* Eſq; *William Baſſet* Eſq; *Robert Hopton* Eſq; *Thomas Lutterel* Eſq; *William Fraunces* Eſq; *Robert Cuffe* Eſq; *Richard Cole* Eſq; *William Walrond* Eſq; *Gerrard Wood* Eſq; *Anthony Stocker* Eſq; *William Every* Eſq; *George Pawlett* Eſq; *John Symes* Eſq; *Men*, ſays *Fuller*, *who in Birth, Brains, Spirit, and Eſtate, were inferior to no County in* England. *John Harrington* Eſq; *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the County, was directed to carry this Petition to their Lord-Lieutenant the Earl of *Pembroke*, and deſire him to deliver it to the King. Biſhop *Pierce* gives the Archbiſhop quick Information of what was coming, and the Earl of *Pembroke* happening to be out of Town, *Laud* haſtens the Publication of the ſecond Book of *Sports*, for which he wrote this Warrant with his own Hand, to be ſign'd by his Majeſty, to juſtify himſelf if he ſhou'd be queſtion'd. *A.D.*1633.

CHARLES R.

CAnterbury, "*See that our Declaration concern-*
"*ing Recreations on the Lord's-Day after Even-*
"*ing-Prayer be printed.*"

After the publiſhing of this Declaration, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Richardſon* returning from his laſt Weſtern Circuit, was again ſummon'd before the King and Council for not revoking his Order about *Revels as far as in him lay*; where he was ſo reprimanded by the Archbiſhop, that when he came from the Board, the Earl of *Dorſet* meeting him with Tears in his Eyes, ask'd *how he did?* Judge *Richardſon* reply'd, *Very ill, my Lord, for I am like to be choak'd with the Archbiſhop's Lawn Sleeves.* And for this Cauſe alone he was by *Laud*'s Means, to his great Grief and Loſs, put from riding the Weſtern, and forc'd to go the *Eſſex* Circuit, reputed the meaneſt of all others, and which no Juſtice but the puny Judge or Serjeant us'd to ride. I hope none will after this deny that the whole Guilt of the Sin of *profaning the Sabbath* by an Edict, lies at *Laud*'s Door. What a Tool *Pierce* was to him, appears ſufficiently in the above-mention'd Letter written in anſwer to *Laud*, wherein he further tells him, that by Information of ſeventy-two Prieſts of his Dioceſe, he found that the *Churches had been better frequented* ſince the People were commanded to play upon Sundays: *That they had not heard of any Diſorders at Revels*; that *they are of Opinion to keep Revels for a Memorial of the Dedications of their ſeveral Churches, for the civilizing of the People, for compoſing of Differences, and for many other Reaſons*; which I myſelf who write this Hiſtory in this very County, and have known the wicked Cuſtoms of theſe Revels above forty Years, do know to be every Word falſe in Fact at leaſt: Yet Biſhop *Pierce* ſays he examin'd his ſeventy-two Prieſts apart, and they agreeing all in their Repreſentation of the Purity and Convenience of Revels, he cannot help *liking his ſeventy-two to the* Septuagint, *or ſeventy-two Interpreters who agreed ſo ſoon in the Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament*, ſuch *Heads* had they, and ſuch *Hearts* in theſe felicitous Times. But we that believe no more of his ſeventy-two Interpreters, than we do of his ſeventy-two Parſons, cannot be out of Humour at

Sabbath-breaking Laud's acting.

See Dr. Prideaux.

*A.D.*1633. meeting with a Compoſition of ſo much Simplicity and Inſincerity.

One of the worſt Effects of the Edict for *Sabbath-breaking*, was the ſuſpending a great Number of religious and worthy Divines by the Proſecutions of *Laud* and his Brethren in the Spiritual Courts, for not reading that profane Edict in ſacred Places. *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich*, and *Pierce* juſt mention'd, were the moſt active in promoting this Sabbath-breaking. *William Lilly*, who was the Top-Aſtrologer of his Time, contemporary with theſe Things, writes thus of them, of this *Wren* in particular: "There was alſo one *Wren* "Biſhop of *Norwich*, born in *London*, a Fellow, "whoſe Father ſold Babies and ſuch Pedlary Ware "in *Cheapſide*. *The* Conjurer *goes on in the ſame* "*blunt Manner*. This Fellow very peremptorily "one Day, as he ſate in Judicature in the *High-*"*Commiſſion* Court, ſaid openly, *He hop'd to live* "*to ſee the Time when a Maſter of Arts, or a Mi-*"*niſter, ſhall be as good a Man as any* Jack *Gen-*"*tleman in* England. And verily the Pride of "this ſawcy Citizen's Son, hath been one main "Cauſe of the Ruin of the Clergy. Concerning "this *Wren*, I know *Canterbury* ſaid of him, *The* "*raſh and unwarrantable Proceedings of* Wren "*will undo the Clergy*. Upon his plaguing and "puniſhing many godly Clothiers in the Counties "of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they were enforc'd to "leave their Native Country, and betake them-"ſelves and Families into the *United-Provinces*, "where they have taught the *Dutch* the Art and "Manufacture of Cloathing, even to the utter "Impoveriſhment of this whole Nation; and "yet this wretched *Wren* lives, *&c.*" The great Body of the Proteſtant Clergy of the Church of *England*, Biſhops and their Inferiors, abhor'd the Impiety of Sabbath-breaking; many of them bore their Teſtimony againſt it. A Weſtern Biſhop, probably pious Biſhop *Hall* of *Exeter*, being preſs'd to return the Names of ſuch Clergymen as refus'd to read the *Declaration*, deny'd it utterly, ſaying, *I will never turn Accuſer of my Brethren, there be enough in the World to do that Office*. Beſides the Impiety of this Declaration, there was ſomething ſo monſtrous in it, that 'tis taken notice of by Foreigners: *There is ſomething very* whimſical *and* extraordinary *to be obſerved in this Affair, to ſee the Court and the Church of* England *govern'd by her Prelates, to be for Dances and Feſtivals, and the People for whom thoſe Feaſts were inſtituted to be againſt them*, as contrary to the Purity of the Reformation.

Biſhop Wren's Arrogance.

Larrey, *p.* 307.

It was not in *Somerſetſhire* only that *Laud* buſy'd himſelf in promoting the Profanation of the *Lord's-Day*, he quarrell'd with Sir *Nicholas Rainton* Lord-Mayor of *London*, for prohibiting an Apple-Woman to ſell Apples on the *Sabbath* near St. *Paul's-Church*, and with the Lord-Mayor *Dean* for ſhutting up *Taverns*, *Alehouſes*, *Brandy-Shops*, &c.

A Maſque.

The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court paid at this Time a very coſtly and ſplendid Compliment to the King and Queen, in the moſt famous Maſque that ever was ſeen; which is the more worthy Remembrance, for that Mr. *Selden* and Mr. *Whitlocke* were two of the Managers of it. The Shew, the Muſick, the Dancing, were all incomparable; the Queen danc'd in Perſon, and it is hinted by ſome Hiſtorians, that theſe Societies of Lawyers put themſelves to 21000 Pounds Charge, purely to take off the Prejudice which the Writings of their Brother *Prynne* might have given the Court againſt their Profeſſion.

Went-worth.

Sir *David Fowles* of *Yorkſhire* having offended the Lord *Wentworth* by obſtructing his raiſing Money in that County on the Pretence of *Knighthood*, was proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, fin'd 5000 Pounds to the King, and 3000 Pounds to the Lord *Wentworth*. Sir *Thomas Layton* High-Sheriff of *Yorkſhire* gave Evidence that *Wentworth* ſaid at their Aſſizes, *The King's Little-Finger ſhall be heavier than the Loins of the Law*; but it was not regarded. On the contrary, the Court of *Star-Chamber* flatter'd him in their Decree againſt Sir *David Fowles* as a modern *Dedicator* does his Patron in the Epiſtle. *A.D.*1633. Ruſhw. *p.* 220.

During the Impriſonment of Mr. *Prynne*, Dr. *Baſtwick* was brought into the *High-Commiſſion* Court for a Book entitl'd *Elenchus Papiſmi & Flagellum Epiſcoporum Latialium*, in Anſwer to one *Short* a Papiſt, who maintain'd the *Pope's Supremacy*, the *Maſs*, and *Popery*. Dr. *Baſtwick* in his Epiſtle dedicatory, declar'd he intended nothing againſt our Biſhops but againſt thoſe of *Rome*, yet he was ſentenc'd in 1000 *Pounds Fine, to be excommunicated, to be debarr'd his Practice, and impriſon'd*: Theſe Men will never be ſatisfy'd with *Excommunication*, without ſome Lay Severities, as Money, Goal, Pillory, *&c.* *Whitlocke* informs us the Doctor was ſo barbarouſly us'd *for maintaining the King's Prerogative againſt Papacy*; "On "the other Part, continues he, one who was a "fierce *Papiſt*, named *Chowney*, wrote a Book of "the *Popiſh Religion and the Church of* Rome, a-"verring it to be *the true Church*. The Book "was dedicated to, and patroniz'd by the Arch-"biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſo far was *Chowney* from "being puniſh'd and queſtion'd. In the Cenſure "of Dr. *Baſtwick*, all the Biſhops deny'd openly "that they held their Juriſdiction as Biſhops from "the King, for which perhaps they might have "been cenſur'd themſelves in *Henry* the IId or "*Edward* the IIId's Time. They affirm'd they "had their Juriſdiction from God only; which "Denial of the *Supremacy* of the King under "God, *Henry* VIII. wou'd have taken ill, and it "may be have confuted them by his kingly Ar-"guments and *Regia Manu*. The Archbiſhop "countenanc'd this Book of *Chowney*, That the "*Romiſh* Church err'd not in Fundamentals." *Whitlocke* adds, *Somewhat was noted to paſs from him and other Biſhops in defaming the Holy Scriptures*. The Reader may well be tir'd with ſuch Hiſtory as this is, where the Facts are ſo poor, and at the ſame time ſo diſagreeable. Nothing of greater Importance can be expected from a Government under the Influence of ſo furious and ſo imperious a Prelate as *Laud*, who has nothing in his Head or Heart but his own Grandeur and the Dominion of the Church. "He eagerly apply'd himſelf, ſays "*Larrey*, to render his Party and himſelf at their "Head triumphant. He had taken Care to be "inveſted with the King's Authority, and wou'd "ſcarce ſuffer his Majeſty to interfere with him "in his Viſitations. As preſumptuous as *Wolſey*, "and uſing the ſame Authority in *England* as "*Richlieu* did in *France*; nevertheleſs there was a "vaſt Difference between them, *Richlieu* and *Laud*. "The Cardinal, as much a Cardinal as he was, "endeavour'd all he cou'd to leſſen the unlawful "Power of the *Pope*. On the contrary *Laud* pro-"cur'd at leaſt indirectly, the reſtoring it in the "Church of *England*. The Cardinal made his "Maſter triumphant both at *Land* and *Sea*, but "*Laud* made his to loſe his Empire over the one, "and the Glory which his Predeceſſors had gain'd "on the other." As directly oppoſite to this as Falſhood is to Truth, is the Lord *Clarendon*'s telling us, *The Reputation of the Greatneſs and Power of the King, was much more with foreign Princes than any one of his Progenitors*. After which I think there is no need of bringing Proofs of the Falſities and Miſrepreſentations in that Hiſtory or the Archdeacon's, which is a vile Copy of it, and that too of the worſt Parts of it.

*A.D.*1633.

Whitl. *p.* 29.

Richlieu *and* Laud *compar'd.*

P. 311.

Clarendon *wrong. Vol.* I.

P. 76.

Archbiſhop *Laud* began the next Year with increaſing the Odium againſt him, as well on account of his Pride and Haughtineſs, as of the Innovations he introduc'd in the Churches and Schools. In his Viſitation of the Churches he ſignaliz'd

*A.D.*1634.

Larrey, *p.* 311.

*A.D.*1634. ſignaliz'd his Zeal by erecting and adorning *Altars* for the *Communion*, in ordering the Sacrament to be receiv'd kneeling, the ſacerdotal Habits to be always worn in Divine Service, and the Epiſcopal Liturgy to be in uſe every where, "That, ſays "*Larrey*, all *Puritans*, as he injuriouſly ſtil'd the *Laud's Innovations.* "*Presbyterians*, and all Nonconformiſts, ſhou'd be "diſpoſſes'd of their Livings, from whom with "the Honour of their Miniſtry, he likewiſe took "away their Means of ſubſiſting; there was no "Way left for them but to ſubmit, being reduc'd "to the Extremity either of ſtarving or renoun-"cing *Presbytery*. The greateſt Part refus'd to "obey, alledging the Ceremonies were ſuperſti-"tious and idolatrous."

Dutch and French Churches, However, this did not ſatisfy Archbiſhop *Laud*, but contrary to Juſtice, Reaſon, Compact, and the Rights of the Commercial World, he reſolv'd the *Dutch* and *French* Churches ſhou'd feel the Severity of his Diſcipline as well as the *Puritan*. In his Metropolitan Viſitation he ſummon'd the Miniſters of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches which were ſettled here in the Reign of *Edward* VI. and Queen *Elizabeth*, to appear before his Vicar-General, by whom all *Dutch* and *French* Proteſtants, who were born in *England*, were enjoin'd to conform to *Laud's* Church-Service and Ceremonies. The Fathers of theſe *French* and *Dutch* Proteſtants, had been driven from the *Netherlands* and *France* by terrible Perſecutions, and the Liberties King *Edward* and Q. *Elizabeth* grantedthem, had been confirm'd by K. *James* and by this King's Royal Word. *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich* before-mention'd, one of *Laud's* Inſtruments, rejected the Petition of the *Dutch* and *French* Congregations at *Norwich*, where they ſettled at firſt, and ſet up the Woolen Manufactures, which have been and is of inconceiveable Advantage to the Nation. *Laud* values not that a Ruſh, if his Eccleſiaſtical Dominion is in the leaſt leſſen'd. He threaten'd, in caſe they did not ſubmit, he wou'd proceed againſt them according to the Laws and Canons of his Church. There were Congregations of theſe Proteſtants at *Ipſwich* alſo, then one of the moſt trading and flouriſhing Towns in *England*; but *Laud's* Threats ſo terrify'd thoſe induſtrious People, that thouſands of Families were frighted out of *Norfolk* aud *Suffolk*. A hundred and forty of the principal Manufacturers who ſupply'd *Hamburgh* and all the Countries within the *Sound*, fled to the *United Provinces* from the Cruelties of the Spiritual Courts, and ſet up the ſame Manufactures there, which the *Dutch* knew not before, and have ever ſince carry'd on that Trade to our unſpeakable Loſs. *Echard* tells us that this Perſecution of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches, was one of *Laud's* great Deſigns: And now it was, ſays the Author of *the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, that Trade increas'd to ſuch a Degree, that we were the Exchange of the World.* And "Now "it was, according to *Larrey*, that the Kingdom "lay expos'd to the Inſults of Pyrates, the Cor-"ſairs of *Algiers* and *Tunis* came with Impunity "into the Channel which lay unguarded, plunder-"ed the *Engliſh* Ships, and purſu'd them to their "Ports. King *Charles* compleated the making "himſelf deſpis'd by the little Care he took of "his Fleets, being wholly bent on arbitrary Power "and Epiſcopacy, which was, ſaid he, its Right-"Hand." The States of the *United-Provinces* having recover'd the Cautionary Towns, and obſerving what a wild careleſs ſort of Government there was in *England*, had toc little Regard for the Rights of that Crown to the Sovereignty of the Sea, and probably took Advantage of that Careleſneſs to extend their Fiſhery farther on our Coaſts than they had preſum'd to do in former Reigns. They were not Strangers to the whole Buſineſs of the Court, which was to ſupport *Laud* in his Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny, little mindful of the Commerce or Honour of a Nation whom they had ſo many Ways

P. 475.

P. 76.

P. 318.

diſguſted. The *Engliſh* were alarm'd when they found that the *Dutch* aſſerted a Right to their Fiſhery, a Book being written by the famous *Hugo Grotius* to that Purpoſe, entituled *Mare Liberum*, which was fully anſwer'd by the as famous *Selden*, in his *Mare Clauſum*, tho' he had been ſo ill treated by this King and his Miniſters for aſſerting the Privileges of Parliament. His Majeſty was willing enough to fit out a Fleet if he had had Money, but very loth to call a Parliament to give it, there being ſuch a Maſs of Grievances heap'd together ſince the laſt Seſſion, to be remov'd before Subſidies cou'd be expected; wherefore, ſays *Echard*, with equal Sagacity and Truth, "A Project was "form'd out of many antient Records by the deep-"ſighted Attorney Mr. *Noy*, to impoſe upon every "Sea-Port and Place of Merchandize, the Obli-*Ship-Mo-* "gation of finding ſuch a Number of Ships and *ney.* "Men in Proportion to their Wealth;" which the Hiſtorian follows with a Reflection as idle as 'tis ſophiſtical; *The legal Rights of this Aid was never yet diſputed in any Court of Judicature.* It had never yet been collected in ſo illegal a Manner, and therefore cou'd not have been diſputed; but it came afterwards into ſuch a Diſpute, that the Judges had like to have follow'd their Brother *Treſilian* to the Gallows for it. In order to force this Tax upon the Kingdom, Sir *Robert Heath* was remov'd from the Chief-Juſticeſhip of the *Common-Pleas*, and Sir *John Finch* put in his Place. *Great were the Diſcourſes*, ſays *Ruſhworth*, *what the Occaſion ſhould be of that ſudden Advancement*; *but four Days after the Writ of* Ship-Money *coming forth, it was conceiv'd he was to be inſtrumental in that Buſineſs.* "Nor ſhall he ſtay here, *they are* "Coke's *Words*, but be the prime Agent in break-"ing thro' the Bounds of *Charta de Foreſta*, by en-"larging the Limits of the Foreſt, ſo as no Man, "if the Parliament in 1641 had not prevented it, "cou'd tell where it wou'd have ſtopp'd." The firſt Writ for levying it, was directed to Sir *Robert Parkhurſt* Lord-Mayor of *London*, and the firſt Name in ſigning of it, is *William Canterbury*. It was read in Common-Council, upon which a *Petition* was drawn up againſt it by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-Council, wherein they ſet forth, *That they conceive themſelves exempted from ſuch a Charge by antient Privileges, Grants, and Acts of Parliament.* *Echard* told us *Noy.* *Noy* had found out Records quite contrary to thoſe Acts of Parliament, and that the charging the City with this Tax was never diſputed. *Larrey* writes with Reaſon and Sobriety, "It wou'd ſeem as if "all that *Noy* had ſpoken againſt *Tonnage* and "*Poundage* Anno 1628, might be naturally apply'd "againſt this Tax *Ship-Money*. Abſolute Power "appear'd equally in both, and ſince there was "not the Concurrence of Parliament, this was "violating the Peoples Rights." *Noy* dy'd before the Writs he had contriv'd were put in Execution. The Infamy he acquir'd by his Apoſtacy from his firſt good Principles, does not hinder Archbiſhop *Laud's* Lamentation for his Death; *I have loſt a dear Friend, and the Church the greateſt ſhe had of his Condition.* The Archdeacon owns *he was accounted a* Papiſt *if not an* Atheiſt. There was ſomething very remarkable in his Will; *The reſt of all my Lands, Goods,* &c. *I leave to my Son* Edward Noy, *whom I make my Executor, to be conſumed and ſcatter'd about.* *A. Wood* ſpeaks more than he will be thank'd for; *As his Majeſty was* *King and* *ſomewhat* troubled *at the Loſs of* Noy, *and the* *Clergy ſe-* *Clergy* more, ſo the Generality of the *Commons re-* *parated* *joyc'd*, by which we have a clear Idea of the *from the* State of the Nation at that Time. When the *People.* King and the Clergy were in Grief, the People were generally in Joy; and what treacherous Counſellors muſt they be, who ſeparated their Intereſts which are inſeparable? This Summer the King *A Progreſs* and Queen went a Progreſs *Northward*, and were

*A.D.*1634. entertain'd by the Earl of *Newcaſtle* ſo magnificently, that it coſt him 10000 Pounds.

Sir Edw. Coke's *Death.* In *September* the great Lawyer Sir *Edward Coke* departed this Life, on which Occaſion his Grandſon writes as follows: "While he lay on his Death-

Coke 509. "bed, *Laud*'s old Friend Sir *Francis Windebank* "came by Order of Council to ſearch for ſeditious and dangerous Papers, by Vertue of which "Order he took Sir *Edward Coke*'s Comment upon *Littleton*, and the Hiſtory of his Life before "it, written with his own Hand; his Comment "upon *Magna Charta*, and his 11 and 12 Reports in Manuſcript; 51 other Manuſcripts, with "Sir *Edward*'s Laſt Will, wherein he had for ſeveral Years been making Proviſion for his younger "Children. The Books and Papers were kept "till ſeven Years after, when one of Sir *Edward*'s "Sons in 1641 mov'd the Houſe of Commons, "that they might be deliver'd to Sir *Robert Coke*, "Heir to Sir *Edward*; which the King was pleas'd "to grant, and ſuch as cou'd be found were de-"liver'd; but Sir *Edward*'s Will was never heard "more of to this Day". Invaſions of Property were ſo common in this Adminiſtration, that ſo ſmall an Irregularity will not be wonder'd at.

Convocation in Ireland *by* Laud *and* Wentworth's *Directions.* One ſees what a League there was between *Laud* and *Wentworth* to deſtroy the Proteſtant Intereſt by the latter's Conduct in *Ireland*, where he procur'd an Act of Convocation to repeal the excellent Articles of that Church eſtabliſh'd in 1615. more conformable to the Reform'd Religion in all other Parts of *Chriſtendom*, than the 39 Articles which were made the new Eſtabliſhment. The Doctrine of Predeſtination according to *Calvin*'s Explanation was ſettled by the Articles of the Year 1615, as were alſo other *Calvinian* Tenets. By thoſe Articles the Obſervation of the *Lord's Day* was reſolv'd *Jure Divino*, and *Arminianiſm* was condemn'd. But all was repeal'd by *Wentworth*'s Convocation under his vigorous Management. The moſt reverend Father Archbiſhop *Uſher* gave his

P. 200. *negative* Vote to this Alteration; and *Sanderſon* is ſo ſimple as to own, that the Reaſon for making it might be *in relation to the Papiſts.*

Whitlock tells us great Care was taken to favour the Clergy in levying *Ship-Money*. *All the reſt of the People, except Courtiers and Officers, generally murmur'd at it. The Lord Keeper* Coventry *approv'd and aſſiſted the Project as far as his Learning in theſe Matters did extend, and that was not*

Clarendon *wrong.* *far.* Whereas in *Clarendon, he underſtood the whole Science and Myſtery of the Law; he was moſt ſharp-ſighted in the Conſequence of things*, as that of *Ship-Money* in particular. This again gives us a juſt Conception of the Characters in that Hiſtory, which wou'd have been more true had they been made at a venture; but the Partiality and Falſity are invented and labour'd.

Laud's *Superſtition.* *Laud*'s Eccleſiaſtical Injunctions about the Altar and Ceremonies were every where vigorouſly executed. Complaint was made to the Mayor and Recorder of *Abingdon* againſt ſome wicked People, *who refus'd to bow at the Altar, or ſtand at the Creed*, for which they ought to be ſeverely puniſh'd. The Recorder anſwer'd, *Theſe Offences*

Recorder of Abingdon *gives great Offence.* *more properly belong to the Eccleſiaſtical Judges than to Juſtices of the Peace*; and adviſ'd the Complainants to inform the Chancellor of the Dioceſe. The Matter being of ſo great Importance, the Informers apply'd to the Council Table againſt the Recorder for putting off the Puniſhment of ſuch Delinquents; where he was gravely charg'd with refuſing to puniſh thoſe who *refus'd to bow down to the Altar, and ſtand up at the Creed.* The Recorder alledg'd in his own Vindication, *That he knew no common Law nor Statute for their Puniſhment, eſpecially by Juſtices of the Peace; that the Complainants did not prefer any Indictment againſt* thoſe wicked People; *and that the Matters whereof they were accus'd were merely ſpiritual, proper for ſpiritual Judges*, as they were call'd; *and he might have been cenſur'd for encroaching on their Juriſdiction, if he ſhou'd have taken cognizance of them.* Upon which the Council, notwithſtanding Archbiſhop *Laud* was one of them, were ſatisfy'd, and the Recorder was diſmiſs'd. *A.D.*1634.

Ship-Money, which in the laſt Year was confin'd to Maritime Towns only, was now extended to all Counties in the Kingdom, *as being Partakers of the general Benefit*, according to the ſagacious *Echard*, who argues with uncommon Sagacity thus: "Indeed the mighty Increaſe of the *French* Na-"vy, and the Invaſions of the *Algerines*, were a "great Proof of the Neceſſity of ſetting out a "Fleet, which under the preſent Exigencies cou'd "not be done without extraordinary Aid". Which is as fooliſh as 'tis falſe. Was the King of *England* afraid of his dear Brother of *France*? Had the *Turks* invaded the Kingdom, or if their Rovers were in the Channel, was it neceſſary to raiſe 300000 *l.* to drive them out of it, when *Tonnage* and *Poundage* were more than ſufficient for that Service? Or ſuppoſe it was neceſſary, Did not the King and his Counſellors know that it muſt be done with Conſent of Parliament? and cou'd not the Parliament have met, and have rais'd the Money before a Fleet cou'd be equipp'd? The Sophiſtry and Weakneſs of ſuch Arguments render them unworthy Remark; but the beſt of them have no better. The Lord Keeper *Coventry* was order'd to direct the Judges to promote this illegal Impoſition in their Circuits, and to perſuade the People to a ready obeying the Writs for Payment of the Tax, which he did with the Ability the Lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks of; and *Whitlocke* tells us P. 22. the Judges put on the Work in their Charges at the Aſſizes with great Zeal and Gravity, but did not convince *many of the Legality of it; and tho' this illegal Pill was gilt, it wou'd not go down; but many People, eſpecially of the knowing Gentry, expreſs'd great Diſcontent at this Burthen, as an Impoſition againſt Law and the Rights of the Subjects.* While the Judges were thus labouring to deprive them of their Property, and every Man's Door was beſet with Tax-gatherers againſt Law, ſee Warwick's *Memoirs.* what *Warwick* ſays, *Every Man ſat quiet under his own Vine. The Fountains of Juſtice were clear, for the Judges were upright Men.* This Writer is below Reflection. His Matter, his Manner, his Stile and Integrity are all of a piece, and ſo mean that 'tis ridiculous to be ſerious with him. Yet *Echard* copies him with great Pleaſure, tho' it is no better than robbing the Spittle: I can eaſily make good what I ſay, but the Digreſſion wou'd be too long. *Ship-Money.* *Oppreſſion.*

The reverend Hiſtorian copying ſtill from *Warwick*, excuſes this lawleſs Impoſition, becauſe the Weight *was not heavy*, but 236000 *l.* More Sagacity! The ſmalleſt Sum is as illegal as the greateſt, when taken without Conſent of Parliament. Whatever a Man pays by Violence, he is robb'd of ſo much; and if the Sum forc'd from him againſt Law and Right be ſmall, 'tis a *heavy Burthen* ſtill, being a Precedent for other illegal Taxes. Beſides, as the Tax was continu'd four Years, and a Million of Money rais'd by it, it made the Burthen very heavy to thoſe who bore it ſo long. Is it worth while to mention another Excuſe of *War-* P. 53. *wick*'s for it? That the King kept all the *Ship-Money* in a Bag by itſelf, that it might be carefully and ſolely apply'd to thoſe neceſſary Uſes, as the aſſiſting the *Spaniards* againſt the *Dutch*, and driving the *Mediterranean* Pyrates out of the *Britiſh* Channel, *&c.*

Projects for Money. This Impoſition not being ſufficient to anſwer the Exigences, an Office was erected for *Licenſing Subjects to travel*; another Office for *Letters*; another for *compounding* defective Titles; another for Forfeitures for ſuch as ſpoil the Highways, and for *Swearers* and *Curſers*. Of the latter Sir *Edward*

A.D.1635. P. 60.

ward Peyton ſpeaks bluntly: *King* Charles *granted Twelve-pence an Oath to* Robin Laſhley, *which was obſerv'd more to get Money than ſuppreſs* Swearing, in much Eſteem from the Example of King *James*. All theſe things were enacted without a Statute. Proclamations ſerv'd inſtead of Laws, and ſome of them were of the following Importance: A Proclamation for the *Time to cure the King's Evil*; another about *Butter Casks*; a third *about Farthings*; a fourth *about Soap*; another about the *King's Evil* again: All in the Compaſs of a few Months. How happy and glorious was the *Engliſh* Nation!

Proclamations.

A Fleet.

By the Help of *Ship-Money* a Fleet of 40 Ships was ſet out. The Earl of *Lindſey* was Admiral, and the Earl of *Eſſex* Vice-Admiral. The latter was order'd to ſcour the Channel with 20 Ships: But the Pirates were gone long enough before his coming. Now according to the Archdeacon, the *Engliſh* Name was glorious and terrible. Inſomuch that the *Dutch* durſt not attempt *Dunkirk*, then in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, for fear of the Earl of *Lindſey*. The *French* King and the States of the *United Provinces* were in League againſt the King of *Spain*. The *French* were to attack *Dunkirk* by Land, and the *Dutch* by Sea; but the latter drew off in Dread of the *Engliſh* Navy. Thus all the Service that was done by Ship-Money was the clearing the Channel of a few *Turkiſh* Rovers, and the frighting our Proteſtant Allies the *Hollanders* from a Conqueſt, which wou'd have been a good Barrier againſt *Spain*. *Echard* affirms the *Dangers were really imminent*, and might *well juſtify* the taking of Money againſt Law. The judicious *Warwick*: Ship-Money *was rais'd with all due Caution, the Neceſſity was apparent, and the Sovereign Power hath an Authority independent of any other Conſent*. They are not worth anſwering. But let the Lord *Clarendon* do it: *The Damage and Miſchief cannot be expreſs'd, which the Crown and State ſuſtain'd by the deſerv'd Reproach and Infamy that attended the Judges*. *Warwick* vouches for them, that they *were as learned and upright as ever fill'd their Benches, there being but one illiterate Man amongſt them*, Thomas Trevor; but then he too was an honeſt *Gentleman*. You ſee what Hiſtory they give us.

Warwick's *Judgment.* P. 50.

P. 51.

Prince Elector *and Prince* Rupert *in* England.

This Year arriv'd the Prince Elector in *England*, to ſollicit King *Charles* his Unkle to aſſiſt him towards recovering his Electoral Dignity and Patrimony. A very hopeleſs Journey! *Laud* was at the Head of the State as well as the Church; the *Palatines* were *Presbyterians*, and was it likely he wou'd do any Thing for their Deliverance? Prince *Rupert* the Elector's Brother arriv'd alſo at the Court of *England*. They were both receiv'd with great Ceremony, Courteſy, and Magnificence, which were all they obtain'd by this Viſit.

About the ſame Time the Queen was brought to-bed of a ſecond Daughter the Princeſs *Elizabeth*. The *States General* of the United Provinces ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to congratulate her Majeſty's ſafe Delivery. The Ambaſſadors brought a noble Preſent: "A large Piece of Ambergreaſe, "two fair *China* Baſons almoſt tranſparent, a cu- "rious Clock, four fine Pieces of Painting by "thoſe two famous Painters *Tintoret* and *Titian*". *Echard* aſſures us the Clock was made by *Rodolphus* the Emperor; but *Whitlocke* had not heard of the Imperial Clockmaker. The reverend Hiſtorian mentions a Proclamation to *reſtrain the Increaſe of* Hackney-Coaches; and another to *hinder the Reſort of Gentlemen and Ladies to* London. If it was not for the War that was all this while carrying on againſt the *Puritans* by *Laud*'s General Sir *John Lamb*, and an Army of Advocates, Proctors, Informers, Parators, Serjeants, Bailiffs, *&c.* what Buſineſs wou'd have been done in this Kingdom, the Events are below Remembrance; for ſurely the following Proclamations hardly deſerve a Place in Hiſtory. As that *for the Uſe of a Net call'd a* Trawl, that for ſealing of *Purl*, that for ſealing of *Bonelace*, another about *Farthing Tokens*, and another about the *King's Evil*, with many others equally important, as may be ſeen in *Ruſhworth*.

Proclamations.

A.D.1635.

Mr. *Samuel Ward*, Miniſter in *Ipſwich*, having ſaid ſomething againſt bowing at the Name of *Jeſus*, and preach'd againſt *Sabbath-breaking*, was proſecuted in the *High-Commiſſion* Court, confin'd, ſuſpended, and enjoin'd a publick Recantation; which he refuſing was thrown into Jail, where he lay a long time. *Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* did not come behind *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich* to ingratiate himſelf with *Laud*. *Pierce* excommunicated the Church-Wardens of *Beckington* in *Somerſetſhire* for not erecting an *Altar* in that Church. They appeal'd to the Archbiſhop, and he rejected their Appeal. They petition'd the King, and he rejected their Petition. So the Excommunication ſtanding againſt them a whole Year, they were committed to the ſame Priſon with Thieves and Felons, where they lay till they ſubmitted to do Penance in three Pariſh Churches.

M. Ward's *Proſecution*

There was this Year an Information againſt ſeveral Perſons of Quality for reſiding in Town contrary to the Proclamation, as the Earl of *Clare*, Lord Viſcount *Newark*, Lord Viſcount *Monſon*, Lord *Mohun*, Lord *Fitz-Williams*, Lord *Tunbridge*, Lord *Stafford*, Sir *Edward Peyton*, Author of the *Divine Cataſtrophe*, which we have ſometimes made uſe of; Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *Thomas Thynne*, Sir *Edmund Lenthall*, Sir *George Windham*, Sir *Francis Godolphin*, Sir *Thomas Pope*, Sir *Theobald Gorge*, and about 30 Knights more; *John Brownlow*, Eſq; *Thomas Pitts*, Eſq; *Richard Moyle*, Eſq; *Edmund Pye*, Eſq; and about 100 Eſquires more; the Counteſs of *Oxford*, Lady *Tyrwhit*, Lady *Bertie*, Lady *Lucy*, Lady *Kingſmill*, Lady *Egerton*, Lady *Offley*, Lady *Montague*, Lady *Winter*, and about 20 Ladies more, who were all forc'd to make their Peace as well as they cou'd by Fines and Compoſitions. One Sir *James Bagg* was alſo proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber* for ſaying of *Weſton* Lord Treaſurer, *I have laid many a thouſand Pounds under his Pillow*. The Words were liable to a better Conſtruction than the Court put upon them. The Queen was preſent at the Trial. *Finch* ſpoke of the Sentence firſt, and fin'd Sir *James* 5000 *l.* to the King. Then Archbiſhop *Laud* made a long Speech, calling the Knight a *baſe Fellow*, and ending it thus: *I fine him* 5000 *l. and Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure*. Here's a holy Primitive Biſhop, who at the ſame time alſo was one of the *Lords of the Treaſury*, declaiming againſt a Gentleman in a temporal Court, and giving Authority to Injuſtice by his Preſence and Preaching. The Lord *Cottington* was of Opinion the Knight ought to be acquitted; ſo was the Earl of *Dorſet*; but *Laud* ſeldom ſate in Court with Intention to have any one acquitted. The Votes of the Judges being equal, the Lord Keeper's caſting Vote gave it againſt *Bagg*; but by the King's Command the Sentence was not regiſter'd.

Sir James Bagg.

Laud's *Inſolence.* Ruſh. 313.

The Reverend Mr. *Charles Chancey*, Miniſter of *Ware* in *Hertfordſhire*, a pious and learned Divine of an antient Family in that County, was proſecuted in the *High-Commiſſion* Court for preaching againſt the Diſorders us'd by many on *Chriſtmas Holidays*, the Increaſe of *Popery* and *Arminianiſm*; *that Idolatry was admitted into the Church*; *and that not only the Prophets of* Baal, *but* Baal *himſelf is receiv'd, and the Preaching of the Goſpel will be ſuppreſs'd*. The next Paſſage in his Sermon muſt doubtleſs touch *Laud* to the Quick, and bring that worthy Divine into the Troubles which ended in Baniſhment. *There want Men of Courage to tell Superiors in the Church of their Neglect; for that there is Increaſe of much* Atheiſm, Popery, Arminianiſm *and* Hereſy *in our Church*; Hereſy

Mr. Chancey's *Proſecution.*

A.D. 1636. *not only broach'd but maintain'd.* *Laud* was the main Inſtigation of this Proſecution, and threaten'd Mr. *Chancey*'s Advocate. The Court referr'd the Caſe to himſelf then Biſhop of *London*, who ſuſpended Mr. *Chancey* till he ſhou'd give it under
Ruſh. 316. his Hand, that *he was perſuaded in his Conſcience that kneeling at the Sacrament was commendable; that the Rail round the Communion Table was a decent convenient* Ornament, &c. Which tho' he did very unwillingly, *Laud* had him condemn'd in great Coſts of Suit, and committed to Priſon till it was paid. His Sufferings oblig'd him afterwards to remove to *New England*; and they were continu'd in his Family by the ſame perſecuting Spirit. His Son Dr. *Ichabod Chancey* was Chaplain to Sir *Edward Harley*'s Regiment, when Sir *Edward* was Governor of *Dunkirk*. He was outed of all Church Preferment by the *Bartholomew* Act, and driven with his Family into *Holland*. From whence in a Time of Toleration he return'd, and practis'd Phyſick at *Briſtol* with good Succeſs. This Digreſſion ſhews that the Malignity is hereditary in a certain Profeſſion, and that Perſecution is the very Eſſence of it.

Archbiſhop Laud *was now in the Height of his Glory*, ſays *Echard*, being a *Commiſſioner of the Treaſury*. It is monſtrous to write of the Epiſcopal Function after theſe People. " He met with " much Oppoſition from the Lord *Cottington*, " Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, who often impos'd " upon him, taking Advantage of the Vehemency " of his Temper; *which indeed was downright* " *Rage, and diſguſted even his own Friends*. He " found the Treaſurer's Place was honeſtly worth " 7000 *l.* a Year, and obſerv'd that divers Treaſu- " rers of late rais'd themſelves from private For- " tunes to the Titles and Eſtates of Earls, which " he believ'd cou'd not be done without Wrong; " therefore he reſolv'd to recommend *a fit Perſon*, " a Doctor of *Divinity*, to this High Office, and " this was Dr. *Juxon*, whom he brought in with-
Dr. Juxon *made Lord High Treaſurer.* " out Oppoſition". It was by his Recommendation alſo that he was made Biſhop of *London*. He met *with no Oppoſition*, becauſe, as the Archdeacon owns, *it was done by Surprize*. It is ſaid in *Clarendon*, *On a ſudden the Staff was put into the Biſhop's Hand*. Dr. *Juxon* was ſo far from being a fit Perſon, that he knew no more of the Revenue than any other *Sportſman*. *Whitlocke* writes
P. 23. of him, *He was* Parſon *of* Somerton *in* Oxfordſhire, *where he had a convenient Livelihood. He was much delighted with hunting, and kept a Pack of good Hounds*. Is not this extremely Apoſtolical? Lord *Clarendon* tells us he was a Man ſo unknown, that his Name *was ſcarce heard of, who had been*
P. 137. *two Years before but a* Chaplain. *L'Eſtrange* ſays *he was none of the greateſt Scholars*; and *Clarendon*, that the making him Lord High-Treaſurer *inflam'd thoſe that were angry before*. But *Laud* was under no Concern at pleaſing or diſpleaſing any one. His Buſineſs was to ſubject every thing to the *Church*, or rather to himſelf, and particularly the *Treaſury* by means of the Treaſurer. His own Words prove it in his Diary: " *William Juxon*, Lord Bi- " ſhop of *London*, made *Lord High-Treaſurer*. No " Churchman had it ſince *Henry* VIIth's Time. " I pray God bleſs him, that the Church may " have Honour. And now if the *Church* will " not hold up themſelves under God, I can do " no more". The *Church*, the Archbiſhop I mean, and not the Reform'd Church of *England*, were willing enough to hold themſelves up, as the Lord *Clarendon* acknowledges. *It was look'd upon as the Gulph ready to ſwallow all the great Offices, there being others in View of that Robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the reſt.* The reverend Hiſtorian proceeds: *The Archbiſhop was infinitely pleas'd with what he had done, and believ'd he had provided a ſtronger Support for the* Church. Then comes a long Character of Dr. *Juxon* copy'd from Sir *Philip Warwick*, who, as he tells us, knew him A.D. 1636. better than the Earl of *Clarendon*, who knew all Men elſe better than they knew themſelves. He does this after he had told us that a much greater Man than *Warwick*, Monſieur *Le Clerc*, took *Juxon for one by no means fit for the Place*. He continues: *The Treaſury being thus hopefully eſtabliſh'd* more *Ship-Money* was rais'd, and a huge Man of War built, called *the Royal Sovereign*. The Fame of which drew Multitudes from all Parts to ſee it, that Sight being all they were like to have for their Money. A Fleet was fitted out under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who ſeiz'd and ſunk ſeveral *Dutch* Herring-Buſſes in the *North* Seas. Upon which the *States* came to a Compoſition, and agreed to pay 30000 *l.* a Year for that Fiſhery, according to *Echard*; but only 20000 *l.* according to *Larrey*, which *Whitlocke* tells us the King readily took; and *Coke*, that it *ill agreed with the King's Reaſon for levying Ship-Money, which was that Pirates infeſted our Coaſts* *Ships taken.* to the endangering the Safety of the Nation, who were by no means ſo much afraid of Pirates, as of the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion Courts*. The *Dutch* at this very Juncture took a large *Eaſt India* Ship called the *Bona Eſperanza*, and confiſcated both Ship and Goods to the Value of 150000 *l.* as alſo the *Dragon* and *Katherine*, two *Eaſt India* Ships belonging to Sir *William Curteen* and Company, valu'd at 300000 *l.* Which three Ships and Cargo's amount to as much as the Payment for the Fiſhery wou'd come to in fifteen Years, tho' the 30000 Pounds yearly was not paid half ſo long. The reverend Hiſtorian again: *This honourable Diſpoſal of Ship-Money*, and the apparent good Effects of it, did not *reconcile the People to it*. They knew nothing of what he calls *honourable Diſpoſal*, but every Day felt the Weight of the Burthen which was illegally laid upon them.

Mr. *Chambers* of *London*, Merchant, the ſame *M.* Chambers. who ſuffer'd ſo much about *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, was again proſecuted about *Ship-Money*. Sir *Edward Bromfield*, Lord Mayor of *London*, impriſon'd him for refuſing to pay it; and Mr. *Chambers* commenced a Suit of Treſpaſs and falſe Impriſonment againſt Sir *Edward Bromfield*. The Caſe came to a Hearing in the Court of *King's-Bench*, where Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the upright Judges of this Reign, declar'd openly, *There is a Rule of Law, and a Rule of Government; and many things which ought not to be done by the Rule of Law, might be done by the Rule of Government*. We muſt not forget that *Warwick* told us theſe *Judges* were the moſt righteous that ever ſat in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. *Berkley* refus'd to let the Legality of Ship-Money be argu'd by Mr. *Chambers*'s Council, for which he was afterwards call'd to a ſevere Account. The whole City boggled at the Payment of it, and the Privy-Council were forc'd to write them a threatning Letter; which was anſwer'd by a Petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of *London*, preſented to the Board by the Recorder Sir *William Cockaine*, and ſeveral Aldermen and Common-Council-Men, deſiring at leaſt an Abatement of 20 Ships rated upon them. Secretary *Cook* told them by their Lordſhips Order, *That Petitions were not to be receiv'd, as tending to the Danger of the Commonwealth*. If the Parliament *complains*, 'tis to *aſperſe*. If the People *petition*, 'tis *dangerous*. *Cook* went *Miniſtry inſolent.* on: *The Command is given to all in general, and to every Particular of the City. The State will require an Account both of the City in general, and of every Particular of the Performance of the Command: And whereas you ſpeak of Precedents, you ſhall know that the Precedents of former Times were Obedience, and not Direction; and that there are alſo Precedents of the Puniſhment of thoſe who diſobey*. Such Language as this to a Depuration from the greateſt City in the World was like to ſow rare Seed, which

*A.D.*1636. which brought forth a plentiful Crop, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Judges for Ship-Money.

The Clamour againſt this Tax was ſo loud and general, that the Courtiers were oblig'd to do ſomething new towards ſtopping the People's Mouths, and opening their Purſes. *Echard*'s Words are as ſmooth as if the King had been about to reſtore the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects, and give due Courſe to the *Laws*. "His "Majeſty, who in his Nature lov'd not harſh "Proceedings, took a more ſoft and plauſible "Method, and order'd the Legality of this Tax "to be formally decided by his twelve Judges, "putting the grand Queſtion to them in Writing. "After a Conſideration of ev'ry Judge by himſelf, "and a Conſultation of all the Judges together, "they declar'd Ship-Money to be *legal*." Which is ſo falſe, that I am aſham'd to bring the Proofs of it againſt an Author of his Function. Every Judge was ſo far from thinking it legal by Conſideration of the Caſe with himſelf, that *Whitlocke* tells us Judge *Croke* and Judge *Hutton* thought it illegal, *and ſign'd for Conformity only*, becauſe the *Majority of the Judges had done it*. Mr. *Coke* ſays, *The King having previouſly extorted the Opinion of the Judges*. And *Milton*, "The rare Invention of "Ship-Money was found by *Finch*, whoſe Solli- "citations and Importunities, *not their Conſidera-* "*tions*, prevail'd with the major Part of the Judges." *Whitlocke* again; *After much Sollicitation by the Chief-Juſtice* Finch, *promiſing Preferment to ſome, and highly threatning others, he got that Anſwer from them*. He adds, *This Opinion and Subſcription of the Judges was inroll'd in all the Courts of* Weſtminſter-Hall, *and much diſtaſted many Gentlemen of the Country, and of their own Profeſſion, as a Thing extrajudicial, unuſual, and of very ill Conſequence in this great Buſineſs or any other*. Lord *Clarendon* owns *Finch had too much Influence on his Brethren to induce them to concur in a Judgment they had all Cauſe to repent*. *Warwick* who knew as much of Law as of Reaſon, affirms, *All the Judges diſtinctly, to every particular Head of the Caſe, anſwer'd* affirmatively, *and nothing cou'd have led them hereunto but their Books*. As ſilly and as falſe as this is, *Echard* ſteals it word for word. The Earl of *Clarendon*, as we have obſerv'd, declares the Judges Opinion was *deſervedly* attended with Reproach and Infamy. *Larrey* writes of it thus, *The Judges in their Circuits had leſs Regard for the Laws, than Complaiſance for the Court*. Clarendon, *King* Charles's *Hiſtorian*, ſays, *The Council, the Star-Chamber, the Judges ſlighting of the Laws, gave Ground to the Reſentment of the Houſe of Commons, and nothing cou'd prevent the fatal Cataſtrope of the three Kingdoms*. Judge *Berkley* declar'd at *York* Aſſizes, *Ship-Money is a lawful and inſeparable Flower of the Crown, and the King may command Inland as well as Maritime Counties, to ſend Ships, which, he added, is not my Judgment alone, but the Judgment of all my Brethren*. Falſe to Aſtoniſhment! He knew it was not the Judgment of *Hutton* and *Croke*. Nay, tho' *Warwick* poſitively affirms that every one of the Judges anſwer'd diſtinctly and affirmatively, yet Judge *Hutton* was always in the Negative, and *never wou'd ſubſcribe, as the Lord-Keeper* Finch *witneſs'd for him*, tho' *Warwick* has printed his Name with the reſt of the Judges. Mr. *Acherley* ſpeaks of this Judgment thus, "One wou'd have thought a ſmall "Share of Penetration might have ſeen thro' the "Fallacy and Flattery of ſuch an Oblation of *Eng-* "*land*'s Liberties; and therefore from the Pro- "ceedings upon the Foundation of this wild Opi- "nion, the Propenſity of the Managers in thoſe "Times to an arbitrary and unlimited Power "was unhappily expos'd."

Rushw. 127.

Laud.

Every Incident which relates to *Laud*, is a freſh Inſtance of his Pride and Tyranny: He now claim'd a Right of *Royal Viſitation* in both Univerſities *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who pleaded that the Right of viſiting was in the King alone, as King and their Founder. The Cauſe came to a Hearing before his Majeſty ſitting in Council. Sir *John Bankes* the King's Attorney-General pleading for the Archbiſhop, Mr. *Gardiner* Recorder of *London* for *Cambridge*, and Serjeant *Thyn* for *Oxford*. While *Gardiner* was pleading, *Laud* interrupted him, ſaying, *I may viſit as oft as I will*. His Majeſty ſpoke againſt the *Puritans* tho' they were out of the Queſtion. The Archbiſhop urg'd the Neceſſity of viſiting *Cambridge*, becauſe *they come into Chapel without Surplices, and there were Chapels not conſecrated*. Dr. *Chadderton* anſwer'd with a true Evangelical Spirit, *I hope they are conſecrated by Faith and a good Conſcience*. Here, as in a Mirror, one may ſee the *Difference between* Laud's *Church* and the true Church of *England*. The Earl of *Holland* was for compromiſing the Matter; *If you will viſit, you may do it by Commiſſion*. The Archbiſhop cry'd, *No, I deſire to have my own Power*. What a ſtrong Luſt of Dominion was in him? The Lord *Holland* urg'd the ſame when the Caſe of the Univerſity of *Oxford* was heard, and the Archbiſhop again cry'd out, *No, I deſire to have my own Power*. So, according to *Ruſhworth*, the King adjudg'd it againſt himſelf, as he had all along argu'd. The Archbiſhop invited the King, Queen, and Court to *Oxford*, where he entertain'd them with the Magnificence which he always affected. The Prince Elector *Palatine* was then at Court with Prince *Rupert*, who was actually created Maſter of Arts, as were the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Berkſhire*, the Earl of *Elgin*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Craven*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality. *Many glorious Speeches were made*, ſays *Echard, and three Comedies, which were repreſented with as much Variety of Scenes as cou'd be invented by the fine Head of* Inigo Jones. The Archbiſhop was ſo taken with the Comedies, that he order'd them to be acted again; and as he writes in his Diary, *All Things then going well and happily* Mr. *Coke* repreſents Matters otherwiſe, ſpeaking of this Prelate; "Plum'd thus in his own Feathers all "Black and White, without one borrow'd from "*Cæſar*, whereby the more he aſſumes to him- "ſelf, the leſs he leaves the King, he now ſoars "higher. The Biſhops of the Province of *Can-* "*terbury*, in their own Names, enjoin the Re- "moval of the Communion-Table in the Pariſh "Churches from the Body of the Church to the "Eaſt-End of the Chancel, and cauſe it to be "rail'd in, refuſing to adminiſter the Sacrament "to ſuch as will not come up to the Rails and "kneel down; that the Book of Sports be read "in Churches." The cruel unheard-of Perſecution rais'd by *Laud* and his Brethren in the *Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion*, and Spiritual Courts, ſo terrify'd the *Puritans*, that incredible Numbers of them left the Kingdom. *All Things went well and happily*, ſays the Archbiſhop and the Archdeacon. About this Time there was a Proſecution carry'd on by *Laud*'s main Inſtrument *Wren* Biſhop of *Norwich*, againſt the chief Inhabitants of the Town of *Yarmouth*, as *Miles Corbet* Eſq; Recorder, Mr. *Harris*, Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Day*, Aldermen, who had impriſon'd the *Parſon* of that Town Mr. *Brooks* for his inſolent Behaviour towards their Lecturer Mr. *Brinſley*, who preach'd in the Chapel which had been us'd by the *Dutch* Congregation, till thoſe induſtrious Proteſtants were driven out of the Kingdom by the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Harſnet* and *Wren*. *Sanderſon* confeſſes the Inhabitants crowded to hear Mr. *Brinſley*, and neglected *Brooks*; of which *Laud* having Information, he ſends an Inhibition to *Brinſley*, requiring him not to preach in the Chapel, where Mr. *Brooks* ſerv'd the Inhibition upon him, and the Magiſtrates ſent the Parſon to Priſon; for which the Archbiſhop procur'd an

*A.D.*1636. *Againſt the Univerſities.*

Rushw. 332.

Biſhop Wren againſt Yarmouth.

A.D. 1636. an Order for throwing the Magiſtrates into Goal for turning Mr. *Brinſley* out of the Town, and the Chapel into a Warehouſe. Wou'd one have thought that ſo holy a Man as Dr. *Laud* cou'd have been guilty of Sacrilege? And there wou'd be no Excuſe for him, had the *Dutch Presbyterian* Chapel been epiſcopally conſecrated.

Foreign Affairs were little minded in *England*, where the Archbiſhop was wholly taken up with making Conqueſts over the *Puritans*. The chief Buſineſs abroad was the Pope's appointing Cardinal *Barberino*, his Predeceſſor's Nephew, to be Protector of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Nations, as Cardinal *Ludovico* was of the *Iriſh*. And theſe two Cardinals erected a ſpecial Society of four Orders of Jeſuits in *England*, of whom the Pope's Legate reſiding in *England* for the time being was to be Rector, and Cardinal *Barberino* the Principal Superintendent. At the latter End of the Year Signior *Panzani* the Pope's Nuntio at *London*, and Major *Brett* the *Engliſh* Agent at *Rome*, being diſcharg'd from their Negotiations, Signior *Gregorio Con*, or Mr. *Gregory Con* a *Scots* Papiſt, was appointed by the Pope to ſucceed *Panzani* as his Nuntio, and Sir *William Hamilton* was ſent hence Envoy to *Rome*: So great was the Advancement of the Proteſtant Religion by *Laud* and his Brethren, according to the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. *At this Time*, ſays an anonymous Writer, *there was a great Harmony between* Rome *and* England; *the* Roman *Agents at* London *were ſo zealous for the Promotion of* Popery, that it is taken notice of by the Lord *Wicquefort*, who informs us that the Hatred the Court of *England* expreſs'd towards Cardinal *Richlieu*, was one main Cauſe of the Troubles they met with. Why they ſhou'd hate ſo good a Catholick as Cardinal *Richlieu*, one can't conceive, unleſs it was becauſe he hated the Jeſuits. *I may ſay for certain*, ſays *Wicquefort*, *that the Contempt the* Engliſh *had for that Miniſter, was one of the chief Cauſes of the King's Misfortune, and of the Diſorders of the Kingdom.* This Year the Lord *Scudamore* was Ambaſſador in *France*, and being about to make his publick Entry into *Paris*, the Maſter of the Ceremonies ask'd the Cardinal whether he wou'd ſend his Coach to meet him. *Richlieu* reply'd, *If the Ambaſſador will viſit me, I will ſend my Coach, but not otherwiſe.* The Lord *Scudamore* being told it, ſaid, *I will do as my Predeceſſors did*: That is, he wou'd not viſit him. The Lord *Fielding* and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, had ſet him that Example; and we do not learn from *Wicquefort*, why there was this Coldneſs between the Court of *England* and the Prime Miniſter of *France*; but 'tis probable 'twas on account of the Queen-Mother *Mary de Medicis*, whom that Cardinal mortally hated, and whom the Court of *England* always ſided with.

An Engliſh *Envoy at* Rome.

P. 12.

The Earl of *Arundel* was ſent Ambaſſador to the new Emperor *Ferdinand* III. he ſtaid ſome Months in *Germany*, and treated about the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, with the ſame Succeſs the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had had ever ſince the Electorate was loſt. Indeed what Succeſs cou'd be expected from Embaſſies that carry'd nothing with them but Words, and that were not likely to be follow'd by Fleets and Armies. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who was in Poſſeſſion of the Elector's Territories, look'd on the Ambaſſador with Diſdain, and other Princes intereſted in the Affair did not treat him much better; ſo he left *Germany* in Diſtaſte and Choler, without taking any Leave.

A.D. 1637. The Plague which broke out in the laſt Year, increas'd in the following, which caus'd many to poſt into the Country: But Sickneſs or Health, Peace or War, 'tis all one; the Archbiſhop is alike buſy with his ſanguinary Proſecutions. Three Gentlemen whom he proſecuted at this Time, were of the moſt reputable Profeſſions, *William Prynne*

The Sufferings of William Prynne, *Dr.* Baſtwick, *Mr.* Burton.

Eſq; Utter Barriſter of *Lincoln's-Inn*, whom he had caus'd to be mutilated and mangled ſome Years before. Dr. *John Baſtwick* a Phyſician, and Mr. *Henry Burton* Batchelor of Divinity. *Echard* begins their Caſe with a direct Falſity; *Their Anſwers were ſo libellous no Counſellor wou'd put his Hand to them*; for Mr. *Tomlins*, Council for *Prynne*, did actually ſign his Anſwer, which was refus'd both at the *Star-Chamber* Office, and in open Court. Mr. *Holt*, another Counſellor, a Bencher of *Gray's-Inn*, aſſign'd Mr. *Prynne*, after he had drawn his Anſwer, was *privately commanded not to ſign it*. And when his Promiſe to do it was urg'd, he ſaid *I have Orders to the contrary, and dare not do it for a hundred Pieces.* Mr. *Burton's* Anſwer was drawn, engroſs'd, and ſubſcrib'd by Mr. *Holt* by Order of the Court; yet nine Days after, when it had been perus'd by the Archbiſhop, 'twas pretended to be ſcandalous, and referr'd to Sir *John Brampſtone* and Sir *John Finch*, the two chief Juſtices, to be *purg'd*. Accordingly they expung'd 64 whole Sheets, and would not ſuffer Mr. *Burton's* Council to defend the Anſwer; Sir *John Finch* threatning to *pull his Gown over his Ears* for offering it. The two righteous Judges left only three Lines in the Beginning and two in the End, amounting to a general *not guilty*; whereas in what they had ſtruck out, Mr. *Burton* had confeſs'd and juſtify'd what he was charg'd with. And becauſe he wou'd not acknowledge this purg'd Anſwer directly contrary to that he put in upon Oath, he was taken *pro Confeſſo*, as was Mr. *Prynne* for a *ſuppos'd contemptuous Anſwer*, which the Court of *Star-Chamber* wou'd not accept, tho' ſign'd by Council, and twice tender'd. This is Mr. *Prynne's* own Account of it printed by Order of Parliament: And tho' *Echard* affirms and repeats it again, *it was only ſign'd by himſelf*, yet we prove upon him that it was ſign'd by Mr. *Tomlins* his Council and himſelf too, and that Mr. *Holt* who drew the Anſwer, order'd it to be engroſs'd, and promis'd to ſign, *was commanded not to ſign it*. I do not ſo often bring Proofs of ſuch Falſhoods againſt the Author of the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion* and *Echard*, as being under any manner of Surprize at finding them in their Hiſtories. If I had found Truth there, I ſhou'd indeed have been ſurpriz'd as much as if I had ſeen *Tyranny* prov'd to be the *Conſtitution*, *Superſtition* and *Perſecution* to be *Religion*, *Law* to be *Sedition*, and *Liberty Rebellion*. Dr. *Baſtwick's* Council were ſo threaten'd and terrify'd, that they refus'd to ſign his Anſwer which he drew up himſelf. It was left at the *Star-Chamber* Office, and another Copy of it tender'd in open Court, where 'twas rejected, and the Doctor taken *pro Confeſſo*. This is the moſt daring and impious Act of Injuſtice that ever was attempted in any Court; and the Offences of theſe three Gentlemen were for the moſt Part perſonal againſt *Laud*, who ſate imperiouſly on the Bench with the Lord High-Treaſurer *Juxon* by his Side, and was the Man who ſet Sir *John Banks* the Attorney-General to work; and as *Banks's* Clerk Mr. *Cockſhute* teſtify'd upon Oath, order'd him to let him know from time to time how the wicked Work went on. *Laud* was charg'd by *Burton* with ſeveral Innovations and Alterations in Church-Service, I ſhall only take notice of one of them, becauſe it ſhews how well-diſpos'd he and his Diſciples have been from the beginning to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; 'tis the ſixth Innovation: That the Lady *Elizabeth*, our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign's Royal Great Grandmother, *and her princely Children, be daſh'd out of the new* Collect, *whereas they were in the Collect of the former Book.* Dr. *Baſtwick's* Crime was for ſaying, *That Prelates were Invaders of the King's Prerogative*, witneſs *Laud's* uſurping the Royal Viſitation in the two Univerſities, witneſs their ſolemn denying to hold their Juriſdiction of the King, and even his Supremacy, as in *Whitlocke*. That they

A.D. 1637.

Tryal of Laud *Archbiſhop of* Cant. *p.* 111.

Ib. p. 111.

P. 461.

P. 111.

Ib.

Tyrannical Proceedings.

Laud *and his Faction hate the* Proteſtant Succeſſion.

A.D.1637. were *Advancers of Popery, Superſtition*, and *Profaneneſs*, witneſs *Laud*'s magnifying the bloody Reign
P. 22. of Queen *Mary*, and running down King *Edward*; his deſiring that *Fox*'s Martyrology might be taken
Trial, 421. out of Churches; witneſs his *Altars*, his *Cringes*, his *Candles* and *Candleſticks*, his *Copes*, *Hoods*, and his very impious Book of Sports. *Prynne*, who was a Presbyterian, had expreſs'd his Sentiments with Freedom; *Echard* ſtiles him the moſt *inveterate Offender*; *Ruſhworth* aſſures us he was the
P. 382. *more moderate and cautious*. Eternal Falſhood! *Laud*, incapable of Moderation, juſtify'd his ſuperſtitious Innovations in a Speech of two Hours long, and then left the Priſoners to this dreadful Sentence; "That Mr. *Prynne* having once loſt "his Ears before, ſhould ſtand in the Pillory, have "the Remainder of his Ears cut off, and be ſtig-"matiz'd on both Cheeks with *S. L.* as a ſeditious *Libeller*." This Part of the Sentence was mov'd by *Finch*, who had not yet run his Country; "That Dr. *Baſtwick* the Phyſician, and Mr. "*Burton* Batchelor of Divinity, ſhou'd ſtand in "the Pillory and have both their Ears cut off, "and all three pay 5000 Pounds apiece to the "King." If this Blood was remember'd when the Archbiſhop was on the *Scaffold* for Execution, it muſt needs moderate the Peoples Compaſſion. *Ruſhworth* tells us, the Hangman rather ſaw'd off the Remainder of *Prynne*'s Ears than cut them. Theſe three Gentlemen were afterwards committed Priſoners, one to the Caſtle of *Launceſton* in *Cornwall*, another to the Caſtle of *Lancaſter*, and a third to *Carnarvon* Caſtle in *Wales*. They were afterwards remov'd to remote Iſlands, *Guernſey*, *Jerſey*, and *Scilly*, where they were kept cloſe Priſoners, the Wives of Dr. *Baſtwick* and Mr. *Burton* not being allow'd after many Petitions to have Acceſs to them, nor to ſet footing in the Iſland, neither was any Friend permitted to have any Acceſs to Mr. *Prynne*. The People of *England* had in general an Abhorrence of this Cruelty, which one cannot write nor read without trembling. The Parliament afterwards voted the Proſecution and Sentence illegal, and their unrighteous Judges to make Reparation. Had the Offence been legally prov'd on the Offenders, the Puniſhment was by no Means adequate to it. Chriſtians, Proteſtants, and *Engliſhmen*, to be mangled and branded like Slaves at *Morocco*. A noted Divine of the Church
Dr. Fuller. of *England* writes of it thus, *Moſt moderate Men thought the Cenſure too ſharp, too baſe, and ignominious for* Gentlemen *of their ingenious Vocation*. *Laud* after this Sentence was pronounc'd, gave the Judges his hearty Thanks for it in a formal Speech, and was the leading Counſellor when the three much-injur'd Gentlemen were illegally baniſh'd. The Behaviour of theſe Sufferers argu'd alike their Innocence and their Courage. Tho' the Executioner par'd Mr. *Burton*'s Ears ſo cloſe, that he cut the *Temporal Artery*, and the Blood ſtream'd down on the Scaffold, yet he never ſhrunk in the leaſt. Dr. *Baſtwick* was much admir'd, ſays *Fuller*, and highly commended for the Erection of his Mind, triumphing over Pain and Shame. He made a Speech on the Pillory, in which he ſaid, *Indeed I wrote a Book againſt Antichriſt, the Pope; and the Pope of* Canterbury *ſaid it was written againſt him*. Mr. *Prynne* told the Spectators, among other Things, *Rather than I would have my Cauſe a leading Cauſe, to the depriving the Subjects of their Liberties, I ſuffer my Body to become an Example of this Puniſhment*. As he was carrying back to Priſon, he made this Diſtich on his own ſtigmatizing.

S. L.

Stigmata maxillis referens, *inſignia* Laudis
Exultans remeo, Victima grata Deo.

More Tyranny. The learned Mr. *Acherley* obſerves on this Occaſion, *That the Cruelty of theſe corporal Puniſhments, which were arbitrary and impos'd for no Offence againſt the Laws for which ſuch Puniſhments cou'd be inflicted, bound down all Gentlemen under a ſervile Fear of the like Treatment*, in the midſt of the Lord *Clarendon*'s *Felicities*, which he tells us were the *Wonder of the World*. *Echard* aping that impartial Hiſtory, affirms alſo, *That all this Time* England *had a mighty Shew of Glory and Felicity, the Church was ſhining in Grandeur*. Shining in Piety and Innocence, in Purity and Virtue, wou'd have been a Glory indeed; but to have told St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* their Church wou'd *ſhine in Grandeur*, wou'd doubtleſs to them have been a Prophecy of Antichriſt and his Equipage. He adds, the *Happineſs was too great to remain unalterable*. The Truth is, the diſmal Effects of arbitrary Power were felt in all Parts of the Kingdom, to which it was not confin'd, but extended to *Scotland* ſo much, that it became intolerable. Indeed after the bloody Outrage committed on the Bodies of theſe three Gentlemen, the Plot thickens apace, and draws daily nearer to the Cataſtrophe, which was precipitated by *Laud*'s Rage and Raſhneſs.

A.D.1637.

We read in *Ruſhworth*, that "The Report of "the Sentence againſt Mr. *Prynne*, &c and the "ſmart Execution, flew quickly into *Scotland*, and "the Diſcourſe among the *Scots*, was that the Biſhops of *England* were the Cauſe thereof, that "they muſt expect to have a *Star-Chamber* erected in their Kingdom to ſtrengthen their Biſhops "Power there, beſides the *High-Commiſſion* Court." And while they were in theſe Fears, and under this Provocation, Archbiſhop *Laud* attempted to force the *Common-Prayer-Book* upon them, which occaſion'd the Tumult at *Edinburgh*. That Tumult led gradually to the *Scots* War, and that War as gradually to the *Civil War* in *England*; wherefore it is of Importance to remark how and by whom the firſt Troubles were rais'd in *Scotland*, which in a few Years infected *England*. I muſt here declare, that the reverend Hiſtorian's Hiſtory is of no Uſe to me. The whole Story on this Head is one continu'd Miſrepreſentation. Father *Orleans* ſpeaks ſome Truth here; "The Reſolu-"tion taken at this Time to put in Execution "what had been projected by King *James* for "eſtabliſhing the *Engliſh Liturgy* in *Scotland*, oc-"caſion'd an Inſurrection which afterwards involved both Kingdoms, and was properly the im-"mediate Cauſe of the Revolution." Biſhop *Burnet* names the Prime Mover in that Cauſe; *The* P. 26. *Scots* Biſhops *were ſo encourag'd by Archbiſhop* Laud, *that they loſt all Temper*; of which one of the moſt zealous of them, *Sydſerfe*, made *great Acknowledgments* in his old Age. Madam *Motteville* beforemention'd, who wrote Memoirs of *Anne* of *Auſtria*, and probably had her Memoirs relating to P. 196. *England* from Queen *Henrietta Maria*, having told us that *Laud* put the King upon impoſing the *Common-Prayer-Book* on the *Kirk* in *Scotland*, adds, "King *Charles* carry'd the Book one Night into "the Queen's Chamber, and deſir'd her to read "it, telling her *he wanted her to peruſe it, that "ſhe might ſee how near they came to the Faith*." He calls *Popery* the *Faith*. But it was not that Faith of which his Subjects ſtil'd him the Defender. Thus we ſee that the *Popiſh* Queen as well as Archbiſhop *Laud*, was one of the Cabinet-Council for impoſing a Liturgy on the *Scots Preſbyterians*. The faireſt Account of theſe Matters are in my *Scots* Hiſtory: "King *Charles* I. falling "in with the pernicious Counſels of Archbiſhop "*Laud*, renews his Father's Project, and directs "him and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Clergy to reviſe "the Liturgy for the Uſe of the *Kirk*. Theſe "Reviſers made ſeveral Alterations, which ren-"der'd it even more diſtaſteful than the *Engliſh* "*Liturgy* itſelf. This was ſent down to *Scotland*, "where the People were greatly alarm'd at an In-"novation ſo much abhorr'd by them; inſomuch

Troubles in Scotland.

Mem. Ch. of Scot. 177.

*A.D.*1637. " that ſeveral of the Epiſcopal Clergy took the " Freedom to remonſtrate againſt it: But the Bi- " ſhops and ſome of the Lords of the Council " ſet themſelves immediately to work, and as if " they were reſolv'd to irritate the *Scots* Nation, " the *Common-Prayer-Book* was not only appointed " to be read, but the Miniſter muſt wear a *Sur-* " *plice*. A new uncouth Sight, next to frightful " to the ignorant well-meaning People. It was " begun at *Holyrood-Houſe* Chapel, where none " being oblig'd to go but the King's Servants, it " gave not much Offence." Before the *Service-Book* came down, there were *Book-Canons* ſet forth by the King's Authority, and all the Subjects of *Scotland* were enjoin'd to ſubmit to the Epiſcopal Cenſure. Their Conſiſtories, Claſſes, and Preſbyteries, were held in the Nature of Conventicles, and there remain'd no Shadow of their former Eccleſiaſtical Policy. There were ſeveral Alterations in *Laud*'s Liturgy approaching near the Romiſh *Miſſal*, and one in the Delivery of the Sacrament, which the *Scots* apprehended was to introduce *Tranſubſtantiation*.

Ruſhw. 396.

The 23d of *July* was the Day appointed for the Opening of this dreaded and dangerous Scene. The Dean of *Edinburgh* being to preach that Day in the Great Church, reſolv'd before Sermon to read the Service-Book in his Habit and Surplice. There was a great Concourſe of People expecting what wou'd be the Iſſue of the Matter. At the uſual Hour the Dean in his Surplice comes out of the Veſtry, the People gazing as at a *Raree-Show*, and making Geſtures of Contempt. He paſs'd thro' the Crowd to the *Reading-Desk*, and began to read, the Auditory continuing quiet, till on a ſudden an old Woman diſguſted at ſome Words, ſtarts up in a Fury, and crys, *Villain, Doſt thou ſay the Maſs at my Lugg*; then taking up her little Stool, ſhe flung it at the Dean's Head, making an hideous Noiſe. Some who ſate next to her follow'd her Example, and by Degrees the whole Church was in an Uproar. The Dean quitted the Desk, and pull'd off his Surplice for fear of being torn to Pieces. The Biſhop of *Edinburgh* went up into the Pulpit, and beckening for Silence, offer'd to ſpeak, but it was all to no Purpoſe: The People flung at him Sticks, Stools, and any Thing that came to hand from all Quarters, and both Biſhop and Dean made their Retreat to the Veſtry. The Lord Chancellor call'd to the Magiſtrates to appeaſe the Multitude, who were now become as tumultuous without the Church as within, and broke the Windows. They ſtroll'd about the City, and viſited every Church where the Curates intended to read *Common-Prayer*, which ſet all in Confuſion. The Clergy with the Magiſtrates and Courtiers, who ſtill ſtaid in the Great Church, taking hold of the Multitudes employing themſelves elſewhere, lock'd themſelves in, and boldly return'd to their Devotions. The Liturgy was again read, but the Rabble returning before they had done, waited for their coming out, aſſaulted the Biſhop in the Street, and it was not without Difficulty that he got ſafe to his Palace, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Rothes* a popular Nobleman had taken him into his Coach to protect him from Violence, which the Populace puſh'd no farther at that Time. The Care of the Magiſtrates, and the Power of the Court, aw'd them for the preſent, but when Harveſt was over, and they had more Leiſure, they began to ſtir a little in Oppoſition to the Service-Book.

It was ſoon found that the Generality of the Nation, as well Gentry as Commonalty, were diſguſted at it, and about two Months after great Numbers of Gentlemen well attended came to *Edinburgh*, where a Petition was drawn up and handed about to be ſign'd, requeſting the Council *in their own Names, and the Names of all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others who ſhou'd agree to the ſame, that the* Service-Book *might be no farther preſs'd till his Majeſty's Pleaſure be farther known.* My Author affirms, that *an infinite Number ſet their Hands to this Petition, and amongſt them ſeveral Gentlemen of good Rank. Echard* falſe again; *Not a Perſon of note countenanc'd it.* He and his fellow Labourers have a prodigious Advantage in the uſe of Terms: He calls it a *Sedition*. Thus *Conſcience* is with them *Schiſm*, *Petitioning* Sedition, *Publick-Spirit* Faction, *Paſſive-Obedience* Loyalty, *Superſtition* and *Perſecution*, the Church; it ſerves them inſtead of Fact and Argument; and then the Latitude and Liberty they take as to Truth, make them carry away their Cauſe with them in every Paragraph. *The Council*, according to my Author, *pretended to reſent the Petition, and threatened the Gentlemen who preſented it, to ſend their Names to the King* as diſorderly and diſaffected Perſons. *Echard* ſays, *Wiſe Men*, I wonder whom he means, for I have not yet met with one wiſe Action in all the Hiſtory, *were of Opinion, that if three or four of them had been hang'd, it might have ſav'd the ſucceeding Torrent of Blood.* Inſtead of giving a gentle Anſwer to the Petition, which wou'd have been ſome Sign of Wiſdom, the Council publiſh'd a Proclamation to remove the *Seſſion*, which is the *Scots* Term, to *Linlithgow*, in hopes of preventing the Peoples flocking to *Edinburgh*. They alſo diſſolv'd all Meetings on Church Affairs; which only exaſperated the Citizens who gather'd together the next Day, and the Gentlemen who had petition'd appear'd among them. They ſurrounded the Council Houſe, the Lords ſitting in Council, and demanded a more favourable Anſwer to their Petition. The Biſhop of *Galloway* coming thither at the Inſtant, was inſulted, as were the Earl of *Traquair* and the Lord-Treaſurer, from whom they took his White-Staff. A Party of them beſet the Town-Houſe, and oblig'd the Magiſtrates to ſign a Paper not to permit the idolatrous Service-Book as they call'd it. The Lords of the Council were their Priſoners, and there was no Way of freeing themſelves but by the Mediation of ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen of Quality who oppos'd the Liturgy. They prevail'd with the Populace to let the Lords of the Council go quietly to their Homes, ſome of the Citizens being their Guard. The next Day another Petition was preſented to the Privy-Council, ſign'd by nineteen Noblemen and three hundred Gentlemen of note, and the principal Inhabitants of the City of *Edinburgh*. This Petition was tranſmitted to the King, who inſtead of moderate Counſels, ſent down a Proclamation to remove the Seſſion to *Stirling*, and another forbidding all tumultuous Meetings on Pain of Rebellion. But theſe Proclamations now ſignify'd no more in *Scotland* than his Embaſſies did in *Germany* about the *Palatinate*. They were ſo many Words only; the People united in Defence of the Cauſe they had undertaken, the Petitioners took no Notice of the Council, but reſolv'd to proceed in their own Way for the Preſervation of their Religion and Liberties. The Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lindſay* and ſeveral other Lords, with a great Number of Gentlemen, enter'd a Proteſtation againſt theſe Proclamations, which they ſent to the Council; and from that time ſome of theſe Lords and Gentlemen met daily to conſider the State of the Nation. Here the famous TABLES were form'd, by whoſe Order every Degree ſate by themſelves. 1. The *Nobility*. 2. The *Gentlemen*. 3. The *Burroughs*. 4. The *Miniſters*; who all communicated their *Reſolves* to each other, and acted in Concert with perfect Unanimity. They minded not the Orders of Council, nor even the King's *Menaces*; which being inſpir'd by *Laud*, wanted not Severity and Irritation; but ſo far took the Adminiſtration into their Hands, as to proceed to the redreſſing of thoſe Grievances, which tho' often complain'd of, the Court wou'd not redreſs: They began

*A.D.*1637.

P. 465.

Scots *TABLES*.

Hiſtor. Hiſt. Ch. Scot. p. 181.

A.D.1637. began with the Church, and all Epiſcopal Pomp and Ceremony vaniſh'd at once. The Biſhops fled, and the General TABLES renew'd the antient Confeſſion of Faith and *Presbyterian* Government, entring into a ſolemn *Covenant* one with another to defend and preſerve the *true Proteſtant* Reform'd Religion and the Perſon of the King. They underſtood his Majeſty highly reſented their Proceedings; but imputing his Reſentment to *Laud*'s prepoſſeſſing him againſt them, it only animated them in the Proſecution of their new Undertaking. The impriſon'd Miniſters were every where ſet free, the baniſh'd call'd home, and all reſtor'd to their Livings, *to the inexpreſſible Joy of the* Scots *Nation, who forbore not upon all Occaſions to expreſs their Deteſtation of the Innovations impos'd upon them by* Laud *and his Brethren.* Some of their Biſhops renounc'd *Epiſcopacy*, as *Ramſey* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Graham* Biſhop of *Orkney*, *Fairly* Biſhop of *Argyle*, and almoſt all the reſt of the Clergy ſubmitted to the TABLES, and took the *Covenant*. Is the Sun at Noon more viſible than that the Perplexity which the King had brought himſelf into, was the Effect of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s deſperate Counſels; ſo inſenſible of the apparent Conſequences, and ſo incapable of Moderation, that he day by day hurries his Maſter into new Difficulties and Dangers? The *Aſtrologer* we have often quoted had a very mean Opinion of this Prelate's Capacity. "*Strafford* adviſes with *Canterbury* about compoſing theſe emergent Differences all to little purpoſe, for the Biſhop was a "very Aſs in every thing but Church Matters". *Lilly* means the Grandeur and Power of his own *Hierarchy*.

The Covenant.

P. 184.

Laud's *Weakneſs*, p. 48.

Perſecution in England.

The Perſecution againſt ſcrupulous Conſciences was all this while as hot as ever in *England*, that both Nations might not be without Provocations. To avoid the *High-Commiſſion* and *Spiritual* Courts, many hundred Families, ſober and induſtrious People, remov'd to the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*. It cou'd not but be a horrid Scandal to a Government to ſee its beſt Subjects chuſe to leave their dear Country, their Dwellings and Trades, and wander with their Wives and Children in thoſe diſtant Wilderneſſes, rather than continue expos'd to the Tyranny of thoſe mercileſs mercenary Courts. One cannot think it was out of Care of the publick Good, that a Proclamation was publiſh'd to prohibit their tranſporting themſelves, and block up the Paſſage of thoſe voluntary Exiles, who were willing to go to another Part of the World, where, as they ſaid, they might not meet with ſuch Diſturbance as they had met with here in *England* from Eccleſiaſtical Courts. What *Echard* quotes out of the Proclamation is not the leſs abſurd and ridiculous for the Place from whence he took it. *Becauſe of the many idle and refractory Humours, whoſe only or principal End is to live without the Reach of Government.* Falſe as the reſt. They were the moſt quiet, induſtrious People in the Kingdom, which every one knew they left with bleeding Hearts purely for Conſcience ſake to enjoy the Purity and Freedom of their Religion, which the reverend Hiſtorian terms a Humour. Thus with him Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Wincup*, Dr. *Gilpin*, Dr. *Collings*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Anneſley*, Dr. *Arthur*, and thouſands more, who were profeſſedly of the ſame Religion with theſe Refugees, were *humourous Fellows*. As Wit is not one of the Ingredients in the Compoſition of Hiſtory, ſo neither is Stupidity; and one can make nothing elſe of both the Proclamation and his Paraphraſe. 'Tis not deny'd but that *Laud*, *Wren*, *Pierce*, and ſuch Prelates, made theſe conſcientious Chriſtians ſo uneaſy at home, that they ran the greateſt Risks of Life, Health, and Living to avoid them. Had Care of the State been in Queſtion, a Check upon that Tyranny, which is called Authority in the

Plantations.

Ruſhw. 409.

Proclamation, wou'd have given them immediate Eaſe, and the Loſs of ſo many uſeful Families have been prevented. But ſuch Chriſtian Compliance, ſo agreeable to charitable and benevolent Minds, was not to be expected from the Miniſtry at that time, nor from their Maſter. *Larrey* tells us, *The perſecuted Proteſtants crowded the Sea-Ports to get over to* America. There was a *Tribe* of them, ſays *Echard* with more Contempt than becomes him. This *Tribe* is now the populous and opulent Colony of *New England*. He adds, *They caſt off all Subjection to the* Engliſh *Church*; by which he means they conform'd to the Profeſſion and Practice of all the *Reform'd* Churches in *Chriſtendom* both in Faith, Worſhip and Diſcipline.

A.D.1637.

P. 341.

He owns the Proceedings in the ſpiritual Courts were now ſo ſevere, that it gave Occaſion to ſtrike at their Juriſdiction; but the ſame Judges who had given it as their Opinion, *That the raiſing Money without Act of Parliament was according to Law*, declar'd that the *Spiritual Courts* were alſo according to Law, tho' the King's Name was not us'd in them. Immediately out comes a Proclamation to give a Sanction to the Opinion of the Judges, according to the Archdeacon. And as if theſe Proclamations were really any farther minded than the People were forc'd to it, 'twas alſo *to give Satisfaction to the Subjects*. He proceeds: *Thus was a great Point gain'd*, and the Severities were never the leſs *relax'd*; *for the Archbiſhop was inſpir'd with Virtue and Fervor, which his ſubordinate Inſtruments borrow'd from him.* This is follow'd by ſome ſmall Truths, too good for the Company they keep. "Some of the Archbiſhop's Inſtruments, the Cler- "gy, endeavour'd to introduce many things, which "had too near a Reſemblance to Popery; nor "were they blameleſs in their Lives, ſeveral being "vicious to a Scandal; nor ſo humble and meek "as they ought to have appear'd; but ſo very high, "that one was complain'd of for ſaying, *I hope to "ſee the Day when a Miniſter ſhall be as good a "Man as any upſtart* Jack Gentleman *in* England. The Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us, and ſo does *Warwick, the Church flouriſh'd with learned and extraordinary Men.* And to ſhew how finely we are taught by *Clarendon* and *Echard*, mark the Agreement: *There was not one Churchman in any degree of Acceptance*, not thoſe Inſtruments accepted and preferr'd by *Laud, of a ſcandalous Inſufficiency in Learning, or a more ſcandalous Condition of Life.* Not one! I think there's no need of ſaying any thing more of theſe Hiſtorians; but the Provocation is beyond meaſure. General *Ludlow*, every way equal to the Lord *Clarendon* tho' he had written that Hiſtory, tells us, *The moſt profitable Preferments in the* Engliſh *Church were given to thoſe of the Clergy who were moſt forward to promote Superſtition, and profane the Lord's Day.* Not one!

Spiritual Courts.

P. 460.

Hiſt. Reb. Vol. I. 22.

Clergy.

P. 5.

The next Truth is extorted from Mr. *Echard*: The *Puritans were generally free from outward Scandal*, which is follow'd by a Reflection ſo vulgar and ſo puerile that it is a Shame to repeat it, *except ſome Particulars in Commerce.* At *Billingſgate* the Saying among the Fiſhery is, the *Presbyterians* will not *ſwear*, but they'll *cheat*. *Billingſgate* is not the worſt Place from whence he fetches his Wit and his Raillery. The *Puritans* would not *whore*, but they wou'd *cozen*; and ſure thoſe who wou'd whore, drink, ſwear and profane the Sabbath, us'd a great deal of Conſcience as to cheating, when it lay in their way; which it did not do ſo often as in that of the Puritans, who had above nine Parts in ten of the Trade of the Nation.

Puritans.

The next Man *Laud* took to task in this very Year was *John Lilburn*, a younger Son of *Richard Lilburn*, Eſq; of *Thickley Punchardon* in the County Palatine of *Durham*, one of the beſt Families in the Biſhoprick. *Echard* inſults him as a *Tradeſman*,

Lilburn.

*A.D.*1637. *man*, whereas in truth he never ſet up as a Tradeſman; and if he had, the Difference in their Deſcents ſhou'd have given a Check to that Inſult. *Lilburn* was put to a Packer; but diſliking a Trade he left him, and was taken to be Clerk to *William Prynne*, Eſq; his Inclination bending to the Law. Mr. *Prynne* ſoon after ſuffering for his *Hiſtriomaſtrix*, *Lilburn* took his Maſter's Part, and wrote againſt his Perſecutors, for which he was brought into the *Star-Chamber*, *Laud* ſitting there again in Triumph. He was condemn'd to be whipp'd from the *Fleet* Priſon to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where he was afterwards to ſtand in the Pillory. Tho' he was whipp'd ſo bloodily that every Heart bled for him, yet he bore it with a Courage which was amazing, and while he was in the Hands of the Tormentor expreſs'd his Indignation at the Injuſtice that was done him. He continu'd doing ſo when he was in the Pillory; of which the precious Judges of the *Star-Chamber* being inform'd, they ſent an Order to have him gagg'd. Mr. *Lilburn* had 500 Stripes with a treble Cord having Knots upon it; and it was ſaid by a Member of the Houſe of Commons in 1640. "To ſum up his Sufferings; "By *Impriſonment* he was made a *dead Trunk*, by "*Whipping* a *Rogue*, by *Pillory* a *Cheat*, by *Gagging* a *Beaſt*. They had better have hang'd him outright". We read in *Ruſhworth*, "When "once the *Star-Chamber* Court began to ſwell big, "and was delighted with Blood; *which was not "till* Laud's *Time, ſpringing out of the Ears, Noſes "and Shoulders of the puniſh'd*; and nothing wou'd "ſatisfy the Revenge of ſome *Clergymen* but cropt "Ears, ſlit Noſes, whipp'd Backs, gagg'd Mouths, "and withal to be thrown into Dungeons, and "ſome to be baniſh'd not only from their native "Country to remote Iſlands, but by Order of this "Court to be ſeparated from their Wives and "Children; then began the *Engliſh* Nation to lay "to heart the ſlaviſh Condition they were like to "come into if this Court continu'd". Theſe were felicitous Times, when, as the Lord *Clarendon* wou'd have us believe, the Happineſs of the golden Age was reſtor'd.

A. Wood.

P. 475.

The Inſolence and Cruelty of the Laudæan *Prieſthood.*

Bp. Williams *proſecuted.*

While the Court of *Star-Chamber* was intent upon theſe good Works, *Laud* took hold of this ſeaſonable Opportunity to bring his Patron and Benefactor Biſhop *Williams* before them. That able Stateſman had liv'd ſplendidly for ſome Years at his Palace of *Bugden* in *Huntingtonſhire*, whereby his Hoſpitality and pleaſant manner of receiving all Perſons he grew very popular, and the neglecting ſo uſeful a Miniſter for the ſake of ſo odious a one as *Laud* occaſion'd ſtill more murmuring. *The King and the Archbiſhop had entertain'd inſuperable Prejudices againſt him, and look'd upon him as a dangerous Affector of Popularity.* To gain the good Will of the People by Acts of Humanity and Bounty is to endanger the State, which in truth had a very ſmall Share of that good Will. Again; *He was a Favourer of the* Puritans, *and his ſubtle and ſerpentine Ways*, which they never found out, *gave too juſt an Occaſion to many to believe him not ſtrictly honeſt.* It is the whole Drift of the learned and reverend Biſhop *Hacket* in his Life of Biſhop *Williams* to prove that he was *ſtrictly honeſt*. The firſt Informers againſt the Biſhop of *Lincoln* were Sir *John Lambe*, whom he preferr'd and got to be knighted, and Dr. *Sibthorp*. *Lambe* was a Spiritual-Court Officer, and what *Sibthorp* was, has been ſhewn already. Their Information was of terrible Importance; "That the Biſhop "had diſcourag'd them in proſecuting of *Puritans*; "that he ask'd *Lambe* whether they paid the Loan-"Money;" who ſaying *they did, but were not good* Churchmen, the Biſhop reply'd, *If they pay the King they are the beſt Subjects, and I am ſure they will carry all at laſt*. *Laud* had not Foreſight enough to think after that manner. The Biſhop alſo told *Lambe* and *Sibthorpe*, as thoſe Informers ſwore, that the *King had communicated to him his Intentions to have the* Puritans *more mildly dealt with*, which his Majeſty had ſaid ſeveral Years before in a Converſation with the Biſhop not at the Council-Board; and his Lordſhip having intimated as much to theſe two Perſecutors to induce them to ſtop their Hands a little, *Lambe* upon being refus'd an *Official's* Place by the Biſhop, and *Sibthorpe* to pleaſe Biſhop *Laud*, deliver'd their Information to *Noy*, then Attorney-General, who was order'd to draw it up in Form, and file it in the *Star-Chamber*. Biſhop *Williams* demurr'd to it as no fit Matter for the Cognizance of that Court, the Words being ſpoken of Matters done in Parliament. The Lord-Keeper and the other Judges were ſtartled at this Demurrer, and to clear themſelves referr'd it to Judge *Richardſon*, who having lain long under the Archbiſhop's Diſpleaſure about the Buſineſs of the *Somerſetſhire* Revels, to ſet all things right again over-rul'd the Demurrer in a private Chamber. Biſhop *Williams* then apply'd himſelf to the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton* for a Compoſition; but the King wou'd hear nothing till the Biſhop had confeſs'd his Fault. Upon which Biſhop *Williams* reſolv'd to defend himſelf; and by the Advice of the moſt learned Council in *England* put in a ſtrong Plea, which being argu'd in open Court was referr'd to the ſame Judge *Richardſon*, who in the ſame manner ſmother'd it in a Chamber. This Plea thus over-rul'd, the Biſhop put in a ſpecial Anſwer, ſetting forth the Conſpiracy of *Lambe*, *Sibthorpe*, &c. to ruin him, and advance themſelves; that their Hatred to him was for not permitting them to plunder and rob the King's Subjects in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, by haling them into their Nets *ex Officio mero*, without any previous Complaint, under an imaginary Colour of *Puritaniſm*. *Noy* join'd Iſſue to this Anſwer, and Witneſſes were examin'd to prove it. But as much as *Noy* was in the arbitrary Proceedings of the Miniſtry after his Apoſtaſy, he grew weary of this Buſineſs, and *Laud* procur'd another Proſecutor, one *Richard Kilvert*, ſo profligate a Villain that the Archdeacon is aſham'd to name him; and Dr. *Fuller* writes, *He wou'd do what an honeſt Man wou'd be aſham'd of, and like a Maſtiff Dog fiercely fly upon any Perſon for Profit. He was ſeconded in this Suit and abetted by the Court, who ſupported him with Money.* *Kilvert* brib'd one *Warren*, an Examiner in the *Star-Chamber*, contrary to *Warren*'s Oath, to reveal that the Biſhop's Cauſe depended on the Teſtimony of *John Pregeon*, Regiſter of *Lincoln* and *Leiceſterſhire*. To invalidate his Evidence, *Kilvert* ſuborn'd Witneſſes to ſwear *Baſtardy* againſt *Pregion*. The Biſhop to ſupport the Credit of his Witneſs, us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to find out the Subornation, and the *Baſtardy* was ſo ill prov'd, that the *Baſtard* was at *Lincoln* Seſſions father'd upon another. Another Bench of Juſtices, of whom Sir *John Munſon* was moſt active, father'd it upon *Pregion*. The laſt Order was diſſolv'd as illegal by the Court of *King's-Bench*, and *Pregion* clear'd from the Child. In this Diſpute ſomething muſt neceſſarily paſs, which look'd like Concern in the Biſhop for the Character of his Evidence, who deny'd that his Lordſhip had ſpoken the Words ſworn againſt him by *Lambe* and Dr. *Sibthorpe*. *Kilvert* call'd this Subornation, and dropping the firſt Information proceeded againſt his Lordſhip upon the laſt. *This Band-Dog*, ſays Dr. *Fuller*, *let go his firſt Hold too hard for his Teeth to enter, and faſten'd his Fangs on a ſofter Place*. Some Days before the Hearing a Privy-Counſellor, ſuppos'd to be the Earl of *Dorſet*, Friend to the Biſhop, interpos'd ſo far as to get the Suit compounded for 2000 *l.* but the Sum being offer'd, the Price was ſoon riſen in the Market, and to the 2000 *l.* was added the Surrender of his Deanery of *Weſtminſter*, Parſonage of *Walgrave* in *Northamptonſhire*, a Place he much

*A.D.*1637.

Full. 155, *& ſeq.*

A.D.1637. delighted in, and Prebend of *Lincoln*, all which the Biſhop held in *Commendam*. But his Lordſhip reply'd, *he wou'd in no Caſe forego thoſe few Remainders of his dead Maſter King* James's *Favour*. The ſame Lord continuing ſtill his Interpoſition, prevail'd to have the Suit ſuperſeded for 4000 *l*. Biſhop *Williams* ſaying, *I take no Delight in fencing at Law with my Sovereign*, agreed to it; when a *great Adverſary ſtepping in*, ſuppos'd to be the great *Laud*, ſet his Majeſty ſo violently upon a Trial that all was fruſtrated; and what was yet worſe, the friendly Offices of the Lord of the Council was urg'd againſt the Biſhop as a Proof of his Guilt by his Forwardneſs to compound. The Court of *Star-Chamber* coming to the Cenſure, Sir *John Finch*, Lord Chief Juſtice, fin'd the Biſhop of *Lincoln* 10000 *l*. Sir *Francis Windebank*, Secretary of State, and a Creature of *Laud*'s, to the 10000 *l*. Fine, added degrading. Both of theſe two *Star-Chamber* Judges fled for their Lives three or four Years after, or they wou'd doubtleſs have been Examples of national Juſtice. The other Judges brought the Fine down to 8000 *l*. to the King, and 1000 *l*. to Sir *John Monſon*, a *Lincolnſhire* Juſtice, with Impriſonment during the King's Pleaſure. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* heartily agreed to all but the *degrading*, which his Friend and Tool had propos'd probably on purpoſe that *Laud* might ſhew his Clemency in only ruining and jailing the Biſhop without that Ceremony. He preach'd near an Hour before he paſs'd Sentence, alledging that *Jezabel was the firſt in Scripture who was branded with the Infamy which the Biſhop is charged with*. Some of the *Star-Chamber* Lords, as *Weſton* the Treaſurer, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter* concurr'd in the Fine, hoping the King wou'd have taken to himſelf the ſole Honour of mitigating it. But the utmoſt Penny was exacted. The Biſhop was ſuſpended by the *High-Commiſſion* Court, which *Echard* on this very Occaſion calls *the Glory of the Nation*. He remain'd four Years a Priſoner in the *Tower*, and was purſu'd thither by *Laud*, who four Months after the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was releas'd was ſent thither himſelf, and never got out but to his Trial and Execution. He ſent two Biſhops and three Doctors to him in Priſon to take his Anſwer to certain enſnaring Interrogatories; which Biſhop *Williams* anſwer'd ſo warily, that the Biſhops and Doctors cou'd take no Advantage of it. But, as Dr. *Fuller* aſſures us, *They painted his Lordſhip out in an ugly Shape to the King*. This Trial laſted nine Days, and the *Star-Chamber* Court was every Day crowded, the People generally pitying the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who, 'twas viſible, was to be ſacrific'd to the Envy, Jealouſy, Malice and Ingratitude of *Laud*, who in Defiance of the publick Hatred continu'd daily to increaſe and provoke it.

Star-Chamber Court. Is it not aſtoniſhing that the Archdeacon ſhou'd take hold of this Opportunity to write an Encomium on the Court of *Star-Chamber*? And let him not ſay he praiſes what it had been, and not what it was; for it wou'd be falſe, as I am about to prove. His Commendations of it are: *It had for many Ages been the Glory of* England. He ſets out with a Falſity; it was erected by *Henry* VIII. Warw. 57. about 140 Years before; *for the Defence of Honour and Honeſty. It generally conſiſted of* 30 *or* 40 *of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and moſt learned of all Profeſſions in the Kingdom, and oftentimes with the King at the Head of them, ſo that no Court came ſo near the venerable Senate of* Rome. I am not aſtoniſh'd that it is the Reverſe of the Truth, but that the reverend Hiſtorian ſhou'd declaim thus in Praiſe of it, when it had juſt been guilty of ſo vile an Act of Injuſtice againſt one of the Fathers of our Church. *Osborn*, a Gentleman of good Obſervation and Judgment, who liv'd in the beſt Days of that Court, when other Sort of Men than *Weſton, Cottington, Windebank, Conway, Jermin, Finch*, &c ſate there, writes thus of it: *The Earl of* Northumberland *was caſt into the Sea of the* Star-Chamber, *that Den of arbitrary Juſtice, where the Keeper for the time being, two Biſhops, two Judges, and as many* wiſe *Lords and* honeſt *great Officers ſate as were pleas'd to come. The moſt of whom, tho' unable to render a Reaſon, every* Wedneſday *and* Friday *in Term Time concur*, &c. *to tear ſuch as refuſe to worſhip the Minion, and to yield to the* Prerogative Royal. As much as the Hiſtorian praiſes this rare Court at this extraordinary Juncture, he owns the *Biſhop's Sufferings were a chief Cauſe of its Suppreſſion*. A.D.1637.

Philips's *Life of Bp.* Williams. Mr. *Ambroſe Philips* ſinks the whole Proſecution in the *Star-Chamber*, perhaps becauſe of the *Subornation*; which he had no Reaſon to do, Biſhop *Williams* being evidently clear of any more Concern about *Pregion* than to have his Credit legally ſupported, as being his principal Witneſs; or perhaps it was to avoid ſpeaking of *Laud*'s Inveteracy in this unjuſt Proſecution; for tho' he confeſſes the Biſhop of *Lincoln* was a Man of more Temper than *Laud*, yet to gain him the Eſteem of ſtaunch Churchmen, he tells us theſe Biſhops were his Pattern, *Whitgift, Bancroft, Overal, Harſnet*; and that he diſſuaded the King from letting the *Bohemian* Braſsmen come to ſettle in *England*, becauſe they were *Presbyterians*, notwithſtanding they offer'd to bring over 200000 *l*. with them, urging the ill Examples of the *Dutch* and *French* Churches with reſpect to Diſcipline. If that is true, I don't think Mr. *Echard* has wrong'd him much in ſaying he had more of the Serpent than the Dove in him. The Truth is, Mr. *Philips* has taken ſome Pains to ſet the Biſhop's Character right with his Brethren *Fellows of Colleges*, but he has by ſo doing left it *Mongrel* with very little Merit on either Side. The Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland*, was ſo zealous in the Proſecution of this Biſhop, that he put off his going to his Government a Term or two, of purpoſe, ſays *Heylin*, to have a *Fling at him*.

Illegal Acts. The Events of this Year come out of the *Star-Chamber Court, High-Commiſſion Court, Spiritual Courts*, every one of them arbitrary and tyrannical; *Council Board*, or *Bench of Ship-Money Judges*. The Expreſſion is bald, but fit for the Subject. The whole Adminiſtration are ſo many illegal Acts of Government one after another. *William Pargiter*, Eſq; and *Samuel Danvers*, Eſq; were committed Priſoners to the *Gatehouſe* and the *Fleet*, for refuſing to pay *Array* Money to the Earl of *Exeter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Northamptonſhire*. The Reaſon given for levying this Money and *Militia*, was the Apprehenſion of an Invaſion from *Scotland*. Sir *Robert Berkley*, that upright Judge, deny'd the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* to Mr. *Pargiter* and Mr. *Danvers, contrary*, as in *Ruſhworth, to* P. 426. *the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, to former Reſolutions in Parliament, and to the* Petition *of* Right, *and contrary to the Knowledge of the ſaid Sir* Robert Berkley, *who was the King's Serjeant at Law. Warwick* affirms, *He was as learned* P. 51. *and as upright a Judge as ever ſate on the Bench*.

Vintner's *Company*. *Kilvert*, Proſecutor of Biſhop *Williams*, had another Jobb cut out for him, and that was to threaten to proſecute *Vintners* for ſelling Wine above Price, and Breach of the Decree for dreſſing Meat. Alderman *Abell*, Maſter of the Company, communicated *Kilvert*'s Meſſage to them, Ruſhw. and for fear of the Fellow they ſubmitted to the 452. Payment of 40 *s*. a Ton. *Kilvert* demanded 4 *l*. and it was farm'd at 3000 *l*. a Year. We ſee what Sort of Tools were at this Time employ'd, and about what dirty Work.

Mr. Snelling's *Perſecution*. P. 459. Mr. *Laurence Snelling*, Miniſter of *Paul's Cray* in *Kent*, was articled againſt in the *High-Commiſſion Court* for not reading the Book of *Sports* on the Lord's Day. He pleaded in his Defence the Law of God, the Laws of the Realm, the Authorities

A.D. 1637. of Councils, Fathers, and late Writers of all Sorts. The Archbiſhop ſate on the Bench in Perſon, as was uſual with him. Mr. *Snelling*'s Anſwer was rejected, and that reverend Divine excommunicated, and turn'd out of his Living. I remember only an Inſtance or two of this Prelate's arbitrary and illegal Proſecutions: I cou'd fill a Volume with them were it neceſſary, and will do it when it is thought to be ſo.

Abp. Laud *and* Archy *the King's Fool.*

Among ſo many diſagreeable and terrible Incidents, wherein we find Archbiſhop *Laud* the principal Agent, let us relate one merry one, and that is the Caſe between the *Archbiſhop* and *Archy* the King's Fool, as it is told by *Ruſhworth*. *Archy* meeting the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Grace, ſoon after News had come from *Scotland* of a Tumult at *Stirling* on account of the *Common-Prayer*, his Majeſty's Fool, who it ſeems had counſell'd the not ſending the Service-Book thither, cry'd, *Whea's Feule now? Doth not your Grace hear the News from* Striveling? The Lord Archbiſhop was juſt going into the Council Chamber, where he made a formal Complaint againſt the *Fool*. The Matter was taken into ſerious Conſideration, and that produc'd the following Order in Favour of his Grace.

At *Whitehall, March* 11. 1637.

PRESENT

The King's moſt Excellent Majeſty;

The Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his Grace; the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, *Weſton* Lord Treaſurer, *Mancheſter* Lord Privy-Seal, Duke of *Lennox*, Marquis of *Hamilton*, Earl Marſhall, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Newburgh*, Mr. Treaſurer, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary *Cooke*, Mr. Secretary *Windebanke*.

" IT is this Day order'd by his Majeſty with the " Advice of the Board, That *Archibald* " *Armſtrong*, the King's Fool, for certain Words " ſpoken againſt the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canter-* " *bury his Grace*, and prov'd to be utter'd by him " by two Witneſſes, ſhall have his Coat pull'd over " his Head, and he diſcharg'd of the King's Ser- " vice, and baniſh'd the Court; for which the " Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold is " pray'd and requir'd to give Order to be execu- " ted; and immediately the ſame was put in Exe- " cution".

Bp. Williams *proſecuted again.*

No ſooner was one Sentence paſs'd againſt the Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, than Preparations were made for another. The infamous Wretch *Kilvert* had corrupted *Walker* the Biſhop's Secretary, *Powel* his Steward, and one *Lund*, who had all been fin'd in the *Star-Chamber*, and order'd to be impriſon'd: But, ſays *Echard*, *they eſcap'd both Fine and Impriſonment*, which were in a ſhort time commuted into ſuch *other Offices as they were to do for* Kilvert *againſt their Maſter*. That Villain had been put in Poſſeſſion of the Biſhop's Palace at *Bugden*; where " glad of the Office, *ſays Mr.* " Philips, he makes ſure of all that cou'd be found, " Goods of all Sorts, Plate, Books, and ſuch like, " to the Value of 10000 *l.* of which he never " gave Account but of 800 *l.* He fell'd the Tim- " ber, kill'd the Deer in the Park, ſold an Organ " that coſt 120 *l.* for 10 *l.* and Pictures which coſt " 400 *l.* for 5 *l.* He continu'd there revelling for " three Summers, and gave no Account at all for " four Cellars of Ale and Beer, with Wood, Hay, " Corn, and the like. Thus a brave perſonal E- " ſtate was ſquander'd away, and not the leaſt of " the King's Fine paid all this while, *&c.*" *Powel* in rifling his Lordſhip's Papers found a Letter from Mr. *Osbaldeſton*, Head Schoolmaſter at *Weſtminſter*, to the Lord Biſhop, wherein were ſome myſterious Expreſſions, which by Interpretation and ſtretching were made to reflect on Archbiſhop *Laud*. *Kilvert* preſently prefers a new Bill againſt my Lord of *Lincoln* for divulging a ſcandalous Libel againſt a Privy-Counſellor; which ſhews ſufficiently that *Laud* and *Kilvert* were in League againſt Biſhop *Williams*. The latter deny'd he ever receiv'd the Letter; but it being found in his Box, he was again condemn'd and ſentenc'd by that barbarous Court which had before ſentenc'd him. The Words in the Letter give us the Opinion the very learned Mr. *Osbaldeſton* had of the Merit, as well as Virtue of Archbiſhop *Laud*: *The little Vermin, the Urchin, and Hocus Pocus is this ſtormy* Chriſtmas *at true and real Variance with the* Leviathan. The Vermin was interpreted to be the Archbiſhop, the *Leviathan* to be the Lord Treaſurer *Weſton*. Mr. *Osbaldeſton* was try'd for writing the Letter. He deny'd the Words to be ſo meant by him, and depos'd that he intended one Dr. *Spicer*, a Civilian, by *Hocus Pocus*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice by the *Leviathan*. But ſuch Men as the Biſhop of *Lincoln* and Mr. *Osbaldeſton* were never once brought into that Court to be clear'd; ſo tho' it was impoſſible to prove any other Conſtruction in the Words than what he who wrote them ſwore; yet, as the moſt impudent Act of Injuſtice which that deteſtable Court cou'd be guilty of, they proceeded to ſentence that honeſt and wiſe Magiſtrate. Sir *John Finch* fin'd the Biſhop 10000 *l.* ſo did the wiſe and honeſt Secretary *Windebank*. The reſt cut off 2000 *l.* and one Lord was for no Fine, ſaying out of *Ovid*, *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadet*. The reverend and eminent Mr. *Osbaldeſton* was ſentenc'd 5000 *l.* Loſs of his good Living of *Whethamſtead* in *Hertfordſhire* worth 300 *l.* a Year, and to have his Ears tack'd to the Pillory in the Preſence of his Scholars; *whom*, ſays Dr. *Fuller*, *his Induſtry had improv'd to as great Eminency of Learning as any of his Predeceſſors*; *inſomuch that he had above fourſcore Doctors in the two Univerſities, who gratefully acknowledg'd their Education under him*. Among others of Mr. *Osbaldeſton*'s grateful Scholars was the famous Poet Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, who has expreſs'd his Gratitude in a fine Epiſtle in Verſe. Nothing wou'd ſerve the Revenge of *Laud* but the Ears of this excellent Scholar, who being ſenſible of his implacable Spirit, and perceiving how he and his Fellow Judges wou'd determine the Matter, left the Court before he was to be apprehended, went home, and having ſettled his Affairs as well as he cou'd, conceal'd himſelf at a Friend's Houſe in *London*, leaving a Paper behind him with this written upon it, *Gone beyond* Canterbury, which was underſtood to be beyond Sea; but it rather meant beyond the Power of *Laud*; ſo ſafe the Place where he was hidden.

A.D. 1637. *Mr.* Osbaldeſton *perſecuted by* Laud.

Bp. Williams *again.*

The Archbiſhop was not yet contented with what he had done againſt the Biſhop of *Lincoln*. Nothing but his *Degradation* wou'd ſatisfy the Envy and Malice of that lordly Prelate. In order to which, a new Information with ten Articles was drawn up againſt him, tending all to blacken him for tampering with Witneſſes about *Pregion*, for which he had already been ſo ſeverely cenſur'd. The Biſhop put in a Plea and Demurrer, that *Deus not judicat bis in id ipſum*, God puniſhes not the ſame Fault twice; and that he cou'd prove it was a Conſpiracy of *Kilvert* with other Perſons, if he might have Freedom to produce his Witneſſes againſt them; which was deny'd him. His Lordſhip then put in a Rejoinder, and an Appeal to the next Parliament whenever it ſhou'd be aſſembled, pleading his Privilege of Peerage, his *Freehold*, and that he cou'd not be degraded of his Orders and Dignities. The very word *Parliament* frighten'd the *Star-Chamber Court*, who had a long Reckon-

*AD.*1637. ing to make up with them, and the Proceedings were quaſh'd ſo far as not to come to a final Cenſure. Tho' the Rage of his Perſecutors abated not againſt him, their dull Libellers made him the Subject of their Raillery and Ribaldry: Their Hiſtorians have not been more ſparing of their foul Language. *Sanderſon* ſpeaking of his ſevere Cenſures, ſays, *His Puniſhments fitted his Villanies*: For the Character of a Biſhop is no Defence againſt Defamation with theſe pretended Zealots for the Church, if the Man has made himſelf unacceptable to them by Temper and Charity. *Clarendon* and *Echard* have not indeed made uſe of *Sanderſon*'s ſawcy Expreſſions, but their Meaning has as much Bitterneſs.

Mr Hampden *and Ship-Money.*

The Caſe of Ship-Money was this Year brought upon the Stage by Mr. *Hampden* of *Buckinghamſhire*, an Inland County, which he thought had no Reaſon to pay a Maritime Tax. 'Twas argu'd in the Exchequer-Chamber by *Oliver St. John* Eſq; and *Robert Holburn* Eſq; the latter yet untainted in Principle, both of *Lincoln's-Inn*, of Council for Mr. *Hampden*; and by Sir *John Banks* Attorney, and Sir *Edward Littleton* Sollicitor-General for the King. I know not whether the Reader will think what the reverend Hiſtorian ſays of this Tryal, to be more abſurd or more ridiculous. Mr. *Hampden* had demanded Juſtice in the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and he tells us, *he was moſt graciouſly allow'd to be heard.* He adds, the Account of the Tryal is imperfect in *Whitlocke*, one of the greateſt Lawyers of his Time, who was preſent at it; but extreamly perfect in *Frankland*, whom I know no more of than what he tells me. The Pleadings take up 120 Pages Folio in *Ruſhworth*, who was a Lawyer alſo, and it appears beyond Doubt by Mr. *St. John*'s Argument, that all the Law-Books in the Studies of the Lawyers, led them to declare that Impoſition to be illegal. *Echard* proceeds from his profound Skill in ſuch Matters, *This Cauſe was attended with ſuch Niceties and Intricacies in the Law, as made it very difficult.* There never was any thing more plain in both Law and Reaſon, than that no Man's Money ſhou'd be taken from him without his own Conſent by his Repreſentatives in Parliament; and there was not the leaſt Difficulty in it, but what was occaſion'd by the Oppoſition of Authority and Power to Reaſon and Law. Mr. *St. John* in the Cloſe of his firſt Day's Argument, ſets the Matter in a fair Light. "In a Time of Peace his Majeſty's Vigilancy foreſees the Danger likely to enſue; the Supplies for "Prevention of this Danger, will ſerve if brought "in ſeven Months after. The Caſe is, whether "without their Conſent in Parliament, his Majeſty may alter the Property of the Subjects Goods." Which fully anſwers the pretended Neceſſity of raiſing Money without the tedious Form of a Statute, ſince with all thoſe Forms it cou'd come in time enough to prevent Danger. All the Judges except Judge *Hutton* and Judge *Croke*, gave Judgment againſt Mr. *Hampden*. *Croke*, according to *Whitlocke*, was reſolv'd to deliver his Opinion for the King as the other Judges did, againſt his Knowledge and Conſcience; but a few Days before the Time, he chang'd his Reſolution by the Perſuaſions of his virtuous and prudent Lady, who obſerving the Perturbation of his Mind by his Looks, and gueſſing at the Cauſe, ſaid to him, *I will be content to ſuffer any Want or Miſery with you, rather than occaſion you to do any Thing againſt your Judgment and Conſcience.* She muſt certainly know what was his Conſcience and Judgment, and that his firſt Reſolution was againſt both. As for the reſt of the Judges, *Hutton* excepted, their Infamy will live as long as their Names.

One wou'd think that this odious Tax had exaſperated the People enough already, and that Miſchief enough had been done without ſo ſolemn a Deciſion to make an illegal Impoſition legal; but as I have frequently obſerv'd this Miniſtry with *Laud* at their Head, ſeem'd to ſtudy how they cou'd act moſt in Deſpite of the Nation. *A.D.*1637.

*A.D.*1638. It was the ſame Management in *Scotland*, where in direct Oppoſition to the Principles and Bent of the People, the ſame *Laud* obſtinately perſiſted in the Deſign to impoſe his own Epiſcopacy, with all its Superſtitions and Ceremonies upon a Proteſtant and pure Church; *the pureſt in the World*, if you will take King *James* the Firſt's Word for it. "The King by the Advice of Biſhop *Laud*, "ſays Mr. *Acherley*, order'd the new Biſhops there "to prepare a *Liturgy*, which was remitted to *Eng-* *P.* 386. "*land*, reviſ'd and approv'd by three *Engliſh* Biſhops, *Laud*, *Juxon*, and *Wren*. We have ſeen what Succeſs they had when they attempted to uſe it; and the ſame Author reaſons upon it thus; "In this Place it may be proper to enquire what "Profit the King's Miniſters had in View either "to themſelves or to the Crown, in forming and "carrying on theſe Undertakings, which they "knew to be in *Scotland* an Abomination; for it "may be demanded of what Signification was it "to the Crown, whether the national Church of "*Scotland* was a *Presbytery* or *Epiſcopacy*. The "Problem is difficult to reſolve any other Way, "than it was the Exerciſe of a Power which deſpis'd all Limitation and all Imaginations of a "Diſappointment." This Affair is related by the reverend Hiſtorian, as wiſely and ſincerely as the reſt, *Whether this Torrent was the unnatural Overflowings of the Waters of Popularity*, how florid is his Expreſſion? *or the Artifice of great Men, which deſtroy'd the Sluices and Flood-gates which kept the* Populacy *and* Presbytery *in due Bounds, it is hard to determine with Exactneſs.* Whether the Fuſtian or Nonſenſe of this Paſſage is moſt prevalent, is much harder to determine; for we are told the *Service-Book was an Abomination in* Scotland, and the *Torrent*, the unnatural *Overflowings of the Waters of Popularity*, was the very natural Effects of an old Woman's Fury who flung her Stool at the Dean of *Edinburgh*'s Head. The Earls of *Traquair*, *Roxburgh*, and the Lord *Lorn*, were ſent for to Court to inform his Majeſty of the State of the *Scots* Nation. After the ſetting up of the TABLES, and after ſome Conſultations, the Marquis of *Hamilton* was order'd to go to *Scotland* as Lord High-Commiſſioner. Mr. *Echard* tells us he was met there by Multitudes of both Sexes, *whoſe Applauſes conſiſted of Execrations and Exclamations* againſt Popery and Biſhops; for notwithſtanding the *Scots* by *Laud*'s Council were threatened to be treated as *Rebels*, *far from being diſmay'd at theſe Threats*, they are the Words of my Author, *they ſtood boldly to what they had done*; *and when the Marquis of* Hamilton *propos'd two Things to them*, their Anſwer will ſufficiently acquaint us *that they acted like Men who were under no Apprehenſion of the* Power of their Enemies. *Mem. Ch.* Scot. 185. His Propoſals were, 1. *What they expected from the King in Satisfaction of their Grievances.* 2. *Whether they wou'd after Satisfaction return to their Obedience, and renounce the Covenant.* The *firſt* they anſwer'd, *We expect a free Parliament and a legal General Aſſembly, to whom we are willing to refer all our Demands.* To the *ſecond* their Reply was, *We have not forſaken our Obedience, and therefore need no Terms of Return. But as to our* Covenant, *we will as ſoon renounce our* Baptiſm; *nor will we enter into any Treaty, if it is mention'd to us a ſecond Time.* Many long and tedious Debates were held, and many Expedients offer'd in the King's Name, to keep if poſſible the Biſhops in their Seats. The Marquis not being able to gain any one Point, return'd to Court to acquaint the King with the Demands and Reſolutions of the *Covenanters*, ſo they now begin to be call'd; upon which he was ſent back with a Declaration conſiſting of eleven Heads, granting them Things which *Scots Troubles.*

A.D 1638. which they wou'd have rejoyc'd at before, but now rejected. 1. *To annul the Service-Book.* 2. *The Book of Canons.* 3. *The High-Commiſſion.* 4. *The five Articles of* Perth. 5. *All Perſons whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, to be liable to the Cenſure of Parliament and General Aſſembly.* 6. *No Oath to be impos'd upon the Miniſters at their Entry, but what was contain'd in the Act of Parliament.* 7. *The antient Confeſſion of Faith to be receiv'd and ſubſcrib'd as it was in the King's Father's Reign, with the* Band *thereto annex'd.* 8. *A Parliament at* Edinburgh *the* 14*th of* May *after.* 9. *A General Aſſembly at* Glaſgow *the* 21*ſt of* May. 10. *A general Pardon.* 11. *A general Faſt.* Theſe were great Things; but as the main Thing *Epiſcopacy* was left behind, the *Covenanters* proteſted againſt theſe Conceſſions, and claim'd a Right to call a *General Aſſembly*, and it was call'd accordingly, the Marquis of *Hamilton* conſenting to it. They met at *Glaſgow* the 25th of *November* to the Number of 260 Commiſſioners, the Marquis of *Hamilton* preſided in it; but they took ſo little Notice of him, that after eight Days he diſſolv'd them as far as it lay in his Power. The Earl of *Rothes* made Anſwer, *We are ſorry you will leave us, but our Conſcience bears us Witneſs we have done nothing amiſs, and therefore will not deſert the Work we are come about.* The Lord *Ereskin*, the Earl of *Argyle*, and others, came to the Aſſembly, and deſir'd to be admitted into the *Covenant*, which the Nation in general fell in with. This *Echard* terms an *increaſing of the Tumults.* The Marquis return'd to *London*, leaving the Aſſembly ſitting: He beſtows as much Wit as he has to ſpare upon them; *They were doing the Work of the Lord: God approv'd and ſeal'd their Proceedings; their ſitting was the* Prerogative *of Jeſus.* He adds, *Rolloch*, one of them, ſaid, *God ſpake thro'* Doll Michelſon *a Wench, who declar'd the Covenant was approv'd in Heaven*; and another of them, *We help the Angel of the Lord againſt the Mighty.* But he is not to be truſted the more becauſe he takes his Cant and his Hiſtory from Biſhop *Guthry* This Aſſembly aboliſh'd *Epiſcopacy*, reſtor'd the Church of *Scotland* to her Rights, and diſannull'd whatever had been acted againſt them ſince King *James* impos'd Biſhops upon them. " Such Zeal and " ſuch Faithfulneſs, ſays my *Scots* Author, to the " Principles they profeſs'd, cou'd not fail to prompt " to all proper Means to ſupport what they had " undertaken; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* be- " ing gone back in Diſguſt, and having us'd ſome " threatening Speeches at his parting, they reſolv'd " not to be ſurpriz'd, but immediately to put " themſelves into a Poſture of Defence, that they " might be able to go thro' with their Undertа- " king. Their arming was not without very good " Intelligence from *England* of the Reſolution ta- " ken there to reduce them by Force." The Marquis threatening them to their Faces when he went from *Scotland, You muſt not think to uſe your Kings now as you did formerly, when they were only Kings of* Rebels; *the King now has another loyal and warlike Nation at his Command, you ſhall ſoon feel it to your Coſt*; *wherefore the* Engliſh *Hiſtorians are manifeſtly partial, who ſay, the King arm'd only in his own Defence, and in charging the* Scots *with a Deſign to begin the War*; *it being manifeſt they were capable of no other Deſign than of ſecuring themſelves againſt being trampled on by a bigotted Court and incens'd Clergy,* whoſe *tyrannical Government* had rais'd equal Diſguſt and Dread in *the Minds of the People of* England, which was well known to thoſe in *Scotland*; and the latter were aſſur'd from good Hands, they ſhou'd not want Aſſiſtance; and without hope of ſuch Aſſiſtance, it had been Madneſs for the *Scots* to have taken Arms.

Mem. Ch. Scot. 188.

But that Hope was as yet founded on the general Diſcontent of the *Engliſh* Nation, which the *Scots* imagin'd wou'd diſpoſe them to meet Deliverance half way. The pretended Invitation was not till after the firſt Pacification was made, as I ſhall ſhew at large. Mr. *Acherley* is out in placing it at the firſt Entrance of the *Scots*, and *Echard*'s Account is all falſe. *A.D.* 1638.

When News came to *London* of the Proceedings in *Scotland*, the King deſir'd his Council to conſider, Whether the Diſobedience of the *Scots* was a juſt Cauſe for him to uſe the Power of *Enggland* to make War upon his People of *Scotland*, conſidering that the Numbers adhering to the Preſbytery, were the general Body of the Nation? *The Epiſcopalians*, whom they oppos'd, *being but a handful of Men, bearing no Proportion with the others. But his Majeſty's imperious Miniſters,* ſays my Author, *ſoon reſolv'd in the Affirmative*; *not conſidering what might enſue upon the provoking a People ſo warlike and tenacious.* The *Scots* laid Taxes on themſelves for raiſing and maintaining 18000 Men, and ſent into *Sweden* and the *Low-Countries* to invite home the old experienc'd Generals and Officers of their Nation, in whom they cou'd put Confidence, to ſerve their Country on this ſo neceſſary an Occaſion. There is not one of all the Encouragements which *Echard* tells us the *Scots* had to undertake the War, that has any Foundation in Fact or Reaſon. The only real Encouragement they had, was the Diſpoſition they believ'd the *Engliſh* were in to engage in the ſame Cauſe, the Defence of the true Proteſtant Religion, and the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the two Nations. Acherley, *p.* 391.

I wou'd not have the Reader think that I ſet a Value on all the Authors I make uſe of; I perhaps have a meaner Opinion of ſome of them than himſelf can have; but if there's an Appearance of Truth in what they ſay, I do not much matter their manner of ſaying it; and beſides, 'tis the Misfortune of all Hiſtorians who write to this Age, that their Word will not paſs without Evidence. Now the more homely the Witneſs, and the more plain his Teſtimony, it is likely to be the more true. For which Reaſon only I make uſe ſometimes of *William Lilly*, *Roger Coke*, of *Peyton*, and *Welden.* I have intimated in many Places, that *Laud*'s falſe Zeal, his Pride, Obſtinacy, Superſtition and Cruelty led the King into thoſe fatal Meaſures which brought him to a Scaffold; that the Clergy who were *Laud*'s Diſciples, were the main Inſtruments in the Miſeries of thoſe miſerable Times, and that the *Scots* Troubles were the Beginning of thoſe in *England.* Let us therefore produce a Witneſs to prove it, and there cannot be a plainer Proof than this given by the Conjurer *Lilly*. Scots *Troubles begin thoſe in* England.

P. 33.

" In *July* 1637, *viz.* 23d Day, there was great " Diſturbance in *Edinburgh* about a new *Service-* " *Book* endeavour'd to be obtruded on the *Scots* " by the *King* and *Canterbury*. I have heard an " old Woman began the Quarrel by caſting her " Stool at the Prieſt when he read the Service- " Book. Many very modeſt Divines exceedingly " blame both the *King* and *Canterbury* for that " Book. It admitted unto the People, as I re- " member, the Communion but in one Kind. " However, by the Prudence of ſome grave Men, " being then Privy-Counſellors in *Scotland*, Mat- " ters were ſlubber'd over all that Winter in *Scot-* " *land*, but in *May* or *April* new Tumults aroſe; " and truly I may almoſt ſay, that that corrupt " *Common-Prayer Book* was the ſole and whole " Occaſion of all the Miſeries and Wars that ſince " that time have happen'd in both Nations. Had " his Majeſty firſt endeavour'd the Impoſition of " that lame Book upon the *Engliſh*, moſt Men did " believe we had ſwallow'd it, and then the *Scots* " muſt have done it afterwards; for the Clergy at " that time generally were ſuch idle and lazy Lubbers, " and ſo pamper'd with Court Preferment, and Places

" temporal

A.D.1638. " temporal in every Shire of *England*, and ſuch " flattering Sycophants, that doubtleſs the great " Hand of God was in it; that thoſe rude *Scots* " firſt broke the Ice, and taught us the Way to ex- " pel an inſulting Prieſthood, and to reſiſt the " King, he endeavouring by unwarrantable Means " to intrude things contrary to the divine Law of " Almighty God upon our Conſciences". The Phraſe is indeed very uncourtly, but the Fact is notorious, and nothing therefore can have a better Claim to Hiſtory. *Lilly* in another place ſays, " All " Men knew the *Scots* Troubles were promoted " by the Clergy, whom the Nobility began to " diſdain and ſcorn, and the Gentry and Yeoman- " ry of *England* extremely to hate; for at this pre- " ſent time the *High-Commiſſion* Court, rnd other " bawdy Courts, did moſt horrible Injuſtice againſt " the Perſons and Eſtates of any Gentlemen who " by Misfortune came thither".

Commiſſions were this Year iſſu'd to certain Lords and Gentlemen, with a Power to impoſe new and unheard-of Impoſts on various Commodities. The Earl of *Arundel* had alſo a Commiſſion to take into his Hands the military Charge of the Northern Parts; and the Earl of *Worceſter* a Papiſt, was impower'd to raiſe an Army of Papiſts in *Wales*. *This*, ſays my anonymous Author, *was well known, that he was to maſter the* Weſt Marches, *and aſſiſt the* Iriſh *Army's landing at* Milford, *as Need ſhou'd require*; and to further it, the Earl of *Bridgwater* Lord-Preſident of thoſe Marches, was commanded to reſign his Place.

Reybold, p. 36.

By the Advice of Archbiſhop Laud, according to *Whitlocke, the King haſten'd his Levies of Men and Money without Conſent of Parliament*; *and be-*
BISHOPS WAR. *cauſe this was the BISHOPS WAR, it was held fit that they ſhou'd contribute largely towards the Preſervation of their own* Hierarchy; *accordingly Orders were iſſu'd from the* Council *to the Archbiſhops of* Canterbury *and* York, *to ſend Directions to the other Biſhops* to give largely, which they did, and about 1000 Pounds was rais'd in each Dioceſe by a Medium. The Doctors of the Commons gave 700 Pounds to the *Biſhops War*; in raiſing which Sir *John Lamb* the Informer ſhew'd his Activity. The Queen wrote a Letter to the Papiſts to contribute, which they alſo did very largely; and by theſe and other ſuch extraordinary Means, Biſhop *Juxon* had heap'd up 600000*l.* in the Exchequer for this agreeable Service. The Papiſts were ſo over-liberal, that the Pope was forc'd to write
Ruſhw. to them *ſuddenly to deſiſt from making ſuch Offers*. In the mean time the Remonſtrances, Declarations, and Pamphlets publiſh'd by the *Covenanters*, were diſpers'd in *England*, and their Emiſſaries and Agents inſinuated into the Company of all who were any way diſcontented at the Proceedings of the State. Thoſe who had been impriſon'd for the *Loan*, or diſtrain'd for *Ship-Money*, or were otherwiſe diſoblig'd, had Applications made to them from the *Scots*, whoſe Deſigns were ſecretly favour'd and aſſiſted, eſpecially by ſuch as inclin'd to the *Presbyterian* Government, or whom the publick Adminiſtration had in any wiſe diſguſted; which muſt needs be nine Parts in ten of the People of *England*, who by themſelves or their Friends had been perſecuted in Perſon or Purſe during the Male-Adminiſtration of this Reign.

The King ſent a Letter to moſt of the Nobility, certifying his Reſolution of going in Perſon into the *North* with an Army againſt the *Scots*, for the Defence of the Realm of *England, and*
Ruſhw. 791. *the Glory of God*, and requiring them to *attend his Royal Standard at* York. The Towns of *Hull* and *Newcaſtle* were order'd to be fortified at the Charge of the Inhabitants. At this Time the Church of *Rome* had Agents in *Scotland* as well as *England*; one of them was *Chamberlain* a Prieſt, whom *Richlieu* ſent thither to help blow up the Coals that were kindling. A Letter of his was intercepted, wherein he ſaid, *Scotland is in a very ill* A.D.1639. *Poſture, and in evident Danger to ſever it ſelf from the Crown*. And in another Letter, *The King hath taken a Reſolution to tame the* Scots by *Force, and to this Purpoſe goeth about to raiſe an Army in* Ireland, *not daring to truſt himſelf with the* Engliſh, *who are already much irritated againſt him, by raiſing of the Shipmoney, which he pretends to raiſe to maintain his Fleet, and which they refuſe downright to pay. This Counſel of raiſing an Army, has been ſuggeſted to him by the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the Preſident of* Ireland: *Strafford* is meant: *who are they alone that govern him, for he hath never yet opened his Mouth, or ſpoken one ſole Word of it to his Council: The which highly diſobligeth all theſe Lords*; *and Men hold this Counſel of the Army from* Ireland, *a moſt pernicious Counſel: But I know not what better Method he cou'd take, for it is moſt dangerous to raiſe it in* England, *where all the World is in Diſcontent. For to raiſe an Army* here, *were to give them the Sword in their Hands: And they have ſuch a Correſpondence with the* Scots, *that they begin already to break the Altars which the Biſhops had erected, and to accuſe the Biſhops of Crimes*. There was another Letter written by a *Romiſh* Prieſt, to one Monſieur *And*---, wherein he wrote thus; " Our " *Scots* Buſineſs troubles us ſhrewdly, and grows " worſe and worſe. They will have a Parliament, " and the King (for the Conſequence of it in " this Kingdom) will never permit it; and ſo they " have taken a Reſolution to levy an Army in " *Ireland*, which is held here by wiſe Men to " *be a very deſperate Counſel*." *The Lord* Clarendon *aſſures us, the wiſe Men thought it very wholſome Counſel*. Again, " The King conſults with *King's*
" none but the Archbiſhop, and the Deputy of *Weakneſs.*
" *Ireland*, which diſguſts all, and makes Men ſee " more Weakneſs in him than ever was imagin'd." The Archdeacon aſſures us, *he was wiſer* than the *wiſeſt* of his Counſellors. Among the many Pro- *Proclama-*
clamations of Importance which were publiſh'd *tions.*
this Year, we find theſe; 1. One forbidding the ſending Food to the *Presbyterians* at *New England*. 2. Another to forbid the *Tranſportation of* Engliſh *Horns*. 3. *Forbidding the wearing of Demicaſters* 4. About *Cards and Dice*. 5. The *Cure of the King's Evil*, which generally coſt two or three Proclamations in a Year or two. 6. The Cure of the *King's Evil* again. 7. Concerning *Starch*. Thus we ſee, that beſides the levying War againſt the *Scots* at the Inſtigation of *Laud*, the Miniſters of State had not a great deal to do.

The King had got together an Army of 16000 A.D.1639. Foot, and 5000 Horſe, of which the Earl of *Arundel* was made General, the Earl of *Eſſex* Lieutenant-General, and the Earl of *Holland* General of the Horſe. A Fleet was alſo equipp'd, conſiſting of 16 Men of War. Sir *John Pennington* was Admiral of it; and Captain *Popham*, afterwards Admiral, commanded the City Ship; and though he was a *Presbyterian*, did not refuſe the Service; which gives one Reaſon to ſurmiſe there was no thought of Blows. Five thouſand Men were put aboard the Fleet, under the Command of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was to land near *Edinburgh*, and make a Diverſion, while the Army of the *Covenanters* march'd towards *England*.

The Reverend Hiſtorian opens this Piece of Hiſtory with ſome flat Contradictions to Truth. As, King *Charles* was too *yielding*, Laud's *real Advice was for Peace*. The *Flower of the* Engliſh *Gentry chearfully put themſelves upon Action*. As to the yielding, *Larrey* ſays, he ſeem'd *to grant them all they ask'd, in order to reduce them afterwards by force of Arms*. As to *Laud*'s adviſing to Peace, ſee what the *Scots* Commiſſioners alledge, among a hundred Things againſt him in their Charge. *Canterbury procured us to be declar'd Rebels and Traytors in all the Pariſh Kirks of* England. Canterbury *kindled the War againſt us*. Canterbury *ſaid at the*

*A.D.*1639. *Council-Table, that the Pacification with us ought to be broken.* Canterbury *ordered Prayers againſt us as Rebels and Traytors, to be read in all Churches.*

Biſhops War. Canterbury *was the prime Incendiary.* General *Ludlow* tells us, how the Flower of the *Engliſh* Gentry chearfully put themſelves upon Action. "Though divers of the Nobility and Gentry did "appear, yet was it rather out of Compliment than "Affection to the Deſign, being ſenſible of the "Oppreſſions they themſelves lay under, and how "dangerous to the People of *England*, a thorough "Succeſs againſt the *Scots* might prove." *Echard* then informs us of ſome Omens, a Commodity he deals in as well as Ghoſts and Apparitions, which being now the Entertainment of old Women, Children, and Fools only, are happily plac'd in his Hiſtory, to be forgotten. *A Swallow dung'd three drops of Dung, being immediately converted into Blood, cou'd never be got out by Cleanſing.* Such Weight as this wou'd ſink any Hiſtory in the World. Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* adviſ'd the King to have no Mercy on the *Scots*, but to cut them off all by the *Sword* and the *Gallows*; *for they were gain'd by Puniſhments, and loſt by Favours.*

The Earl of *Eſſex*, with a Detachment of Horſe and Foot, poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Berwick*, which the *Covenanters* intended to Garriſon. *Echard* affirms, the *Scots* had not then any conſiderable Body of Men nearer than *Edinburgh*: But a *Scots* Hiſtorian writes the quite contrary. "When the King ad- *Mem. Ch. Scot.*
"vanc'd towards the Borders, they were ready in
"the Field, and that with ſuch a reſolute Counte-
"nance, as that the *Engliſh* Army cared not to at-
"tack them. The *Archdeacon*: The *Scots* were
"but 3000 Men, ill arm'd, and ordinary Fellows."
The reverſe of this is our *Scots* Hiſtory. "When *P.* 189.
"the Earl of *Holland*, General of the Horſe to
"the King, advanc'd in a Bravade with a ſtrong
"Brigade of Horſe, and a Detachment of Foot,
"he was driven back faſter than he came, by
"half the Number of the *Scots* Cavalry, with
"Musketeers in their Intervals; a manner of Fight-
"ing which the *Engliſh* had not ſeen, and which
"ſome *Scotch* Officers had learnt under the great
"*Guſtavus Adolphus*. It would make too much
"Sport with the *Engliſh* Courage and Bravery,
"which is ſo well confirm'd in the World, to
"give an Account how like Scoundrels this Army
"behav'd. An *Engliſh* Hiſtorian of Note ſays,
"they were rais'd by the Clergy, and imitated their
"Maſters; for as the *Clergy*, who prompted this
"War, accompanied the King to *York* when he
"came to take the Field, ſo the raw and undiſci-
"plin'd Army accompany'd him to the Field, but
"left him when they ſhou'd have engag'd. In a
"word, none of the Troops, after the firſt Skir-
"miſh, car'd to engage, or to look the *Scots* in the
"Face; who, on the other hand, though they
"wou'd not attack the King, yet ſtood ready, and
"ſhew'd all Forwardneſs to give Battel." The Re-
verend Hiſtorian's Account of them makes theſe Scoundrels, being the Clergy's Troop, according to the *Scots* Author, to be ſuch Heroes, that one of them offer'd, with 2000 Horſe only, *to make the* Scots *creep upon their Bellies to beg his Majeſty's Mercy.* It is worth Obſervation, that theſe Heroick Perſons preſerv'd this Air through the whole Courſe of the *Civil War*, in the midſt of Defeats and Diſgraces. They flatter'd their Maſters with hopes of their being as invincible in the Field as themſelves were in the Spiritual Courts. The Truth is, the King encamp'd on the *Engliſh* Side of the *Tweed*, and the *Covenanters* at *Kelſo* in *Scotland*, being about 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, much inferior to the King's Forces in Number. So that thoſe *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen who were near his Majeſty, and by no means willing to have the *Scots* Army deſtroy'd, for fear of the ill Conſequences in *England*, found that it was not convenient for them to hazard a Battel at that Time, by laying too great Streſs on the Good-will of the *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers. They therefore endeavour'd to bring on a Treaty, by repreſenting to his Majeſty that it was an unnatural Thing for him to make War upon his own People of *Scotland*, merely for endeavouring to be deliver'd from the Innovation of the *Common Prayer*; the ſame *being in Reality a matter of Difference in Religious Forms, not material enough to be purſu'd with Bloodſhed.* Ach. 391.
The *Scots* at the ſame time ſent an humble Repreſentation to the King, profeſſing great Deference to his Royal Perſon, and requeſting no more than a Redreſs of their Grievances. This was thought ſo reaſonable, that his Majeſty cou'd not well deny it; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* having only appear'd before *Leith*, where the Covenanters were prepar'd to receive him in another manner than he expected, and writing to the King they were ſo powerful he cou'd attempt nothing on that Side, his Majeſty was prevail'd upon to conſent to a Treaty. His Commiſſioners were the Earls of *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Holland*, *Salisbury*, and *Berkſhire*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Secretary *Cook*. The *Scots* Commiſſioners were the Earls of *Rothes* and *Dumferling*, the Lord *Lowdon*, *Douglaſs*, Sheriff of *Twedale*, Mr. *Henderſon*, and Mr. *Johnſon*. After four or five Days Debate, the Commiſſioners on both Sides came to a Concluſion for a *Pacification to continue twenty Years. Both Armies to be Disbanded. An Act of Oblivion. The King's Forts and Caſtles to be reſtor'd. An Aſſembly and Parliament to be call'd, to make a full Settlement.* My *Scots* Author writes, "Notice was given the *P.* 190.
"*Scots* Army, that they might ſend ſome to treat
"with his Majeſty upon their Demands; which
"was done, and in which all Artifice was us'd to
"make a ſuperficial Agreement, that the *Scots* might
"be oblig'd to Diſband, and ſo might be ſurpriz'd
"again unarm'd." *This agrees exactly with what I quoted out of* Larrey. "However, they made
"a *Pacification*, and according to the Terms, broke
"their Army; but having certain Intelligence from
"*England* of the treacherous Deſign, they kept the
"Generals and Officers in half Pay. As they had
"been inform'd, ſo it prov'd; for the King, forc'd
"by the Clergy, ſought Occaſions of new *Quar-*
"*rel.*" Several of the King's Commiſſioners were well-wiſhers to the *Scots*; and it is ſuppos'd, that in their Conferences with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners they made no Scruple of diſcovering their Thoughts to them, and aſſuring them, that though this was not an Opportunity for them to inſiſt on other Terms, yet if they wou'd keep up the Spirit, and as well as they cou'd with good Policy, the Force they had, their Friends in *England* wou'd let them know when it wou'd be a fit Time for them to appear again, and in the joint Names of both Kingdoms demand a Parliament in both to redreſs Grievances. There was no formal Invitation, but ſuch general Diſcourſes of the Diſcontents of the *Engliſh*, their Deſires to be reliev'd, and their Readineſs to aſſiſt in it. The King disbanded his Army with very diſagreeable Circumſtances, as if he had not approv'd of their Behaviour. The *Gentry were ſuddenly diſmiſs'd, without any Acknowledgment of their Love and Loyalty*, to uſe the Archdeacon's Words. *The Earl of* Eſſex *was diſcharg'd without Ceremony, and ſhortly after refus'd the Command of* Needwood *Foreſt.* The Earl of *Newcaſtle* was ſo affronted by the Earl of *Holland*, that he ſent him a Challenge, but the King interpos'd. Sir *John Cook* was remov'd from the Secretary's Place, and Sir *Henry Vane* put into it, contrary to the Endeavours of the Earl of *Strafford*, and purely by the powerful Influence of the Queen.

The grand Point aim'd at by the Party in *England* who wiſh'd well to the *Scots*, was to procure a free Parliament, as has been obſerv'd, which they knew wou'd remove thoſe imperious Miniſters and Meaſures that aggrieved both Nations. A Paper *The Pacification with the Scots,* Lud. 8.

was

A.D.1639. was publiſh'd highly reflecting on the fraudulent Pacification, which was order'd to be burnt by the common Hangman, as was the Pacification it ſelf, under Colour that many falſe Copies of that Agreement had been diſpers'd by the *Scots*. *Lilly* tells this Story thus, "That Day which was aſſign'd for "certain of the *Engliſh* Nobility and *Scottiſh* to "treat about thoſe Articles of Pacification the "*Scottiſh* Nobility were to produce, the Nobles "of each Nation being ſet, the Earl of *Arundel* "began with much Gravity to rebuke the *Scots* for "their Unadviſedneſs and Rebellion, in raiſing their "Army againſt their lawful King, and diſturbing "the Peace of both Nations; and yet he com-"mended the good Nature of the King, who was "notwithſtanding their high Provocation and Miſ-"demeanors, very inclinable to hear their juſt "Grievances; and to that Purpoſe had appointed "himſelf, and ſome other Lords of his Council, "to meet them that Day to treat with them, and "to hear their Grievances. This gallant Man was "proceeding farther in his Speech, and aggrava-"ting the *Scots Offences*, when, lo, unexpectedly, "his Majeſty enter'd the Room, and call'd for the "Articles the *Scots* deſir'd to be ratify'd, read them "ſcarce over, but took Pen and Ink immediately "and ſign'd them, without ever adviſing with any "of his Council; which ſo diſpleas'd the Nobility "of the *Engliſh* Nation, that the very next Day "after ſigning the *Scots* Articles, they all haſted "home to their own Habitations, the King ſtaying "behind, and for his daily Exerciſe playing at a "ſcurvy Game, call'd *Pigeon-Holes* or *Nine-Pins*; "his Fellow-Gameſters alſo were equal to the P. 38. "Game, *viz.* Lackeys, Pages, and ſuch others, "*ejuſdem Generis*. He again no ſooner came to "*London*, but, as I remember, caus'd thoſe Arti-"cles to be burn'd by the common Hangman, "making himſelf as ridiculous in doing the one, "as he was reputed weak and ſimple of Judg-P. 39. "ment in doing the other. The burning of the "*Scots* Articles was imputed to the Importunity "of the proud Clergy and Biſhops." The Cove-nanters were by this confirm'd in their Jealouſies that there was Hypocriſy in the Treaty. They kept up their Fortifications at *Leith*, their Councils and Meetings. They inforc'd Subſcriptions to the Acts of the Aſſembly at *Glaſcow*, contrary to the King's Declaration. They declar'd thoſe that had taken up Arms for his Majeſty, Incendiaries and Traytors. They annull'd all the Acts of the College of Juſtice. And the King, who had given them Hopes of his Preſence in the enſuing Parlia-ment, reſolv'd not to expoſe himſelf to new Af-fronts, which he was ſure to meet with at *Edinburgh* after this new Diſguſt, occaſion'd by burning the Pacification, which his Friends in *England* thought diſhonourable, but the *Puritans* and *Peesbyterians* were pleaſed with it, as it gave the *Scots* Time to increaſe their Strength.

Burnt.

The King hurries on the Scots *firſt Paci-fication,* P. 37.

Scotch *Affairs.* According to the King's Direction, the General Aſſembly ſat at *Edinburgh*, and aboliſh'd *Epiſcopacy*, the *five Articles* of *Perth*, the *High Commiſſion* and Salm. 166. *Liturgy*: All which was aſſented to by the Earl of *Traquair*, his Majeſty's High-Commiſſioner, who alſo ſign'd the Covenant, not as *High-Commiſſioner*, P. 2. but as Earl of *Traquair*. The Biſhops of *Dunkeld* and *Orkney* abjur'd *Epiſcopacy, as being not founded* P. 5 *on the Word of God*: So *Larry* words it, *but was attended with terrible and pernicious Conſequences in ſeveral Parts of Chriſtendom, particularly in the Church of* Scotland. After the Aſſembly; ſat the Parliament, who highly debated the Choice of the Lords of the Articles, in regard the Biſhops were aboliſh'd, of whom eight us'd to be nam'd by the King to be of that Number, but now it was voted that his Majeſty ſhould nominate eight Noblemen inſtead of them for this Seſſions only, and after-wards there ſhould be no Nomination for them. The Parliament fram'd an Act Reciſſory, touching the *Exchequer*, *Judicatory Proxies*, and *Ward Lands*; which encroaching on the King's Prerogative, his Majeſty order'd his Commiſſioners to Prorogue them: But the Parliament declar'd the Prorogation illegal, as without their Conſent; and ſent four De-puties to *London*; the Earl of *Dumferling*, the Lord *Loudon*, Sir *William Douglas*, and Mr. *Robert Bar-clay*, to juſtify their Proceedings. Thither alſo came the Earl of *Traquair*, and both Parties were order'd to be heard by a Committee of Council. For the *Scotch* Deputies, purſuant to Inſtructions from their Principals, refus'd to addreſs themſelves to the Council, and his Majeſty condeſcended to hear them himſelf. Many paſſionate Expreſſions and Recriminations paſt between the Deputies and *Traquair*; but the latter was moſt favour'd, and the King refus'd to ratify the Acts of the Aſſembly and Parliament. A.D.1639.

During theſe *Scottiſh* Broils, an Engagement happen'd on the *Engliſh* Coaſt, near *Dover*, be-tween the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Fleets: The latter, about ſeventy Sail, were bound to *Dunkirk* with Recruits of Men and Money for that Garriſon. The *Dutch* Fleet intercepted them, and attack'd them near *Dover* and *Calais*. The *Dutch*, though but twenty-five Sail, took two *Spaniſh* Galeons, ſunk another, and ſhatter'd the reſt. The *Spani-ards* made towards the Coaſt of *England*, and the *Dutch* follow'd them, but wou'd not attack them within our King's Dominions. The *Spaniſh* Reſi-dent at *London*, importun'd his Majeſty to keep off the *Dutch* for two Tides. The *Dutch* Ambaſſa-dor made Application to him againſt the *Spaniards*. The King in Amity with both, reſolv'd to ſtand Neuter; and indeed had no Maritime Strength ready at that Time, nor Diſpoſition at any Time to do otherwiſe. The *Spaniſh* Admiral by Night con-vey'd away fourteen Ships, and 4000 Men in them. His Majeſty ſent the Earl of *Arundel* on board the *Spaniſh* Admiral, *Don Antonio d'Oquendo*, to deſire him to retreat as ſoon as the Wind was fair, be-cauſe he would not have an Engagement upon his Seas; but the Wind continuing long contrary, and the *Dutch* Fleet being reinforc'd, encompaſs'd their Enemies within Piſtol-Shot for ſome Days: At laſt *Van Tromp*, the *Dutch* Admiral, engag'd them, and by his Men of War and Fireſhips, forc'd them to cut their Cables. Twenty-three of the *Spaniſh* Ships ran aſhore and ſtranded in the *Downs*. Don *Oquendo* with the reſt put to Sea, and was purſu'd by *Van Tromp*, who burnt the Admiral of *Portugal*, took eleven more of the *Spaniſh* Fleet, ſunk five, and drove three more on the *French* Coaſt: So that only ten eſcap'd, and got into *Dunkirk*. *Whit-locke* informs us many believ'd *this Armado* was de-ſign'd for an Invaſion of *England*, by Encourage-ment of the Pope's Agents and Emiſſaries; and it does not diſagree with the Pope's Orders to the Pa-piſts to deſiſt from contributing to the *Biſhops War*, in Suppoſition that their Money might be wanted for ſome better Service even than that.

Dutch and Spaniſh Fleets fight in the Downs.

The young Prince Elector, purſuant to the Ad-vice given him by the young Prince of *Orange*, came again into *England* at this Time, to ſollicit the King of *England*, his Unkle, to procure him the Command of the *Swediſh* Army in *Germany*, upon the Death of Duke *Bernard*. His Majeſty deſir'd the *French* Ambaſſador to move it to his Maſter, who willingly undertook it, and Cardinal *Richlieu* promis'd to further it. In the mean Time his Electoral Highneſs precipitated his Journey into *Germany*, and without ſtaying for the *French* King's procuring him that Command, he attempted to paſs through *France* in Diſguiſe, to reach the *Swe-diſh* Army; but the *Engliſh* Ships in the *Downs* ſalu-ting him, and his own Ship diſcharging a Volley at his landing at *Bologne*, the *French* ſuſpected there was a Perſon of high Rank aboard, and appre-hended him. The Prince deny'd himſelf upon Ex-amination, which increaſing their Suſpicion, he was ſecur'd

Prince Elector Priſoner in France.

*A.D.*1639. secur'd by a Guard. The *French* Court took this rash Attempt so ill, or pretended so to do, that his Highness was detain'd Prisoner in *France* some Years.

Junto for Scotland. The same Night that the *Scots* Deputies, the Lords *Dunferling* and *Loudon* return'd to *Edinburgh*, a great part of the Castle-Wall fell down, with the Cannon mounted. The Covenanters suppos'd it to be done by Treachery, and wou'd not suffer it to be re-edify'd as his Majesty commanded, which highly offended him, and he concluded to force them to Obedience. In order to this, he appointed a select Council for *Scottish* Affairs; and at the Head of it was always *Laud*. *Larrey* writes, *there were many Courtiers who condemn'd the* Scots *War*; *the end of which*, as they said, *was only to establish Arbitrary Power and Episcopacy*; *and the King was only the Archbishop of* Canterbury's *Knight*, Laud, Strafford *and* Hamilton *were this select Council, term'd a* Junto; and they resolv'd, *that at any Rate the King's Authority must be vindicated, and rescu'd from Contempt*. *Sanderson* tells us, *they voted to force the* Scotch *to submit*.

Ach. 393. The Earl of *Traquair* brought with him to *London*, a Letter to the *French* King, which he had intercepted 'Twas advis'd and compos'd by *Montross*, and transcrib'd by *Lowdon*. It was sign'd by *Rothes*, *Montross*, *Lesley*, *Mar*, *Montgomery*, *Lowdon*, *Forrester*; directed *Au Roy*. They address'd to the *French* King, *as a Sanctuary for afflicted States, praying the wonted Assistance which that Crown had always afforded to their* Nation. This Letter was no doubt drawn up by Advice of *Richlieu*'s Emissaries in *Scotland*, who were order'd to promise the *Scots* Malecontents his Master's Assistance. His Majesty was mightily concern'd at Sight of it, and objected it to the *Scots* as an insufferable Indignity: But the Covenanters boldly avow'd the Letter *as a National Act, in which all Men, without Exception, were involv'd*; arguing, that when a People *are distress'd by Sea and Land, it is allow'd by the Laws of God and Man, to call for Help from God and Man*. They also recriminated, *That a Letter lately sent to the Pope, containing Matters utterly unjustifiable was not hid from the World*. There was something merry in this Story of the Letter, which Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* never heard of; though they had heard of a silly Tale about the Address *Au Roy*. In the first Draft of this Letter, instead of *Rayons de Soleil*, *Rays of the Sun*, 'twas said, *Rayes de Soleil*. Now *Ray* in *French* is a *Thornback*; and when Lord *Lauderdale*'s Father read it, he refus'd to sign it; not because it was Treason, but because it was Nonsense; saying, the *French King's Glory shin'd like a* Thornback.

The Earl of *Dumferling* and the Lord *Lowdon* were come back to *London* with fresh Demands, *to have the Prorogation taken off, the Castles of* Edingburgh *and* Dumbarton *evacuated*; *and an Oath which the* Scots *in* England *and* Ireland *were oblig'd to take contrary to the Covenant, vacated*. Instead of a favourable Answer, the Lord *Lowdon* was sent to the *Tower*, for transcribing the abovemention'd Letter, where he was very likely to have *MS.* M. F. been dispatch'd, as by the following Story, which has to vouch it an Authority too Noble to be call'd in Question.

Lord Lowdon's *Danger in the* Tower. Sir *William Belfour*, Governor of the *Tower*, when Lord *Lowdon* was committed, some Days after receiv'd a Warrant from the King for the beheading that Lord the next Day within the *Tower*, for fear of any Disturbance if it had been done openly on the Hill. The Lieutenant, who was at Cards with *Lowdon*, chang'd Countenance, and holding up his Hands in Amazement, shew'd his Lordship the Warrant; who said to him, *Well, Sir, you must do your Duty: I only desire Time to make a Settlement on some younger Children, and that you will let my Lawyer come to me for that End*; to which *Balfour* consented; and the Lawyer carry'd away with him a Letter to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, informing him of the Matter, and telling him, *He was a* Scotchman, *and must answer it to his Country*. *Balfour* follows the Lawyer to the Marquis, whom they cou'd not presently find, it being Night, at last they found him at Lady *Clayton*'s; and having deliver'd him the Lord *Lowdon*'s Letter, which *Balfour* further explain'd, the Marquis took Sir *William* with him to Court, not staying for his Coach, and desired Admittance about a Business of very great Importance to his Majesty. He wes told the King and Queen were in Bed, and had given positive Orders not to admit any one. The Marquis in vain insisted on his own Right as one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and the Right of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, especially when he had any State Prisoner: Upon which Sir *William* knock'd at the King's Bedchamber Door, which being open'd to him, he fell upon his Knees, and having just mention'd the Warrant, his Majesty stopp'd him, saying, *it shall be executed*. Upon which the Marquis enters, and falling on his Knees, humbly expostulated with the King concerning it. The Queen express'd great Displeasure at his Intrusion: But the Marquis taking her up short, let her know she was a Subject as well as himself; and that the Business he came about was of the highest Concernment to his Majesty, to herself, to the whole Nation, and to himself in particular. He then spoke with great Earnestness to the King, and us'd all the Arguments he cou'd think of to dissuade him from the Execution. But all to no purpose. *Sir*, says he, *if you persist in this Resolution, no* Scotsman *will ever draw a Sword for you*; *or if they wou'd who shou'd command them? The King reply'd, Yourself. No, Sir*, said *Hamilton*; *I dare never appear in* Scotland *afterwards*. The King nevertheless swore twice, *By God* Lowdon *shall dye*. Then the Marquis craving Leave to speak one word more said, *Sir, I desire your Majesty to look out for another House, for within four and twenty Hours there will not be one Stone of* Whitehall *left upon another*. This touch'd the King more than all the Arguments of Pity, Justice, or distant Danger. He call'd for the Warrant, tore it, and dismiss'd the Marquis and Lieutenant somewhat sullenly. This Incident being not in Bishop *Burnet*'s Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, he was ask'd why he did not insert it, and reply'd, *I knew it, but durst not tell it*. He owns there the King was advis'd to proceed capitally against *Lowdon*, but Lord *Hamilton* oppos'd it. The late Duke *Hamilton* own'd it to be true in the late Queen's Time, adding, *I'll print it if I outlive her*. And this Story is so well known to all the People of the first Quality in *North Britain*, that I am not afraid to conclude from thence, there was no Passion so strong in King *Charles* the First as the Desire of arbitrary Power and Revenge on those whom he took to be his Enemies. *A.D.*1639.

About this Time it was resolv'd to call a Parliament to obtain Supplies for the *Scots* War. The Junto agreed to it, as the only Way to raise the Money they wanted; and as *Buckingham* formerly had the Merit of advising the calling a Parliament, so *Strafford* has it now to ingratiate him with the People. *Whitlocke* writes, "In the mean time, and it was a strange time for such a Business so near the Sitting of a Parliament, "the King tells "his Lords, *It will be long e're the Parliament meets*, "*and Subsidies granted by them will be long in le-*"*vying: In the Interim my Affairs suffer without* "*some speedy Course of Supply*". Upon which the Lords told him they wou'd engage their own Credit. *Strafford* subscrib'd 20000 *l.* *Richmond* as much. *Hamilton* excus'd himself on account of Inability. Most of the rest subscrib'd, and some few refus'd. The Judges and Officers of Courts of Justice Ecclesiastical and Temporal were assess'd by the Council according to the Quality and Profit of their

*A.D.*1639. their Places. But thro' a Miſtake the Six Clerks in *Chancery* were tax'd 2000 *l.* a piece, as much as their Places were then worth. The Queen appointed Sir *Kenelm Digby*, whoſe Father was hang'd for the *Gunpowder Plot*, and Mr. *Walter Mountague*, afterwards an Abbot in *France*, to negotiate with the Papiſts, who now contributed beyond their Abilities. And *Sanderſon* confeſſes their large Contributions gave Occaſion throughout the War to call the King's Forces the *Popiſh Army*.

Biſhops War.

The *Scots* on their Side ſend for their Commanders home, who had ſerv'd in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Germany*, and the *Netherlands*; and one Hiſtorian, as great an Admirer of this Government as Mr. *Echard*, and as great a Politician, aſſures us, *they ſollicited the* Turk *to fall upon the Emperor, and prevent his aſſiſting King* Charles *againſt them*. If the Jeſuits had any Hand in the enſuing Commotions, as is pretended by a Letter of *Andreas de Habernfield*, a noble *Bohemian*, Servant to the Queen of *Bohemia*, it muſt be from an Opinion of the Weakneſs of the Covenanters, whoſe Deſigns they hop'd wou'd end in their Deſtruction. Great Reſort was made to the *Scots* Commiſſioners in *London*, and many ſecret Councils were held with them by the diſcontented *Engliſh*. *Whitlock* names ſome of their Correſpondents: The Earls of *Eſſex*, *Bedford*, *Holland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pym*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen of great Quality, who, he ſays, *were deep in with them*. And *Welwood* ſhews us what was the Subſtance of their Correſpondence: "Informations of the *Backwardneſs of* "England *to aſſiſt the King in this War*; and that "they were well aſſur'd of Friends all over the "Kingdom, and ſome of neareſt Acceſs to the "King's Perſon". But he thinks it was not theſe Informations which encourag'd the *Scots* not only to march again to the Borders of *England*, but to invade and poſſeſs themſelves of the *Northern* Counties. He is of Opinion they took that bold Step by means of a forg'd Letter they receiv'd juſt when they were ready to march, ſign'd by ſeveral of the principal Noblemen of *England*; which is the *Invitation* ſo much talk'd of by Mr. *Acherley*, Dr. *Welwood*, Biſhop *Burnet*, and even by Archdeacon *Echard*, tho' very confuſedly and obſcurely. This very Letter I have read ſeveral times, and the Copy of it will now be communicated to the Publick with the exact Hiſtory of that whole Secret.

Sand. 287.

*A.D.*1640. Mention has been made of the general Encouragement given the *Scots* by the *Engliſh* to proceed in their Undertakings after the *Pacification* was burnt, and a new Rupture ſeem'd to be drawing on. But as the *Scots* had only Words, and no Engagement, nor any thing under hand, Sir *Archibald Johnſton* Lord of *Wariſton*, a Man of great Zeal and Abilities, who kept a conſtant Correſpondence with Lord *Lowdon*, one of the *Scots* Commiſſioners in *England*, wrote to his Lordſhip to get ſome ſolid Aſſurance of Aſſiſtance from their Friends in *England*. The laſt Letter to the Lord *Lowdon* on that Subject was dated the 23d of *June* 1640, and ſign'd *Nathaniel Black*. The Contents as follows in the genuine *Scottiſh* Stile.

Lord Saville's *Intrigue to bring in the* Scots.

My L.

'MIND theſe ar by Warrand of the beſt and 'prymeſt to deſire you moſt ſeriouſly to 'deal with our Friends in all Earneſtneſs, as they 'deſire the great Buſineſs to proſper for their and 'our Deliverance, that they would now at laſt 'find out the Ways of giving us full Aſſurance of 'their concurring with us in their Perſons, Means 'and Credit; for ſeing our Army, as we truſt, a-'bout 25000 Men, Horſe and Foot (if not more, 'as we have appointed and expects, but counts the 'leaſt) has now their Rendezvous at *Leith* this 'Week and the Beginning of the next; whereof 'ſome Regiments in *Fife* are come this Day, and *A.D.*1640. 'the *Weſt* Regiments will be here on *Thurſday*, and 'that before the 10th of *July* we will be all lying 'at the Borders ready to march in on 6 Hours 'Advertiſement; and ſeing the beſt national Heads 'amongs us in natural Parts and Wiſdom will be 'queſtioning both the Warrant and Call of our 'Voyage and Danger, and Sequels thereof, except 'firſt by one ſolid Way or other we be clear'd of 'our Friends Approbation of that our Courſe, and 'Concurrence with us in it: Therefore ye muſt 'above all deal with them, as they love their and 'our common Safety and Deliverance, now when 'it is ſo near and eaſy by their Aſſurance before 'and Concurrence after our Entry, that they wou'd 'againſt that time of our lying down on the Bor-'ders (beſides the Relations made by bare Words, 'unknown Papers, and common Carriers of Ser-'vants, whereupon we are come ſo far, but dare 'not hazard the Flower of our Nation thereupon) 'further aſſure us of their Approbation and Con-'currence, either by Subſcriptions of ſome princi-'pal Perſons ſent to us, or by ſome eminent Per-'ſon or Perſons (whom we might truſt for the 'reſt) that joining with us (allbeit it were but 'one) their ſingle Perſons immediately before our 'Entry, or by their riſing in one or ſundry Bodies 'amongs themſelves, or by ſending to us near the 'Borders ſome preſent Supply of Money, or clear 'Evidence where we ſhall find it ready near hand, 'that we might pay for our Entertainment in the 'paſſage, or by any other ſolid and certain way 'of Engagement and Aſſurance, whilke we do not 'preſume to preſcribe in the particular, but above 'all recommend it in general, that their Grant of 'it (in any way that would ſatisfy themſelves, if 'they were in our Caſe, and we in theirs) may 'farther confirm our Conſcience of our Calls, and 'ſtrengthen our Hand againſt the Apprehenſions 'of Danger from the invironing Forces of a whole 'forraine, potent Nation, if they concurred una-'nimouſly againſt us, as Invaders of them in a 'hoſtile way; whereas the Lord knows our Inten-'tions and Actions ſhall be for them as for our 'own Souls. Beſides this, there ſeems to be a 'Neceſſity of our meeting on the Borders before 'our Entry with ſome eminent and judicious Per-'ſons, that having advis'd how they may reſolve 'there (if they think it neceſſary, as we apprehend, 'but conclude nothing) that as in 1585. (beſides 'that at the Reformation) there was a League in-'tended between Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* 'the VIth, and the two Dominions againſt the 'Council of *Trent*; ſo there may be ſome *League* 'and *Band* drawn up, wherein as we may profeſs 'our ſincere Reſolutions for them as for ourſelves, 'ſo as we go peaceably without wronging any 'through the Countries, all Favourers of the Pro-'teſtant Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom 'may ſubſcribe as a Mark of Diſtinction from our 'common Foes the Papiſts, Prelates, and their 'Adherents, ſome *Band* of this Kind for main-'taining the Proteſtant Religion, and the ſeveral 'Churches and Liberties of the Kingdom; for 'having the ſame Friends and Foes in this Cauſe; 'for making no Peace without ſettling both 'Churches and Kingdoms, and for mutual Con-'currence with others againſt our common Ad-'verſaries Papiſts and Prelates in that Cauſe; and 'to that End we take not on us to preſcribe the 'Way to be taken after our Entry, nor the parti-'cular Way of their aſſuring us before our Entry. 'But as an Aſſurance of us before our Entry, and 'Band of Conjunction after our Entry, is neceſ-'ſary for the Safety and Surety of both Nations in 'one another; ſo we leave to their Wiſdom to 'conſider this or any other Mean God ſhall direct 'them to think of moſt conducible to this great 'Work on Earth in hand. For beſides that, we 'ſhall have ready by the Grace of God our De-

A.D.1640.

‘ claration of our innocent Intention and Carriage ‘ ſo fully, clearly and brotherly (upon the Grounds ‘ ye ſent down) as ſhall give great Satisfaction to ‘ them all.

‘ But it's time to return to our Aſſurance be- ‘ fore hand, whereunto we ſuſpect the greateſt ‘ Impedimenr to be the Hazard of their revealing ‘ it. By God's Aſſiſtance we are reſolv'd on a ‘ ſolid way of Secrecy in the Particulars, whilke ‘ will be intruſted to a very few moſt ſure Per- ‘ ſons, (albeit by Generals we would be the more ‘ inabled to encourage the Army that will relye ‘ much on their Confidence in ſome few) as know- ‘ ing our own and the Cauſe's Prejudice in the ‘ Diſcovery and Danger of our Friends; and on ‘ the other Part, ſeing we will then be lying on ‘ the Borders ready to march in on that Aſſurance ‘ before it can be diſcover'd, and to concur with ‘ them and they with us before they can be indan- ‘ ger'd, they will be in no more Hazard by aſſu- ‘ ring us immediately before our Entry, nor they ‘ will be by declaring themſelves for us after our ‘ Entry, according to their Reſolutions and Promi- ‘ ſes: for by the Lord's Aſſiſtance we ſhall follow ‘ hard, and hinder the King's Forces from harm- ‘ ing them. And as this Fore-Aſſurance is no Pre- ‘ judice to them, (whom no doubt when all is done ‘ the King and their Adverſaries ſuſpect, and know ‘ well enough already, but for fear of Tumults ab- ‘ ſtain from meddling with them) ſo it will be a ‘ great Incouragement to us of God's Call for ‘ their Deliverance as well as for our own. We ‘ cannot think that they who reſolve to wear their ‘ Lives, Liberties and Eſtates with us in this com- ‘ mon Cauſe of Religion and Liberty, will be ſlack ‘ to give us the Fore-Aſſurances thereof by all ‘ poſſible and probable Means; as it wou'd be a ‘ Token of our Inconſiderateneſs in ſo weighty ‘ and ſo *kittle* a Paſſage, ſo their ſhifting or refu- ‘ ſing would be apprehended by ſome as a Ground ‘ of Jealouſy, leſt they fail'd us in our greateſt en- ‘ compaſſing Straits. God is our Witneſs, we de- ‘ ſire and intend their Deliverance as our own.

‘ It were a pitiful Caſe, that both ſhould fail for ‘ Want of Aſſurance and Correſpondence, when ‘ Matters are brought to ſo great a Height, and ‘ our Army's lying on the Borders, the ſole and ‘ principal Means in any Probability, either of ‘ God's Way or Man's Way, to effectuate both; ‘ but we truſt they will find out the Ways in their ‘ Wiſdom to give us Satisfaction herein, as by ‘ God's Aſſiſtance we intend, and ſhall endeavour ‘ in all our Ways to give full Content as in the ‘ Sight of God, to whoſe great Time and Work ‘ we are all ſubſervient in this Buſineſs for his Son ‘ and againſt the Man of Sin, by whatever Way, ‘ either by Writ or truſty Meſſengers, they re- ‘ ſolve to aſſure us before the 10th of *July* on the ‘ Borders before our Entry, they wou'd condeſcend ‘ as far as is poſſible, what Force will be againſt ‘ us, and both what Forces and with what Aſſiſt- ‘ ance of Horſe and Foot, and with what Money ‘ or Munition, in what Places ſeverally or toge- ‘ ther, in what Times and by what Ways, what ‘ Guides they would ſend us; what Marks to di- ‘ ſtinguiſh Papiſts and Proteſtants, Friends and ‘ Foes; to whom we ſhall give Sureties for our ‘ Entertainment when we want Money (as we ‘ ſhall often, and give every where but to Prelates ‘ and Papiſts) and all ſuch other Particulars they ‘ know we ſtand in need to be inform'd of clearly. ‘ I reſum'd all your former Letters, and has writ- ‘ ten this by Warrant of our ſureſt and ſecreteſt ‘ Heads, whilke above all I recommend to your ‘ ſpecial Care and Truſt, as the very Hinge and ‘ Merſh of our Buſineſs. Ye know my Hand, ‘ and the Subſcription of your own.

Nathaniel Black.

P. S. *Whilk ye may take for more nore his own.*

A.D.1640

They receiv'd no direct Anſwer to this Letter; but what follows was ſent them inſtead of one, ſign'd by ſeveral *Engliſh* Lords, and addreſs'd to a Gentleman to be communicated to them.

Sir,

‘ ACcording to our Promiſe unto you, we have ‘ ſeriouſly peruſed and well-weighed the Con- ‘ tents of the Letter which you did deliver unto ‘ us, and have thought fit to return unto you our ‘ Apprehenſions of it, and our Anſwer unto it, ‘ and that in ſo few Words as the Greatneſs of ‘ the Occaſion will permit us to do.

‘ *Firſt*, We find the Deſires of the Authors of ‘ that Letter to be, that their *Engliſh* Friends ‘ wou'd give them ſome ſolid Aſſurance before ‘ their coming into *England*, that they came ‘ by their Invitations and Approbations; which in ‘ our Opinion would much wrong both our Ca- ‘ ſes; for it is publiſh'd throughout all *England*, that ‘ their coming into *England* is neceſſitated by thoſe ‘ crafty wicked Counſellors near the King, who on ‘ purpoſe to divert this Quarrel of Religion, and ‘ to make it a national Quarrel, have made the ‘ King to beſiege them by Land and Sea, taken their ‘ Ships, deſtroy'd their Trade, undone their For- ‘ tunes, and all to draw a War upon our King- ‘ dom; upon which Ground we meant to make ‘ it a Part of our Remonſtrance to the King as ‘ an unſupportable Grievance to our whole Nati- ‘ tion; which Part is abſolutely taken away from ‘ us, if they come in by the Perſuaſion of a diſcon- ‘ tented Faction here, as they will be call'd, and ‘ not by any Neceſſity the King laid upon them ‘ to occaſion their coming.

‘ *Secondly*, They deſire not only our Invitation, ‘ but our perſonal Conjunction with Horſe and ‘ Foot, and Men, and Money, and Credit, and ‘ the particular Names, and Times, and Places, ‘ and all by Covenant, before they enter. We ‘ know they underſtand it very well, that if Ne- ‘ ceſſity brings them, their Entry muſt be juſt; ‘ for that cannot break any Law which is ſubject ‘ to no Law, as Neceſſity is not. But if we call ‘ them in without abſolute Neceſſity compelling ‘ us thereunto, of a juſt Entry we ſhall make it ‘ an unjuſtifiable one on our Parts, as being abſo- ‘ lute Treaſon by our Law of *England*, to be of ‘ Council for the bringing in of any foreign For- ‘ ces, to adhere unto them, to ſupply them with ‘ Money, in the very Words of the Act of Parli- ‘ ament to reſolve what ſhall be Treaſon, in King ‘ *Edward* the IIId's Days, as it is printed in our ‘ Books.

‘ Now we durſt let our Friends in the *North* ‘ judge if we can juſtify it to *our God* for the Hope ‘ of never ſo good Succeſs, for moſt of the great- ‘ eſt Perſons of the Kingdom of *England*, to be- ‘ gin with undeniable Treaſon by their own Laws ‘ guilty, and well known by them all to be ſo. ‘ It hath been the Happineſs of the *Scottiſh* Nati- ‘ on, that in all their Turmoils, though in Appear- ‘ ance foul, yet they have never done any Act ‘ but what they will juſtify by the fundamental ‘ Laws of their own Nation, unto which only ‘ they are ſubject. This we aſſure you hath pro- ‘ cur'd them many Friends, and much Honour ‘ and Glory abroad; and we are confident that ‘ they wou'd not have us in our Caſe leſs ſenſible ‘ of our Honour and Piety than they themſelves, ‘ who have ſo often avow'd this in their publick ‘ Writs and publick Speeches to the King: It is ‘ not Security only that we expect from the King, ‘ but from our Conſciences and good God, who ‘ otherwiſe will be juſtly offended with us, and ‘ give us up into our Enemies Hands. But if the ‘ *Scots* come in their own juſt Right, as neceſſita- ‘ ted unto it without any ſuch Contract and Aſſu-

A.D.1640. ‘ rance from us, we are reſolv'd to do more, and ‘ more effectually for obtaining their and our ho- ‘ neſt Ends in a fair, juſt, and noble Way, than ‘ either they can expect or deſire in this that is ‘ propounded; but it conſiſts of ſo many Particu- ‘ lars, as it cannot well all be now recited; nor is ‘ it yet ſafe nor fit for them to know, for it is im- ‘ poſſible to keep ſuch Secrets long conceal'd in ‘ any Army. Here is not much Truſt requir'd ‘ neither, that they put in us; for Policy of State ‘ will tell them, it is better to make the Seat of ‘ War in another's Country, rather than to ſeat it ‘ in their own. Beſides, What Cauſe has this Na- ‘ tion given them ſince this Difference, to doubt ‘ of their Fidelity unto them? *Firſt*, The greateſt ‘ Band, the Enemies are all one, the common In- ‘ tereſt one, the End is all one; a *free Parliament* ‘ to try all Offenders, and to ſettle Religion and ‘ Liberty, and to make our abus'd King more ‘ great in Goodneſs than they have made him ‘ unhappy in Ill. In the Parliament, what might ‘ we not have obtain'd for ourſelves, if we wou'd ‘ have join'd to ruin them? But we foreſaw our ‘ own muſt follow preſently; and ſince the Parli- ‘ ament, What Kingdom hath ever ſhew'd more ‘ Strictneſs againſt the Importunity of the King, ‘ than this hath done, in all his Demands, Men, ‘ Money, Ships, Loans, Soldiers, or any Thing ‘ that might enable him to bring an Army againſt ‘ them; which appears by the great Violence which ‘ hath been us'd to gather Forces, and the poor ‘ Companies which are yet rais'd? How many of ‘ the greateſt Houſes of *England* have gotten his ‘ Majeſty's irreconcileable Diſpleaſure againſt them, ‘ for their ſuſpected Affections to them, who ſhou'd ‘ find it, were they under the juſt Cenſure of the ‘ Law? To what End was all this, I pray you, ‘ if when our Deliverances drew nigh, we ſhou'd ‘ forſake them in their greateſt encompaſſing ‘ Streights? Is not that Deliverance more precious ‘ that is begun and continu'd without the Breach ‘ of one fundamental Law, rather than that which ‘ is compaſs'd by the Subverſion of the greateſt of ‘ all? Or may not a Prince be as eaſily won to do ‘ his Subjects Right, by a juſt Expoſtulation of ‘ his Nobility and Subjects in an opportune Sea- ‘ ſon, as well as in an unlawful Convention, if ‘ they receive the ſame Fruit and Aſſiſtance by it? ‘ In Concluſion, we ſhall certainly appear (if they ‘ will believe ſo) juſt to them, juſt to God, juſt ‘ to the King, juſt to ourſelves, to our Religion ‘ and Liberties; and according to that irrefragable ‘ Poſition of their noble Example, without the ‘ tranſgreſſing either of the Laws of God or Man. ‘ This we thought fit to acquaint you with, and ‘ leave it to your Diſcretion and Fidelity to diſpoſe ‘ of as you ſhall ſee Cauſe; and ſhall ever reſt

Your reſpective Friends,

Bedford, Eſſex, Brooke, Warwick,
Say and Seal, Mandeville, Savile.

This is the important Letter which moſt Authors make mention of, but none ever ſaw, and all are miſtaken in. *Welwood* ſays twelve Noblemen ſign'd it; Mr. *Acherley* puts the Earl of *Mulgrave*, Earl of *Clare*, and Earl of *Bolingbroke*'s Hands to it, as alſo the Hands of ſeveral *Leading Commoners*; whereas in Fact there were no Hands to it but thoſe of the ſeven Lords above-mention'd; and it is uncertain whether thoſe Hands were counterfeited by Lord *Savile* himſelf, or Mr. *Henry Darley*. They were afterwards cut out by Sir *Archibald Johnſtoun* who had the Original, and reſtor'd to every one of thoſe Lords his Name. *Darley* carry'd Sir *Archibald*'s Letter ſign'd *Nathaniel Black* to Lord *Savile* from the Lord *Lowdon*; and this Letter pretended to be from the ſeven Lords, is doubtleſs addreſs'd to Mr. *Darley*, who had been with thoſe Lords, as well as with *Savile*. It is evidently written to an *Engliſhman* and no Peer, to ſhun the Danger of Correſpondence with the *Scots*. There is no Inſcription to it; *Darnley* it ſeems ſhun'd that; however, he went poſt with it, inclos'd in *Savile*'s Letter, to the *Scots* on the Borders. The Lord *Lowdon* went for *Scotland* about the 28th of *June*, before *Savile*'s pretended Letter cou'd be procur'd; and it is probable both the Letters, the pretended one, and his own long Letter, which was very particular, were written in *Yorkſhire* the 8th of *July*: The latter having the Authority of the other Letter, with the Lords Names to it, was without doubt a much greater Aſſurance to them, and the Hinge upon which that great Affair turn'd. A.D.1640.

The Lords whom Mr. *Darley* had been with, refus'd to give any Thing under their Hands in anſwer to Sir *Archibald Johnſtoun*'s Letter. They agreed in promiſing the *Scots* all good Offices and Services upon Occaſion, in general Terms, but never came to Particulars, nor to a formal *Invitation*, much leſs to any Compact ſign'd by them. However, the Lord *Savile* who knew their good Intentions, reſolv'd to make the moſt of it, and he and *Darley* concerted the two Letters which *Savile* worded. His Deſign was to bring the *Scots* in, to proſecute and deſtroy the Earl of *Strafford* as an *Incendiary*, and then to betray thoſe Lords to the King, which he did afterwards, when *Strafford* was beheaded, and inſtigated his Majeſty to try them for High-Treaſon upon the very Letter he himſelf had counterfeited; and it was to procure that Letter, that King *Charles* went to *Scotland* in *Auguſt* 1641; which tho' he fail'd in, yet he diſcover'd ſo much of the pretended Correſpondence, as to form a Charge of High-Treaſon upon it againſt the Lord *Mandeville*, call'd alſo *Kimbolton*, and five Members of the Houſe of Commons, and enter'd their Houſe with an arm'd Force to ſeize them; and that his ſo doing brought on the Civil War, is agreed on all Hands. *Saville* wrote Letters to all the Lords on purpoſe to get Anſwers to them, and by their Names to thoſe Anſwers, he ſo well counterfeited the Names of the ſeveral Lords, that when thoſe Lords afterwards ſaw their pretended Hand-writing, they declar'd, ev'ry one of them, they cou'd not ſwear they did not write their Names, tho' they cou'd ſwear they had ſign'd no ſuch Letter. What follows is the Letter of poſitive Aſſurance and Particulars, written by Lord *Saville* to Lord *Lowdon*.

To the Right Honourable John, *&c.*
The reſt is cut out.

Right Honourable,

‘ HOW much more ſafe it were for me to ‘ have attended you in Perſon with Aſſurance ‘ of Liberty, than to be here in perpetual Danger ‘ of Conſtraint upon the leaſt Colour of Suſpicion, ‘ your Lordſhip, who have lately taſted the Fruits ‘ of our *Engliſh* Juſtice, will eaſily imagine. Yet ‘ conſulting with ſome Friends of yours here, who ‘ know the many Dependancies upon me, and Op- ‘ portunities of doing Service; whereas it is con- ‘ ceiv'd my Preſence wou'd be very neceſſary, and ‘ that by my Perſon I can contribute nothing more ‘ than what is compris'd in this Paper, it was ‘ concluded by an unanimous Conſent, that it was ‘ very requiſite for me to defer my coming till ‘ ſome other Time; and thus in Submiſſion to ‘ this Reſolution, I ſhall faithfully and fully give ‘ Anſwer to ſuch Particulars of the Letter as I ‘ conceive are of moſt Conſequence for your ‘ Knowledge and my Diſcharge.

‘ Your Lordſhip may remember that it was the ‘ 27th of *June* e're you did communicate the Let- ‘ ter unto me; the next Day was to be ſet apart ‘ for hearing of the Word and Prayer; two Days ‘ more were ſpent in *London*, to let your Friends

‘ know

*A.D.*1640. ‘ know the State of your Affairs, and to ſettle a ‘ Way of giving them certain and ſpeedy Intelli- ‘ gence of your Proceedings; five Days more ‘ were ſpent on my Journey into my own Coun- ‘ try, ſo as I have neglected but three Days, and ‘ I preſume you will not ſay they were alto- ‘ gether neglected, when you have perus'd this ‘ together with the inclos'd. I conceive the main ‘ Scope of your Letter, Lord *Wariſton*'s, may ‘ be compris'd under theſe two Heads, A fair ‘ Call before your Entry, and a Concurrence ‘ after. In anſwer to the firſt of theſe, I ſhall ‘ refer you to the inclos'd, which doth fully ‘ explain their own Senſe, and is the beſt Index ‘ of their Hearts, rather than to cloath their Ex- ‘ preſſions with any Language of my own. And ‘ thus much, my Lord, let me tell you, that altho' ‘ it be not the Way which your Letter doth de- ‘ ſire, yet upon a due Conſideration of the State ‘ of our Government, it was thought by *wiſe Men*, ‘ and I am perſuaded your Lordſhip will approve ‘ of it as more ſafe, more juſt, more honourable ‘ for them, and no leſs effectual and powerful for ‘ both our Ends, than your own. And good, my ‘ Lord, let not petty Jealouſies, or improbable ‘ Fears, retard ſo good a Buſineſs for the *Church* ‘ *of God* and our Common Liberties, as by his ‘ Providence is ſo near at this Time, if it pleaſe ‘ God that you ſpeed your Entry at or near the ‘ Time prefix'd in your Letter. And I beſeech you ‘ not to imagine that it is for fear of their Perſons ‘ being known, that they refuſe to be the Callers ‘ of you in, or Contractors before-hand for either ‘ Men or Money, or any other Supply, but only ‘ to keep their Conſciences and Honour clear; ‘ for their Perſons are mutually engag'd one to a- ‘ nother, upon the firſt Aſſurance of your Entry ‘ into this Kingdom, to unite themſelves into a ‘ conſiderable Body, and to draw up a Remon- ‘ ſtrance to be preſented to the King, wherein ‘ they will comprize yours and their own juſt Grie- ‘ vances, and require a mutual Redreſs. And ‘ now, my Lord, for your Satisfaction in Point of ‘ Concurrence, give me Leave to tell you that ‘ all my Intelligence is calculated only for the Me- ‘ ridian of *Yorkſhire*, and the more Southern Parts; ‘ for till your Entry there, you muſt expect great ‘ Difficulties, becauſe there are many Papiſts in ‘ thoſe Parts, whom none can make Friends to ‘ the Cauſe. But, alas! my Lord, What can that ‘ Number do againſt your Army, if it be ſo great ‘ as it is mention'd in the Letter, and that you ‘ make a ſpeedy Entry before they can be in a ‘ Readineſs? Grumble and mutter they may per- ‘ adventure, fight they dare not; but I ſhall pro- ‘ ceed briefly to relate Things as they appear to ‘ me upon my beſt Enquiry.

Theſe are certain.

1. ‘ In the Judgments of all that I have met ‘ with, it is approv'd that your Army and Entry ‘ are the ſole and principal Means in any Proba- ‘ bility to effectuate both our Deſires.

2. ‘ That if we claſh one againſt another, or be ‘ divided one from another, we are in extreme Pe- ‘ ril to be both loſt.

3. ‘ That ſome *Covenant* of mutual Defence of ‘ the Religion and Liberties already eſtabliſh'd in ‘ both Kingdoms, is alſo abſolutely neceſſary to ‘ be drawn up and ſubſcrib'd by both of us. And ‘ it is deſir'd that you will be pleas'd (as better ‘ vers'd in Buſineſſes of this Nature) to do it, and ‘ to tender it to all *Engliſh* as you march along; ‘ and it is preſum'd many are very ready to join ‘ with you in it.

Before your Entry theſe things are done.

‘ *Biron*'s Troops in *Carliſle* have no Saddles, nor ‘ ſhall have any; 800 of the beſt have no Piſtols, ‘ nor ſhall have any.

‘ There's already of the King's Money about *A.D.*1640. ‘ 2000 *l.* which before you can come, in an ordi- ‘ nary March, will be perhaps double or treble ‘ that Sum. 'Tis intended for you, which you ‘ ſhall have notice of at your firſt coming into the ‘ Country, where it will be in a Readineſs; which ‘ will be a good leading Caſe to the whole King- ‘ dom.

Theſe Things are intended, and probable after your Entry.

‘ That the Sheriff and Gentry will for the Se- curity of their Wives and Children and Eviden- ‘ ces ſeize upon *York* or *Hull*, or both, whereby ‘ the King will be diſappointed of a great Part of ‘ his Strength, which he depends upon there, and ‘ your Way made open: That the Lords, as I for- ‘ merly mention'd, will upon the firſt Certainty of ‘ your Entry join together, as is touch'd in their ‘ Letter.

‘ That ſome Troops of Horſe, the Number ‘ whereof is not yet certain, and a Regiment of ‘ Foot, beſides particular Perſons out of every Re- ‘ giment, will turn to you.

‘ That the Gentry will be willing to afford you ‘ Victuals in a plentiful manner, and the meaner ‘ Sort upon very eaſy Conditions.

‘ I am likewiſe to recommend unto you from ‘ your Friends in the *South* theſe enſuing ‘ Conſiderations, which they conceive will be ‘ of good Advantage to you for the perfect- ‘ ing your Deſign.

1. ‘ That upon your Entry you ſhould march ‘ with all poſſible Speed to *London*, where the ‘ Lords and City will be ready to receive and join ‘ with you.

2. ‘ That in the Way, eſpecially at firſt, you ‘ ſhou'd forbear to take any thing from any, whe- ‘ ther *Prelate* or *Papiſt*, without their Conſent and ‘ Payment for it; for theſe Reaſons, becauſe your ‘ Friends do make account to ſend you back when ‘ the Work is done, with a liberal Recompenſe ‘ for your Charges; and they conceive it will be ‘ more for your Honour to have leſs with Love ‘ and Juſtice, than more with Violence and Op- ‘ preſſion; as alſo to take away the Scandal A- ‘ broad and here at Home, by thoſe who yet ſtand ‘ well-affected to you. The firſt Impreſſions laſt ‘ long, and make a great Noiſe; therefore good, ‘ my Lord, let your firſt Approaches be fair and ‘ ſweet according to your Declaration.

3. ‘ That where you hear there are any conſi- derable Bodies of Men, that you wou'd ſend to ‘ them, and let them know your Unwillingneſs to ‘ fight with any in this Quarrel, coming in for our ‘ Good as well as your own, and ſend them your ‘ Declaration to that Purpoſe. But if any be ſo ‘ mad as to aſſault you, ſpare them not; and be ‘ aſſur'd it will not make it a national Quarrel, ‘ becauſe the Army is patch'd up of *Strangers*, *Pa- ‘ piſts*, and the *SCUM* of the Country, which if ‘ your Swords prevent not, will undoubtedly die ‘ in a *Halter*; ſo as in my poor Skill I cannot ſee ‘ any Danger, nor any Doubt of good Succeſs, ‘ but a happy Deliverance of the poor impriſon'd ‘ and fetter'd Goſpel in both Kingdoms, and a juſt ‘ Judgment upon the Authors of theſe deſperate ‘ Counſels. My Lord, I ſhall humby beg for my- ‘ ſelf, that the Bearer hereof may be return'd with ‘ all poſſible Speed and Secreſy, and an undoubt- ‘ ed Aſſurance of your Reſolutions, becauſe I am ‘ to tranſmit it into the *South* with all Speed. Thus ‘ preſuming of your Favour herein, I reſt your ‘ Lordſhip's Servant, *MUM*.

P. S. *Let us hear the certain Day of your begin- ning to march.*

This encouraging Letter from the Lord *Savile* to the Lord *Lowdon*, animated the *Scots* to march far

A.D.1640. far into *England*; moſt of the Subſtance of it is his own Invention, eſpecially about the Money and the King's Horſe at *Carliſle*. His Advice, probably then real, is good, but when it had had the Succeſs he deſir'd, the *Scots* and their Friends were to be ſacrific'd to his Ambition; and, as has been obſerv'd, he was ſo treacherous as to adviſe the King to proſecute the Lords on the Letter himſelf had forg'd. The *Scots* not haſtening their March as was expected, one of their Chiefs receiv'd this Letter:

Worthy Sir,

SUCH is our Affection to your Cauſe, and Care of your Affair, that nothing hath been omitted which might conduce to the Furtherance of your Deſign, nor the Diſcharge of our own Promiſes. But your often failing in Point of Entrance after ſolemn Engagements by Word and Writ, hath poſſeſs'd the moſt of us with a juſt Jealouſy that you are hatching your own Peace, which hath deaded the Hearts of all your Friends, diſabled the moſt active to do you any farther Service, and diſappointed yourſelves of near 10000 *Pounds, which was provided and kept for you till you had twice fail'd, and that there was little or no Hope of your coming. The Lord hath given you Favour in the Eyes of the People, ſo as I know not whether they are more incens'd againſt our own Soldiers, or deſirous of yours. If you really intend to come, ſtrike while the Iron is hot; if you be uncertain what to reſolve, let us know it, that we may ſecure our Lives, tho' we hazard our Eſtates by retiring. Here is no Body of an Army to interrupt you, no Ordnance to diſmay you; no Money to pay our own; the City hath once more refus'd to lend, the Train'd-Bands to be preſs'd; the Country ſtorms at the billetting of Soldiers; Quarrels ariſe every Day about it. If you have a good Cauſe, why do you ſtand ſtill? If a bad, why have you come ſo far? Either die or do, and ſo you ſhall be Sons of Valour.* P. S. *If there be any Thing of Conſequence, you ſhall have ſpeedy Intelligence of it.*

Your Friend,
J. H. R.

This Letter was dated the 9th, and they enter'd *England* the 21ſt of *Auguſt*. It is not known who ſent it, but it ſeem'd to quicken the *Scots* Motions, falling into the Hands of Lord *Wariſton**. We muſt leave the *Scots* making Preparations for this March, and return to the Affairs of *England*, where we find

Edward Bagſhaw Eſq; Reader of the *Middle-Temple*, fallen into the Diſpleaſure of Archbiſhop *Laud* for reading on the Statute of 25 *Edward* III. and ſaying, *An Act of Parliament wou'd be good without Aſſent of the* Biſhops, *and that no benefic'd Clerk* was by the Law capable of *temporal Juriſdiction*. Thus the making Dr. *Juxon* Lord High-Treaſurer was againſt Law; and indeed it is amazing how *Juxon* cou'd be ſo impos'd upon by *Laud*, as to accept of ſuch a troubleſome temporal Office, when he had upon him ſo many Calls of the Holy Ghoſt to Spiritual Functions; for whatever my Judgment is of ſuch Calls, otherwiſe than eſtabliſh'd by Cuſtom and Law, theſe Men aſſert they are purely Divine, as is indeed the due Diſcharge of their Vocation; ſo weighty, that in the Language of the Fathers, it ſhou'd make Angels tremble. *Doit faire trembler les Anges*, ſaid a *French* Papiſt. But inſtead of trembling under the Burden of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and a Governor of ſeven or eight hundred other Miniſters, Dr. *Juxon* claps the whole Load of the Treaſury upon his Shoulders; and inſtead of trembling, is in much Eaſe and Joy. The Archbiſhop procur'd an Order for ſilencing Mr. *Bagſhaw*; but the Gentlemen of the *Temple* were ſo far from thinking the worſe of him, that when he went out of Town ſome time after, he was accompany'd with forty or fifty Horſe of that honourable Society.

Mr. Bagſhaw *perſecuted by* Laud.

Salm. 169.

A.D.1640.

Lord *Lowdon* ſtaid not long in *London* after the Marquis of *Hamilton* got his Diſcharge, as is ſeen by Lord *Savile*'s Letter. *Echard* thinks the Favour ſhewn *Lowdon* in not cutting off his Head after he was ſent to the *Tower*, was very impolitick. The Treaſon was for tranſcribing a Letter which was never ſent, addreſs'd *AU ROY*; *a Stile only us'd from Subjects to their natural King*, according to his wiſe Obſervation; whereas the Stile is always us'd by ev'ry one who has Occaſion to write to the King of *France*, whether *Frenchman* or Foreigner. His Obſervation is as wiſe which refers to Cardinal *Richlieu*'s fomenting the *Scottiſh* Troubles to revenge the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Expedition at *Rhe*, which had been ſufficiently reveng'd by the Infamy of it; whereas nothing is plainer than that *Richlieu* gave the King what Trouble he cou'd, in Reſentment of the Queen's ſupporting her Mother *Mary de Medicis* to the utmoſt of her Ability; and every good Office done that Princeſs, grated the very Soul of the implacable Cardinal, who perſecuted her to Death. The reverend Author proceeds in the ſame Degree of Wiſdom, *The threatning Inſults from the* North, *caus'd the King to reſolve upon new Meaſures*, the very ſame as he took laſt Year, to raiſe an Army, march them to the *North*, and return again to *London*, tho' not with ſo much ſaving to his Honour as the laſt Campaign: *And as if the* Oracle *of* Delphos *was to be conſulted, the great Lord-Lieutenant of* Ireland *was ſent for over.* It is wonderfully pleaſant; *Great was the Expectation of all the* Engliſh, *what might be the Effect of his Arrival, and great was the Opinion which Men had generally conceiv'd of his Parts*; which he explains well enough a Line or two after: ſome ſaid freely, *He was ſent for only to compleat that bad Work which others of leſs Brains than he had begun. Larrey* tells us, *The Applauſe that was given him, came only from the Mouths of his Creatures*; and that *in* Ireland *he employ'd his Time in making ſecret Levies of Men and Money to aſſiſt the King againſt the* Scots *Presbyterians*; *that he oblig'd all the* Scots *who had Habitations or Eſtates in* Ireland, *to take an Oath quite contrary to the Covenant*; *and that he turn'd the Lord-Chancellor* Loftus *out of his Office, for not aſſiſting in raiſing Troops*, &c. It was prov'd againſt *Strafford*, that he gave the King this dangerous and treaſonable Advice as ſoon as he came over, *Sir, you have tried your People, and are denied by them*; *therefore you are clear before God and Man, if you make uſe of other Means for your Supply*; *you have an Army in* Ireland. This is the Counſel of the Archdeacon's *Oracle* of *Delphos*; he might as well have call'd him the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*. The *Scots* were well acquainted with the Advice he had given his Majeſty to treat them as *Rebels*; upon which they join'd heartily in that Proſecution which ended in cutting off the Head of this *Delphian Oracle*, who by his Conduct in *Ireland* had ſo rais'd the Spirits of the Papiſts, that they ſoon after made

Why Richlieu *hated* K. Charles.

Strafford.

Vol. II. *p.* 14.

Ludlow, Ruſhw. Whitl. &c.

* *Theſe Original Papers relating to the Affairs of* Scotland, *carry with them ſufficient Evidence of their Truth: But if that ſhou'd ever be call'd in queſtion, they will be ſo well vouch'd, as will leave no room for Suſpicion, and be much to the Confuſion of thoſe who ſuſpected it. 'Twill by this appear how hard it is to come at the Truth even in Things of the greateſt Importance; for neither* Welwood *nor even Biſhop* Burnet, *who wou'd not have ſunk what they had known, nor* Clarendon *nor* Echard, *who probably wou'd have told us no more than made for their Purpoſe, had Knowledge of theſe Matters juſt as they paſt. The lateſt Account, Mr.* Acherley's, *is the beſt, yet it is not perfect nor full.*

*A.D.*1640. a bold and bloody Attempt to extirpate the whole Generation of Proteſtants in that Kingdom by a general Maſſacre. *He adviſ'd the King,* ſays the *French* Hiſtorian, *to keep an equal Balance between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants; but the former who already were too powerful, abus'd the Favour, and the Event ſhew'd that* Strafford *cou'd not have given more pernicious Counſel.* One wou'd think *Echard* had taken his Panegyrick on *Wentworth,* from *Gregorio Leti,* who writes, that in the Opinion of the *Engliſh, Strafford* was the greateſt Politician in the World; and a few Pages after gives us an Account of *Oliver Cromwel*'s Diſcourſe with Cardinal *Richlieu* at *Paris,* of his Entertainment at that Court, and of his quitting it after he had got a Baſtard on a Wench upon Promiſe of Marriage. It is great pity thoſe excellent Memoirs of his had not fallen into the Archdeacon's Hands, he might have outdone himſelf in copying after ſo catholick and ſo ſincere an Hiſtorian.

P. 12.

Life of Cromw. 137.

Parliament.

To carry on this ſecond War with the *Scots,* a Parliament was call'd after a very diſorderly manner; according to *Echard, Many Pulpits were employ'd by the* Scots *Faction to obtain their Ends, and no Pains ſpar'd in packing of Voices, which were often ſo violent, that theſe Meetings for Elections appear'd more like riotous Tumults.* Falſe beyond Conception! What need all this Stir when the Nation had ſo long lain under Oppreſſion, and were generally averſe to the Miniſters, who had been the Occaſion of it? It therefore did not require much Pains to get ſuch a Repreſentative as wou'd inſiſt on the Redreſs of Grievances, which were continu'd notwithſtanding the Parliament was ſo ſoon to meet. *The Court,* ſays he, *ſtill proceeded in the ſame unpopular Ways,* Ship-Money *was levy'd with the ſame Severity, and the ſame Rigor us'd in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, without complying with the Humour of any Man*; which happy Temper appear'd at the Opening of the Seſſion the 13th of *April,* when his Majeſty rode in State to *Weſtminſter,* to hear a Sermon preach'd by *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely,* one of the moſt obnoxious Prelates in the Kingdom. The Two Houſes being met, he made a ſhort Speech to them, and referr'd them to another obnoxious Perſon the Lord-Keeper *Finch,* who ſucceeded *Coventry.* This Keeper began his Oration with a Piece of Eloquence which the Archdeacon is extreamly taken with: "His Majeſty's kingly Reſo-"lutions are ſeated in the Ark of his ſacred Breaſt, "and it were too high a Preſumption for any *Uz-*"*zah* uncall'd to touch it. Therefore you are to "remember, that tho' the King ſometimes lays by "the Beams and Rays of Majeſty, yet he never "lays by Majeſty itſelf." He then laid before them the tranſcendent Happineſs of the Nation, which will be preſently ſet forth in the Houſe of Commons. He repreſented the *Scots* as ſo many REBELS, *whom the King was reſolv'd to reduce,* and demanded immediate Aid before they enter'd upon *Grievances.* They had the prettieſt dictating Way with them. When he had ended his Speech, the King re-aſſum'd his, to give them an Account of the Letter he had intercepted, directed to the *French* King, which the Lord-Keeper wou'd read to them. He told them he had ſecur'd one of the Parties concern'd in the *Tower.* The Lord-Keeper holding the Letter folded, read the Superſcription, *Au Roy*; and then raiſing his Voice very theatrically, ſaid, *None but the* French *can write ſuch a Superſcription to the* French *King; and whoever writes ſo, acknowledges the King they addreſs to for their Sovereign.* Here's *Logick* as well as *Rhetorick!* Does every Foreigner who addreſſes to the King of *England* thus *AU ROY,* TO THE KING, acknowledge him to be his Sovereign? Does not Monſieur *Voltaire* in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to the *Henriade,* ſay *To the Queen?* Yet as boyiſh as this Reaſoning is, 'tis gravely continu'd by *Finch* before the moſt illuſtrious Aſſembly in the World, *Therefore theſe Words are ſufficient to convict the* Scots *of Felony,* and hang them all. This Acting is not yet over. Then the Lord-Keeper read the Letter itſelf, and expatiated upon it, to prove the Treaſon of the Lords who ſubſcribed it; concluding with the Neceſſity the King lay under to prevent the Conſpirators, and conſequently how neceſſary it was for the Parliament to aſſiſt him with Money. The wiſe Miniſters did not once think the Artifice of the Letter ſtar'd both Houſes in the Face. That the News was ſtale to them, and the Majority of both Houſes were by no Means in any Diſpoſition to look on their *Scots* Neighbours as *Rebels* and *Traytors.* *Larrey* writes, *All theſe Springs were play'd to no Purpoſe. The Commons were determin'd, and nothing cou'd make them alter their Reſolution* to have Grievances precede Supply. I can't write this Incident no more than I cou'd have ſeen it without laughing, to ſee the Lord-Keeper gravely folding up the Letter, then turning *AU ROY* to the Lords and Commons; then the King ſpeaking to it; then the Keeper ſpeaking again to it; when all the while it was a Farce in the Opinion of that auguſt Aſſembly. *A.D.*1640.

Prevarication.

P. 394.

Tyrannical Proceedings.

The Commons choſe Serjeant *Glanville* their Speaker, who has much Laud from the Archdeacon; but he omits that he had all along been a great Oppoſer of the Illegalities and Irregularities of this Adminiſtration, and was gain'd by the Court the ſame Way as had before been try'd upon *Wentworth* and *Noy* with Succeſs, and upon *Elliot* and *Pym* with none; but ſucceeded afterwards on the Lord *Falkland,* Sir *John Colepepyr,* the Lord *Digby,* Sir *Ralph Hopton,* Sir *John Strangeways,* Sir *Robert Holburn,* and eſpecially Mr. *Edward Hyde.* *Whitlocke* informs us, "*Glanville* had engag'd to be a "better Servant to the King than formerly; he "was very active to promote his Majeſty's De-"ſires, whereof he gave ſufficient Teſtimony, and "of the Change of his former Opinion." Secretary *Windebank* acquainted the Houſe with the Examination of the Lord *Lowdon*; more of it ſtill; ſaying, *He own'd the Letter, but with Prevarication.* We have ſeen the contrary, and that inſtead of denying the Letter, the *Scots* juſtify'd it as a national Act and recriminated. *Acherley* ſays, *the Turn which the* Scots *gave to it, took off all Impreſſion, ſo it fell to the Ground, and was never more ſpoken of.* The Happineſſes which *Finch* the Lord-Keeper had juſt been declaiming upon, and which the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* declaim upon eternally, ſhin'd out moſt glorioufly in a Heap of Petitions deliver'd to the Houſe of Commons by ſeveral Knights of the Shires, complaining of *Ship-money, Projects, Monopolies, Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion, Spiritual Courts,* &c. Mr. *Harbottle Grimſton,* Speaker of the Houſe of Commons that call'd home the King, ſaid, *The Dangers at home are greater than thoſe from abroad, and the Diſeaſes and Diſtempers in the Body politick are grown to the Height, that for a Cure Examples ought to be made.* Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke againſt the Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, for want of which the *Commonwealth was in its gaſping Extremities.* Mr. *Pym,* who, according to Mr. *Echard, was a Man of publick Reputation and long Experience in Parliaments,* made an elaborate Speech againſt Grievances, *the long Intervals of Parliaments, Innovations in Religion,* and *Invaſions on Property.* Mr. *Grimſton,* afterwards Maſter of the *Rolls,* inſiſted upon the *irregular and prepoſterous engaging the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the Lawfulneſs of Ship-Money.* Read what *Warwick* ſays of the Learning and Integrity of thoſe Judges on this Occaſion, and then make a Judgment of that ingenious Writer both as to Capacity and Sincerity. Mr. *Peard* called *Ship-Money* an Abomination, and therefore *Clarendon* and *Echard* call him a *bold Lawyer of ſmall Note.* One Sign of it was, that his Borough ſent him up to *Weſtminſter* again the

P. 50, 51.

very

A.D.1640. very next Parliament. The Attorney-General anſwer'd all Arguments as faſt as he cou'd have the hearing of them, if you will believe the Archdeacon, eſpecially as to Ship-Money; and IF *Peard* had been *reprimanded, it wou'd have been very ſeverely.* We ſhall ſee how eaſy it was to anſwer Law and Reaſon, when this hated Tax is brought upon the Stage again. The Houſe enquir'd into the Proceedings againſt Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Hollis*, and the impriſon'd Members; nay, they were ſo preſumptuous, as to bring Sir *John Finch* their late Speaker into queſtion for leaving the Chair; and, ſays the reverend Hiſtorian, voted it *a particular Breach of Privilege, tho' he did it by the King's ſpecial Command.* If he had learn'd any thing of the Conſtitution by having turn'd over ſo much Hiſtory, he wou'd have known that Thought of his to have been the moſt abſurd that ever an Hiſtorian was guilty of. The King had no Commands to lay on the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons as their Speaker, and conſequently *Finch*'s leaving the Chair contrary to the Command of the Houſe, whoſe Servant he was, muſt be a particular Breach of Privilege.

Finch queſtion'd.

Six or ſeven Days after the Lords and Commons were ſummon'd to attend the King at the *Banquetting-Houſe*, where he order'd the Lord-Keeper to acquaint them, that *his Army intended againſt the* Scots *ſtood him in* 100000 l. *a Month*; *that he had expended his own Money as well as the* Ship-Money *for that End*; *that the* Parliament *in* Ireland *had given him* 500000 l *and after a Supply was granted, he wou'd give a gracious Ear to Grievances if they were juſt*; a Word which in itſelf is affirmative, and as good and ſignificant as any in Language; but in this King's and his Miniſters Stile, it is a *Negative*, and ſignifies *I will not do it unleſs I think fit*; for who was to judge whether thoſe Grievances were juſt or not? the very Perſons *Laud, Strafford*, &c. who were the Occaſion of them. On the Report of the Keeper's Speech made next Day, *Edmund Waller* Eſq; one of the fineſt Wits of the Age, ſpoke boldly and elegantly, charging *the Biſhops and Miniſters with a Deſign to ſet up a new Species of abſolute Monarchy*; and concluding with a Motion that there might be an Order immediately made, *That the firſt Thing the Houſe ſhou'd conſider of, ſhou'd be the reſtoring the Nation in general to their fundamental and vital Liberties, and then conſider of a Supply.* The Court cou'd not bear to hear talk of Liberties inſtead of Supplies; and the King coming to the Houſe of Lords, deſir'd them *to adviſe the Houſe of Commons to give Precedence to Supply*; which was ſo irregular, that a Novice in the Conſtitution cou'd not but be ſurpriz'd at it. The Commons immediately declar'd, that by their undoubted fundamental Right, all Supplies ought to have their Riſe, Progreſs, and whole modelling in their Houſe; which Right had never been infring'd or ſo much as queſtion'd by the Lords. *Echard* tells us, that inſtead of *complying*, the Commons rais'd an *unſeaſonable Diſpute*, which ended in an Acknowledgment of their Privileges by the Houſe of Peers, who were ſenſible of the Error into which the King had drawn them. His Majeſty was ſtill impatient for the Money, and the Parliament cou'd not but ſuſpect that as ſoon as they had given it, they wou'd be diſmiſs'd as their Predeceſſors had been. To quicken the Supply, he took a Method which the Archdeacon ſays was *believ'd wou'd not fail of Succeſs.* The *Wiſe Men* who contriv'd this and the like Meſſages, might believe ſo, but no other Mortal who underſtood any thing of Affairs. Sir *Henry Vane* was order'd to ſhew the *Neceſſity of a Supply.* Had there been a Neceſſity for the War, a Supply wou'd have been neceſſary: But other Sort of wiſe Men argu'd thus; "If the *Scots* were "not *Slaves*, what they did for Recovery of their "Liberties was not illegal; and if what they ſo "did was no Wrong, then a War made upon "them with *Engliſh* Forces, was to ſubdue them, "and compel them to ſubmit as *Slaves* to what "was illegal, and as ſuch unjuſt, and cou'd end in "nothing but ſupporting that illegal, unlimited "Power which equally preſs'd *England.* Again; "Such a War is in Effect to impoſe a Law that "a Man ſhall not defend his Perſon againſt Wounds "and Impriſonment, nor his Property againſt De-"predations, or the Laws or Conſtitutions of his "Country againſt ſuch as wou'd illegally ſubvert "them, all which wou'd in any Man's own Caſe "appear monſtrous. Again; It was urg'd the "King had no more Right to uſe the Forces of "*England* to make War upon his *Scots* Subjects, "than he had to call *French* Armies to make War "upon the *Engliſh* People to enſlave them, by "ſupporting with thoſe Forces his *Prerogative* "*Impoſition* of Taxes, *Ship-Money*, *Tonnage*, "*Poundage*, &c. And upon the Premiſes, the "Concluſion was evident, that a War upon the "*Scots* to ſupport ſuch a Prerogative was unjuſt; "and if ſo, the *Neceſſity of Supplies* to raiſe an Ar-"my vaniſh'd." The other Meſſage brought them, was a Demand of twelve Subſidies at once. *Echard* tells us it was but 800000 *l.* and conſidering his Majeſty offer'd to forbear the levying of Ship-Money, which he had no Right to levy, he thinks it a very reaſonable and healing Propoſal. The learned *Acherley* writes, *Now the Vizor was pull'd off, and the Myſtery reveal'd: It appear'd that the* Neceſſity *ſo much inſiſted upon, was a mere Fiction, removeable at Pleaſure; for here was a Price of twelve Subſidies ſet upon it, and for that Sum the King wou'd part with the Pretence, and the Nation ſhou'd never ſuffer again under* Neceſſity. *The Conſequence whereof was, that a Parliament of Judges cou'd give the King a* preſent Neceſſity, *which the Parliament of* England *muſt buy off at the Rate of twelve Subſidies.* The ſame judicious Lawyer ſhews how this *pretended Neceſſity* ſtood with reſpect to the *Scots*; "The King needed no Force, for he "had all the Power to obviate the War in him-"ſelf, if he wou'd pleaſe to revoke his own Edicts, "and declare them illegal, and wou'd diſclaim the "*pretended Prerogative* by which they were made, "and make the Puniſhment of the Adviſers exem-"plary; it wou'd remove the Cauſe, and then the "War, which was the Effect, wou'd, for want "of Fuel, dye and be extinguiſh'd." This ſober Reaſoning cuts off a great Part of the fine Reflections in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion.* It is own'd there, that the Grievances complain'd of were real, that *Reſiſtance* in caſe of tyrannical Oppreſſion was lawful; but when Complaint is made, it is *aſperſing*; it is *ſeditious*; when any Thing is done to put a Stop to them, it is *Rebellion*; when Money is wanted to ſupport Profuſion and Luxury, and enrich Favourites, it is *Neceſſity*; when the Power of imperious Prelates is in Exerciſe, it is the *Church*; and ſo in other Inſtances, equally vain and impertinent. The Offer to give up *Ship-Money*, was mightily cry'd up by Sir *John Wray* and other Members; but the unreaſonable Demand of twelve Subſidies, gave great Diſtaſte to the major Part of the Houſe. Sir *Henry Vane* was cenſur'd for demanding *twelve* when his Commiſſion was but for *ſix*; and it was ſaid he did it on purpoſe to raiſe Animoſities in the Houſe, with Intention to cauſe a Diviſion between the King and them; for he inform'd his Majeſty at the ſame time they wou'd give nothing. The Story of Mr. *Hyde*'s endeavouring to ſoften Matters, Serjeant *Glanville*'s wheedling Speech to forward the Supply, Mr. *Waller*'s Diſcourſe with Sir *Thomas Jermin*, to perſuade him to diſown *Vane*'s Demand as a Privy-Counſellor, the Sollicitor *Herbert*'s ſeconding Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Henry* and *Herbert*'s cauſing the King to diſſolve the Parliament, is told as largely in the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, as

A.D.1640.

Biſhops charg'd with ſubverting the Conſtitution.

The Lords drawn into an Error by the King

Ach. 396.

The King's War with the Scots *unjuſt.*

are

A.D.1640. are all Stories which the Author of it had a hand in. But the true Repreſentation of the Matter is as follows: Upon Sir *Henry Vane*'s telling the King he muſt expect no Money from the Parliament to carry on the War againſt the *Scots*, the Miniſters were much perplex'd and uneaſy; but that which ripen'd their Reſolutions to diſſolve them, was an Information given the King, that the Commons intended to enquire into, and as my Author terms it, anathematize the Cauſes of the War againſt Ach. 40. *Scotland*, for which the Supplies were demanded. In this Enquiry his Majeſty's aſſum'd *Power* to impoſe the Taxes of *Ship-Money*, &c. wou'd doubtleſs have paſs'd under Examination, and therefore it was obvious, the Commons, to blaſt the Deſign, wou'd vote, *That a* War *upon the* Scots *was unjuſt*. The King for that Reaſon, early the next Morning, *May* the 5th, ſent for the Speaker to attend him, and took Care he ſhou'd go with his Majeſty to the Houſe of Peers, upon an Apprehenſion that if the Speaker had gone to the Houſe of Commons, that Houſe wou'd have enter'd on the Debate, and ſhut their Doors; and before they cou'd be fetch'd to the Upper-Houſe, wou'd paſs that Vote, beſides entring on ſome ungrateful Diſcourſes which the Miniſters were unwilling to hear. The King following cloſe after the Speaker, ſent immediately the Uſher of the *Black-Rod* to bring up the Commons to attend him in the Houſe of Lords, where he treated them with an abrupt haſty Diſſolution after a Sitting of twenty-two Days, without doing one publick Act. The learned Author adds, *Tho' by this* fourth *Repetition of his Power*, in which he took infinite Delight, *all the Rights and Privileges imparted to the two Eſtates of Lords and Commons, were fruſtrated and render'd uſeleſs*. The King had no ſooner diſſolv'd the Parliament than he repented of it, but with a Penitence which was as weak as the Offence: For to repent of a Thing without Attonement to the utmoſt of one's Power, is as uſeleſs in Politicks as in Divinity. It was whimſical enough to think of recalling the ſame Parliament by Proclamation; or that a Body of Gentlemen ſo ill us'd, wou'd have met again in better Humour, had it been practicable to recal them: But a mild Declaration to excuſe that haſty Diſſolution; a ſincere Pacification with the *Scots*; a ſtop put to illegal Taxes, and to the Tyranny of the *Star-Chamber* Court, *High-Commiſſion* Court, *Spiritual* Court, with an Intimation of another Parliament to redreſs Grievances, and puniſh Delinquents, wou'd have ſhewn in the beſt manner, that his Majeſty did ſincerely repent of this Raſhneſs, wou'd have reconcil'd him to his People, have open'd their Hearts, and their Purſes, and have made him a powerful and glorious King; inſtead of which, ſeveral leading Members of both Houſes were inſulted and impriſon'd. The Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Brooks* Studies, nay, their very Pockets, were ſearch'd for Papers, the Court having violent Suſpicions that thoſe Lords and others held Correſpondence with the *Scots*, as indeed they did, and had frequent ſecret Conferences with their Commiſſioners, under Pretext of hearing their Miniſters preach. *Henry Bellaſis*, Eſq; whom the Earl of *Strafford* had proſecuted for not pulling off his Hat to him; Sir *John Hotham*, and *John Crew*, Eſq; afterwards Lord *Crew*, were thrown into Priſon. *Whitlocke* informs us who it was that adviſ'd the King to diſſolve this Parliament, which might eaſily have been brought into what Temper the King pleas'd. *The chief Blame and Odium of all was laid upon Archbiſhop* Laud, *and* P. 32. *thoſe Differences between the King and his People, which were late too much increas'd, and were hop'd might have been cemented by this Parliament, were aggravated*; *the* Scotch *Troubles, which many ſober Men expected this Parliament wou'd have appeas'd, were by the breach of it, fear'd to grow wider*. By Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Counſels alſo, the King was perſuaded to let the *Convocation* ſit after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, by a new Commiſſion; a Thing which was monſtrous in the Eyes of all thoſe who had ever look'd upon the Law: Can it be deny'd but that all the deſperate Counſels which gradually terminated in the *Civil War*, came from that prime Counſellor, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, no more fit to be a Prime Miniſter in ſuch turbulent Times, than a Madman is to look after a ſick Perſon in a *Delirium*? Can it be deny'd but that the King's Obſtinacy in purſuing his Counſels at all Ventures, was the real Cauſe of his Misfortunes and Death? The ſitting of the Convocation after the Diſſolution, muſt be the Effect of that Prelate's Wiſdom and Moderation. The Clergy, who at that Time paid him blind Obedience, were in Terms ill enough with the Laity, and their irregular Seſſion in Synod, was a ſure Method to add to the Offence which they had before plentifully given, by preaching up the King's Will for Law, and perſecuting Men of Conſcience and Piety for oppoſing *Sabbath-breaking*, and ſuperſtitious Innovations: Yet ſit they will, and make *Canons*, and raiſe Money, in Defiance of all Laws and Cuſtoms to the contrary. *Echard* aſſures us, and after that he may aſſure any Thing, the Archbiſhop boggled at the *Convocation's* ſitting, the Parliament being diſſolv'd, and that the King was the Mover in it; for he ſpares not his Majeſty. when he hopes to clear the Archbiſhop. *Whitlocke* following Truth, and the Reaſon of the Thing *aſſerts it was done chiefly by* Laud's *Counſel and Perſuaſion*. The Reverend Hiſtorian gives us the Opinion of the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and ſome other Lawyers, who were deep in *Ship-Money*, that the *Convocation* might legally ſit; as if after the twelve Judges, ſome of 'em, if not all, againſt Conſcience and Knowledge, had ſolemnly given their Opinion, that the King might raiſe Money without Conſent of Parliament, the Judgment of the Court-Lawyers had the leaſt Weight in it. *Echard* proceeds: *The Convocation went on and finiſh'd their ſeventeen Canons with as little Oppoſition as cou'd be imagin'd*: He wou'd not tell you Dr. *Brownrig*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, Mr. *Warmiſter*, excellent Divines, and two of them afterwards Fathers and Biſhops of our Proteſtant Church, and thirty-ſix Miniſters of that Synod, *earneſtly proteſted againſt the very ſitting of it*. And here we muſt not omit ſo fair an Opportunity to do Homage to the Merit of thoſe pious and learned Doctors of our National Church, who at this Time preſerv'd its Purity, amidſt *Laud*'s Innovations and Superſtitions, who bore their Teſtimony againſt his Severity, and were zealous for a *thorough Reformation*: For whereever we mention Archbiſhop *Laud*, and ſuch Eccleſiaſticks as the Majority of his Convocation conſiſted of, we do never intend the Church of *England*, as it was reform'd in King *Edward* the VIth's Reign, and as it is now in his preſent Majeſty King *GEORGE*'s; but *Laud*'s Church, as it was corrupted in the Reign we are writing.

A.D.1640. *Convocation.*

Parliament haſtily diſſolv'd.

Good Methods offer'd.

Dr. Fuller, 168. *Good Clergy.*

Member's inſulted and impriſon'd.

Laud *an Incendiary.*

In one of the *Canons*, the Convocation oblig'd the Clergy, and their Dependants, to take a ſort of *Anti-Covenanting* Oath; the Senſe of which was, that Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Church *contain'd all Things neceſſary to Salvation*; and that the Swearer wou'd never give his Conſent to *alter its Government by* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c.* Some of theſe *Canons* were for *aſſerting the Prerogative Royal*; for *the better keeping the King's Inauguration Day*; for *Rites and Ceremonies*; for *preaching up Conformity*; for *ſetting the Communion-Table, now turn'd into an Altar, to the* Eaſt, *and for railing of it in*; for *Excommunication*; for *Abſolution*; for *Commutation*; for *Marriage-Licenſes*; the latter *Ready-Money* Articles: And Archdeacon *Echard* affirms all theſe Canons were for the *Honour and Advantage of the Church and State*. Dr. *Fuller* writes, *Moſt took Exception againſt that Clauſe*

Oath.

Canons.

A.D.1639. *in the Oath.* We will never give our Conſent to alter this Church-Government; *as if the ſame were intended to abridge the Liberty of King and State in future Parliaments and Convocations, if hereafter they ſee Cauſe to change any Thing therein. And this Obligation ſeem'd the more unreaſonable, becauſe ſome of thoſe Orders ſpecify'd in the* Oath, *as* Archbiſhops, Archdeacons, *&c. ſtand only eſtabliſh'd* Jure Humano; ſo that *Echard* has no divine Right to the Archdeaconry of *Stow:* in which I ſuppoſe he diſagrees with Dr. *Fuller. No wiſe Man,* continues the Doctor, *ever deny'd but that by the ſame Power and Authority they were alterable.* Archdeacon *Echard* does not only deny, but argue againſt it with as much Argument as he has, and yet it wou'd be taken ill, if we ſhou'd not take him for a *wiſe Man.* As a Proof of it he adds, it was hop'd theſe Proceedings wou'd have *added Strength as well as Ornament to the Church:* Whereas the People were at that very Inſtant ſo exaſperated at the Inſolence of this Synod, in ſitting thus after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, that the King thought it neceſſary to appoint a Guard to defend them. *Whitlock,* who has more Truth in one Page, than there is in a hundred of *Clarendon*'s, ſpeaks of the Convocation differently from Mr. *Echard, Their Seats were not very eaſy, they were in danger of the King's Diſpleaſure if they roſe, and of the Peoples Fury if they ſate; to be beaten up by Tumults while they were at their Work, and to be beaten down next Parliament for doing of that Work.* The Reſentment of the People was ſuch againſt the Archbiſhop, whom they look'd upon as the Author of this and other evil Counſels, that 500 of them beſet his Houſe at *Lambeth,* where, according to *Echard,* he *made a reſolute Defence,* but according to *Ludlow,* he *made his Eſcape by Water.* A Cobler being taken up for this *Rebellion,* part of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, he was try'd, condemn'd, hang'd, drawn and *quarter'd:* But *Purchaſe* the Bumbailiff, who rais'd a Rebellion for *Laud*'s Church in Queen *Anne*'s Time, was try'd, condemn'd and pardon'd *Whitlock,* one of the greateſt Lawyers of the Age ſays, *there was nothing in it but the breach of the Peace, and a few Glaſs of Windows:* But as merry as he makes the Buſineſs, *Laud* let the Man be murder'd, as he muſt be, if it was breach of the Peace only; though the Lord Chancellor *Hide* in his Hiſtory, if it is his, declares, that the attacking Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Glaſs-Windows was *High-Treaſon.*

Tumult.

Laud *attack'd.* Vol. I. *P.* 143.

Ibid. *Dr* Goodman, *Biſhop of* Glouceſter.

It is not eaſy to gueſs why Dr. *Goodman,* Biſhop of *Glouceſter,* who was afterwards known to be a *Papiſt,* ſhould be the only Member of the Convocation who refus'd to ſubſcribe the *Canons.* The Archbiſhop, who was then with the Biſhops and Clergy in *Henry* the VIIths Chappel at *Weſtminſter* Abbey, preſently cry'd out, *My Lord* of Glouceſter, *I admoniſh you to Subſcribe;* he delighted wonderfully in all acts of Superiority: And again, *My Lord of* Glouceſter, *I admoniſh,* &c. And a *third* Time, as they do at *Auctions, My Lord of* Glouceſter, *I admoniſh you,* &c. The Biſhop of *Glouceſter* as often pleaded Conſcience, and the furious Archbiſhop was for ſuſpending him immediately: But moderate Biſhop *Davenant* thought it more prudent to conſult Lawyers upon the Power of a Synod in that Caſe. However the Archbiſhop, who cou'd not bear the leaſt Oppoſition to his Power or Will, haſten'd thence to the King, and as uſual, got him to command a Warrant to be iſſu'd for committing the Biſhop of *Glouceſter* to Priſon. This Convocation tax'd the Clergy Four Shillings in the Pound for Six Years, towards his War againſt the *Scots* Presbyterians. And it was but fair, that as he did every Thing for them, ſo they ſhou'd do ſomething for him. *Whitlock* tells us, this raiſing of Money *added more Fuel to the Flames already burning, and was the Subject of great Debate and Cenſure.* There is Witchery or Infatuation in their Doings. All the Actions of theſe Men were ſo daring, ſo deſperate, and tended ſo directly to Deſtruction, that the Danger, like *Cimmerian* Darkneſs, might have been felt, if they had no Eyes to ſee it. A.D.1639.

His Majeſty was very active in the Proſecution of the *Scots* War. He increas'd his *Junto* of Counſellors, that if Men and Money were wanting, there might be no want of good Council; and therefore Dr. *Juxon,* Lord High-Treaſurer, the Lord *Cottington,* and Secretary *Windebank,* are added to the *Junto,* as was alſo Sir *Henry Vane,* who however was no better than a Spy upon them, and at one of their Meetings took ſhort Notes of their Debates; which coming afterwards to his Son's Hands, were made uſe of againſt the Earl of *Strafford,* as will appear at his Tryal. *Whitlock,* whoſe Memorials are our Guide here, proceeds; *Illegal Projects for Money.*

" And now the Parliament having yielded no Sup-
" plies to the King's Occaſions, all the Wheels of
" the *Prerogative* are ſet on Motion to provide
" Money: *Knighthood* is reviv'd, all Knights and
" Gentlemen who hold Lands in *Capite* of the
" King, are ſummon'd to ſend Men, Horſe and
" Arms, agreeable to their Tenures and Qualities.
" *Ludlow* writes, all imaginable ways were us'd to
" raiſe Supplies; *Privy-Seals* ſent throughout the
" Nation for *Loan-Money* again. *Ship-Money, Coat
" and Conduct Money* were preſſed to the Height:
" Commodities taken upon Credit, and ſold for
" Ready-Money, a *Practice among Bankrupts be-
" fore they break.*" Warrants were alſo delivered
" out to preſs Men for Soldiers, *in downright Con-* *More Tyrannical Proceedings.*
" *tradiction to the* PETITION OF RIGHT.
" Braſs-Money, *&c.* The City of *London* refu-
" ſing to pay ſome of the before-mention'd Taxes,
" divers of their chief Officers were impriſon'd,
" and an Order iſſu'd to take away the Sword from
" the Lord-Mayor, Sir *Edmund Wright.*

Before we proceed further in the Second BISHOPS WAR, we muſt remember that the Earl of *Strafford* had held a Parliament in *Ireland,* where he got Supplies for an Army of 8000 Horſe and Foot, rais'd and maintain'd by ſeveral Subſidies of 40000 Pounds each; ſo intolerable a Burthen, that in about a Years Time, the King gave way to the Parliament in *Ireland* to abate them to 12000 Pounds each. *Orleans* the Jeſuit ſays, the Earl of *Strafford did the* Roman *Catholicks the Honour to account them better affected to the King than Proteſtants;* of whom, two Years after, they butcher'd 200000 Men, Women and Children, in cold Blood. It is of this *Iriſh* Popiſh Army that *Strafford* ſpoke in the Debate about raiſing Money at the *Junto* Table, which he wou'd have brought into *England* for that Purpoſe. He caus'd a Proclamation to be iſſu'd in *Ireland,* denouncing the *Scots Rebels* and *Traytors;* and being call'd home to *England,* when he deliver'd the Sword at Parting to Mr. *Wandesford,* Maſter of the *Rolls,* his Deputy, and the Council, he utter'd theſe Words, *If ever I return to this honourable Sword, I will not leave of the* Scots *in* Ireland *Root or Branch.* Neither did he ſpare any Pains in the *Junto* to preſs on the War vigorouſly againſt *Scotland,* and after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament to break all Counſels tending to the calling another, for which the Reverend Hiſtorian ſtiles him the *Delphian Oracle.* One may ſee what Thoughts the People had of the near Relation between Archbiſhop *Laud* and *Popery,* by their attacking a Popiſh Agent, Count *Roſetti,* then at *London,* the 11th of *May,* at the ſame Time that they beſet *Lambeth* Houſe, and demoliſh'd ſome Windows. The Lord *Wicquefort,* in his admirable Treatiſe of the *Ambaſſador and his Functions,* lets us into the Secret of *Roſetti*'s Negotiations in *England,* for which he was afterwards made a *Cardinal:* " He was not contented,
" *ſays that great Stateſman,* to uſe his Endeavours
" to obtain Liberty of Conſcience, and the Exer-

Strafford *in* Ireland.

His Tyranny.

Laud *and* Roſetti. Larr. *P.* 46.

P. 12.

A.D.1640. "cise of their Religion for the *Roman* Catholicks, "but attempted also to change the predominant "Religion in the Person of the King. He who "writ the History of those Times upon very good "Memoirs, reports, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* himself was much inclin'd thereto, and "resolv'd to follow *Rosetti* to *Rome*, if Cardinal "*Barberino* wou'd have insur'd him a Pension of "eight and forty thousand *Livres*. The People "of *London* coming to understand *Rosetti*'s Intrigues, attack'd him in his House, from whence "he sav'd himself at the Queen Mother's, *Mary de "Medicis*, who was then in *England*. The Parliament caus'd him to be sought for, *this was the "next Parliament*, and oblig'd him to leave *England*, and retire to *Flanders*. He was no publick Minister, since he had no Character from "the *Pope*, so that he was at most but the Agent "of a Cardinal, for which Reason he cou'd not "enjoy the Protection of the Law of Nations. "But neither the Parliament nor the *Londoners* violated that Law in the Person of a Man, who "having no Character, nor being acknowledg'd as "a publick Minister, disturb'd the Tranquillity of "the State by endeavouring to introduce a *new "Religion* contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom." *Larrey* tells us King *Charles* protected this *Romish* Agent as much as if he had been Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. *He sent his Guards to disperse the Rabble, and committed some of them to Prison; but their Fellows broke open the Prison-Doors and releas'd them.*

Tho' the City of *London* was disgusted for the Loss of their Plantation, *Londonderry* in *Ireland*, which was taken from them by an unjust Sentence of the *Star-Chamber*; and tho' many Citizens had been imprison'd for refusing to pay the illegal Impositions, yet others of them were so infatuated by the *Laudean* Clergy, that they parted with their Money for so good a Cause as the Extirpation of *Presbyterians*; by which, with the Money the Convocation had given, the large Contributions of the Papists, the Subscriptions of the Courtiers, and others who were drawn in to subscribe, no less than 300000*l.* was scrap'd together, and his Majesty rais'd an Army of above 20000 Men in Defence of Prelacy, or rather of certain Prelates, *Laud*, *Neile*, *Wren*, &c. He made the Earl of *Northumberland* General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant-General, this Vein of *Wisdom* runs thro' the whole Mine of their Politicks, the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse. I do not object against the Promotion of these Staff-Officers, tho' the Archdeacon does, and wou'd have had the Command given to the Earls of *Holland* and *Essex*; for there being no likelihood of fighting, I think 'tis no great matter to whom the *Battoons* are given. *Nothing*, says *Whitlock*, *cou'd alter the Opinion and Humour of divers of the Officers and private Soldiers of the Army, who in their March to the Rendezvouz spared not to declare their Judgments against this* WAR, *and that they would not fight to maintain the Pride and Power of the Bishops. This their Resolution seem'd not to be feign'd by the ill Success afterwards.*

Army against the Bishops War.

Birth of Duke of Glocester.

Some Weeks before the King began his March *Northward*, the Queen was brought to-bed on the 8th of *July* of another Son, *Henry* Duke of *Glocester*, who of all the King and Queen's Children liv'd most in the Love of the People from his Birth to his untimely Death 20 Years after.

The Army marches.

The Royal Army began their March in the Beginning of *August*, and his Majesty follow'd them the 20th. On the 22d, a Proclamation was publish'd, declaring all the *Scots* that shou'd invade *England*, REBELS and *Traytors*. A Prayer was also publish'd in all Churches against the *Rebels* of *Scotland*. I have not in any History met with the like Rashness and Obstinacy as in this *Northern* Expedition. The King and his Ministers knew that almost every Heart in the Kingdom bled for the Perils it was in from *Popery* and *Slavery*, under the Names of the *Church* and *Prerogative*. They cou'd not but know that the *Scots* wou'd sooner have run into the *Frith*, than have march'd into *England*, if they had not been encourag'd from thence. They were sensible that the Army which the King was leading against them, were almost as willing to fight with one another as with the *Scots*. And yet nothing cou'd serve the Turn of Archbishop *Laud* and the Earl of *Strafford* but a War with the *Scots* Rebels, whom the Generality of the *English* Nation stil'd their *Brethren* of *Scotland*. The *Scots* in their Declaration charg'd these two evil Counsellors by Name, as the Authors of their Grievances, and the WAR which was rais'd to hinder the Redress of them. They declar'd to the *English*, That their Coming was not in Enmity, but to petition the King to call a Parliament, and bring *Laud* and *Strafford* to Punishment. Our wise Historian adds, *That the* English *might see whom they chiefly aim'd at, a Book was publish'd by the Name of* The *Canterburian's* Self-conviction. As if they had not before sufficiently shewn it, by naming him in their Declaration as the great Incendiary. He proceeds: *In which the Author by a* strange *Inversion wou'd prove out of the Works of the Archbishop himself, that there was a peculiar Design on Foot for introducing Popery.* A very strange thing truly! What were his *Popish Alterations, his introducing Altars, Transubstantiation, Sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers to Saints, and other Popish Rites, written with his own Hand, and taken out of the* Roman *Missal and Pontifical, to be inserted in the* Scotch *Service-Book?* *Hidden Works*, p. 156 to 164.

Two Days after the King left *London* the *Scots* enter'd *England*, commanded by General *Lesley*, the Earl of *Montross*, and other *Scots* Noblemen. The Earl of *Montross* led the Van, for his Understanding and Conscience had not yet been illuminated by any Court Reasons. When he arriv'd at the River *Tweed*, he alighted off his Horse, and forded the River a-foot. The *Scots* Army advanc'd to *Newcastle* before any Enemy appear'd. But as they approach'd the *Tyne*, they were fac'd by the Royal Army, a Body of which consisting of 3000 Foot and 1500 Horse was advantageously posted at *Newburne* under the Command of the Lord *Conway*. *The* Scots *on the 28th of* August, as their Historian tells us, *resolving to put it to the Issue of a Battel, pass'd the River at* Newburne *in the Face of a strong Body of the* English *Army, beat them fairly by plain fighting from their Post, and kill'd* 300 *of their Men; which Action so frighted the King and his whole Army, that they wou'd not strike a Stroke more, but shamefully retreated to* York, *leaving* Newcastle *and* Durham *in Possession of the* Scots. *Whitlock* owns there were 800 *English* kill'd and taken; among the latter were *Digby*, *Wilmot*, and *Oneale*, chief Commanders. But the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms there were eleven or twelve only kill'd and taken, his Lordship being never willing to let the *Presbyterians* have the better of it in any Dispute, whether Argument or Action, wherein his Zeal is more laudable than his Sincerity. *Ludlow*'s Observation is very just: *The* English, *contrary to their wonted Custom, retir'd in Disorder, not without Shame and some Loss. Of such Force and Consequence is a Belief and full Persuasion of the Justice of an Undertaking, tho' manag'd by an Enemy in other Respects not considerable.* In the mean while the King's Garison at *Berwick* made an Incursion into *Scotland*, intending to surprize the *Scots* Magazine at *Duns*; but the Earl of *Haddington*, who was left with a Party to guard it, oblig'd them to retire. That Lord with his two Brothers having his Quarters at *Douglas* Castle was kill'd by the firing of Powder in a Vault, either thro' the Neglect or Treache-

Scots *Army.* Montross *heads the Covenanters.*

Mem. Ch. of Scot. 191.

King's Forces beaten by them.

Vol. I. *p.* 145. Clar. *wrong.*

*A.D.*1640. Treachery of a Page. *Whitlock* adds, there were about 20 more Knights and Gentlemen kill'd at the ſame time by the Stones which flew from the Vault. *Echard*, to increaſe the Judgment upon theſe *Presbyterians*, affirms *there were* 60 *Gentlemen more ſuddenly blown up, and in a moment bury'd, ſo that they were never ſeen more*; *which tragical Event being reported at Court, the Royaliſts were not ſo moderate in their Cenſures as the King himſelf*, who only ſaid, *Tho' he has been very ungrateful to me, yet I am ſorry he had not ſome time to repent.* Of what? Of profaning the Sabbath, taking away Mens Money and Goods by Violence, of worſhipping Images, of Oppreſſion and Superſtition. What is the Earl of *Haddington* to repent of? Swearing, Curſing, Wantonneſs, Riot, or any of the Vices of King *James*'s Court. Or is he to repent of the *Reform'd Religion*, Liberty and Property, and of taking Arms to defend them?

Tho' there is very little Buſineſs done Civil or Military, the two Armies remaining very quiet, the *Scots* expecting the Effects of Lord *Saville*'s pretended Invitation, and the *Engliſh* being diſcourag'd as well by the Cauſe as the Diſgrace at *Newburne*; yet the Archdeacon will have the Earl of *Strafford* to be the *great Spring* which moves this very little Machine. *He arriv'd at* Durham *labouring under the Dregs of Sickneſs, and inflam'd and exaſperated at the late Diſhonour. My Lord* Conway *was highly blam'd by him, and the Soldiers having been rude to the Churches, he retir'd to the Skirts of* Yorkſhire. Which in common Language is, he had heard of the Rout at *Newburne*, that the *Scots* were coming to *Durham*, and he got into *Yorkſhire* as faſt as he cou'd, carrying with him the great Spring that mov'd the military and civil Machine.

Scots *in* England. The *Scots* lik'd their new Quarters at *Newcaſtle* and *Durham* extremely well. They had good Fires, Store of Proviſions, and good Lodging; for which the County of *Northumberland* and Biſhoprick of *Durham* were ceſs'd 850 *l.* a Day. From *Newcaſtle* they ſent a Petition to the King, "in the Name of the Lords of the laſt Parliament, and others his Majeſty's loyal Subjects of "*Scotland*, complaining of their Grievances in "general; for Relief whereof they were con"ſtrain'd to come without Prejudice to the Peo"ple of *England*, till they were by Arms oppos'd "Paſſage at *Newburne*; and now preſent themſelves to his Majeſty's Goodneſs for Satisfaction "of their full Demands, and Repair of their Loſſes and Wrongs with the Advice of the Parliament to be conven'd". The King by the Earl of *Lanerick* his Secretary return'd Anſwer, that *he expected their particular Demands, and commanded them to advance no farther*. The old Air again: They were likely to obey his Command, when they wou'd not obey his Army. *Whitlock*, who was too wiſe to have mention'd ſuch a Command had there really been any ſuch given, tells us, he anſwer'd, he had ſummon'd the Peers of *England* to meet at *York*, where their Demands ſhou'd be taken into Conſideration. Three Days after the *Scots* ſent their particular Demands. 1. *The publiſhing their late Acts of Parliament.* 2. *The repairing* Edinburgh *Caſtle and Forts of* Scotland *for their Defence.* 3. *The* Scots *to be no where preſs'd with Oaths contrary to the* Covenant. 4. *Incendiaries to be puniſh'd.* 5. *Ships and Goods to be reſtor'd, and Damages made good.* 6. *Wrongs, Loſſes and Charges repair'd.* 7. *Proclamations as Traytors to be recall'd.* 8. *Garriſons to be remov'd from the Borders.* 9. *The Parliament of* England *to meet as ſoon as poſſible.* The Court Politicians muſt not be very politick, if they did not ſee plainly that the *Scots* inſiſting on the convening a Parliament in *England* was the Effect of ſome Agreement with their *Engliſh* Friends; and indeed the latter ſhew'd ſomething like it by a Petition which was deliver'd to the King about the ſame time, complaining, 1. "Of the waſting of the Revenue and "illegal Taxes. 2. Innovations in Religion. 3. In- Reybold. "creaſe of Popery. 4. The Deſign to bring in "*Iriſh* Forces. 5. Proſecutions about Ship-Mo"ney. 6. Monopolies. 7. The great Grief of "the Subjects by long Intermiſſions of Parlia"ment, and the late and former Diſſolutions. To "remedy which, they pray that a Parliament may "be ſummon'd, and the War compos'd without "Blood." This Petition was ſign'd by the Earls of *Bedford, Eſſex, Mulgrave, Hertford, Warwick, Bolingbroke, Briſtol*, the Lords *Say* and *Sele, Howard, Mandeville, Brooke, Paget*. The King's Anſwer was, he had ſummon'd a Meeting of the Peers at *York* the 24th of *September, where they with the reſt might offer any thing*. Two of theſe Petitioners, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Hertford*, being about to take their Journey to *York*, waited on her Majeſty, and took occaſion to repreſent to her the ſad Condition to which the King and Kingdom were reduc'd, and that they ſaw no poſſible Means other than a Parliament whereby to repair the State. On their *Expoſtulations they prevail'd with her to write to the King, and move him to ſummon a Parliament.* They carry'd this Letter with them to *York*, and preſenting it to his Majeſty privately, it is ſuppos'd to have had more Influence upon him than the Advice of the Peers who met by his Summons. The Citizens of *London* ſent him a Petition much to the ſame Effect as the Lords Petition before-mention'd, and it had much the ſame Anſwer.

Queen writes to the King for a Parliament.

The *Scots* in the mean time made their Quarters good, and were juſtly complain'd of for overdoing it, contrary to the wiſe Counſel in Lord *Saville*'s Letter. They ſeiz'd four great Ships loaden with Corn, and levy'd the Aſſeſsment on Pain of plundering. *The War*, ſays *Whitlock*, *being begun with the* Scots, *it put many Men to think on a Poſture of Defence for themſelves, and to a Proviſion of Arms. The Diſcourſes of the* Scotiſh *War were very various. Thoſe who favour'd the* Popiſh *and* Prelatical *Ways did ſufficiently inveigh againſt the* Covenanters, *but generally the reſt of the People favour'd and approv'd their Proceedings*, &c. *Echard* learnt of the Lord *Clarendon* to repreſent the *Scots* as Enemies to *England*; whereas in truth they were only Enemies to *Laud, Strafford*, and the Inſtruments of their Tyranny; and whatever the Court and Prieſthood ſaid to the contrary, the Generality of the Kingdom were Well-wiſhers to them and their Cauſe.

Scots favour'd by the Engliſh.

The Earl of *Clarendon* wonders that the Courtiers ſhou'd pretend *Neceſſity* for levying *Ship-Money* without Conſent of Parliament when there was no War; and now when their Enemy had invaded them, and the Neceſſity was apparent, they ſhou'd proceed in the dilatory way of raiſing Money by Parliament. This Argument has no more Weight in it than moſt of the reſt in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. See what a learned Lawyer ſays upon it, "This Argument of the noble Hiſtorian had "been very *reaſonable*, if the Premiſes on which "'tis built had been *probable*. For if the *Scots* "had as Enemies invaded *England*, and had come "to deſtroy and enſlave this Nation, the People "wou'd have chas'd them home as Invaders. But "the REVERSE was the Caſe. *I have frequently obſerv'd, that the* Hiſtory of the Rebellion *and the Archdeacon's Hiſtory are the* REVERSE *of the Caſe.* "The *Scots* came as Friends to ſave "and reſcue *England*, as well as *Scotland*, from "under the bitter Preſſures and Sufferings which "grieved both, by the means only of a free Par"liament; and therefore they knew that *England* "wou'd by its Parliament do the Buſineſs of the "*Scots*, and of thoſe who had correſponded with "them for that Purpoſe; wherefore 'tis probable, Ach. 411.

that

A.D.1640 " that if the King had declar'd *he wou'd have no* " *Parliament till the* Scots *were retir'd*, a general " REVOLT had enſu'd." This is to write and think ſoberly. But let the Reader judge what ſober thinking and writing there are in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, and its excellent Copy. *If the King had march'd directly againſt the* Scots, *after ſome exemplary Juſtice and Diſgrace on the chief Officers*, to raiſe more Diſcontent among the Soldiers, *he wou'd ſpeedily have diſpoſſeſs'd them of their new Conqueſts, and forc'd them to run back diſtracted into their own Country.* Can any thing be more puerile? They wou'd not only have run away, they wou'd alſo have run mad. The Truth is, thoſe evil Counſellors, who had been the Authors of all the Evils complain'd of, and cou'd expect nothing but condign Puniſhment from the Parliament, were in the right to chuſe rather to fall by the Hands of the *Scots*, than by the Hands of the Hangman. *Echard* informs us, " *Strafford* was " the only Man whoſe Advice was of any Credit " with the King, and thought there was but one " Way, and that not proper to be heard in Coun- " cil, which was to drive the *Scots* out of the " Kingdom by the *Engliſh* Army." And then comes the only heroick Action which we read of this Hero: *He ſent Major* Smith *with a Party of Horſe, who defeated two or three Troops of* Scots *Horſe in the Biſhoprick, and made it appear that the Kingdom might be freed from the reſt, if it were vigorouſly purſu'd.* The Treaty was then a-foot at *Rippon*, and General *Leſley* complain'd he had forborn any ſuch Attempt out of reſpect to it. Major *Smith* was a Papiſt, and glad enough to fall on the *Scots*, when, as they thought, their Hands were ty'd by the Treaty; however the King cou'd not decently approve of this Breach of it, and *therefore was prevail'd with*, ſays the Archdeacon, *to reſtrain his General from giving any more ſuch Orders.* Theſe Men have the pleaſanteſt Way of writing that can be imagin'd. One wou'd think the Earl of *Strafford* and Major *Smith* wou'd have driven the *Scots* Army over the *Grampian* Mountains, if the King wou'd but have ſaid the Word; whereas it is the quite contrary in true Hiſtories: " The King and *Mem. Ch. of Scot.* 191. " his *Laudæan* Army being retreated after the A- " ction of *Newburn*, it is impoſſible to expreſs the " Conſternation they were in. The *Scots* Army " being advanced to *Durham*, were now entire " Maſters of *England*: If they had pleas'd to ad- " vance, nothing cou'd have ſtood before them. " They were entirely poſſeſs'd of all the Counties " of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Durham*, " and begun to extend themſelves towards the " Weſt; and as they receiv'd daily Supplies of " Men from *Scotland*, they wou'd in ſix Days more " have been poſſeſs'd of *Weſtmorland* and *Lanca- " ſhire*, there being no Forces to oppoſe them but " at *York*, and theſe under the terrible Apprehen- " ſion of being attack'd by our whole Army, " which God and a juſt Quarrel being on the *Scots* " Side, they were in no Condition to oppoſe." This Author underſtands the State of *England* to be then divided and broken, and the much greater Part of the People to be ready to receive the *Scots* with open Arms; or he wou'd talk wildly in ſaying they were *Maſters of* England.

We have been told of the King's hearkening to the Earl of *Strafford* more than to any other Counſellor; and of the Earl's Counſel to drive the *Scots* out of *England* Sword in hand; we have hinted that his Courage was probably animated by his Hatred and Fear of that Nation: For, as *Larrey* writes, " He had been ſix Years preparing to re- *Vol.* II. " duce *Scotland* under the arbitrary Power of the *P.* 53. " King and the Archbiſhop; at leaſt his Enemies " had that Opinion of him; and theſe were a great " Part of *England*, and all *Scotland* entire. He had " rais'd the Jealouſy of ſome, the Fear of others, and " the Hatred of all except Dr. *Laud*." At the ſame Time they accus'd him of being the Incendiary, *&c.* A.D.1640.

On the 24th of *September* the Peers aſſembled at *York*, and his Majeſty made a Speech to them, in which he ask'd their Advice how he might chaſtiſe the *Scots*; the high Tone ſtill, how he ſhou'd anſwer the Petition of the *REBELS*; and which was the chief Thing of all, how he might maintain the Army till the Parliament, which he had ſummon'd to meet the 3d of *November*, cou'd aſſemble. The Duke of *Buckingham* had the Credit of calling one Parliament, the Earl of *Strafford* of calling another; and now his Majeſty tells them the Queen had adviſ'd him to call this. Tho' ſuch Politicks are not deep, yet they are well-deſign'd to take off the Odium of the People from the Perſon that is intended by it. The Lord *Lowdon* attended at *York* to ſupport the Petition of the *Scots* with his Arguments and Intereſt, and perhaps alſo to confer with the Lords whoſe Names were to the forg'd Letter, and who were all there. The Earl of *Traquair* ſaid, the *Scots* petition'd for Things which *ſubverted the King's Prerogative and Dignity, and were detrimental to his Profit.* *Whitlock* tells us that " after ſeveral Meetings and Debates, a " Meſſenger was ſent from the King and Lords to " the *Scots* Army, to give Notice to them that on " *Tueſday* next ſixteen of the *Engliſh* Lords ſhou'd " meet as many *Scotch* Lords at *York* to treat of " the Differences." The *Scots* refus'd to treat at *York* ſo long as the Earl of *Strafford* commanded there, as a Place where their Commiſſioners wou'd not be ſafe, *Strafford* having threaten'd to deſtroy them; and they having high Matters of Complaint againſt him; which ſhew'd plainly enough that *Wentworth* had every Thing to fear from the Reſentment of that injur'd Nation: Yet he knew ſo well the Obſtinacy of his Maſter in protecting his Minions, that he did not fly for it, which he might eaſily have done and have eſcap'd. Commiſſioners for the Treaty were appointed on both Sides, and the Town of *Rippon* to be the Place, the Day the firſt of *October*. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were, the Earl of *Hertford*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Briſtol*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, Lord Viſcount *Mandeville*, Lord *Dunſmore*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Brook*, Lord *Saville*, Lord *Powlet*, Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*. The *Scots* Commiſſioners were, *Charles* Earl of *Dumferlin*, *John* Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *Patrick Hepburn*, Sir *William Douglaſs*, Mr. *Smith* Bailiff of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Wedderburn*, Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Johnſton*, Miniſters. To theſe were added afterwards *John* Earl of *Rothes*, *Hugh Kennedy* Burgeſs of *Aird*, *William Drummond* of *Riccarton*. *Peers meet at* York. *Treaty of* Rippon.

The reverend Hiſtorian intimates, that the *Scots* *P.* 53. Commiſſioners were of inferior Quality to the *Engliſh*; and *Larrey* gives the *Scots* ſome other Advantage in the room of it: *They were Perſons of greater Capacity and Eloquence. They knew how to ſpeak with that Energy, that they made themſelves Maſters of the Heart*; and when they had done that, they ſoon became Maſters of the Mind. During the Treaty a great Complaint was made to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, that *Meldrum*, General *Leſley*'s Secretary, had ſaid *that the* Scots *were invited into* England *by the great* Engliſh *Lords*. We have ſhewn what Sort of an Invitation it was; but the *Scots* Noblemen had all the Reaſon in the world to think it genuine. *Meldrum* however found he had babbled to much, and deny'd the Words which two Witneſſes offer'd to ſwear he ſaid. But his Denial was taken for Satisfaction, and the Matter huſh'd up. Almoſt all the Lords Commiſſioners on the *Engliſh* Side were either thoſe whoſe Names were to the forg'd Letter, or thoſe who had otherwiſe encourag'd the *Scots* to undertake this Expedition; and thoſe of them whoſe Names were to the Letter coming to no *Eclairciſement* with the Lord *Lowdon* upon the Subject of it, nor

A.D.1640. taking the leaſt Notice of it; but on the contrary arguing very much for ending this great Affair by Treaty, not by Arms, which was contrary to what was written in that Letter; and the Earl of *Rothes* and the Lord *Lowdon* taking an Opportunity to put them in mind of it, and the Diſagreement between their Writing and their Diſcourſe, the *Engliſh* Lords were ſurpriz'd to hear them talk of Writing; and expreſſing their Surprize to the *Scots*, the latter told them of the Letter they had received from them, which the *Engliſh* aſſur'd them they had never ſign'd; and the Lord *Lowdon* afterwards producing it, the Lords whoſe Names and Hands were counterfeited, diſcover'd the Impoſture, not by the Diſſimilitude of Hand-writing, for every one of thoſe Lords, as we have obſerv'd, acknowledg'd they cou'd not ſwear that they had not written thoſe Names, tho' they cou'd ſwear they never ſign'd ſuch a Letter, to the Contents of which they own'd they had agreed in Conference; and ſince the Conſequence of the *Scots* Entrance into *England* was like to prove ſo advantageous to both Nations, they wou'd not then enquire into the Forgery, which was own'd afterwards by the Lord *Saville*, who glory'd in it as a publick Service to both, at the ſame Time that he diſcover'd the whole Correſpondence between the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Lords to the King, inform'd him of this very Letter as genuine, gave him a Copy of it, and, as is before hinted, adviſ'd his Majeſty to proſecute the pretended inviting Lords and Gentlemen for High-Treaſon; which was one of the main Inſtigations that put the King on that fatal Step of entring the Parliament-Houſe with an arm'd Force, and demanding the five Members, who as well as the Lords were accus'd of holding Intelligence with the *Scots*, and were not accus'd wrongfully. The Lord *Wariſton* ſome time after, at the Requeſt of the Lords whoſe Names was to the forg'd Letter, cut them out all, and gave them each to the Lord to whom it belong'd. Thus they are now wanting to the original Letter, but ſome Words of it that were forc'd to be cut out with the Names, were firſt carefully preſerv'd.

The Earl of *Strafford* did what he cou'd to have the Treaty at *Rippon* broken off; but how he wou'd have carry'd on the War, does not any where appear, nor can one conceive what ſhou'd inſpire him with ſuch Counſel but Deſpair. The Whit. *Engliſh* Commiſſioners were the firſt who propos'd a Ceſſation of Arms, to which the *Scots* reply'd, *As they wou'd obey the King's Command not to advance, ſo they cou'd not return till they had effected their Buſineſs.* At length the Commiſſioners on both Sides agreed to that Ceſſation, to the *Contribution of* 850l. *a-day, the River* Tees *to be the Bounds of both Armies, private Inſolencies to be no Breach of Treaty*; and the reſt of their Demands to be debated at *London* when the Parliament ſate, which was now to be in two or three Weeks. The Earl of *Pembroke* was ſent to *London* to borrow 200000 Pounds of the City, and the Citizens were ſo well pleas'd with this Accommodation, that they readily lent it, to be repaid out of the firſt Money given by Parliament. The Earl of *Rothes* and two or three more were added to the *Scots* Commiſſioners, who were to reſide at *London*, where, ſays Mr. *Echard, they were feaſted, preſented, and even idoliz'd by all Sorts of People*, who were ſenſible that the approaching Parliament was owing to Whit. 35. their Demand of it. " Many wonder'd, and ſome " inveigh'd againſt this Treaty, *wiſhing the King* " *wou'd have put it rather to the Iſſue of a Battel,* " *than to have given ſuch Terms to his Subjects in* " Rebellion; *and of this Judgment was* Strafford " *and the* Epiſcopal Party. *But* the other Party " cry'd up this Treaty as *juſt, honourable, and pi-* " *ous, to prevent Effuſion of Blood, and to ſettle* " *Peace.* The King ſaw plainly that both divers " Officers of the Army, and even the private Sol- " diers generally, which was a remarkable Inclina- A.D.1640. " tion, had no mind to fight with the *Scots.*" *Acherley* goes farther, *It was found that the Army and Country were more incens'd againſt the Lord* Strafford *than againſt the* Scots, *therefore the Lord* Saville *concluded* Strafford *cou'd not laſt long. Upon this he heartily deſerted his Party, and diſcover'd to the King the* grand Invitation, *as he repreſented it, producing a Copy of the Engagement*; it ſhou'd be the *Letter*; *but this Copy being written in* Saville's *own Hand, cou'd be no Evidence. The King ſeem'd greatly oblig'd, and privately committed to the Lord* Strafford *the* CARE *of improving the Intelligence in order to impeach the* INVITERS. *His Majeſty for this Service promis'd to make* Saville *Preſident of the* North *in caſe* Strafford was remov'd; and he did afterwards make him Earl of *Suſſex*, tho' had it not been for his Quality, the Forgery he was guilty of, wou'd have deſerv'd another ſort of Advancement.

It was about this Time that the Earl of *Montroſs*, being grown weary of the Covenanters, or they weary of him, wrote privately to the King to offer his Service. *Whitlocke* ſays, *Hamilton* found Means to have this Letter ſtolen out of the King's Pocket, a Copy of which was ſent to the covenanting Lords, who made the proper Uſe of it. Thus we ſee *Saville* makes his Court by a double *Treachery*, by deceiving firſt the *Scots*, and then the King; and *Montroſs* makes his by *Perjury*, by renouncing the Covenant he had moſt ſolemnly ſworn. It cannot be ſaid the latter proceeded from Conviction of the Juſtice of the Prelatical Cauſe; for the Spirit of the *Laudæan* Prelates are ſtill the ſame, and the Government has not taken one Meaſure to ſhew it will be better for the future. We have now a very doleful Account of the Conſequence of removing the Treaty to *London*; *The* Scots *Commiſſioners went to Meeting-Houſes, and the* Presbyterian *Miniſters flock'd from all Quarters of the Kingdom unto the City, as if they were to convert an unſanctify'd Heathen Nation.* The Commiſſioners *Lodgings were viſited as Repoſitories of Divine Truths, and they were look'd upon as Angels of Light.* Tho' this taſteleſs inſipid Raillery is too good to be the Author's own, and is ſtolen from *Heylin, Warwick*, or ſome ſuch witty Hiſtorian, yet it has too much Buffoonry in it to become the Gravity of Hiſtory. When one has to do with Folly and Knavery, Simplicity and Impudence, 'tis impoſſible to avoid being merry or angry; and I confeſs I have ſometimes preferr'd Mirth to Indignation, which I doubt will incur Cenſure, tho' one wou'd think the Reader ſhou'd be as willing to be kept in good Humour as the Writer. But I hope I ſhall be allow'd to be as merry with Knavery and Folly, as theſe Hiſtorians are with *Angels of Light, Divine Truths, the Converſion of Heathens and Men of unſanctify'd Lives.* For theſe are the Jeſts with which they divert themſelves and thoſe Readers who are capable of being diverted with Dulneſs and Grimace. Then he tells us what theſe *Angels of Light* ſaid, *Epiſcopacy was run down as tyrannical, the Rules of the Church as Superſtition, and bowing at the Name of Jeſus, had a Book written againſt it, with no leſs a Title than* Jeſus-Worſhip *confuted.* 'Tis a very common Thing with theſe Gentlemen when they are wittily diſpos'd, to make fooliſh Titles for Books, and father them on thoſe they wou'd blacken, but they always over-do it; and the Folly is ſo extravagant, that it appears preſently to be their own, We wou'd have done with Archbiſhop *Laud* if Mr. *Echard* wou'd let us, but he is ſo often flouriſhing with him, that we are tempted to follow his Example: *He was the moſt vigorous Supporter of the Proteſtant Religion, and the* Papiſts *were in a Plot againſt both the King and him*; upon which it will not be expected we ſhou'd make any Remarks.

Montroſs *apoſtatizes*

Ech. 483.

*A.D.*1640. All wiſe and ſober Men in *England* thought a Parliament was the only Remedy for the Evils the People groan'd under, but the ſame reverend Author affirms, That the meeting of the Parliament was the Occaſion of all the Calamities which made the Times dark and diſmal; that they were choſen by the Management of Mr. *Pym* and five or ſix other Gentlemen; that Mr. *Hampden* went once a Year to *Scotland* to confirm the Brethren there; and that Mr. *Pym* rode up and down in *England* to promote the good Cauſe; that the *Conſpirators* met at the Houſes of the Lord *Say* in *Oxfordſhire*, Mr. *Knightley* in *Northamptonſhire*,, and other Gentlemens Houſes, where they form'd a Scheme, the Foundation of which was, that *all Empire is founded in Property*. All which, and a great deal more, relating as much to the Hiſtory of the Moon as to that of *England*, is to be put among other Dreams of that Hiſtorian and his admirable Originals. Our learned Lawyer opens the Scene otherwiſe; "And now the *memorable* Parliament, "whoſe Acts and Proceedings in reſtoring the "Nation to its *Rights* and *Liberties*, and *hereditary* Privileges, *that was the only* Scheme *thoſe "worthy Patriots form'd*, will appear ſurprizing "as long as the Monuments of Hiſtory remain." *He does not mean the Earl of* Clarendon's *or Mr.* Echard's *Monuments*: "For this *Parliament* did in "ſome Sort reſemble the Proceedings of that *Pa-"liament* which one hundred Years before had "by diſſolving the Monaſteries, reſtor'd to the "Nation its antient Freedom, Riches, and Pow-"er." The next good Thing the reverend Hiſtorian tells us, is how this Parliament was choſen, and what Character the Members of it had. By which it is hoped we may be excus'd taking Notice of any other Characters of his, tho' ſlaviſh Copies of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s, whoſe Pictures are all as much Originals as any Pictures can be when the Perſons never ſate for them. The Party *exclaim'd againſt the Nomination of any belonging to his Majeſty's Service*. A very hard Caſe indeed, that thoſe who were to be puniſh'd for their High-Crimes and Miſdemeanours, were not nominated for Members of that Parliament whoſe chief Buſineſs was to puniſh them: *They gave Votes for Men of the new Religion*. The Lord *Wicquefort*, to whom they have no Name nor Character to oppoſe, has told us, that *Roſetti*'s and *Laud*'s was the new Religion which they were then about to introduce: But the Archdeacon means the *Reform'd Religion*. *Notorious Oppoſers of the King or the Clergy* were elected; he means *arbitrary Power* and the *High-Commiſſion-Court*. Thus divers Citizens and Lawyers were choſen Members for thoſe Corporations that never ſo much as heard of them. He probably means Mr. *Rolle* a Merchant of *London*, who was choſen for *Kellington* in *Cornwall*, where his Family was in the firſt Diſtinction; and ſhou'd have meant Mr. *Edward Hyde* of the *Middle-Temple*, who was choſen for *Saltaſh* in the ſame County, where he had not a Foot of Land nor a Penny Property. *Theſe and many other uncommon Practices were us'd to defeat the King's Friends*, who for twelve Years had been induſtriouſly employ'd in deſtroying thoſe Rights and Liberties which the Parliament was to vindicate, recover, and re-eſtabliſh. It is common with the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*, to charge thoſe whom they write againſt, with the very Crimes and Offences which thoſe they write for were only guilty of. We have ſeen what they ſay of thoſe great and excellent Men Mr. *Pym* and Mr. *Hampden*'s riding about at this Time; and the real Truth is, what we are told by others, the Courtiers got the King and Queen's Letters *to Counties, and Earls, Lords, and Gentlemen to ride up and down to all Parts of the Kingdom to make Parties for them, but to no Purpoſe*. Mr. *Echard* again; "The *Puritans* for Number "cou'd not make above a third Part of the Houſe "of Commons." If I had not had the Liſt before me, which proves this to be an egregious Falſity, what *Whitlocke* writes wou'd be more than ſufficient to do it, and confirm what is above cited. "The *Court* labour'd to bring in their Friends; "but thoſe who were moſt favour'd at *Court*, had "leaſt Reſpect in the *Country*; and it was not a "little ſtrange to ſee what a Spirit of Oppoſition "to Court-Proceedings was in the Hearts and "Actions of moſt People; ſo that very few of "that Party had the Favour to be choſen Mem-"bers of Parliament." Mr. *Archdeacon* aſſures us they were *above two Thirds*. 'Tis great Pity ſo large and ſo florid a Hiſtory as that of *Clarendon*, ſhou'd be of no more Uſe to an Hiſtorian, who can ſcarce look upon it with Safety. The Miſrepreſentation and Gloſſes are ſometimes ſo handſomely ſet out, that they are apt to miſlead Readers, as Travellers are miſled by wand'ring Lights and glittering Vapours. The Author of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion complains there were not many Lawyers fit to be Speakers; tho' we find Serjeant *Glanville*, Serjeant *Creſwel*, Serjeant *Fountain*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Wild* afterwards Lord Chief Baron, *John Vaughan* Eſq; afterward Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, *Bulſtrode Whitlocke* Eſq; afterwards Lord-Commiſſioner of the Great-Seal, Sir *Robert Holburn*, *John Selden* Eſq; *John Glyn* Eſq; *Edmund Prideaux* Eſq; *Oliver St. John* Eſq, *Edward Bagſhaw* Eſq; *John White* Eſq; Sir *Thomas Widdrington* afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, *Francis Rouſe* Eſq; afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and ſeveral others, Men of the greateſt Eminence in the Law: But the Way of Lord *Clarendon* is to render thoſe whom he oppoſes Objects of Contempt, and then by the Compariſon he heightens the Characters of thoſe whom he extols. The Gentlemen who are not in his good Graces, continu'd their Artifices after the Houſe met, but moſt at the Committee of Elections, to turn out *Laud*'s and *Strafford*'s Friends, and bring in more *ſanctify'd* Members: Their Wit is never to be exhauſted. It overflows again, and ſo it will do as often as true Religion comes in their Way.

*A.D.*1640.

Ach. 410.

Long Parliament.

The Parliament which diſſolv'd the Monaſteries, having met on the 3d of *November* an hundred Years before, the Archbiſhop was adviſ'd to put off the meeting of this Parliament to another Day leſt it ſhou'd be ominous; and after the Example of thoſe who were ſo wicked as to *unfrock* the Friars, this Aſſembly ſhou'd *unſurplice* the Vicars and Curates. I wonder it was not done, for a very little Thing turns their Heads; but the Archbiſhop was too well aſſur'd of his Majeſty's Zeal to fear any Omen: And beſides it does not appear in his Diary, that among ſo many Dreams he dream'd once againſt the third of *November*; ſo the Lords and Commons then met, and the King made a Speech to them, which the reverend Hiſtorian does not approve of, becauſe it had not that Spirit in it which was in his former Speeches; by which we ſee how much this meek Divine was enamour'd with that imperious Manner ſo diſagreeable to the Condition of *Freemen*. Mr. *Acherley* ſpeaks of it reaſonably, *His Majeſty, as if he had been the only Stranger to the general Senſe of the Nation, arraign'd the* Scots *as* REBELS, *and with Warmth repreſented to the* Lords *and* Commons, *that their primary and principal Conſideration ought to be to raiſe Money and Force to chaſe theſe* REBELS *out of* England. I am really in the greateſt Aſtoniſhment, when I conſider that at a Juncture when there were as many wiſe and able Men in the Nation as ever were call'd to Council, ſuch Heads as were about the King cou'd be cull'd out to have the Adminiſtration: There is not only an uncommon Deficiency of Underſtanding, but of Modeſty: For theſe Counſellors knew that the Generality of the People

Ill Counſels.

*A.D.*1640. ple were ſo far from looking on the *Scots* as Traytors, that they thought them their Deliverers, and lov'd them as their Brethren, and ſo ſtil'd them in their moſt ſolemn Diſcourſes; yet did they ſuffer the King to call them *Rebels*, and to demand them to drive them away before their Deliverance was accompliſh'd. If the Courtiers knew any Thing, they cou'd not but know this Parliament had never met if the *Scots* had never enter'd *England*; and the Parliament knew as well that they ſhou'd be ſent home again as ſoon as the *Scots* left the Kingdom; yet nothing leſs wou'd content the Rage of *Laud* and his Accomplices, than the Term *REBELS*, ſo madly they drove to Deſtruction; which is obſerv'd by Mr. *Acherley* and other grave Writers. " This Speech alarm'd the Lords and
P. 413. " Commons, who had given Encouragement to " the *Scots*; for they very well underſtood that that " Invaſion was the very Cauſe of their being now " aſſembled, and the Continuance of the *Scots* " Army in *England*, was the only Means to ſecure " and continue them ſitting, that they might with- " out abrupt Diſſolution, have Time to redreſs " their Grievances, and puniſh the State Malefa- " ctors. *I think Mr.* Acherley *gives them their* " *right Name, and that they deſerve it much more* " *than thoſe who have their Puniſhment at* Tyburn. " They were ſenſible enough that if they ſhou'd " chaſe out the *Scots*, they ſhou'd themſelves ſoon " after be chas'd out of Doors, and ſent home to " *grieve and ſuffer* as they had done many Years; " and therefore did the People mourn at the King's " calling the *Scots* REBELS: Yet his Majeſty " diſdaining to mitigate or recede, went two or " three Days after to the Houſe of Peers, and in " a Speech to them, avow'd the calling the *Scots* " *REBELS*, and repeated and preſs'd his for- " mer Commands to chaſe them as ſuch out of " *England*, tho' this Speech was a direct Breach of " the Treaty of *Rippon*, now adjourn'd to *London*." The Lord-Keeper *Finch*'s Harangue after the King's Speech, is the groſſeſt Piece of Flattery which ever Monarch ſtood the hearing of in Preſence of a whole Nation. Mr. *Echard* avers, *He gave a full and ſatisfactory Account of the* Scots *Invaſion, with all the threatening Dangers that attended ſo formidable an Appearance.* 'Tis evident enough that theſe impartial Hiſtorians do not know what they are about. The People of *England* in general had not the leaſt Apprehenſion of Danger from the Encampment of the *Scots* in *Northumberland*; nor was that Army formidable to any one *Engliſhman* but to *Finch* himſelf, *Laud*, *Strafford*, and the other Malefactors ſpoken of by Mr. *Acherley*.

Malefactors.

The Commons choſe *William Lenthal* Eſq; a Bencher and Reader of *Lincoln's-Inn*, to be their Speaker; the King had intended Sir *Thomas Gardiner* Recorder of *London* for that Poſt, but he cou'd get no Place to chuſe him a Member of Parliament. The Lord *Clarendon* intimates that he ſtood for *London* and loſt it. I can hardly think he did ſtand, for there was not the leaſt likelihood that a Court Lawyer, who had been a Favourer of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, &c. ſhou'd be choſen at the ſame Time that Mr. *Samuel Vaſſal* was elected for *London*, who had been cruelly perſecuted and plunder'd for refuſing to pay that Tax till the King had any Right to demand it, which he had not till it was given him by Parliament.

In two Days time the Houſe of Commons ſettled their Committees of all Kinds, and ſpent the following two or three Days in receiving Petitions from all the Counties of *England*, and from particular Perſons who had been oppreſs'd at the Council-Board, in the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion* Court, or otherwiſe. *Arthur Capel* Eſq; preſented the Petition for *Hertfordſhire*, Sir *John Packington* that for *Worceſterſhire*, Sir *John Colepepyr* that for *Kent*, Sir *Philip Muſgrave* that for *Weſtmorland*; that for *Wilts* was preſented by Sir *Francis Seymour*.

Knights of Shires preſent Petitions.

whom I mention on Account of their deſerting this Cauſe afterwards, as it had been deſerted before by *Saville*, *Wentworth*, and moſt of theſe did it for the ſame Reaſon as *Capel*, *Colepepyr*, *Seymour*, tho' Mr. *Capel* was forc'd to give Money too into the Bargain. *Turner*, one of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, having for ſome ſecret Service obtain'd the Nomination of a Baron, he diſpos'd of it to Mr. *Capel* for 10000 Pounds, for which he was created Lord *Capel* of *Hadham*; but when the Reyhold. Money came to be paid, the King took it himſelf, and gave it to the Queen-Mother *Mary de Medicis*, to pay for her Tranſportation when the Parliament began to murmur at her Stay in *England*. The Lord *Fairfax* preſented the *Yorkſhire* Petition, Sir *John Wray* that of *Lincolnſhire*, Sir *Thomas Barrington* that for *Eſſex*, Sir *Edmund Montfort* that for *Norfolk*, *William Pierrepoint* Eſq; that for *Shropſhire*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Anthony Irby*, and divers other Knights and Burgeſſes did the like for other Shires and Boroughs. But thoſe Gentlemen were conſtant to their Principles, and almoſt all of them aſſerted to the laſt the Rights and Liberties of the People. Sir *John Clotworthy* a Member of Parliament in *Ireland*, was choſen for this in *England*, and in a long Speech ſet forth the Grievances which the *Iriſh* Proteſtants complain'd of under the Adminiſtration of the Earl of *Strafford*, who carry'd Tyranny with him wherever he went; for we are not in the leaſt to heed what is ſaid of his mild Government in *Clarendon* and *Echard*. Sir *John Temple* Maſter of the Rolls in *Ireland*, a wiſe and virtuous Man, complains of the *ſharp Humours rais'd by* Wentworth's *rigid Government, and of the Exorbitancies, ſo bitterly decry'd in Parliament*, at the Council-Table there when he was Deputy; accordingly ſeveral Petitions were now deliver'd in againſt him preparatory to his Puniſhment.

Strafford's *Tyranny.*

On the 14th of *November* Petitions were preſented in behalf of Dr. *Leighton*, *William Prynne* Eſq; Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Lilburne*; and the Houſe order'd Mr. *Prynne*, Dr. *Baſtwick*, and Mr. *Burton*, to be ſent for from their Goals in *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*. They conceiv'd ſo great Horror at the Barbarities Dr. *Leighton* had ſuffer'd by *Laud*'s Procurement, that as has been obſerv'd, their Clerk was bid to ſtop before the Petition was read thro'; that Chriſtian and Proteſtant Aſſembly cou'd not bear the Sentence repeated which Archbiſhop *Laud* pronounced. The Complaints and Petitions touching Grievances, were ſo numerous, that the whole Houſe was divided and ſubdivided into above forty Committees, to hear and examine them; but the main were reducible to theſe four general Heads.

1. " *Committees* concerning Religion, Innovati- " ons in the Church, and Grievances by Eccleſi- " aſtical Courts.

2. " *Committees* concerning Publick Affairs in " general, and particularly concerning *Ireland* and " *Scotland*.

3. " Other *Committees* were relating to *Ship-* " *Money*, Judges, and Courts of Juſtice.

4. " *Committees* concerning *Popery*, the *Popiſh* " Hierarchy, the *Pope*'s Nuncio, *&c.*

Theſe Committees were purſuant to the Speeches and Motions of Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, Mr. *Bagſhaw*, Sir *John Holland*, all on the 7th of *November*. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* enlarg'd upon *Laud*'s ſuperſtitious *Innovations*, Mr. *Pym* upon the illegal and violent Ways of extorting Money from the People, on the Breach of parliamentary Privileges, the abrupt Diſſolutions and Interruption of Parliaments, the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion* Court, and the *ambitious and corrupt* Clergy *preaching divine Authority and abſolute Power in Kings*. Mr. *Bagſhaw*, the ſame Gentleman whom *Laud* got to be ſilenc'd when he was Reader of the *Temple*, ſaid, *My Soul has bled for the wrong Preſ-*

Sir *Benj. Rudyard.*

Mr. Pym.

Mr. Bagſhaw.

ſures

A.D.1640. *ſures I have* obſerv'd in the *High-Commiſſion*, and other *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, *eſpecially for the monſtrous Abuſe of the* Oath Ex Officio, which as it is now uſed, I can call no other than *Carnificina Conſcientiæ*. He inſtanc'd in a Knight of a Shire, who was proſecuted five Years in a Spiritual Court, for putting on his Hat in Sermon-Time. Do ſuch Things want Aggravation?

That there are a ſort of Prieſthood who ſtill wou'd ſet theſe infamous Courts at work to vex oppreſs and ruin their honeſt conſciencious Neighbours, one may conclude by a late Inſtance of a certain Curate, who having taken Offence againſt a Member of a Corporation for his Loyalty to his late Majeſty, lodg'd a Proſecution againſt him in one of thoſe vile Courts, in the Name of the Church-Wardens of the Pariſh, who knew nothing of the Matter. The Offender's Crime was laying down an aking Head on his Arm, in Time of a very dull Sermon. But what was ſtill worſe than the Malice of this *Proſecution*, he made the two Church-wardens afterwards ſwear to the Fact, and that they put in the Information to which their Names had been put; one of them, an ignorant Fellow, did it very readily, and has yet no Senſe of his Sin, but the other has a deep Impreſſion of it in an honeſt Mind, the Peace of which is like to be diſturb'd by it as long as he lives.

Spiritual Courts.

This Digreſſion cannot be unſeaſonable on a Subject which was ſo well handled in this Parliament; and it is in order to have it remember'd, if ever it ſhou'd be handled there again.

Sir John Holland.

Sir *John Holland* ſpoke for *removing the* Scottiſh *Army with a ſoft and gentle Hand of Mediation and Reconciliation.* The only way to reconcile them to the Government, was to reſtore their Religion, and Rights; and if they wou'd not have remov'd then, they wou'd ſoon have been *chas'd* away, as his Majeſty ſo earneſtly deſir'd: But there was no fear of that.

Lord Digby.

The Lord *Digby*, who had not yet made a Bargain with the Court, ſtrenuouſly vindicated thoſe Liberties for which he traffick'd with them afterwards. He ſaid warmly and eloquently, "It is "true, Mr. *Speaker*, the County of *Dorſet* has not "digeſted its Complaints into the formal way of "Petition, which others I ſee have done, but have "entruſted them to my Partners and my Delivery "of them by word of Mouth. There was given "in to us in the County-Court, the Day of "our Election, a ſhort Memorial of the Heads of "them, which we read in the Hearing of the "*Freeholders* preſent, who all unanimouſly with "one Voice, ſignify'd upon each Particular, that "it was their Deſire we ſhould repreſent them to "the Parliament, which with your Leave I ſhall "do; and theſe are, 1. The *great and intolerable Burthen of Ship-Money*: 2. The *many Abuſes in preſſing of Soldiers, and raiſing Monies*: 3. The *multitude of Monopolies*: 4. The *new Canons and Oath*: 5. The *Oath requir'd to be taken by Church Officers*, &c. And to ſhew that the pious Orthodox Clergy were not much better us'd by *Laud*, than thoſe he call'd Schiſmatical, the Lord *Digby* told the Parliament, he had a Note deliver'd him by the Clergy of that Dioceſe, complaining of *the Impoſition of a* new Oath, which they *conceive to be illegal*, and of a *pretended* Benevolence, *but in Effect* a Subſidy *to be paid by them, under Penalty of* Suſpenſion, Excommunication, *and* Deprivation: He ſaid farther, *The Oath is a Covenant againſt the King, for Biſhops and the Hierarchy, and ſo much the worſe than the* Scottiſh Covenant, *as they admit not of the* Supremacy *in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and we are ſworn to it.* I cannot omit a handſome Turn of his upon the Lord Keeper's Rhetorical Harangue, "It hath been a Metaphor frequent in Parliament, "and if my Memory fail me not, was made uſe "of in the Lord Keeper's Speech, *That what*

Againſt Laud's *Clergy.*

"*Monies Kings rais'd from their Subjects, they were* A.D.1640.
"*but as Vapours drawn from the Earth by the Sun,*
"*to be diſtill'd upon it again in fructifying Showers:*
"The Compariſon, Mr. *Speaker*, hath held of late
"Years in this Kingdom too unluckily, what hath
"been rais'd from the Subject by thoſe violent
"Attractions, hath been formed, it is true, into
"Clouds: But how? To darken the Sun's own
"Luſtre, and hath fallen again upon the Land
"only in Hailſtones and Mildews, to batter and
"proſtrate ſtill more and more our Liberties, to
"blaſt and wither our Affections." He clos'd with a Motion for a *Remonſtrance* againſt the *late pernicious Counſels, and the Authors of them, that it ſhou'd be ſpeedily drawn, and carry'd to the Lords for their Concurrence.*

Remonſtrance mov'd by Lord Digby.

Sir *John Colepepyr* compar'd the *Monopolizers* to ſwarms of *Vermin*, which like the Frogs of *Egypt*, had overſpread the Land. Mr. *Harbottle Grimſton* had this Expreſſion, "They begin to ſay in Town,
"the *Judges* have overthrown the *Laws*, and the
"*Biſhops* the *Goſpel*.

Sir John Colepepyr. *Mr.* Harbottle Grimſton.

Sir *Edward Deering* ſpoke much againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, concluding thus, *I hope before the Year run round, his Grace will either have more* Grace, *or no* Grace *at all*; *for our manifold Griefs do fill a mighty and vaſt Circumference*; *yet ſo, that from every Part our Lines of Sorrow do lead to him, and point to him the* Center, *from whence our Miſeries in this Church, and many of them in the Common-Wealth do flow.*

Sir Edward Deering. *Laud the Center of all Evils.*

Sir *John Wray* ſaid, "No Man truly ſays, I
"am in Will and Heart reſolved, unleſs according
"to his Ability, he endeavours to perform his Re-
"ſolution; which to ſpeak the Hearts of us all in
"this renown'd Senate, I am confident is fully
"fix'd for the true Reformation of all Diſorders in
"Church or Religion, and upon the well uniting
"and cloſe rejoining of the now diſlocated *Great*
"*Britain.* The Lords and Commons petition'd for a general Faſt, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* being one of the Lords who were order'd by the Houſe of Peers to ſignify to his Majeſty the Requeſt of both Houſes. A Committee was appointed to draw up the Remonſtrance which the Lord *Digby* had mov'd, himſelf was Chairman; Sir *John Strangeway*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Mr. *Capel*, Sir *Francis Seymour*, were of this Committee, as well as Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, &c. Thus we ſee that at the beginning of this Parliament, the moſt zealous Royaliſts were as loud againſt Grievances, as the moſt zealous Parliamentarians; and it is ſtrange beyond Conception, that their Judgment ſhould be convinc'd by a Civil War, in which they engag'd as ſoon as they left their firſt Party, to vindicate the Authors of thoſe very Grievances. Sir *William Widdrington*, Knight of the Shire for *Northumberland*, ſpeaking of the *Scots*, call'd them invading Rebels: The Houſe taking Diſtaſte at it, Captain *Charles Price* mov'd, *that they wou'd give the Loſers Leave to ſpeak*, for Sir *William*'s whole Eſtate was under the *Scots* Power; and the Knight, to explain himſelf, ſaying, he knew the *Scots* to be the King's Subjects, and wou'd no more call them Rebels, the Houſe was ſatisfy'd.

Sir John Wray.

Another wiſe Act of his Majeſty's Counſellors, was the making one of them, the Lord *Cottington*, Governor of the *Tower*, juſt when the Ears of the Parliament were dinn'd with Complaints of the Encouragement given to *Papiſts*: If that Lord was not then a profeſs'd Papiſt himſelf, he was a profeſs'd favourer of Popery. But King *Charles*'s Court was ever full of the worſt ſort of Occaſional Conformiſts, ſuch as went to Church not ſo much for Places, as to make her a Sacrifice to *Rome*, as *Weſton*, *Windebank*, *Cornway*, *Digby*, *Cottington*, &c. *Cottington* preſently added 400 Men to the Gariſon in the *Tower*, which giving Umbrage to the Parliament as well as City, his Majeſty took off

*A.D.*1640. the Gariſon, and diſplac'd the Governor. The Houſe of Commons expell'd all their Members who had been concern'd in Monopolies, and other unlawful Projects for raiſing Money, for which *Echard* reproaches them, as having no Precedent for ſuch Expulſions: We are aſſur'd, *his own Words*, "they had no Power to exclude any Members "from their Places, upon the account of falſe "Elections, or any other Pretence whatſoever. Who cou'd aſſure him this, which is ſo contrary to all Journals of Parliament before the preſent? It were to be wiſh'd he had not been ſo often miſled by the like Information and Authority. Sir *William Beecher*, one of the Clerks of the Council, who had been very buſy in ſearching the Studies and Pockets of the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord *Brook*, and other Lords and Commoners, was ſummon'd before the Houſe of Peers, and by them committed to the *Fleet*, though, ſays *Echard*, he had a Warrant from Secretary *Windebank*, who is about to fly the Kingdom for that and other illegal Practices.

Strafford *impeach'd.* Upon the 12th of *November*, a ſudden Motion was made by Mr. *Pym*, for Leave to acquaint the Houſe with ſomething of the greateſt Importance; wherefore he deſir'd the Doors may be lock'd up; which being done, he told them ſeveral Perſons had given Information, which gave Ground for the accuſing *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* of High-Treaſon. The Houſe appointed a Committee, the Lord *Digby*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Stroud*, Mr. *St. John*, to conſider the Information, who reported that they found juſt Cauſe for it. While they were examining this Matter, Sir *John Brampſtone*, Lord Chief-Juſtice, and Judge *Forſter*, brought a Meſſage from the Lords concerning the *Scots* Treaty; which being underſtood to be done with Deſign to ſtop the other Buſineſs, the Commons anſwer'd, that the Affair of the Treaty muſt be deferr'd, while the weighty and important Buſineſs then in Agitation, was under Conſideration. The Earl of *Strafford* was but juſt arriv'd from the Army when the Information againſt him was brought into the Houſe. Some thought it ſtrange that he ventur'd to come to Parliament, knowing that the *Scots* were reſolv'd to accuſe him as an *Incendiary*, and that the moſt leading Members of both Houſes were ready to join with them. But we are told the King was poſitive for his coming, being in want of ſo able a Head, which the Earl cou'd not long keep upon his Shoulders. He had prepar'd Matters for an Impeachment againſt thoſe Lords and Gentlemen who had encourag'd the *Scots* to march into *England*; but Mr. *Pym* was before-hand with him, and not many Hours after he arriv'd in Town, carry'd up to the Houſe of Lords an Accuſation of High-Treaſon againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, and deſir'd in the Name of the Commons of *England*, that he be immediately put in ſafe Cuſtody; which, according to the Archdeacon, the Lords agreed to with Clamour, and committed him to the Cuſtody of Mr. *Maxwell*, Uſher of the Black-Rod. He tells us further, that the Commons reſolv'd to make Sir *George Ratcliff*, his Friend and Confident, a Party in the Treaſon, to diſable him to be a Witneſs for the Earl. He alſo accuſes them of a breach of Privilege, in ſending for Sir *George* out of *Ireland*, where he was a Member of Parliament; but he does not tell us he was impeach'd there of High-Treaſon, which *Audley Mervin*, Eſq; ſaid, in his Speech to the Houſe of Lords there, *tranſcended all former Treaſons ſo much, as that the reſt ſeem'd to be but petty Larcenies, in reſpect of* Ratcliff's, the Lord *Strafford*'s Friend and Confident. Mr. *Echard* adds, upon the Earl's being ſent to the *Tower*, *The Parliament hunted and purſu'd him with all the Marks of an inſatiable Deſire of his Blood*; which is in Truth of Sentiment and Expreſſion, *they proſecuted him ſtrenuouſly, with a reſolute Deſign to have Juſtice.* *A.D.*1640. *Armies.*

The Houſe of Lords having had a Conference with the Houſe of Commons about the Treaty of *Rippon*, the Commiſſioners for that Treaty now adjourn'd to *London*, were approv'd of by both Houſes. Money being wanted to pay the King's Army, and relieve the Northern Counties, 100000 Pounds was voted to be borrow'd on the Security of ſome Members, who offer'd it; of which Mr. *Harriſon*, a young Gentleman, a Member of the Houſe, Son to Sir *John Harriſon* of the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, voluntarily offer'd to advance 50000 Pounds upon that Security; which 50000 Pounds was ſent to the *Scots* Army, who lay very heavy on *Northumberland*, and the *Biſhoprick*. The Archdeacon copying after Biſhop *Guthry*, his *Originals* are incomparable, calls it a Preſent, and adds, 'twas to be altogether without Prejudice to the 850 Pounds a Day formerly appointed them; whereas the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Durham*, which paid that Contribution, were voted to be exempt from their Proportion of the 100000 Pounds when the Tax was levy'd.

Kilvert. *Kilvert* the Informer, who proſecuted the Biſhop of *Lincoln* at the Inſtigation of *Laud*, was queſtion'd in Parliament, as the main Manager of the wicked Wine Project, and a Bill was brought into the Houſe, to make that vile Wretch a remarkable Example to all *Projectors* and *Monopoliſts*.

Biſhop Williams. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* was releas'd out of the *Tower*, at the Requeſt of the Houſe of Lords, and being reſtor'd to his Seat there, had not been many Hours in it, according to *Echard*, before he found out the dangerous Deſigns of the Country Party, and abandon'd them: He might have told us, that the Houſe of Commons having ſent to him, as Dean of *Weſtminſter*, that the Communion-Table in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, where the Members were wont to receive the Holy Sacrament, might be plac'd in the middle of the Church, he reply'd, *He wou'd do it, and wou'd do the like for any Pariſhioner in his Dioceſe.*

James *and* Haywood. About this Time one *James*, a Papiſt, Son of Sir *Henry James* of *Feverſham*, made a bold Attempt on Mr. *Haywood*, a Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, who had carefully prepar'd a Liſt of Recuſants to be preſented to the Committee: *James* was ſo provok'd at this Proteſtant Juſtice's Zeal, that meeting him in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, he publickly ſtabb'd him: The Wound was thought Mortal at firſt, and the imagin'd Murther caus'd more Clamour againſt *Papiſts*, who were grown ſo inſolent, that one of them aſſaulted a Magiſtrate in the ſupreme Court of Juſtice. The King was ſo ſenſible of the dangerous Conſequence of ſuch Inſolence, that he ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons to enquire into ſo foul and horrible a Fact. The Citizens of *London* preſented a Petition againſt Recuſants, in which they took Notice of *James*'s Aſſault upon *Haywood*, and offer'd to guard the Parliament. *Religion*, ſays our modeſt Hiſtorian, *began now to be more and more the Outcry of the Houſe of Commons*: They bellow'd when they ſpoke againſt Papiſts and Popery, againſt *Laud*'s Superſtition and Tyranny. He then gives us the Beginning and End of Sir *Edward Deering*'s Speech on that Subject; to which I will add ſomething between his two Paragraphs; "With the "*Papiſts* there is a ſevere *Inquiſition*, and with us "there is a bitter *High-Commiſſion*: Both theſe are "Judges in their own Caſes; yet herein heir *Inquiſitors* are better than our *High-Commiſſioners*; "they do not puniſh for Delinquents ſuch as profeſs the eſtabliſh'd Religion; but with us, how "many ſcores of poor diſtreſſed Miniſters have in "a few Years been *ſuſpended, degraded, depriv'd, excommunicated*, not guilty of the Breach of any "of our eſtabliſh'd Laws?" He then mentions the *Sir* Edw. Deering.

*A.D.*1640. *audacious libelling* Pamphlets, written by *Heylin, Cosins, Sparrow, Pocklington, Dow, Swan, Reeves, Yates, Hausted, Studly, Browne, Shelford,* and many more; *I name no Bishops, but I add,* &c. the Parliament order'd a Committee *to find out the Numbers of oppress'd Ministers under the Tyranny of the Bishops for these ten Years last past.*

Tyranny of the Bishops.

Wicked Judges.

A Debate arose concerning the Judges, for refusing Bail to Mr. *Selden*, and his Fellow-Prisoners, upon their Writs of *Habeas Corpus*. A Motion was made, that they might have Reparation out of the Estates of the *Judges*; of whom Judge *Croke* was excus'd, as differing in Opinion from the rest; and Judge *Whitlocke* was clear'd by the Defence his Son, *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, Esq; and Mr. *Hampden* made for him: When Ship-Money comes into Debate, we shall hear more of these, Sir *Philip Warwick*'s, learned and upright Judges.

Lord Falkland. *Ship-Money.*

The Lord *Falkland*, speaking of that illegal Tax, inveigh'd against them, *Who as Wolves worry'd those Sheep, whom as Dogs they shou'd have defended.* He upbraided them with giving the King bad Counsel, *telling him, he might do what he pleas'd by Policy:* He mark'd out the *Lord Keeper* Finch, *as the principal Adviser and Abettor in this Matter.* Among all the false Representations against the Parliament of *England*, I think there is none more notorious than where *Echard* affirms, *That the Commons voted* Ship-Money *to be against the Laws of the Realm, the Right of Property, the Liberty of the Subject, contrary to former Resolutions of Parliament, and to the Petition of Right, without Examination of the Reasons of the Judges*; which had been more fully examin'd than such wretched Reasons deserv'd, as we see in the same Speech of the Lord *Falkland*'s. "These Judges, Mr. *Speaker*, "have deliver'd an Opinion and Judgment in an "extrajudicial Manner; that is, such as came not "within their Cognisance, they being Judges, and "neither Philosophers nor Politicians; in which, "when that which they wou'd have so evident "and absolute taketh Place, the Law of the Land "ceases, and that of general Reason and Equity, "by which particular Laws at first were fram'd, "returns to his Throne and Government. They "have contradicted apparent Evidences, suppo-"sing mighty and evident Dangers in the most "serene, quiet, and halcion Days that could pos-"sibly be imagin'd, a few contemptible Py-"rates being our most formidable Enemies; they "contradict the Writ it self, by supposing that "supposed Danger to be so sudden, that it would "not stay for a Parliament: It seem'd generally "strange, that they saw not the Law, which all "Men else saw but themselves." Pray remember, Mr. *Echard*, copying after the most ingenious *Warwick*, told us, *Nothing could have led them into that Opinion* but their Books. Lord *Falkland* again; "The first of all the Reasons for this Judg-"ment was such, that there needed not any from "the adverse Party to help them to convert those "few who before had not the least Suspicion of "the Legality of that most illegal Tax; there be-"ing fewer that approv'd of the Judgment than "there were that judg'd it legal, for I am confi-"dent they did not *that* themselves." The Lord *Falkland* speaks of the Indignation which the Opinion of the Judges against their Books and their Consciences rais'd in Peoples Minds; yet *Echard* vilifies the Parliament for questioning them about it; and yet it is expected I should treat him with Decency, who has so unworthily and scandalously treated the whole Nation in their Representatives. We must not forget, that in this Speech Lord *Falkland* charg'd *Heylin* with representing the People of *England* as Slaves; and Mr. *Philips* charges him for abusing the Bishop of *Lincoln*; and I cou'd charge him with a Book full of insolent Sophistry and Falshood, if the Digression wou'd not disgrace the History: He abus'd Bishop *Williams* to please Archbishop *Laud*, and he abus'd the whole *English* Nation to please those who unhappily had then the Government of it.

Rushw. 87, 211.

Heylin a Libeller.

*A.D.*1640.

About the latter end of *November*, *William Prynne*, Esq; Dr. *Bastwick*, and Mr. *Burton* the Minister, return'd from their several remote Prisons by order of Parliament, to whom they severally presented their Petitions: Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Burton* landed first at *Southampton* from *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, and Dr. *Bastwick* afterwards at *Dover* from *Scilly*; all three continued their Journey by Land; and all three, as they travelled the Country, were receiv'd with the Acclamations of the People. *Larrey* writes, "It was a continual Procession all along the Road, and People beholding "their Scars with Veneration, stil'd them *Martyrs*, "and their Judges *Hangmen*, too tender a Name "for them:" All Places where they pass'd were strew'd with Flowers, and Joy eccho'd from every Part for their Deliverance; a hundred Coaches accompany'd the Coaches they rode in, and they made their Entry into *London* in a triumphant Manner, the *Acclamation* being as hearty as it was loud and general. If it was heard at *Lambeth*, it must be as doleful as a Knell; and now must the Archbishop be in the bitterness of Terror and of Woe, while those whom he had so barbarously prosecuted and mutilated, were in Exultation with an innumerable Multitude of Friends through the whole City; which for this Reason, and a steady Adherence to the *reform'd* Religion and Liberty, is by *Echard* call'd, *the Sink of all the ill Humours in the Kingdom.* If I shou'd call the Earl of *Clarendon*'s History, and his own, the Sink of all the Tyranny and Superstition of the Reign I write of, how wou'd it be taken? This joyful Multitude did not fail to express their Resentment against *Laud* and his Brother Persecutors in very intelligible Terms, such as doubtless made their Hearts ake, though Mr. *Echard*, with his wonted Wit, rallies the Rabble for being angry with those Prelates for *persecuting such godly Men.* These Sufferers a few Days afterwards had some Compensation for their Sufferings, as also had Dr. *Leighton*, and Mr. *Lilburne*, *in Defiance*, says *Echard*, with equal Modesty and Judgment, *of that Court of Justice that had censur'd them*, the abominable *Star-Chamber.* In all the Resolutions to which the Parliament came in reference to these much injur'd Gentlemen, they voted their *Prosecutions* and Sentences to be illegal, and that their *Judges* shou'd make them Reparation, naming Archbishop *Laud*, Bishop *Juxon* Lord High-Treasurer, the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, the Lord *Newburgh*, Sir *Thomas Jermyn*, Duke of *Lenox*, Lord *Cottington*, Marques of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebank*, who are now coming to a Reckoning for their Cruelties and Extortions in that execrable Court. The House order'd a Charge to be drawn up against *Heylyn*, for promoting the Suit there against Mr. *Prynne*. The Earl of *Rothes*, the Lord *Lowdon*, and the other *Scotch* Commissioners, remain'd at *London* about the Affairs of that Nation and their Army. The Archdeacon informs us, they heard their Chaplains preach in St. *Antholin*'s Church, which was crowded every Day *with Auditors, out of* Zeal, Fashion, *or* Curiosity. The Earl of *Clarendon* supports him in this Drollery, by saying their Sermons were *flat and insipid:* Qualities which will better admit of Sentiments of Piety and Devotion, than the Flattery and Fustian Rage and Nonsense of *Sibthorp*, *Pocklington*, and the Preachers mention'd by Sir *Edward Deering*. The Reverend Historian goes on, "The Interest and "Influence of the *Scots* Commissioners increas'd "the Boldness and Hatred of the inferior Sort a-"gainst the *establish'd* Church; another false Representation, for neither the higher nor lower Order of People hated the Protestant Church of *England*, as establish'd in King *Edward* the VIth's Reign, and

William Prynne, *Esq*; *Dr.* Bastwick. *Mr.* Henry Burton, *B. D.*

Scots Commissioners.

A.D.1640. and as underſtood by Biſhop *Moreton*, Biſhop *Davenant*, Biſhop *Hall*, Biſhop *Brownrig*, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and other pious and learned Fathers of our Church: But they did hate heartily the *prophane* and ſuperſtitious Innovations eſtabliſh'd by *Laud*; and to remove them, Alderman *Pennington*, one of the Members for the City of *London*, preſented a Petition to the Houſe of Commons the 11th of *December*, ſign'd by 15000 Hands, which Mr. *Archdeacon* calls the *Refuſe of the People*, as if they had been all ſuch Wretches as ran about after *Sacheverel*, the condemn'd Doctor, in our Days, and pull'd down Houſes to ſhew their Zeal for the *Church*. He tells a Story upon it, which appears *prima facie*, to be falſe, tho' probably, his Invention was not fruitful enough to produce it: "The *Petitioners* "uſually prepar'd a Petition very modeſt and du- "tiful for the Form, and not very unreaſonable "in the Subſtance, which they carefully commu- "nicated at ſome publick Meetings to get it re- "ceiv'd with Approbation. The Subſcriptions of "a few Hands fill'd the Paper itſelf, which con- "tain'd the Petition, and therefore more Sheets "were annex'd for the Reception of the Number "which was to countenance the Undertaking. "When many Hands were procur'd, the Petition "itſelf was cut off, and a new one anſwerable to "the Deſign on foot annex'd to the Liſt of Names. "Of this ſort was *Pennington*'s Petition which ſtruck "at *Epiſcopacy*." I am not afraid of repeating the moſt malignant Parcels of their Hiſtories, which are ſo many *Felo de ſe*'s, and murder themſelves. This is ſilly to a degree; for what Need of ſo much Art to procure 15000 Hands, when the *nine* in *ten* of the Inhabitants of *London* were then in the *Puritan* Intereſt? And Mr. *Echard* had juſt call'd it not only the *Sink* of its own Ill-Humours, but the *Sink* of all the Ill-Humours in the Nation. Alderman *Pennington*'s Petition being read in the Houſe, it was reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, *That there ſhall be a Day certain ſet for the debating of it; that the Roll of Names brought in with this Petition, ſhall be ſeal'd with Mr. Speaker's Seal till the Houſe ſhall farther order it.* But there happen'd a Debate three or four Days after, which of Courſe introduc'd the Subſtance of this Petition, and that was about the *extravagant Proceedings of the Biſhops and Convocation. The Canons, new Oath, the Benevolence, the irregular and tyrannical Government* of *Laud* and other Prelates, was explain'd and exclaim'd againſt, as well as the Canons and Convocation Acts. Sir *Edward Deering* in his Speech, call'd this *Laudæan* Synod, *A Monſter to our Law, a* Cerberus *to our Religion; they have charg'd their Canons at us to the full, and never fearing that ever they wou'd recoil back into a Parliament, they have ramm'd a prodigious ungodly Oath into them.* Mr. *Fiennes* the Lord *Say*'s Son, ſaid, *I conceive theſe Canons do contain ſundry Matters, which are not only contrary to the Laws of the Land, but alſo deſtructive of the very principal and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.* He then enumerated the various Articles which were of ſuch ill Tendency. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſpoke thus, "A Man may eaſi- "ly ſee to what tend all theſe Innovations and Al- "terations in Doctrine and Diſcipline, and with- "out a Perſpective, diſcover afar off the Toilſom- "neſs of theſe ſpiritual Engineers to undermine the "old and true Foundations of Religion, and to "eſtabliſh their tottering *Hierarchy* in the room "thereof." The Lord *Digby*, uncorrupted as yet, call'd it a *new Synod* patch'd out of an *old Convocation*. At laſt it was reſolv'd, *nemine contradicente*, That the Clergy of *England conven'd in Convocation, have no Power to make any Conſtitution, Canons, or Act whatſoever, in Matters of Doctrine, Diſcipline, or otherwiſe, to bind the Clergy or Laity of the Land, without Conſent of Parliament; that the Canons paſs'd by the late Synod, contain Matters contrary to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, to the Rights of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects, and Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence.* Reſolv'd, *nemine Contradicente*, "That the Benevolence grant- "ed by the Convocation is contrary to the Laws, "and ought not to bind the *Clergy*." All which Reſolutions Mr. *Archdeacon* declares, on his undoubted Authority, to be entirely wrong; and that the Convocation knowing their Buſineſs better than the Parliament, only exerted *their antient Rights*. A Committee was order'd to conſider and examine who were the Promoters of the *new Canons*, and who the principal Actors; and to conſider how far in particular the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* hath been an Actor in the great Deſign of the Subverſion of the Laws of the Realm and of the Religion, and to prepare and draw up a Charge againſt him: Which Committee was compos'd of the following Gentlemen, who were to meet in the *Star-Chamber*, where moſt of the Tragedies he was now to be accountable for, had been acted.

Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Robert Howard*, Sir *Francis Seymour*, Sir *Oliver Luke*, Sir *Henry Anderſon*, Sir *Guy Palmes*, Sir *Miles Fleetwood*, Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Litton*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *Hugh Chomley*, Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Edward Deering*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Mr. *Strangeways*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Bagſhaw*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Grimſton*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Fiennes*, Mr. *Young*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Peard*, Mr. *Coke*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Rigby*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Weſton*, Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Whiſtler*, Mr. *Feltham*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Whitlocke*.

They were moſt of them as great Men as any of that or any other Age, and moſt of them not prejudic'd againſt Epiſcopacy; I do not mean Archbiſhop *Laud*'s but Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s. The *Scots* Commiſſioners deliver'd a long Charge in Writing againſt the former, wherein he is charg'd with all the Innovations and Alterations made in the Church and State of *Scotland*, and that conſequently he is the Author of the preſent Troubles, which is what I was endeavouring to prove before I read this Paper. The Lord *Paget* read it in the Houſe of Lords, and it was then ſent to the Houſe of Commons, who after the reading of it, voted him guilty of *High-Treaſon* the 18th of *December*, and Mr. *Hollis* was ſent to the Lords to impeach him, and deſire he might be ſequeſtred from the Houſe, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody, which was ſo order'd, and the Archbiſhop call'd to the Bar as a Delinquent, where he deſir'd Leave to fetch ſome Papers from *Lambeth* for his Defence, and it was granted, provided Mr. *Maxwell* Uſher of the Black-Rod attended him, and had him ſtill in Cuſtody. Their Lordſhips order'd that no Member of their Houſe ſhou'd viſit him. The next Day Mr. *Hampden* was ſent to the Houſe of Peers, to let them know that the Commons had Informations of a high Nature againſt *Matthew Wren* Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, for ſetting up Idolatry and Superſtition, and being himſelf an Idolater; that the Commons heard he was running away, and therefore they deſir'd he might be ſecur'd; upon which he was oblig'd to give 10000 Pounds Bail for his forth coming. Notwithſtanding the long Bill of Articles againſt *Laud*, which the Lord *Paget* read in the Houſe, Mr. *Echard* aſſerts there was *nothing in Form particularly produc'd againſt him* till ten Weeks after; whereas the very formal and ample Charge againſt him was read by the Lord *Paget* in the Houſe of Lords before it was reported in the Commons Houſe. He adds, the great Mens Hatred againſt him, was for his puniſhing Sir *Robert Howard* and the Lady *Purbeck* with Penance for their Amours. What a Trifle is this to his endeavouring to deſtroy the Reform'd Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England*? The Lords order'd Sir *Robert Howard* 500*l.* Damages

Penning-ton's *Petition.*

Convocat.

Sir Edw. Deering.

Mr. Fiennes.

Sir Benj. Rudyard.

Ld Digby.

Convocation cenſur'd

Laud's *Deſign to ſubvert the Conſtitution.*

Laud's Committee.

He is impeach'd.

Laud *a Delinquent.*

Wren *Biſhop of Ely queſtion'd.*

Ruſhw. 123.

Ruſhw. 113.

Laud.

*A.D.*1640. mages againſt the Archbiſhop; which according to *Echard* he paid with great Difficulty; ſo I believe, if by that he underſtands Reluctance; tho' a few Months before he cou'd lend the King 10000 *l.* to raiſe an Army againſt the Proteſtants in *Scotland*.

Princeſs Anne's Death. About this time dy'd the Princeſs *Anne*, his Majeſty's third Daughter, four Years old, very much lamented on Account of the Hopes ſhe gave by the Pregnancy of her Parts.

Windebank *flies.* Secretary *Windebank* Archbiſhop *Laud*'s old Friend, having releas'd ſeveral *Popiſh* Prieſts, and countermanded Writs for ſeizing the Lands and Goods of Recuſants convict, and order'd Magiſtrates to forbear proſecuting them, was ſummon'd to anſwer for thoſe and ſeveral other Offences before the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, tho' an unworthy one; but inſtead of appearing, his Guilt gave Speed to his Flight, and he got into *France* to be out of their reach.

Ld-Keeper Finch *flies.* The next Miniſter who ran away from Puniſhment, was *Finch* the Lord Keeper, who before he fled, deſir'd to be heard by the Houſe of Commons, hoping they wou'd not be able to withſtand his Eloquence. It was granted, and a Chair ſet for him near the Bar. He came into the Houſe the 12th of *December*, carrying the Purſe himſelf; and when the Speaker told him his Lordſhip might ſit, he made a low Obeyſance, and laying down the Seal and his Hat in the Chair, lean'd on the Back of it, in which Poſture he made a long rhetorical Speech, which very little extenuated his Crime. He began thus, "I give you Thanks for "granting me Admittance to your Preſence; I "came not to preſerve myſelf and Fortunes, but "to preſerve your good Opinion of me; for I "profeſs I had rather beg my Bread from Door "to Door with *Date Obolum Beliſario* with your "Favour, than be ever ſo high and honour'd with "your Diſpleaſure." His Concluſion was, *If I may not live to ſerve you, I deſire I may die in your good Opinion.* This Speech was deliver'd ſo gracefully, and was in itſelf ſo moving, that the Minds of many Members of the Houſe of Commons received Impreſſions by it: But *Echard* is too credulous and too poſitive in ſaying, "The Lord *Cla-* "*rendon* makes it viſible, that this great Man was "ſtill ſo much in Favour of the Houſe, that they "wou'd gladly have preſerv'd him in his Place;" there being not the leaſt Viſibility of any ſuch Diſpoſition in them; and it is partially and unjuſtly ſaid only to repreſent the Parliament as unjuſt and partial. Mr. *Rigby* preſently anſwer'd the Lord Keeper thus, *Had not this Syren ſo ſweet a Tongue, ſurely he cou'd never have effected ſo much Miſchief to this Kingdom. You know, Sir,* Optimorum Putrefactio peſſima, *the beſt Things putrify'd become the worſt, and as it is in the natural ſo in the Body politick. And what's to be done then?* Enſe recidendum eſt, *the Sword of Juſtice muſt ſtrike*; Ne pars ſincera trahatur, *leſt the ſound Part ſuffer.* And ſo very deſirous was they to keep him in his high Office, that the very ſame Day they voted him a *Traytor*; 1. *For refuſing to read the* Remonſtrance *againſt the Lord* Weſton. 2. *For ſoliciting, perſuading, and threatening the Judges to deliver their Opinion for Ship-Money.* 3. *For ſeveral illegal Acts in Foreſt Matters.* 4. *For ill Offices done in making the King diſſolve the laſt Parliament.* The next Day he was accus'd before the Houſe of Peers, but he got up earlier than ordinary, gave them the Slip, and eſcap'd to *Holland.* He was ſucceeded as Keeper by Sir *Edward Littleton* Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.

Judges. On the 20th of *December* the famous Mr. *Waller* was ſent to the Lords with a Meſſage from the Commons, that they had receiv'd divers Informations of Crimes of a very high Nature againſt Sir *John Bramſtone* Lord-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, Sir *Humphry Davenport*, Juſtice *Berkley*, and Juſtice *Crawley*, and deſir'd they might put in Bail to abide the Cenſure of Parliament. The Judges ſubmitted themſelves to the Pleaſure of the Houſe of Peers, who order'd them to give Security for their Appearance. *A.D.*1640.

Dr. *Coſins* afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*, was ſent for as a Delinquent, and voted guilty of *Superſtitious Innovations tending to Idolatry, of ſpeaking ſcandalous and malicious Words againſt his Majeſty's Supremacy, and the Religion eſtabliſh'd.* This lets us into a Secret which *Clarendon*, *Echard*, and all that ſort of Writers have endeavour'd to keep from us, which is, that the Parliament of *England* do not look upon *Laud*, *Neile*, *Wren*, *Harſnet*, *Montague*, *Manwaring*, *Pierce*, *Skinner*, &c. Prelates, nor upon *Sibthorp*, *Pocklington*, *Coſins*, and ſuch inferior Clergy, to be of the *eſtabliſh'd Church*, which however they have always in their Mouths; but of an idolatrous ſuperſtitious Church which they were about eſtabliſhing. Notwithſtanding this Vote, the reverend Hiſtorian informs us *Coſins* was a *ſtrict* Churchman, very loyal; and when he fled to *France*, converted there many Papiſts to the Proteſtant Religion. *Dr.* Coſins *his Superſtition.*

Dr. *Chaffin* a Weſt-Country Parſon, was alſo ſent for as a Delinquent, for a Sermon preach'd by him in the Cathedral-Church of *Salisbury*; as was alſo one *Jones* Parſon of *Owfield* in *Devonſhire*, for ſcandalous Words againſt the Parliament in a Sermon preach'd at *Tiverton*. *Chaffin* was reprimanded by the Speaker, and order'd to make a Recantation in the Cathedral at *Sarum*. *Dr.* Caffin. Jones.

Sir *John Lamb* was brought upon his Knees for levying Money to ſet up Organs. But there wou'd be no end of it, if one ſhou'd pretend to particularize the Inſtances of every Prieſt who turn'd the Artillery of the Pulpit againſt the Religion, Rights, and Liberties of their Country, for which Reaſon the Author or Authors of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, labour ſo much to charge the *Puritans* with beating the *Eccleſiaſtical Drum*. *Sir* John Lamb.

One of the laſt Things that were done this Year in Parliament, was the bringing Archdeacon *Pierce* Son to the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, upon his Knees at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, for ſaying to one Mr. *Coleman*, who ſeem'd to be concern'd at the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, *A Pox of God take them all.* You ſee what the Archdeacons of the *Laudæan* Stamp were: *They were puritanical factious Fellows*; *the King will never be quiet till ſome of their Heads are off*; *he may have two Millions of Money of a* Spaniſh *Don if he will.* He was excellently well taught both as to Piety and Politicks by his Father Biſhop *Pierce*, who, as we have related, never diſtinguiſh'd himſelf ſo much by any thing, as by his Zeal for *Revels* and *Sabbath-breaking*. The ſwearing Archdeacon was order'd into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms; and I think if he had had his due, another Keeper wou'd have had him in keeping, the Words being prov'd by three Witneſſes. *Archdeacon* Pierce. Ruſhw. 134.

In the beginning of the next Year, a Petition from *Kent*, and ſome time after another from *Glouceſter*, were preſented to the Houſe concerning the *Evils ſuffer'd by Reaſon of the Government of Biſhops*; both which were referr'd to the Committee for *Pennington*'s Petition: And on the 14th of *January* Mr. *Edward Hyde* afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, had the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons for his great Service in vindicating the Liberty and Property of the Subject with reſpect to the Buſineſs of *Ship-Money*, and the Impeachment of the Lord-Keeper *Finch* for High-Treaſon, in which there are ſome Things remarkable, for that this ſame Mr. *Hyde* does in *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory declare, *Many believ'd the real Neceſſity of Ship-Money, and thought the Burden reaſonable*; *it did not ſeem of apparent ill Conſequence, that the regal Power ſhou'd ſupply the Impotency of the Law.* And tho' this Mr. *Hyde* was order'd to aſſiſt the Lord *Falkland* *A.D.*1641. *P.* 69.

A.D.1641. when he carry'd up the Articles of Impeachment againſt *Finch*; wherein the Parliament ſay, by the Lord *Falkland*, "Here are many and mighty "Crimes, *Crimes of Supererrogation*. So that *High-Treaſon is but a Part of his Charge, purſuing him fervently in every ſeveral Condition; a ſilent Speaker, an unjuſt Judge, an unconſcionable Keeper, his Life appears a perpetual Warfare, with Mines, Battery, Battel and Stratagem, againſt our fundamental Laws*; yet the Parliament, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, wou'd fain have kept him in Keeper.

On the 21ſt of *January* the Parliament proceeded againſt *Monopoliſts*, and finding ſome of their own Members among them, they were expell'd; as Sir *Nicholas Criſp* Baron for *Winchelſea* a Cinque-Port, *William Sandys* Eſq; Burgeſs for *Eveſham* in *Worceſterſhire*, Sir *John Jacob* Baron for *Rye* a Cinque Port, *Thomas Webb* Eſq; Burgeſs for —— *Edmund Windham* Eſq; Burgeſs for *Bridgwater* in *Somerſetſhire*, a ſmall Dealer, his Monopoly being the marking of Butter-Firkins; he was afterwards Governor, for the King, of the Town he repreſented, and was expell'd there too by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and *Oliver Cromwell*. *Monopoliſts.*

There being no ſtemming of the Tide for Redreſs of Grievances, and no breaking up of the Parliament while the *Scots* Army was in *England*, the Court was adviſ'd to ſwim with the Stream, and for once to try the Effect of popular Counſels, which, ſays *Echard*, was an infirm Piece of Policy; ſo politick is he himſelf, as to think the Love of the People a weakening of the Prince: There was no ſurer Way to make him belov'd, than to employ thoſe whom the People lov'd. The Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Say*, were ſworn of the Privy-Council; and according to the reverend Hiſtorian, they ſoon ſhew'd how unfit they were to have Seats at that Board, by telling the King, *They ought not to give him any Advice which was diſagreeable to the Senſe of the Parliament his great Council*. How weak were theſe new Counſellors? The Hiſtorian with his uſual Simplicity reflects upon them again for counſelling the King to be only adviſ'd by the *Two Houſes*. If the King had any Intereſt ſeparate from that of the People, which I verily believe that Author thinks he might have, he is in the right to upbraid thoſe Lords of the Privy-Council for giving him ſuch Advice: But if the King's Intereſt and his People's are inſeparable, as common Senſe teaches one, then the Advice of his Parliament cou'd be the only ſure Foundation for his Majeſty to build upon. The Earl of *Bedford* was to be Lord-Treaſurer; in order to which, Dr. *Juxon* had already begg'd Leave of the King to reſign his White-Staff, which indeed had encroach'd too much upon the Paſtoral one. *He reſolv'd*, ſays the Archdeacon, *to withdraw from the impending Storm, with no leſs Honour than Security*. He cou'd not keep it any longer. His Biſhoprick was in Danger, and much more his Treaſurerſhip. How ridiculous is this Air which is maintain'd thro' the Hiſtory. *Juxon* was one of the principal Actors in the Convocation, in the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commiſſion* Courts. As great as his Security was, he was fin'd 10000 *l.* by the Parliament for acting in that Synod; he was order'd to make Reparation to Mr. *Burton* the Miniſter for the barbarous Sentence he paſs'd upon him in the *Star-Chamber*, and to Mr. *Prynne* for his cruel unheard of Puniſhment, and to others who had ſuffer'd the like bloody Sentences: Yet, if you can believe Mr. *Echard* for once, he was in no Danger of loſing his Poſt of Lord-High-Treaſurer of *England*, but voluntarily petition'd to part with it, that he might apply himſelf to his Epiſcopal Function, ſo conſiſtent with the pecuniary Employments he had been ſo long in poſſeſſion of. The Archdeacon again; "The Lord "*Say* was to be made Maſter of the *Wards* in the "room of the Lord *Cottington*, who was promi- A.D.1641. "ſed to be indemnify'd for the future." He has the Lord *Clarendon*'s Word for it. But was Mr. *Hyde* ſo much in Mr. *Pym*'s Confidence, that he reveal'd all his Secrets to him? *Pym* on the ſame Account was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Cottington* was ſo far from being indemnify'd, that he was order'd to make Satisfaction to Mr. *Prynne* and the other Sufferers, for the Sentences he paſs'd againſt them in the *Star-Chamber*. *Popular Counſels.*

Tho' there is not the leaſt Appearance of Wit in all the Archdeacons Folio Hiſtories, but when the Terms *godly, ſeeking God*, Purity or Reformation lye in his Way, yet he nibbles at it here, where he ſays, Mr. *Pym*'s overflowing *Zeal might have been diverted by a Place*; which was not very likely, when Mr. *St. John*, who was made Sollicitor-General, whoſe Zeal overflow'd as much as Mr. *Pym*'s, gave an exemplary Inſtance, that when a Perſon is truly animated with a publick Spirit, he grows above all Temptation, and ſacrifices all other Intereſts to that of the Publick. The Earl of *Eſſex* was made Lord-Chamberlain; but his Zeal continu'd to overflow, when the Service of his Country requir'd it. This Conſtancy to the Common-Weal, the reverend Hiſtorian terms a *long and rooted Malignity to the Government*. And it is obſervable in his and the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtories, that they do their Buſineſs by Words, without having any Regard to the Fact or to the Argument. There's more ſecret Hiſtory ſtill to come; "*Bedford* and *Pym* promis'd to obtain a li- "beral Proviſion and Settlement for the King's "Revenues;" inſinuating that if the Earl of *Bedford* had been made Lord-Treaſurer, and Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, they wou'd have ſacrific'd the Rights and Liberties of the People to the King's Will and Pleaſure, which is what he means by *Government*. For if by Government he underſtood a ſteady Adherence to the Conſtitution, the limited Prerogative of the Crown, and the antient Privileges of Parliament, he wou'd have known that there had been no ſuch Government in this Reign; and that what he calls a rooted Malignity to it, was a ſtrenuous aſſerting of the Liberty of *Engliſhmen* both in Spirituals and Temporals.

A Bill being brought into the Houſe by *Edmund Prideaux* Eſq; for Triennial Parliaments, the Lord *Digby* ſpoke to it forcibly and eloquently the 19th of *January*, *I will be bold to ſay, Mr.* Speaker, *that an Accumulation of all the publick Grievances ſince* Magna Charta, *one upon another, unto that Hour in which the* Petition *of* Right *paſs'd into an Act of Parliament, wou'd not amount to ſo oppreſſive, I am ſure not ſo deſtructive a Height of Magnitude to the Rights and Properties of the Subject, as one Branch of our enſlaving ſince the* Petition *of* Right. His Lordſhip ſays no more nor no leſs, than that one Act of Miſgovernment ſince *Laud* and *Wentworth* were at the Head of it, was more oppreſſive and deſtructive, than all the illegal Acts in the Adminiſtration for four hundred Years paſt, under the *Gavaſtons*, the *Spencers*, the *Empſons*, the *Dudleys*, the *Wolſeys*, the *Cars*, the *Villiers*, &c. And yet there muſt be no Tyranny ſpoken of in this Reign. This *Triennial* Bill going forward, and *Petitions* being daily preſented to the Houſe of Commons againſt the *Hierarchy* and Diſſolutions of Parliaments, the King ſent for both Houſes to the *Banquetting-Houſe* the 25th of *January*, where making a Speech to them, *he put them in mind of the two Armies, and the Charge of maintaining them*. As to *Biſhops*, he ſaid, *he wou'd not ſay but they may have overſtretch'd their Power and encroach'd upon the Temporal. If they will reform the Abuſe he is with them, but he will not conſent to take away their Vote in Parliament*. This was truly healing, as the Archdeacon terms it, and 'tis great Pity that the Fervour of ſome leading Men had not cool'd a little, *Triennial Parliaments.* *Engliſhmen enſlav'd.* *King's healing Speech.*

A.D. 1641. *A good Opportunity loſt.*

a little. Here was a happy Opportunity to have thrown out all Superſtition, and to have broken the ſpiritual Courts to Pieces, to have hinder'd Innovation and Perſecution for ever; and I know not what any good *Engliſhman* and good Proteſtant ought to hope for more as to Spirituals. Here we muſt own that the Zeal of thoſe leading Members overflow'd; but what human Counſels are at all Times free from Error?

Goodman *the Prieſt.*

The King had repriev'd one *Goodman* a Prieſt, who had been condemn'd at the *Old-Baily*, of which the Commons having receiv'd Information; they ſent Sir *John Colepepyr* to the Lords, to deſire a Conference, which being agreed to, Mr. *Hyde* and other Members were appointed to manage it; Mr. *Hyde* returning from the Conference, brought a Meſſage from the King, "That *Goodman* had not "perverted the King's Subjects, that he was mer- "ciful like Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, that "he was willing *Goodman* ſhou'd be impriſon'd or "baniſh'd, and did not intend by this particular "Mercy to leſſen the Force of the Law." It is worth remarking, that ſince the new Privy-Counſellors had Seats at the Board, the Stile of the Speeches and Meſſages are ſoft and obliging; whereas while *Laud* had Influence there, and after the new Counſellors were no more adviſ'd with, the Stile is ſtudy'd to diſpleaſe, and ſometimes to exaſperate. The two Houſes agreed upon a Remonſtrance concerning the Reprieve of *Goodman*, and the Favour ſhewn to the Papiſts, which was deliver'd by the Lord-Keeper to the King. In this Remonſtrance it is ſaid, the Favour ſhewn to Papiſts, and particularly to *Goodman*, had ſo offended the Citizens of *London*, that they abſolutely deny'd to lend Money for the publick Occaſions till they were ſatisfy'd in thoſe Points. His Majeſty moſt graciouſly comply'd with the humble Requeſt of his Two Houſes of Parliament, and left *Goodman* to the Law; and the Prieſt ſhew'd himſelf worthy of national Mercy as well as national Juſtice, by petitioning the King to be executed rather than be the Cauſe of a Miſunderſtanding between his Majeſty and the Parliament.

A generous Prieſt.

Earl of Strafford's *Tryal.*

All this while Preparations were making for the Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*, which *Echard* repreſents as a Conſpiracy of the Parliament to deſtroy him. They *proceeded by private Steps*, as theſe Steps in Parliament, Order'd, "That his Ma- "jeſty be mov'd that the Committee for prepa- "ring the Charge againſt the Lord-Lieutenant of "*Ireland*, may have the Lord *Mount Norris*'s Pa- "pers. Again,

Order'd, "That the Committee have Power to "ſend for Records, Parties, and Witneſſes, or any "other thing which they ſhall think may conduce "to the perfecting of that Charge.

It is obſervable that before the Articles againſt him were perfected, the Houſe of Commons debated the Matter of Attainders, and a Committee was appointed to *ſearch after Records of former Attainders, the Commons having then in their Proſpect Proceedings againſt the Earl of* Strafford. How private this Step was. We ſee here that the Deſign to attaint him, was form'd even before he was try'd, tho' the *Attainder* is repreſented as a ſudden Change of Proceſs, upon their apprehending that the Tryal might not ſerve their End. I cou'd give many other Inſtances of ſuch private Steps taken openly in the Houſe of Commons, if theſe were not ſufficient to ſhew how unreaſonable it is to expect Sincerity or Impartiality from that Hiſtorian.

The Bill for *Triennial* Parliaments having paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, was ſent to the Houſe of Peers by the Lord *Digby*, a Nobleman of fine Qualities, which were all blaſted at once by his Apoſtacy, and giving up that excellent Reaſon of which he was Maſter, to his two ungovernable Paſſions Revenge and Ambition. The King paſs'd that Bill the 15th of *February*, and made another healing Speech, for with the *Triennial* Bill there paſs'd another for granting his Majeſty four entire Subſidies. *A.D.* 1641.

On the 26th of *February* Mr. *Pym* carry'd up to the Lords the Articles againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*, an Abridgment of which is as follow.

Articles againſt Laud.

1. "That he had traiterouſly endeavour'd to ſub- "vert the fundamental Laws and Government of "the Kingdom, to introduce arbitrary and tyran- "nical Power; and to that End had wickedly and "traiterouſly adviſ'd his Majeſty that he might raiſe "Money at his own Will and Pleaſure without "Conſent of Parliament, which he affirm'd was "warrantable by the Law of God.

2. "That for the better Accompliſhment of his "traiterous Deſigns, he had procur'd Sermons to "be preach'd, printed, and publiſh'd againſt the "Authority of Parliament and the Laws of the "Land.

3. "He hath by Letters, Meſſages, Threats and "Promiſes to the Judges, perverted the Courſe of "Juſtice, whereby ſeveral of his Majeſty's Subjects "have been depriv'd of their lawful Rights, and "ſubjected to his tyrannical Will, to their Ruin "and Deſtruction.

4. "He hath traiterouſly and corruptly ſold Ju- "ſtice in the *High-Commiſſion* Court, hath taken "unlawful Gifts and Bribes, and endeavour'd to "corrupt other Courts of Juſtice, by adviſing the "King to ſell Places of Judicature contrary to "Law.

5. "He hath traiterouſly caus'd a Book of Ca- "nons to be compos'd and publiſh'd contrary to "the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws "and Statutes, to the Right of Parliament, to the "Property and Liberty of the Subject, tending "to Sedition and to the Eſtabliſhment of a vaſt, "unlawful, preſumptuous Power in himſelf and "his Succeſſors. To which is added a wicked "and ungodly Oath to be taken by all Clergy- "men and ſome Laymen.

6. "That he hath traiterouſly aſſum'd a Papal "tyrannical Power in Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal "Matters, and deny'd the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdicti- "on to be deriv'd from the Crown, which he has "exercis'd to the Deſtruction of divers of the "King's liege People.

7. "That he hath traiterouſly endeavour'd to "alter and ſubvert God's true Religion by *Law* "*eſtabliſh'd*, and inſtead thereof to ſet up *Popiſh* "Superſtition and Idolatry; hath maintain'd di- "vers *Popiſh* Doctrines and Opinions, enjoin'd "*Popiſh* ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, without any War- "rant by Law, hath cruelly perſecuted thoſe who "have oppos'd the ſame by corporal Puniſh- "ments and Impriſonments, and unjuſtly vexed "others who refus'd to conform thereunto, by "Suſpenſion, Deprivation, Degradation contrary "to Law.

8. "That to advance his traiterous Purpoſes, "he intruded on the Places of divers great Offi- "cers, and upon the Right of other his Majeſty's "Subjects, and preferr'd to great Promotions in "the Church ſuch as have been *Popiſhly* affected, "or otherwiſe unſound and corrupt in Doctrine "and Manners.

9. "For the ſame traiterous and wicked Intent, "he hath employ'd ſuch Men to be his domeſtick "Chaplains, whom he knew to be notoriouſly "diſaffected to the Reform'd Religion, and to "them hath committed the licenſing of Books, "by which means divers falſe and ſuperſtitious "Books have been publiſh'd.

10. "He hath traiterouſly and wickedly endea- "vour'd to reconcile the Church of *England* with "the Church of *Rome*, and for effecting it hath "conſorted and confederated with *Popiſh* Prieſts "and

A.D.1641. " and Jeſuits, hath kept ſecret Intelligence with " the Pope of *Rome*, and permitted a *Popiſh* Hie- " rarchy to be eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom.

11. " That he in his own Perſon, and other " Officers by his Command, have caus'd divers " learned, pious, and orthodox Miniſters to be ſi- " lenc'd, ſuſpended, depriv'd, degraded, excom- " municated, without juſt Cauſe; hath hinder'd " the preaching of God's Word, caus'd divers of " his Majeſty's loyal Subjects to forſake the King- " dom; and increas'd and cheriſh'd Ignorance and " Prophaneneſs among the People, that he might " effect his own wicked and traiterous Deſign of " corrupting the true Religion here eſtabliſh'd.

12. " He hath traiterouſly endeavour'd to cauſe " Diviſion and Diſcord between the Church of " *England* and other Reform'd Churches, and to " that End hath ſuppreſs'd the *Dutch* and *French* " Churches in this Kingdom.

13. " That he hath maliciouſly and traiterouſly " plotted and endeavour'd to ſtir up War and En- " mity between his Majeſty's two Kingdoms of " *England* and *Scotland*; and to that Purpoſe hath " labour'd to introduce into the Kingdom of *Scot-* " *land*, divers Innovations in Religion and Govern- " ment, tending all to Popery and Superſtition, to " the great Diſcontent of that Nation; and for " their refuſing to ſubmit to ſuch Innovations, he " did traiterouſly adviſe his Majeſty to reduce them " by Force of Arms: And when a Pacification " was made, he ſo incens'd his Majeſty againſt his " ſaid Subjects of *Scotland*, that he did thereupon, " by the Advice of the Archbiſhop, enter into an " offenſive War againſt them.

14. " That to preſerve himſelf from being que- " ſtion'd for theſe and other his traiterous Cour- " ſes, he hath labour'd to ſubvert the antient Courſe " of parliamentary Proceedings, and falſly and ma- " liciouſly incens'd his Majeſty againſt Parliaments.

The Hiſtory has ſhewn moſt of theſe Articles to be true, and they were fully clear'd up and proved at his Tryal. Mr. *Pym* expatiated upon every P. 3. Article in a Speech, which for Stile and Sentiment has a true *Roman* Spirit. I do not know a better in our Language; and as I refer the Reader to it at large in *Ruſhworth*, P. 199. I doubt not but the Pleaſure he will take in reading it, will more than pay for the Time it takes up. Whoever will compare it with the moſt eloquent of the Lord *Clarendon*'s, will find the ſame Difference between them, as there is between Subſtance and Shew, Beauty and Affectation. The Archbiſhop continu'd the Uſe of the Epiſcopal Power while he was in Priſon, of which the Houſe having Information, a Motion was made to reſtrain it; but both Friends and Enemies agreeing it was better to bring him to a Tryal, that Motion dropp'd. What can one think or ſay of Hiſtorians, ſuch as *Clarendon* and *Echard*, who ſhall ſolemnly declare that this great Criminal had the Meekneſs of a Dove, the Virtue of a Philoſopher, the Piety of a Saint, the Conſtancy of a Martyr, the Charity of a primitive Chriſtian, and the Perfection of an Angel? There is not half of what might to be ſaid againſt *Laud*, if I wou'd make uſe of Mr. *Pym*'s moſt powerful and eloquent Oration and Argument, and the additional Articles which were exhibited againſt him afterwards, of which ſomething muſt be ſaid in the Sequel. While thoſe high and capital Crimes are freſh in the Reader's Memory, it will be very proper to ſhew the moſt beautiful Picture of him painted by the Earl of *Clarendon*; the Features in the Parliament's Picture are all Deformity, in the Earl's all Beauty; and we may by that make a ſafe and ſure Judgment of the reſt of his Characters: *He apply'd all the Remedies he cou'd to the Miſchiefs which daily broke in to the Prejudice of Religion; his Virtues were very exemplary; he believ'd Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, to be a ſtrong Guard, enough to ſecure any Man in his Voyage thro' the World; he wanted Power to go thorough with the Reformation of the Church; he thought he ſhou'd have much to anſwer for, if he did not apply Remedies to the Diſeaſes of the Church; he propos'd no End in all his Actions but what was juſt; and ſure no Man had ever a Heart more entire to his Country than he; he thought Art and Induſtry wou'd make the Integrity of his pious Deſigns ſuſpected, and therefore he never let them appear but in their own natural Beauty; he more advanc'd the Proteſtant Religion than it had been from the Reformation; he preach'd in* Scotland *with all the Marks of Approbation and Applauſe; and it is thought if the King had introduc'd the Liturgy while Biſhop* Laud *was there, it wou'd have been ſubmitted to without Oppoſition. The Truſt his Majeſty put in him, was infinitely to the Benefit and Honour of the Church; his Intentions were moſt ſincere and worthy; no Man had ever ſo good a Conſcience as he; he had no Support, but the Splendor of his pious Life, and his unpoliſh'd Integrity; ſingular were his Graces, and immenſe his Virtue; all Men were convinc'd of his Integrity, and abſolv'd him from any Crime againſt Law; few ever attain'd to his Learning, Piety, and Virtue;* and to crown all, the Earl or his Author ſays, *I had always a great Affection and Reverence for him.* I need not obſerve, that the Falſity in this Character is ſtudy'd. What little has been ſhewn of *Laud*'s unparallel'd Qualities in this Hiſtory, will ſhew that it is impoſſible for the Earl's Deſcription of them to have any Truth in it. If Pride and Cruelty can be conſiſtent with Piety and Charity, Reformation with Superſtition, and Meekneſs with Tyranny, I have injur'd the Archbiſhop and the Earl, and am at the Reader's Mercy.

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This Digreſſion was neceſſary to juſtify my having ſaid ſo much of Archbiſhop *Laud* in the Courſe of this Hiſtory: But he was ſuch a Buſy-body in Temporals as well as Spirituals, that there was no avoiding it.

Upon the reading of the before-mention'd Articles againſt him, the Lords order'd he ſhou'd be remov'd from Mr. *Maxwell*'s, in whoſe Cuſtody he had been ten Weeks, and ſent to the *Tower* *March* the firſt. And that he and the Earl of *Straf-* *ford* ſhou'd not come together. Thus he continu'd a Priſoner without putting in his Anſwer, or petitioning for Tryal, for near two Years Space; then the Commons exhibited additional Articles againſt him, and proceeded to his Tryal.

On the 5th of *March* the *Star-Chamber* Court was brought upon the Stage, and the Lord *Ando-* *ver* ſpoke thus of it in the Houſe of Peers; " By " the Statute of 3 *Hen.* 7. the Chancellor, Trea- " ſurer, Privy-Seal, two Judges, one Biſhop and a " Lord of Council, were authoriz'd to cite Peo- " ple to appear for Miſdemeanors, which was the " Infancy of the *Star-Chamber*. Cardinal *Wolſey* " rais'd it to Man's Eſtate, from whence being " now unlimited, it is grown a Monſter.

Ld Andover *againſt* Star-Chamber.

On the 2d of *March* the Houſe of Commons voted, *That for* Biſhops *or any other* Clergymen *whatſoever, to have Employments as Privy-Counſellors at the Council-Table*, or as private Officers, is an Hindrance to the *Diſcharge of their ſpiritual Function, and a Prejudice to the Common-Wealth.* One wou'd have hop'd that Dr. *Laud* one of the Lords of the Treaſury, and Dr. *Juxon* Lord High-Treaſurer, might have underſtood this Matter as well as the Commons, but it was not ſo. Thoſe two Biſhops did not think their ſitting at the Treaſury and the Council-Table, was any Hindrance at all to their Function, or Prejudice to the Common-wealth, but of great Benefit to themſelves.

Votes againſt Biſhops in temporal Offices.

About this Time the *Dutch* Ambaſſador made an Overture of Marriage between *William*, the young Prince of *Orange*, and the King's eldeſt Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, to which his Majeſty was well inclin'd, but as his Condition then ſtood, he thought fit to acquaint the Parliament with it.

Princeſs Mary and Prince of Orange.

We

*A.D.*1641. We ſtill obſerve the good Effects of the King's new Council; he made a Speech to the Houſe of Lords, in which he acquainted them, *that he thought the Alliance with the Prince of* Orange, *and the United Provinces, would be of much Advantage to his Kingdom.* Then he gave his Reaſons for it, and the Propoſition was generally embrac'd by all People, and ſoon took Effect.

Plots. The Reverend Hiſtorian is merry with the Rumours of Plots, an inviſible Army of 15000 in *Lancaſhire*, 8000 in *Ireland*, which was viſibly rais'd by the Earl of *St. Alford* now coming to Tryal. The Earl of *Worceſter* was nam'd as another General of a Popiſh Army, which prov'd true enough a Year or two after. *Whitlocke* ſays nothing came of theſe Rumours, and they are therefore hardly worth ſpeaking of.

Judge Berkley. Sir *Robert Berkley*, one of the Ship Money Judges, who had buſy'd himſelf much in that wicked Work, was impeach'd of High Treaſon at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, by Sir *John Colepepyr*, in the Name of the Commons of *England*: Upon which *Maxwell*, Uſher of the Black Rod, was commanded by the Peers to take him into Cuſtody; *Maxwell* came to the *King's-Bench* as the Judges were ſitting, and took Judge *Berkley* off the Bench, and carry'd him away to Priſon; which ſtruck great Terror in the reſt of his Brethren, then ſitting in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

Queen. The Queen being inform'd that the Parliament took Offence at her ſetting Agents to work, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Mr. *Walter Montague*, and others, to get Contributions from the Papiſts to carry on the War againſt the *Scots*, and at the great Reſort of Papiſts to her Chapel, ſent a Meſſage by the Comptroller of the Houſhold, wherein ſhe took to her ſelf the "Honour of having perſuaded the "King to call this Parliament: She promis'd to "ſend away the Pope's *Nuncio*, and not to exceed "what was convenient for the Exerciſe of her "Religion at her Chapel; as to the Money col-"lected among the Papiſts, ſhe did it out of meer "Affection to the King: If any Thing be illegal, "ſhe was ignorant of the Law; and being deſi-"rous to employ her whole Power to unite the "King and his People, ſhe deſires the Parliament "to look forwards, and paſs by ſuch Errors and "Miſtakes of her Servants, as may have been for-"merly committed." This Meſſage for ſome Time put a ſtop to the Clamour of thoſe who thought her Majeſty's Zeal for her Religion was too active and dangerous.

Epiſcopacy. There were great Debates for two Days together in the Houſe of Commons concerning Epiſcopal Government, ſome were for Reformation of Biſhops, others to have them quite taken away. *It was agreed by moſt, ſays* Ruſhworth, *to take from them their Lordly Prelacy, to tie them up from meddling with temporal Affairs, and ſo reſtrain their Juriſdictions.* The Lord *Digby*, who according to Mr. *Echard*, ſpoke ſeverely againſt the Petitions for aboliſhing the Order, fell in with thoſe who were of the laſt Opinion; *there is no Man within theſe Walls more ſenſible of the heavy Grievances of Church Government than my ſelf, nor whoſe Affections are keener to the clipping of thoſe Wings of the Prelates,* to which the Archdeacon is for tacking more Pinions, *whereby they have mounted to ſuch Inſolencies,* nor whoſe Zeal is more ardent to the ſearing them, *ſo as they may never ſpring again.* We may learn by this to what *Inſolence* the Wings of *Laud* had mounted, when it provok'd the Champion of Prelacy to reflect on him with ſo much Severity. The Lord *Digby* was every whit as good a *Churchman* as the Earl of *Clarendon*, and yet how differently do theſe two Lords think on the ſame Subject. It is probable that the Intrigues of the Court had gain'd the Lord *Digby* about this Time: That was the Card they had now to play; and very buſy they are with Mr. *Capel*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Francis Seymour*, Lord *Falkland*, and others, who deſerted the Country Intereſt, and became, ſome of 'em at leaſt, as errant Courtiers as *Villiers* or *Wentworth*; convinc'd by the ſame ſolid Arguments which had prevail'd upon *Wentworth*, *Noy*, &c. Mr. *Fiennes* juſtify'd the *London* Petition, which had been back'd by ſeveral Petitions from Counties, Cities and Boroughs, and fully anſwer'd the Charge againſt it, that it was contemptible and irrational. This Speech is long, but well worth reading. Sir *Benjamin Rudyard was for puniſhing* Laud, Wren, *and the preſent Biſhops, and for reducing and preſerving the Calling for better Men.* The Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* affirm again and again, there never were *better Men.* Lord *Falkland*, the Hero of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, ſaid *ſome of the* Biſhops *have ſo induſtriouſly labour'd to deduce themſelves from* Rome, *that they have given great Suſpicion that in Gratitude they deſire to return thither.* In that and what follows, his Lordſhip lays his Finger upon *Laud: Some have evidently labour'd to bring in an* Engliſh, *though not a* Roman Popery; *I mean not only the Outſide and Dreſs of it, but equally abſolute, a blind Dependance of the People upon the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themſelves.* And ſpeaking of their Court *Sermons* for Arbitrary Power, he proceeds, *This alone were Occaſion enough for us to accuſe them as the Betrayers, though not the Deſtroyers of our Rights and Liberties; they whoſe Anceſtors in the darkeſt Times, excommunicated the Breakers of* Magna Charta, *did now by themſelves and their Adherents, both* write, preach, plot and act *againſt it, by encouraging Dr.* Beale, *by preferring* Manwaring, *by promoting* Monopolies *and* Ship-Money, *and blaſting all that oppos'd them as* Puritans. See now what the true or pretended Lord *Clarendon* ſays, as directly oppoſite to this as *Artick* and *Antartick*, and then make a Judgment of the Truth of his Lordſhip's Hiſtory; *If the Sermons of thoſe Times preach'd at Court were collected together, and publiſh'd, the World would receive the beſt Bulk of Orthodox Divinity, convincing Reaſon, and admirable Devotion, that hath been communicated in any Age ſince the Apoſtles Time.* This ſurely is to ſay *the Thing which is not*, in a very extraordinary Manner. Beſides the *London* Petition, there was a *Remonſtrance* againſt the *Biſhops*, ſign'd by 700 Miniſters, which the Lord *Falkland* mov'd to have committed, as being more for *reforming* than *aboliſhing*: And it is a Thing to be lamented, that there were not Members enough of his Lordſhips Judgment and Temper to have made a Majority. Mr. *Bagſhaw*, afterwards corrupted by the Court, ſaid, *He was for retaining Alderman* Pennington's *Petition, and for a thorough Reformation of all Abuſes and Grievances of Epiſcopacy mention'd in the Miniſters Remonſtrance, and not for altering* Church *Government to Presbytery.* Mr. *Pleydell* ſpoke heartily for Epiſcopacy, Mr. *Grimſtone* told the Houſe, he wonder'd not at all at the *Multitude of Petitioners, conſidering the Sufferings of the* People *under the* Tyranny *of the* Biſhops. He did not think it ſtrange *they ſhou'd cry out in their Petitions, Crucify, crucify, or that they wou'd have them up by the Roots:* This is the worthy Gentleman of whom *Echard* ſays, *He continu'd with the Parliament, but did not concur with them.* The Senſe of the Houſe at that Time was for the *Reduction* of *Epiſcopacy*, and not the Deſtruction; and we may well lament, that the Behaviour of the Biſhops afterwards ſhou'd provoke the Parliament to proceed further againſt them than they now did; for the Vote was only to take away their *Votes* in Parliament and *Star-Chamber*, &c. as is before hinted.

*A.D.*1641.

Mr. Fiennes. Ruſhw. 175, &c.

Sir Benj. Rudyard.

Lord Falkland *againſt Prelates.*

And Court Clergy.

Clar. *wrong.*

Mr. Bagſhaw.

Mr. Pleydell.

Mr. Grimſtone.

Lord Digby.

Triennial Bill. After a great deal of Pains taken by the Committee for the *Triennial Bill*, they perfected it, and it paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, who ſent it to the Houſe of Lords, where it had a quick Paſſage;

A.D.1641. ſage; and as we read in *Whitlocke*, the King was with ſome Difficulty perſuaded to give it the *Royal Aſſent*, at which Time he told both Houſes, that *it was a Mark of the Confidence he had in them, and in their future Proceedings, the Favour being greater than any King of* England *before him had ever granted to the People.* I cannot underſtand this. Was it a Favour to have a Parliament once in three Years, when by the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, there was to be a Parliament once a Year? Was it a Favour to have an Act for ſuch Aſſemblies to meet for redreſſing of Grievances, which the King by his Coronation Oath was ſworn to redreſs of himſelf? Where's the Favour of doing what one is by Law and Conſcience oblig'd to do? The Parliament thank'd his Majeſty for paſſing this Act, and gave Orders for Bonfires and Rejoycing in the City, that their Friends might partake of the Pleaſure they took in it. The Subſidy Bill paſs'd at the ſame Time; and it is obſerv'd, that moſt of the gracious Acts in this Reign were accompany'd with ſome Money Bill, and rather ſold than granted.

Dr. Packlington's Crime;

About the ſame Time, one of the Clergy included in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Panegyricks, Dr. *Packlington*, was accus'd as a great Introducer of *Superſtitions*, *Innovations* and *Idolatry*; and particularly for writing a Book, intituled, *Sunday* no *Sabbath*, ſuch was the Religion of the *Laudæan* Doctors: The Lords ſummon'd *Packlington* to appear at their Bar, where the Lord Keeper *Littleton* pronounced this Sentence againſt him, "That he "ſhould never come within the Verge of his "Majeſty's Court, be depriv'd of all his Eccleſia- "ſtical Livings and Preferments, be for ever diſ- "abled to hold any Place, and his Book to be "burnt by the Hands of the *Common Hangman*." He was Benefic'd in *Bedfordſhire*, and for this rare Doctrine was made the King's Chaplain. Mr. *Harvey*, one of the Gentlemen of the County of *Bedford*, and his Pariſhioner, brought the Accuſation againſt him.

And Cenſure.

An Act againſt Superſtition.

The Houſe of Commons order'd a Bill to be brought in, to aboliſh *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*; a numerous Committee was appointed, among whom, beſides Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *Edward Deering*, Mr. *Rous*, Mr. *White*, &c. we find the Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, Sir *Nevil Pool*, Sir *William Bowyer*, Sir *Thomas Hutchinſon*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Richard Buller*, Sir *Roger North*, Sir *Guy Palmes*, Lord *Ruthyn*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Sir *Richard Lewſon*, Sir *Robert Pye*, &c. ſo univerſal was the Averſion of the People of all Ranks to *Laud*'s Idolatry and Superſtition, for none of their Hiſtorians pretend the Votes and Acts are not pointed directly againſt the Archbiſhop.

Lord Seymour.

The firſt of the Patriots who was call'd off from the Purſuit of Grievances, was Sir *Francis Seymour*, created Baron *Trowbridge*, and he will be ſoon follow'd by *George* Lord *Digby*. In the mean Time, the Houſe of Lords order'd the *Records* about *Ship-Money*, which were in the *Exchequer* Court, to be *vacated*. The Committee for the Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, continu'd ſitting all this while at their appointed Times, Mr. *Whitlocke* Chairman; and when they agreed upon the Articles, they were reported to the Houſe of Commons, who order'd Mr. *Pym* to carry them to the Houſe of Lords, and their Lordſhips ſent for the Earl to hear them read, containing 200 Sheets of Paper. The Lord *Strafford* deſir'd three Months to make his Anſwer, but the Peers allow'd him twenty-five Days only, which expir'd the 24th of *February*; all which Time Sir *Richard Lane*, and others of his Counſel, were employ'd Night and Day in drawing it up with great Labour. The Anſwer conſiſted of 100 Sheets of Paper. Nothing can be more unfair, if not untrue, than what *Echard* ſays of this Proſecution, *The Commons employ'd a Month about it, without performing any material Buſineſs.* The *Triennial* Act is ſo far from being a material Buſineſs with him, that he gives us a wretched *Pun* upon it, taken out of a Woman's Letter, who probably cou'd not ſpell better, and ſaid, *they had paſt the Tyrannical Parliament*, inſtead of the *Triennial*; and adds he, *She was a Prophet* as much as himſelf is a *Wit*. This too was no materal Buſineſs, *An Act for the Relief of his Majeſty's Army, and the Northern* Parts, being *a Grant of four entire Subſidies:* There was much more material Buſineſs perform'd, while the Committee were preparing the Articles againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, as may be ſeen in *Ruſhworth*. A.D.1641.

The City by Alderman *Pennington*, offer'd to lend 100000 Pounds on the Security of the four Subſidies, and the Houſe declar'd the ſame to be an acceptable Service. Thus we find *Pennington* had Influence over other Citizens beſides the Rabble. Londoners.

The Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford* approaching, the Peers preſs'd hard to have it in their Houſe, but the Commons inſiſted upon it, that they might come as a Houſe, being the Impeachers of the Earl; and after ſome Debate, the Lords agreed that the Tryal ſhould be in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to which his Majeſty aſſented On the 22d of *March*, the Lord *Strafford*'s Tryal commenc'd, perhaps with as much Solemnity as ever was ſeen on the like Occaſion at *Athens* or *Rome*. The Lords were in their Robes on ſeveral Seats in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The Earl of *Arundel*, Lord High-Steward, in a Chair of State. The Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High-Conſtable, had the ordering of the Place: The Commons, as a Committee of the whole Houſe, ſate uncover'd on Scaffolds, with many Hundreds of Gentlemen: Behind the Peers was a Chair and Cloth of State for the King and Prince: On a Scaffold below the State, ſate the Ladies of Quality, who, if we may believe *Echard*, took Notes, and *wrote down all they could preſerve of the Earl's charming Eloquence.* At the lower End, on the Right Hand, even with the Lords, was a Place with Partitions for the Committee of Managers, and a Door backwards to a Withdrawing-Room, where they might conſult, as Occaſion offer'd On the other Side was a Place for the Earl of *Strafford*, with a Seat and Room for the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to be next to him, and Places for the Earl's Secretaries and Council to be near him. *Whitlocke* informs us, the Biſhops were excluded by the Canons of the Church to be aſſiſtant in Caſes of *Blood and Death, and therefore they abſented themſelves from this Tryal:* And *Ruſhworth* adds, *They gave no Proxies, which indeed none of the Lords were allow'd to do in this Caſe. Echard*, who ſhews us that if he had been a Biſhop, Blood ſhou'd not have kept him from his Seat, complains that the excluding Canon was *old*; as if a Law could be the worſe for being old, when the Reaſon of it was ſtill the ſame. The Lord *Clarendon* and the Reverend Hiſtorian affirm, that the Biſhop of *Lincoln betray'd the* Fundamental Right *of his Order, to the Ruin of the Earl*; directly contrary to what Biſhop *Hacket*, in the Life of that Prelate, aſſerts that the Lord of *Lincoln* made a learned Speech to prove the Original and preſent Right of Biſhops to ſit in Judgment in Caſes of Blood. This wou'd be very ſurprizing, if it was meant of *Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Apoſtolical Biſhops. *Ambroſe Philips*, in Biſhop *Williams*'s Life, tells us, he pleaded *ſtrongly in Behalf of the Earl, who was a moſt incomparable Perſon; the Parliament turbulent, mutinous and clamorous, thirſting after his Blood ſo much, that they reſolv'd to have him murder'd, if the King had not paſs'd the Bill of Attainder.* One may perceive by this fine Stroke of Hiſtory, that it was written in a College. Strafford's Tryal. Ruſhw.

Strafford's Tryal.

I ſhall not enlarge upon the Particulars of the

A.D. 1641. Earl's Tryal, referring the Reader to *Ruſhworth*. The Managers of the Tryal were the moſt eminent Members of Parliament, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Whitlocke*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Palmer*, Lord *Digby*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *Hampden*, &c. with whom the Earl, according to Mr. Archdeacon, ſoon ſhew'd he had Ability enough to wreſtle. That is, he had as much Reaſon and Senſe as Mr. *Pym* and Mr. *Hampden*, as much Law as *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *St. John*, *Whitlocke*, *Palmer*. He cannot help overdoing it, when he ſpeaks of Archbiſhop *Laud* or his Friends. Mr. *Pym* with his uſual Eloquence and Spirit open'd the Charge, which conſiſted of twenty-eight Articles, containing in Subſtance;

Articles againſt Strafford.

That he had ſaid at York, *when he was* Preſident *of the* North, *The King's little Finger ſhould be heavier than the Loins of the Law*, prov'd by Sir *David Fowlis*: That he ſaid, *Ireland* was *a conquer'd Nation, and the King might do with them what he pleas'd*, prov'd by the Earl of *Corke*, who prov'd alſo his ſaying, *he would have neither Law nor Lawyers, and any of his Acts ſhould be as binding as an Act of Parliament*: *That he procur'd a Sentence of Death againſt the Lord* Mountnorris, *Vice-Treaſurer of* Ireland, *Principal Secretary of State, and Keeper of the Signet, without any Warrant or Authority of the Law*: That without *any legal Proceeding, he took away the Lands and Tenements of* Thomas *Lord* Dillon: *That he impriſon'd ſeveral of his Majeſty's Subjects in an Arbitrary Manner*: *That he procur'd the Cuſtoms to be Farm'd to his own Uſe*: *That he rais'd Money by Soldiers, prov'd by Serjeant* Saville: *That he ſhut up the Ports by Proclamation, to prevent bringing Complaints againſt him, prov'd by the Earl of* Deſmond: *That he had levy'd Money in the County of* York *by Force, to maintain the* Militia. The Earl *in his* Anſwer to this ſaid, *the great Council of the* North *join'd with him in it*: *But that Council diſclaim'd the doing it*, and affirm'd *the ſame to be unjuſtly charg'd upon them*. He was alſo accus'd of contriving an *Oath* in *Ireland* to ſupport Arbitrary Power: *That he incited the King to the* Scots *War*, and proclaim'd the *Scots Rebels*, and ſaid he wou'd deſtroy them Root and Branch: That upon the Citizens refuſing the Loan, he ſaid, *it wou'd never be well till they were laid by the Heels, and ſome of the Aldermen hang'd*, prov'd by Alderman *Garraway*, &c. The main Part of the Earl's Defence lay in his having the King's Commiſſion, and acting only in Conjunction with other Counſellors. He ſaid Sir *David Fowlis* was his Enemy; that it was hard to loſe his Honour and Life for haſty Words: He inſiſted upon it, that the Lord *Mountnorris* deſerv'd to die, but he got him a Pardon, and make the worſt of the Sentence, it was but *Felony*: And the impriſoning Perſons for diſobeying his Orders, was but a Miſdemeanor. True it is, his Anſwer was well drawn, and evaded the Charge as much as the Dexterity of the moſt dextrous Lawyers cou'd pretend to do: But through all the Branches of his Miniſtry he behav'd imperiouſly and tyrannically, as well in the Court of the *North*, as in *Ireland*, which however did not amount to Treaſon, and no Accumulation cou'd make it ſo, if there had not been ſomething behind, which was in the higheſt Degree treaſonable. In the Courſe of his Tryal, a ſeal'd Paper was produc'd, which being open'd and read, appear'd to be ſent from the Parliament of *Ireland*, whoſe Approbation he had juſt ſpoken of. The Contents were, that they had voted *the Earl of* Strafford *guilty of High-Treaſon*. The Earl was ſtartled at it, coming in ſo ſeaſonably to diſcredit what he had been ſaying of his great Services in the Parliaments there, and cry'd out, *There is a Conſpiracy againſt me to take away my Life*: upon which, if we have Faith in Mr. *Echard*, the grave and wiſe Mr. *Pym* gave a *great Shout*, and the Managers requir'd Juſtice from the Lords againſt the Earl, *who ſtanding impeach'd of* High-Treaſon, *accus'd the Parliaments of two Kingdoms* of a Conſpiracy againſt him. At this the Lord *Strafford* fell down upon his Knees, and humbly crav'd Pardon, *Proteſting he did not intend the Parliament, but only ſome particular Perſons*. As to his Oppreſſion in *Ireland*, *Echard* calls it *Activity*, a Word he always makes uſe of, when any of his Heroes or Heroines are about doing what they ſhould not do. When the Queen rais'd Money among the Papiſts, *he approves of her Activity*; When *Laud*'s Zeal was at work in the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commiſſion* Courts, he adores his *Activity*. I have not inſerted that part of the Charge againſt him concerning the Lord *Loftus*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, whom he degraded and impriſon'd for not obeying his Orders, becauſe it is not in *Ruſhworth*. The Earl of *Clarendon* might inſert it, for that as Mr. Archdeacon words it, the Crime *proceeded from a noble Root*, to oblige the Lord Chancellor to make a Settlement upon his Son, whoſe Lady, ſays the ſame Reverend Author, was ſo much in the Lord *Strafford*'s *good Graces, as to render his Juſtice the more ſuſpected*: He aſſures us, the Earl *made all Things appear not only leſs than Treaſon, but no very great Miſdemeanors*; though when all the Crimes were heap'd together, it was the Opinion of the moſt learned Lawyers, that they amounted to *Acccumulative Treaſon* without the twenty-third Article, which without much Learning in the Law, will appear to be as much Treaſon againſt the Conſtitution of *England*, as ever Traytor was *guilty* of. *Larrey* writes, *whatever the Earl could ſay in his Defence, either in Perſon, or by his Council, though both he and they ſpoke very forcibly, he could not prevail over the Prejudice of the People*. The Evidence to the twenty-third Article not being ſo full as was neceſſary, Sir *Henry Vane*, Junior, committed a Breach of Truſt to ſtrengthen it. His Father, Secretary *Vane*, being out of Town, ſent a Letter to his Son, Sir *Henry Vane*, the younger, with the Key of his Cabinet for ſome Papers there; among which, the Son lighted upon certain Notes taken by the Father at a Meeting of the *Junto* on the 5th of *May*, 1640, the very Day the laſt Parliament was diſſolv'd. Theſe Notes being of great Concernment to the Publick, and declaring ſo much againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, he held himſelf bound in Duty and Conſcience to diſcover them; accordingly he ſhew'd them to Mr. *Pym*, the chief Manager, who urg'd him, and prevail'd with him, that they might be made uſe of in Evidence againſt the Earl, as being moſt material, and of great Conſequence, in Relation to that Article. I take all this to be Theatrical, and doubt not the Notes were taken to do *Strafford* a good Turn one Time or other, and the Key was ſent on purpoſe to have this Paper found among others. Be that as it will, Mr. *Pym* produced thoſe Notes in the Houſe of *Commons*, and the ſame Day in the Conference with the Lords. When the Earl was brought next to his Tryal, the Contents were openly read, thus headed, *No danger of a War with* Scotland, *if Offenſive, not Defenſive*: Then follow'd the Queſtions and Anſwers upon it.

King Charles. *How can we undertake an Offenſive War, if we have no more Money?*

King Charles.

Lord Lieut. Ireland. *Borrow of the City* 100000 *Pounds; go on vigorouſly to levy Ship-Money, your Majeſty having try'd the Affections of your People; you are abſolv'd and looſe from all Rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit.* Infinite Treaſon! If what follows was not more Treaſonable; *Your Majeſty having try'd all ways, and being refus'd, ſhall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in* Ireland, *that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience, for I am confident the* Scots *cannot hold out five Monhts.* Needed there any more Articles? Prove this upon him,

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

*A.D.*1641. and had he as many Heads as he had Hairs, he wou'd have forfeited them all.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *You have try'd all Ways*, and have always been deny'd, it is now *lawful to take it by Force*. What Love he had for his Country, as we have ſeen in *Clarendon*?

Lord Cottington. *Leagues abroad there may be made for the Defence of the Kingdom*. Here are Counſellors! What Leagues cou'd be made with any Proteſtant State for the Defence of Tyranny and Superſtition? Leagues with *France* or *Spain* cou'd be of no Service to the Religion, Rights, and Liberties of a Proteſtant free People. *Cottington* again; *The lower Houſe are weary of the* Church, *all Ways ſhall be juſt to raiſe Money by in this inevitable Neceſſity*. Obſerve the Cant! *All Ways are to be us'd, being lawful.*

The Archbiſhop is afraid the *Scots* Presbyterians wou'd not be deſtroy'd ſoon enough, and therefore he adviſ'd,

All are lawful for an offenſive, *not a* defenſive *War*.

Lord Lieut. Ireland. *The Town is full of Lords, put the Commiſſion of Array on foot, and if any of them ſtir, we will make them ſmart.*

This traiterous Counſel needs no Aggravation nor Remark. I know very well great Endeavours have been us'd to invalidate this Evidence, on account of the Enmity between *Vane* and *Wentworth*, tho' that rather confirms than deſtroys it: For one cannot doubt but that *Vane* finding what a Diſpoſition *Wentworth* had to erect a Tyranny on the Ruins of the Conſtitution, might be the more vigilant to catch what he ſaid to that Purpoſe, and take Notes of it, which might be produc'd againſt him upon Occaſion. As to the Intelligence between the Father and the Son, I do not regard it; the Notes are forth coming, and it is no Matter how we came by them. As to the Evidence of their being genuine, they bear all the viſible Marks of it from their Date, the Day of the Diſſolution of the Parliament, from the Situation of Affairs, and the Characters of the Perſons introduc'd. Theſe Notes made a ſtronger Impreſſion on the Lords and the Auditory, than whatever had been ſaid before; and the Earl being requir'd by the Lord High-Steward to proceed, if he had any Thing farther to ſay, the noble Priſoner made a moſt moving Speech, which he deliver'd with inimitable Grace, and at a proper Pauſe, ſhew'd his weeping Children who ſtood by him, to the Lords, ſaying, *My Lords, I wou'd not have troubled you ſo long*, were it not for the Intereſt of theſe dear *Pledges, which a Saint in Heaven has left me*. At this he for a ſhort Space melted into Tears; and here notwithſtanding I ſhou'd have given my Vote with Mr. *Pym*, I cou'd not have forborn to have kept him Company.

The fatal Notes before-mention'd being left with the Committee of Managers, they were ſtolen, and every one of the Managers clear'd themſelves of the Guilt by a ſolemn Proteſtation of Innocence. The Lord *Digby* proteſted it with more Earneſtneſs and deeper Imprecations than any of the reſt; yet afterwards at the Battel of *Naſeby*, a Copy of theſe Notes was found in the King's Cabinet under *Digby*'s Hand, by which the Conveyor of the Paper to the King was fully diſcover'd. And thus he began his Converſion to the Court, for which he is applauded by the Archdeacon, with Treachery and Perjury. It is evident by the Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, that the Lord *Clarendon* does not wrong him, where he ſays, *He indulged his own Appetite and Paſſion in his Government of* Ireland, *was of too high and ſevere a Deportment*. A Man ought not to loſe his Head for being proud, but if he adds Oppreſſion and Cruelty to his Pride, and Treaſon to both, I do not ſee how a Divine, ſuch a one as the Archdeacon is, cou'd ſay ſeriouſly, *That never ſo white a Soul return'd to its Maker*.

Ld Digby *quits his Party.*

The Affair being likely to be ſpun out to a great Length by the Oppoſition it met with in the Houſe of Lords, the Commons reſolv'd to return to their Bill of Attainder, which was brought in by Sir *Arthur Haſlerrig*. *Echard*'s Reaſon for it is wonderful; finding a great Defection in their Party, about four to one, 204 to 59, as by the laſt Diviſion. The Lords going on in their own Way, heard the Earl's Council *Lane*, *Gardiner*, and *Lightfoot*; but the Commons wou'd not reply, becauſe of their Bill to attaint him, which was read the twenty-third of *April*, when the Lord *Digby* firſt appear'd as grand an Apoſtate as formerly he had charg'd *Strafford* to have been. He did not deny Sir *Henry Vane*'s Notes to be genuine, he only call'd them *diſjointed Fragments*, without Reſult *or Concluſion*, a Remark very unworthy that Lord's admirable Talent. Such Counſels as thoſe are not wont to be taken in Form, or be preſerv'd in Regiſters; and it was as much as *Vane* cou'd do to minute the moſt important Heads of ſuch dangerous Diſcourſes. Neither is his Argument much ſtronger, tho' mightily inſiſted upon in the Injuſtice of a Law made a *Poſteriori*, as if in all Governments there was not an abſolute unlimited Power to act with or without Law for the Preſervation of the State. This Power in *France* and *Fez* is in the King, in *England* it is in the King, Lords, and Commons, and there is no Danger of its ever being exerted unreaſonably or unneceſſarily. The Lord *Digby* was oblig'd to explain ſome Parts of his Speech; and being now to ſhew the Court that he wou'd ſtick at nothing to pleaſe them, he did it ſo inſolently, that the Country Party diſown'd him, and order'd his Speech, which he printed, to be burnt by the Hangman; ſo the Court found it neceſſary to remove him to the Houſe of Lords, which began to feſter the Sore, which was before in a fair way of healing.

*A.D.*1641.

We have now both in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and its Copy the Archdeacon's, an Account of a Conference between the Author, Mr. *Hyde*, and the Earls of *Bedford* and *Eſſex*, which has not one probable Caſt in it, but a very improbable one at the End of it, where we are told the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhou'd ſay, with reſpect to the King's being urg'd to paſs the Bill of Attainder againſt his Conſcience, *The King in Conſcience is oblig'd to conform himſelf and his Opinion to the Opinion and Conſcience of his Parliament*. This was an unknown Doctrine maintain'd by their Divines. Where does that appear? Where was it preach'd? Who was the Preacher? The Doctrine then preached, was doubtleſs that the Earl by his traiterous Counſel given the King, had incurr'd the Puniſhment due to Traytors; and on a Suppoſition that *Vane*'s Notes were true, no Traytor cou'd have ſaid more to have brought Deſtruction on his Country. 'Tis the worſt Sort of Enthuſiaſm, to put Conſcience in Oppoſition to Fact. The King did not deny that there was any ſuch Advice at all given by *Strafford*, tho' he objected to the Notes. *Warwick*, one of the ſorrieſt Advocates the Cauſe ever had, ſays the Notes ought not to have been taken Notice of, becauſe the Paper was blotted, which every one knows Minutes taken in haſte are wont to be. He has the vulgar Objection to the Conſtruction of the Earl's Words, *this Kingdom*, did not mean *England*, but *that Kingdom* Scotland. The Way of conſtruing doubtful Expreſſions is by the Context: *Borrow Money of London*, raiſe the Money vigorouſly all over *England*: If they won't pay, you are acquitted before God and Man, and have an Army in *Ireland* to make them do it, which is the natural Senſe; but put *to reduce Scotland* in the Place of it, and it is Nonſenſe.

I never find theſe Men pretend to Conſcience in the Breach of Laws and Privileges, and the Invaſion of the Rights, Properties, and Liberties of

A.D.1641. of the Subject, and cannot think this was the Queſtion. The King had all along aſſur'd his ill Miniſters, that he wou'd protect them: They had all along flatter'd him with an unlimited Prerogative, and if he gave this Man up to Juſtice, who after that wou'd dare to be the Miniſter of his arbitrary abſolute Power? How cou'd he anſwer it to a Number of Delinquents to whom he had given the like Aſſurances. Here it ſticks, and a better Face cou'd not be put upon it than Conſcience.

London *Petition.* A Petition from *London* is juſt mention'd by the reverend Hiſtorian, as an Artifice to give the Bill of Attainder a *freſh Puſh*. Thus does he inſult the Legiſlature, and treats the Petitioners as ſo many Villains, tho' never did Petition deſerve more Reſpect, being ſign'd by 20000 Perſons of good *Quality and Rank*, whom he inſolently taxes with a Deſign to murder the Earl of *Strafford* by haſtening his Execution. Among many other deplorable Complaints, the Petitioners repreſent *the Loſs of Trade from the unſettled Condition of the Kingdom, the ſtopping Money in the Mint, the vaſt Sums of Money unduly taken by his Majeſty's Officers, the ſtrong and ſecret Oppoſition to the Puniſhment of* Incendiaries, *the diſtracted State of the* Church, *Papiſts ſtill armed, the Laws againſt them not executed, ſome of the moſt active of them ſtill at Court, Prieſts and Jeſuits not yet baniſh'd, the* Iriſh Popiſh *Army not yet disbanded, Courts of Juſtice not yet reform'd.* Oh the ſelicitous Times! *And the Earl of* Strafford, *who as now appears, hath counſelled the plundering of the City, not yet brought to Juſtice, which they humbly pray may be executed upon him*, &c. The Commons ſent the Lord *Ruſſel* to the Lords, to deſire a Conference on the Subſtance of this Petition. Mr. *Glyn* and Mr. *Hill* were order'd to manage the Conference, with Inſtructions to deſire the Lords to expedite the Bill of Attainder, and to petition with them for diſbanding the *Iriſh* Army, and removing Papiſts from Court.

Rushw.

Mr. St. John's *Argument.* Mr. Sollicitor General *St. John*, was alſo order'd to maintain the Point of Law concerning the Attainder; and for obeying the Command of the Houſe, *Echard*, with his accuſtom'd Modeſty, calls him that *implacable Man*, and turns one of the beſt Law Arguments which ever was made by Lawyer, into his own wretched Buffoonry, *We give Laws to Hares, we knock Wolves on the Head.* Mr. *St. John* prov'd the Treaſon to be within the Statute of 25 *Edw.* 3. He took notice of what the Earl of *Strafford* had ſaid in his laſt Speech about the Lords being more *skilful in the Art of killing than their Anceſtors. This Appeal of his from yourſelves to your Anceſtors, we admit of*, ſaid *Mr.* Sollicitor, *your Lordſhips will be pleas'd to hear what Judgment they have already given in the Caſe.* He then quotes many Precedents of Attainders in Parliament for Treaſon not within the before-mentioned Statute, and talks with good Law and good Senſe: *Though your Lordſhips Anceſtors were willing to make the Statute of* 25 Edw. 3. *the Rule of the inferior Courts, yet they left the* Attainders, Parliament Precedents, to themſelves *untouch'd, wherein the Legiſlative Power had been exercis'd. There's nothing in them whence it can be gather'd*, but that they intended to leave *them as free for the future.* There is more Law in that Argument of Mr. *St. John*'s, than in all Mr. *Hyde*'s Arguments which have yet appear'd in Print. Yet the Archdeacon, who is as ignorant even as myſelf in theſe Matters, takes upon him to condemn Mr. *St. John*'s Argument both as to Law and Eloquence, of both which indeed he is equally a Judge. He calls it *fallacious* and *barbarous*; he might as well have call'd it *ſchiſmatical* and *barbarous*, there being no more Barbarity in it, than in all Pleadings which are powerful enough to bring Criminals to Puniſhment. *Clarendon, Warwick, Echard*, and all of them, cry up Mr. *Lane*'s Anſwer to *St. John*'s Argument, that by Statute 1 *Hen.* 4. nothing was to be adjudg'd Treaſon but what was ordain'd by the Statute 25 *Edw.* 3. and I did not think they had all impos'd on us, *Lane* and all his Panegyriſts, till I read what the learned Lawyer *Acherley* ſays, *The Commons were well furniſh'd with Matter to have reply'd to this Argument, if they had ſo pleas'd*; and then he knocks all *Lane*'s Argument on the Head by Authorities and Reaſons. See *Brit. Conſt.* p. 429. *& ſeq.* A.D.1641.

Mr Hyde's *Meſſage.* In the mean time Mr. *Hyde*, who was not yet plung'd over Head and Ears in Court-Waters, was ſent to the Lords with a Meſſage, *That the Commons had receiv'd Information which hath moved in them ſome Fear that the Earl of* Strafford *may have a Deſign to make his Eſcape, they therefore deſire that his Guards may be ſtrengthen'd.* To which the Lords conſented. His Majeſty gave the two Houſes Audience the 28th of *April*, and told them concerning *Papiſts reſiding at Court, he wou'd give no juſt Cauſe of Scandal.* It is obſervable that this King in his Speeches has generally ſome Epithet to a Word which keeps the Interpretation in himſelf ſtill. If he had ſaid he *wou'd give no* Cauſe of Scandal, it wou'd have been ſome ſort of Anſwer, but with that good Epithet *juſt*, it is no Anſwer at all, or rather a Denial; for his Majeſty thought thoſe *Papiſts* his beſt Friends. He lov'd them, and they lov'd him, and cou'd any body therefore be juſtly ſcandaliz'd at their living well together? *As to the* Iriſh *Army, he found many Difficulties in disbanding it, but he wiſh'd all Armies might be disbanded.* *King's Speech.* Strafford.

The Bill of Attainder going forward, the King came to the Houſe of Peers three Days after, and ſending for the Commons, ſpoke in Favour of the Earl, denying not the Notes themſelves, but the *Subſtance of the Notes*, and declar'd he cou'd not in Conſcience condemn him of *Treaſon*; but he *was clear as to Miſdemeanor, and thought him not worthy of any Place for the future*; *no not that of a Conſtable.* 'Tis a very pitiful Caſe to ſee *Echard* and *Warwick*'s *Delphian* Oracle reduc'd by King *Charles* himſelf to the Capacity of a *Tything-Man.* The Earl, as *Heylin* owns, took that Expreſſion worſe than Death, and *wiſh'd it had been ſpar'd*, in a Letter he wrote to the King. *Strafford* and his Friends did not thank the King for interfering, and believ'd his Earneſtneſs to ſave him haſten'd his Deſtruction. The Commons were a little diſpleaſed at the King's interfering in the paſſing of a Bill before it came regularly to him, and it was generally look'd upon as a new Breach of their Privileges. 'Tis pretended the Lord *Say* gave the King this traiterous Counſel; but rather, I believe, to accuſe that Lord of Treachery, than the King of Weakneſs. What *Echard* ſays here of the Houſe of Commons being in a Confederacy with the Watermen, Porters, Shoemakers and Taylors of *London*, to deſtroy the Earl of *Strafford* and the Church, is too incredible and too impudent to bear Remark. A Doctor of Divinity, and his *Band-Dogs*, are his chief Actors in this Confederacy. Thus he ſtiles the Citizens of *London*, who came to *Weſtminſter* waiting with Impatience to hear the Bill of Attainder was paſs'd. Theſe Citizens preſented an humble Petition to the Lords, complaining of a Conſpiracy for the Earl's Eſcape, in order to which the Garriſon of the *Tower* was to be reinforc'd with 100 Soldiers under Captain *Billingſley*. This was certain, Sir *William Balfour* Governor of the *Tower*, declar'd to the ſix Lords who were ſent to examine him, that he had receiv'd Orders to admit *Billingſley* and his Reinforcement; that the Earl of *Strafford* offer'd him 20000 *l.* and to marry his Daughter to his Son; that it ſhou'd be done under Pretence of removing him to ſome other Priſon, and the Earl wou'd take his Opportunity to eſcape; that he ſhou'd have the King's Warrant to indemnify him; for in thoſe Days that Warrant was thought an Indemnification for the Breach of all the Laws in our Law-Books and Statutes. *His Contrivance to eſcape.*

A.D.1641. Statutes. Captain *Billingſley* confeſs'd upon Oath, that he was employ'd to get an hundred ſtout Fellows for a ſecret Service by Sir *John Suckling* one of the Army Conſpirators. But *Echard* invalidates Sir *William Balfour*'s Evidence becauſe he was a *Scotſman*, for which that brave Nation is much indebted to him. Sir *William* refus'd to admit *Billingſley* and his Soldiers, or any other but the Hamlet Men.

It is common with the Hiſtory Writers, ſuch as *Heylin*, *Sanderſon*, *Echard*, &c. to ſay as *Warwick* does, that the Parliament declin'd the Proſecution by Tryal, and brought in the Bill of Attainder becauſe they had not Proof; and Sir *Henry Vane*'s ſwearing to his Notes, ſignify'd no more than if one of themſelves had ſworn to them; and this their Great Vulgar and their Small run away with; whereas the Lords voted the Earl guilty of *High-Treaſon*, not upon the Notes, of which ſo much has been ſaid, but upon the *fifteenth Article*, for levying Money in *Ireland* by Force; and *upon the nineteenth Article*, for impoſing an Oath upon the Subjects: Which Vote wou'd have condemn'd the Earl without the Bill of Attainder; but it was manifeſt the Commons were reſolv'd to make the King a Party in it; and tho' the common Way of Proceſs wou'd have convicted him capitally, as appears by the Lords Vote, yet then the King wou'd have been paſſive only in his Puniſhment, and they reſolv'd he ſhou'd be active in Terror to all future Evil Counſellors; which his Majeſty perceiving, it no doubt contributed ſomething to the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience.

When we have read *Whitlocke*'s Account of the Vote of the Peers upon two other Articles of High-Treaſon, how flat do all the Arguments in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion againſt the Notes appear, which are not once mention'd in the Vote of *High-Treaſon*?

Whitl. 43. But the merrieſt Part of that Hiſtorian's Falſification is this, ***The Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons with only fifty-nine negative Voices, when there was near two hundred in the Houſe***; whereas there were above two hundred affirmative Voices only; and ſuch is the Way of Tale throughout all that Hiſtory.

Ruſhw. 204 *Yeas*, 59 *Noes*.

Prince of Orange, *Princeſs* Mary.

On the 2d of *May* the Marriage between the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary* then twelve Years old, was ſolemniz'd at *Whitehall*. His Highneſs had been in *England* ſcarce a Fortnight, and never was Joy more juſt nor more general than on this happy Occaſion, to which we do in ſome Meaſure owe the real Felicities of all the glorious Reigns ſince the Revolution.

Mr. Pym *about the Army Plot.*

The next Day Mr. *Pym* acquainted the Houſe that there were divers Informations of deſperate Deſigns both at home and abroad, of Endeavours to diſaffect the Army, and bring them up againſt the Parliament; that ſeveral Perſons about the Queen are deeply engag'd in theſe Plots, and there was Cauſe to fear an Intent upon *Portſmouth*, &c. Then Sir *John Wray* ſpoke, *If we intend to perfect the Work, let us take the right Way, let us become holy Pilgrims* (*not* Popiſh) and endeavour *to be loyal Covenanters with God and the King, firſt binding ourſelves by a parliamentary and national Oath* (not a *Straffordian* nor a *Prelatical* one) *to preſerve our Religion entire and pure, without the leaſt Compound of Superſtition or Idolatry*, &c. *This doing we ſhall be a bleſſed Nation: But if we ſhall let go our Chriſtian Hold, and loſe our Parliament-Proof, and old* Engliſh *well-temper'd Mettle, let us take Care that our Buckler break not, our Parliaments melt not, and our Golden Candleſtick be not remov'd; which never let me live to ſee, nor* England *to feel the Want of.* After the Reader has this ſhort, hearty, truly *Engliſh* Speech in his Memory, let him turn to the long Sentences, the Sophiſtry, and Affectation in the Lord *Clarendon*'s florid Diſcourſes, and ſee how they will reliſh on his Palate. How piquant and pleaſing is the blunt Honeſty of this *Lincolnſhire* Knight? How flat and fulſome the eternal Flattery and Prevarication in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion? The Houſe taking that honeſt Speech into Conſideration, *RESOLV'D*, That a Proteſtation ſhou'd be taken by all the Members, *To defend the Reform'd Religion expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt all Popery and Popiſh* Innovations; they mean *Laud*'s: The whole Body, Lords and Commons, and even Biſhops, mean his Innovations ſo much cry'd up by *Clarendon* and *Echard*. *To defend his Majeſty's royal Perſon, Honour, and Eſtate, the Power and Privileges of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; to oppoſe and bring to condign Puniſhment all ſuch as ſhall by Force, Practice, Counſels, Plots, Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe do any Thing contrary to this Proteſtation.* How excellent is the Archdeacon's Obſervation, that the Clauſe to defend the *true reform'd Proteſtant Religion*, was intended againſt *making Alterations in the Hierarchy*; and more excellent ſtill is his other Obſervation, that the Plot which occaſion'd the Proteſtation was *imperfect*; ſo in his Way of thinking was the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, for that the *Parliament* was not blown up, nor was this *over-aw'd by the Army*. He introduces more *Gunpowder* into his Farce, and with wretched Raillery inſults the Houſe of Commons upon the Fright the Report of it puts them into: His Actors in it are Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *Middleton*, Mr. *Moyle*, and Sir *John Wray*, whoſe Motion for the *Proteſtation* he never will forgive, tho' he was Knight of his own Shire. What he obſerves about a *Church*, is as falſe as it is fooliſh. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, the Parliament was ſo careful not to have it underſtood in *Echard*'s Senſe, that they made this Explanation of it: *By theſe Words was and is meant only the publick Doctrine profeſs'd in the ſaid Church, ſo far as it is oppoſite to Popery and Popiſh Innovations; and that the ſaid Words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline, or Government, nor of any Rites and Ceremonies of the ſaid Church of* England. This *Proteſtation* was carry'd up to the Lords the 3d of *May* by Mr. *Denzil Hollis* and Mr. *Maynard*; the latter read it, and the former made a learned elegant Speech upon it: *The Parliament find Jeſuits and Prieſts conſpiring with ill Miniſters of State*, Laud's *old Friend* Windebank, Cottington, &c. *to deſtroy our Religion. They find ill Miniſters conjoin'd together* to ſubvert our Laws and Liberties; *Wentworth*, and too many more to be nam'd. *They find Juſtice obſtructed, Property invaded, and this very Parliament which hath ſate ſo long, hath all this while but beaten the Air, and ſtriven againſt the Stream; for I may truly ſay, Wind and Tide have ſtill been againſt us. The ſame ill Counſels which firſt rais'd the Storm which almoſt ſhipwreck'd the Commonwealth do ſtill continue, they blow ſtrong like the Eaſt Wind that brought the Locuſts over the Land*, &c. This Proteſtation was taken by the Commons immediately, no Member being ſuffer'd to go out of the Houſe till he took it, which the others did as they came in. Thus in two Days time 'twas taken by 71 temporal Lords, 17 Biſhops, 428 Commoners, 9 Judges, and afterwards generally. *Heylin*, whoſe Example is excellently well follow'd by Mr. *Archdeacon*, poſitively aſſerts that the Lord *Digby and his Unkle refus'd the Proteſtation*, which is a poſitive Falſity. The Lord *Digby* and his Unkle took it one juſt after the other, and there was but one Man, Mr. *Herbert*, between the two *Digbys*, and Mr. *Pym* and Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, who were two of the firſt Takers. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Lord *Roberts* two Noblemen who afterwards fell in heartily with the *Engliſh* Intereſt, wou'd not take it, as being too nearly related to the *Scots* Covenant. But the Earl of *Lindſey*, Earl of *Northampton*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, and ſeveral others, who ſacrific'd their Lives for the King, did take it.

Mr. Hollis's *Speech upon it.*

Sir John Wray *for the Proteſtation.*

*A.D.*1641. The Citizens of *London* continuing impatient at the Delays the Bill of Attainder met with, drew up a Liſt of all the Members of the Houſe of Commons who were againſt that Bill while it was paſſing that Houſe, and affix'd it to the Wall of Sir *William Brouncker*'s Houſe in *Palace-Yard*, to mark thoſe Gentlemen as Perſons ſet apart to feel the Weight of the People's Reſentments. They wrote upon it *Betrayers of the Country*, and *Straffordians*, the Title downwards, as if they wou'd hang them up by the Heels. Their Names were, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Compton*, Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Hatton*, Sir *Edward Alford*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Thomas Danby*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *William Carnaby*, Sir *Richard Win*, Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, Sir *William Widdrington*, Sir *William Pennyman*, Sir *Patrick Curwen*, Sir *Richard Lee*, Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Sir *William Portman*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Gervaſe Hollis*, Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, Mr. *Cooke*, Mr. *Coventry*, Mr. *Benjamin Weſton*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Lloyd*, Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Digby*, Mr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Griffith*, Mr. *Scawen*, Mr. *Bridgman*, Serjeant *Hyde*, Mr. *Fettiplace*, Dr. *Turner*, Captain *Charles Price*, Dr. *Parry*, Mr. *Arundel*, Mr. *Newport*, Mr. *Holborn*, Mr. *Noel*, Mr. *Kirton*, Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Price*, Mr *Trevanion*, Mr. *Jane*, Mr. *Edgcomb*, Mr. *Chichely*, Mr. *Mallory*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Warwick*, fifty-ſix in all. Mr. *Warwick* the Memoir Writer, diſtinguiſhes himſelf by a Place in this Liſt, and by nothing elſe that I have yet met with concerning him. Of the three other negative Voices, Mr. *Edward Hyde* may be ſuppos'd to be one, by his declaiming ſo much againſt the Parliaments bloody Doings in this Bill of Attainder. This Liſt ſo affrighted ſome of the Lords as well as Commons, that they left their Houſe, as the Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Hertford*, Earl of *Briſtol*, Duke of *Lenox*; and the Lord *Saville*, who had been *Strafford*'s profeſs'd Enemy, ſtuck cloſe to him.

Straffordians.

Earl of Bedford's *Death.*

The Death of the Earl of *Bedford*, which happen'd at this Time, is ſaid by the Lord *Clarendon* to have forwarded the Earl of *Strafford*'s, which is what the Criticks call *ſubtilizing* in Hiſtory, or making Judgment by Gueſſes, where there is no Foundation for it in Fact. If the Earl of *Bedford* promis'd to ſave his Life, no doubt he had thought of ſome Way of doing it; but the Doubt is whether he made ſuch a Promiſe, it being inconſiſtent with that Lord's known Sincerity and Zeal for the Commonwealth. The Hiſtorian owns he had been the Earl of *Strafford*'s mortal *Oppoſer*; and it is not very likely that the Aſſurance of the Treaſurer's Staff, which Dr. *Juxon* thought it high time to reſign, ſhou'd have ſuch Influence on ſo noble a Peer, as to make him all at once become the Earl of *Strafford*'s Protector. Such unnatural Changes may happen with your *Wentworth's*, your *Noy's*, *Saville's*, *Digby's*, &c. but not with Gentlemen of ſolid Principles and Virtue.

The Judges, as bad as they had been, being now to give their Advice to the Lords about the Bill of Attainder, thought the Treaſons ſo plainly prov'd before their Lordſhips, according to their own Votes, That the Earl of *Strafford doth deſerve to undergo the Pains and Forfeitures of High-Treaſon*; upon which the Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Peers the 8th of *May*; and Judge *Heath* was ſent to the Commons with the Meſſage, that their Lordſhips had paſs'd it without any Alteration. It now ſtopp'd with the King, who, by Advice of the Lords, conſulted Dr. *Uſher* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Dr. *Moreton* Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Potter* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, great Divines and Caſuiſts; alſo Dr. *Williams* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and the late Lord High-Treaſurer, Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*, of whom *Sanderſon*, his very good Friend, ſays after one who heard the King ſpeak it, *He acted cunningly, and ſaid nothing at all.* But *Echard*, his very good Friend alſo, vouches for him that he acted heroically, and told the King, *He ought to do nothing againſt his Conſcience upon any Conſideration in the World.* The Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, in a Writing of his on this Subject, informs us, *The Biſhop of* London *ſpake nothing at all, and the Biſhop of* Lincoln *not only ſpoke, but deliver'd the King* a Paper, containing a Promiſe of Pardon which the King had given the Earl under his Hand, and cou'd not be prevail'd with to paſs the Bill till that Paper was reſtor'd. *Sanderſon* aſſures us the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in Concert with Sir *William Balfour* Governor of the *Tower*, found Means to get it from the Earl under Pretence of doing him Service; and it was with a View of Pardon upon ſight of that Promiſe, that he wrote the Letter to the King ſo much talk'd of by his Adorers, wherein he gave his Conſent to his Majeſty's paſſing the Bill. We read in *Sanderſon*, if any of the Biſhops *depended on the Judgment of the others, it was the Biſhop of* London, *who at the laſt Meeting*, when all the other Biſhops gave their Opinion in the Affirmative with Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and that *upon the whole Matter Treaſon might be juſtly charg'd upon* Strafford, *ſpake not a Syllable.* *Echard* writes, *He gain'd a Reputation by what he ſaid, that ought to render him immortal in Hiſtory*; and as a Proof of it, he has put him into his own, where he is ſure of as much Immortality as the Merit of ſaying nothing amounts to. Mr. *Philips* intimates that *Sanderſon* has wrong'd Biſhop *Williams* in the Matter of the Paper, which I cannot entirely fall in with, becauſe Archbiſhop *Uſher*, in the above-mention'd Writing, owns *he put a Paper into the King's Hand, wherein what was contain'd his Brethren knew not*; but I do entirely agree with him in what he ſays of *Sanderſon*; *He relates Things falſe as often as true*, and it is pity his Hiſtory fell into Mr. *Echard*'s Way. The Form of conſulting Caſuiſts being over, his Majeſty ſign'd a Commiſſion in Council on *Sunday* the 9th, to the Earl of *Arundel* and two other Lords, the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Lord-Chamberlain, to paſs the Bill of Attainder, and the Bill *for Continuance of the preſent Parliament.*

*A.D.*1641.

Sanderſon 414.

Sanderſon. *K. Charles paſſes the Attainder, and for Continuance of the Parliament.*

There is a general Error in the Hiſtories not only of diſaffected Authors, but of others; and it is thence become a general but a falſe Opinion, that the Commons were ſo fearful of the ill Conſequences of this Bill of Attainder, that there was a Clauſe in it, that it ſhou'd never be drawn into Precedent. *Heylin* is the firſt in this Folly and Falſhood; *A Clauſe was added that it ſhou'd not be drawn into Example for Time to come.* *Warwick* out-does him, and indeed every one elſe in ſuch ſort of Nonſenſe, *they ſtigmatiz'd their own Bill with a Proviſo*, this Judgment ſhou'd not for the future be drawn *any more into Example.* 'Twas impoſſible for *Echard* not to copy this weak Paſſage, with which he cou'd not but be enamour'd, becauſe he fancy'd it reflected on the Juſtice of the Lords and Commons of *England*: There was a *ſpecial Proviſo that this Act ſhou'd not be a Precedent.* Of which ſpecial Proviſo there is not one Word in the Bill. *Ruſhworth* ſpeaking of the true *Proviſo* in the Bill, which relates only to *Judges and Juſtices* in inferior Courts, ſays, *This* Proviſo *hath occaſion'd the common Diſcourſe and Opinion, that this Judgment againſt the Earl was enacted never to be drawn into Precedent in Parliament, whereas it expreſly reſpects only Judges in* inferior *Courts.* Dr. *Welwood* has the ſame Obſervation, *I cannot help taking notice of a ſilly Miſtake which has gain'd ſome Credit in the World, as if the Bill of Attainder was of ſo extraordinary a Nature, and ſo much out of all the known Methods of Juſtice, that the Legiſlators themſelves were oblig'd to inſert a Clauſe into the Body of it, that it ſhou'd never be drawn into* Precedent; *whereas that Clauſe doth expreſly relate to Judges in inferior Courts.* I am ſenſible that Decency and Delicacy of Hiſtory admit

The Proviſo confuted.

A.D.1641. admit not of ſuch unhandſome Epithets, as fooliſh, ſilly, and the like, nor ſuch rude ones, as *villainous, infamous*, &c. But it is our Misfortune that we have hardly any Perſons to deal with on one ſide of the Queſtion, but what are the Subſtantives of theſe Adjectives, and one cannot help talking in proper Phraſe; which Dr. *Welwood* had the Experience of as well as my ſelf.

The King ſent the Secretary of State, Sir *Dudley Carlton*, to acquaint the Lord *Strafford* with what was done, and the Motives to it; *He receiv'd the Meſſage of Death with great Sweetneſs*, to uſe *Echard*'s own Words, becauſe they are Antipodes to the Truth. *Sanderſon* relates it thus, "The "Earl amaz'd, ſeriouſly ask'd the Secretary, *Whe-* "*ther his Majeſty had paſs'd the Bill*? As not be- "lieving, without ſome Aſtoniſhment, that the "King wou'd have done it; and being aſſur'd that "it was paſt, he aroſe from his Chair, and ſtand- "ing up, lift up his Eyes to Heaven, clap'd his "Hand upon his Heart, and cry'd, *Put not your* "*Truſt in Princes, nor in the Sons of Men, for in* "*them there is no Salvation.*" I mention this Hiſtorian, becauſe he is in the ſame Degree of Credit for good *ſtanch* Principles, with the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. *Whitlocke* ſpeaks of Sir *Dudley Carleton*'s Meſſage in the like manner; and the Earl of *Strafford*'s Behaviour did doubtleſs occaſion great Remorſe in his Majeſty, who ſent a Letter by the Prince of *Wales* to the Lords, wherein he deſir'd them *to confer with the Commons* to ſpare the Earls Life; which had no Effect, and the King was much blamed by *Heylin* and his Brethren, for ſtooping ſo low to the Houſe of Peers, as to Subſcribe his Letter *your Friend*: Miſſives bearing always Sovereigns Names a-top, and without any Adjunct.

King writes to the Lords in Behalf of the Earl.

After the Archdeacon has told us the Earl of *Strafford* underſtood Divinity better than any Layman, he tells us, he might have ſav'd his Life if he wou'd have perſuaded the King to take away *Epiſcopacy*; but he bravely rejected the Offer made by his Brother-in-Law, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*. Mr. *Hollis* was juſtly eſteem'd one of the wiſeſt Men of thoſe Times, and there never were Times in which there were wiſer; and unleſs he had been authoriz'd by the two Houſes of Parliament to make that Propoſition, nothing could be more raſh and extravagant, which the Earl muſt know too well to truſt to. When the Earl was going to Execution, the 12th of *May*, he made a low Bow to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was at a Window, and beg'd his Bleſſing, which the Archdeacon informs us the Archbiſhop gave him, and fell into a Swoon; *As if his Soul wou'd have forc'd its way to have join'd the Earl's in its Paſſage to Eternity*; he plays with Eternity as Flies do with the Flame. Is it nothing to appear before the tremendous Bar of Judgment, with the Guilt of Idolatry, Superſtition, Profanation of the Sabbath, Perſecution, Cruelty, Tyranny, Blood, and the huge Maſs of Crimes prov'd upon theſe two Criminals? The Earl bow'd again, and pray'd God to protect the *Archbiſhop*'s *Innocence*: We have ſeen, and ſhall ſtill ſee, what that Innocence was which he prays to God with his dying Breath to protect: After which *he march'd to a Scaffold, like a General to a Triumph*; Mr. *Echard*'s Similies are extreamly Natural. Nothing in the World is ſo like a Triumph, as to have one's Head cut off. He had triumph'd over the Laws, Rights, Properties and Liberties of the People ſo much, that his Majeſty was pleas'd to ſay, he was not fit to be a Conſtable. His Behaviour on the Scaffold, was like that of a Man who had long expected to die upon one, and was prepar'd for it: 'Twas brave and decent; yet when he was Beheaded there was ſo great Acclamation, that *Echard* informs us, his Enemies too *rode back in Triumph*, waving their Hats, and crying, *His Head is off, his Head is off.*

Strafford *Executed.*

The Reflections the Reverend Hiſtorian makes on the Act for the *Continuance of the Parliament*, have the uſual Solidity; *It was a new Conſtitution*, though they had not one Privilege more granted them by it, except the ſingle one of Sitting. A.D.1641. *Act for continuing the Parliament.*

The Earl of *Leiceſter* was now made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: He was Heir to Sir *Philip Sidney*, his Unkle, as well as to Sir *Henry Sidney*, his Grandfather, who had with great Honour, and much Integrity, long continued Chief Governor of *Ireland* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Earl of *Hertford* was made Marquis, and the Prince's Governor, *&c.* we hear of him no more among the Country Party. The Earl of *Eſſex* was made Lord Chamberlain; the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Lord *Newburgh*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State, were appointed Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. *Earl of* Leiceſter.

The Houſe of Commons being in Debate about Deans and Chapters, Dr. *Hacket*, afterwards Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, was admitted to ſpeak in their Behalf, and did it with more Applauſe than Succeſs. Then was deliver'd a Petition from the Univerſity of *Oxon*, and the moſt remarkable Thing in it, is the Date of it, *Dat. Anno Dom. Milleſimo Sex Cent. Quod primo è domo Convocationis in celebri conventu Doctorum, & Magiſtrorum omnibus & ſingulis Aſſentientibus*; but they forgot the Month, and Day of the Month. They aſſure the Parliament, that in ſome Weſtern Churches, as well as Eaſtern, there *has been a continual Succeſſion of Biſhops down from the very Apoſtles to this preſent Time, the like whereof cannot be affirm'd of any other Form of Government*; *upon which Conſideration, they earneſtly deſire the ancient Apoſtolical Order may be protected from Ruin and Diminution*: You find them all in the ſame Tone. Thus *Titus* and *Becket*, *Timothy* and *Wolſey*, were the very ſame ſort of Biſhops, or the Function muſt have receiv'd very great Alterations during ſo long a Succeſſion, and conſequently either be or not be the ancient Apoſtolical ones. If *Becket's Epiſcopacy* was the ſame as *Titus*'s, 'twas Apoſtolical and Ancient, whether the Chain was broken or not; if it was not the ſame, the Succeſſion is of no Signification; it being the Function, and not the Perſon, that was in Debate. And not the Function, as it was Primitive and Pure, but as it had ſuffer'd various Changes and Augmentations, during the Courſe of fifteen Centuries. There had been no Difference about the Name and Function, if that wou'd have ſerv'd the Univerſities Turn: However, when any Profeſſor of Hiſtory ſhall prove that there has been a continu'd unbroken Succeſſion of Biſhops in any two Weſtern Churches, I know what they pretend about the Pope, *Erit mihi Magnus Apollo*. The Subſtance of the *Cambridge* Petition is as modeſt as the Date, *Datæ frequenti Conventu Noſtro Cantab. tertio Idus Aprilis*; they pray *that honourable Court*, the Houſe of Commons, *to reform Innovations and Abuſes that have crept in by ſome Mens Miſcarriages*; and that Foundations *eſtabliſh'd for the Advancement of Learning, might be preſerv'd*; all which was juſt and reaſonable. A Complaint was brought into Parliament againſt Dr. *Stern*, Maſter of *Jeſus* College in that Univerſity, for encouraging Superſtition, and maintaining *Arbitrary Power*; but we ſhall find him, and Dr. *Coſens*, Head of *Peter-Houſe*, lately charg'd with the ſame Crime in the beſt Epiſcopal Sees in *England*, before we have done with this Hiſtory, to encourage others to follow their Example. *Deans and Chapters.* Oxford *Petition.* Cambridge *Petition.*

The Tyranny of the Earl of *Strafford*, as Preſident of the Council of the *North*, was ſet forth at large by Mr. *Edward Hyde*, in a Speech at a Conference between both Houſes of Parliament, about a Fortnight before the Earl was beheaded; wherein he ſaid, *This Court, by the Spirit and Ambition of the Miniſters truſted there, hath ſo prodigiouſly* *Council of the* North. *Mr.* Edw. Hyde's *Speech againſt it.*

A.D.1641. *giouſly broken down the Banks of the firſt Channels in which it ran, that it hath almoſt overwhelm'd that Country under the Sea of Arbitrary Power, and involv'd the People in a Labyrinth of Diſtemper, Oppreſſion and Poverty.* To overwhelm with a Sea, and involve in a Labyrinth at one and the ſame Time, is extreamly regular in Metaphor; and this is the Eloquence which is ſo much boaſted of in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Is it not ſtrange that the Earl of *Clarendon*'s great Skill in *Divinity* ſhou'd not have taught him better; and that ſo white a Soul ſhould be guilty of oppreſſing and beggaring the People, and of drowning them in a Sea of Arbitrary Power? Mr. *Hyde* ſpeaks further of the *Tyranny* of that Court, of which *Strafford* was Lord Preſident, or chief Tyrant; and the Iſſue was, that this favourite Court of his was demoliſh'd with *Ignominy*, about the ſame Time that the Preſident was executed.

Farmers of the Cuſtoms. The Farmers of the Cuſtoms, Sir *Paul Pindar*, Sir *Abraham Dawes*, Sir *John Wolſtenholme*, Sir *John Jacob*, being queſtion'd for levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, without Conſent of Parliament, offer'd and paid 150000 Pounds Compoſition; which ſhews they muſt have unmercifully peculated, or they cou'd have made no ſuch Payment: Some think that their Crime deſerv'd Corporal Puniſhment much more than Mr. *Prynne*'s Book againſt *Vagabonds* and *Strumpets*.

Mr. Taylor Member. Mr. *Taylor*, Member of Parliament for *Windſor*, was brought upon his Knees in the Houſe of Commons, for ſaying *they had committed Murder with the Sword of Juſtice, and he would not for a World have ſo much Blood lying on his Conſcience, as did on theirs for the Sentence.* The Words were prov'd againſt him by the Mayor of *Windſor*, ſo he was expell'd the Houſe the 27th of *May*, and *voted incapable of ever being* choſen a Member of Parliament, order'd to be carry'd down to *Windſor* to recant theſe Words, and then to be committed to the *Tower* during Pleaſure.

Army Plot. The Plot between ſome Courtiers, the Jeſuit *Orleans* ſays the King himſelf, and ſome Officers of the Army to over-awe the Parliament, is call'd a *pretended one* by Mr. Archdeacon, and a *real one* by both the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons. 'Tis fairly related in *Whitlocke*, and we may by this Event be confirm'd in our Judgment of the Archdeaon's and the Lord *Clarendon*'s Sincerity. *Echard* will have it, that there was no Plot at all; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, who cannot deny but that there was ſome Plotting, aſſures us, 'twas becauſe the Parliament did ſometimes give the *Scots* the Money which was intended for the *Engliſh*. That *ſometimes* was once, upon the preſſing Inſtances of the *Scots* for a preſent Supply; 10000 Pounds was order'd them out of 50000 Pounds which had been deſign'd for the *Engliſh* Army. The Reverend Hiſtorian affirms, they took 10000 out of 15000 Pounds. Commiſſary *Wilmot*, a Member of the Houſe, reſenting that the *Scots* Requeſt was comply'd with, ſaid, *If ſuch Papers from the* Scots *cou'd procure Money, he doubted not but the Officers of the* Engliſh *Army cou'd ſoon do the like.* It was perceiv'd ſome of the King's Servants had very weakly as well as raſhly, been tampering with the Army to march directly to *London:* what Buſineſs they were to do there, is not hard to be conjectur'd. The two chief Plotters in this Politick Plot were two Poets, Sir *John Suckling*, and Sir *William Davenant*; and the chief Officers were Commiſſary *Wilmot*, Colonel *Goring*, Mr. *Jermyn*, Captain *Leg*, Mr. *Pollard*, Colonel *Aſhburnham*, Sir *John Coniers*, *Oneal*, Brother to the *Iriſh* Rebel, and Mr. *Piercy*, whom *Orleans* ſtiles *Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, for the Credit of the Plot. The Archdeacon admires that *French* Jeſuit as an Hiſtorian. To pacify the Army, the Speaker was order'd to write a Letter to Sir *Jacob Aſhley*, who commanded it in the Abſence of the other Generals, wherein they were promis'd Money, Cloaths, and what elſe they demanded. This Letter was ſent by Mr. *Ruſhworth*, who writes of this Plot quite contrary to Mr. Archdeacon, and had a good Effect upon the Soldiers, who were not ſo ready to draw their Swords againſt the Parliament, as the Conſpirators wou'd have had them. Colonel *Goring* being examin'd concerning this Conſpiracy, gave Information that Sir *John Suckling* made the firſt Overture to him about marching the Army to *London*; that he afterwards met Mr. *Piercy*, Colonel *Aſhburnham*, Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Jermyn*, and *Oneal* the *Iriſhman*, who all took a ſolemn Oath of *Secrecy*, not to reveal the Subject of their treaſonable Conferences. That 'twas propos'd to ſend a Declaration to the Parliament before the Army began their March, which was firſt mov'd by *Jermin*, and oppos'd by *Goring*, *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Pollard*. That both the King and the Queen knew of the Conſpiracy, which his Majeſty call'd *the ſetting the Army in a good Poſture.* The Officers agreed upon a Petition to the King and Parliament for *Money, not to Disband before the* Scots; *to preſerve Biſhops, to ſettle the King's Revenue; which if not comply'd with,* they were to perform Wonders. His Majeſty ſaw this Petition, and to ſhew his Approbation of it, ſign'd it *C. R.* with a Direction to the Bearer, who carry'd it down to the Army, that none ſhou'd ſee it as yet but Sir *Jacob Aſhley*. In this Petition they made the Army offer to *wait upon his Majeſty, hoping to appear as conſiderable in his Defence, as what Number ſoever ſhould appear to the contrary:* Several Officers ſign'd it in the Army, but upon the Diſcovery of the Treaſon the Traytors fled, and a Proclamation was publiſh'd the 8th of *May*, commanding *Henry Piercy*, Eſq; *Henry Jermin*, Eſq; Sir *John Suckling*, *William Davenant*, and Captain *Billingſley*, whom we find very ready for any Miſchief, to ſurrender themſelves. *Davenant* was taken as he was making his Eſcape, *Piercy* and *Jermyn* got into *France*. The King ſent a Warrant to Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portſmouth*, to provide a Ship with all Speed, to carry *Piercy* to *Diep* or *Calais*. The Parliament voted, *That there was a Deſign not only to poyſon the Affections of the Army towards the Parliament, by making them believe they were neglected, and the* Scots *preferr'd to them; but to bring up that Army to* London *to awe and force both Houſes*, &c. This *Echard* terms *averring confidently* there was a Plot, though the Lord *Digby* had invalidated *Goring*'s Evidence, *for which he was publickly expell'd the Houſe of Commons*, ſays he very ingeniouſly; as if it was poſſible to expel a Man privately, when there were three or four Hundred in Company. The Lord *Digby* was the ſame Day call'd up by Writ to the Houſe of Peers, notwithſtanding the Parliament petition'd his Majeſty not to *confer any Honour or Employment upon him*; but the perverſe Meaſures, and obſtinate way of purſuing them, are reviving, and doubtleſs are owing much to the Malignity and Vehemence of *Digby*'s Temper, who is now the favourite Counſellor to both King and Queen, and their Matters are like to thrive accordingly. Modeſt Mr. *Echard* proceeds; *After the* Parliament *had play'd this Plot, Mr.* Pym *privately got* Piercy *to write a certain Letter to his Brother, the Earl of* Northumberland, *which ſhou'd blow up all his Companions, yet there was a very little Show of Proof of a real Deſign, tho' the Letter agreed with* Goring's *Evidence.* What can one make of ſuch *Anecdotes*? Who told him Mr. *Pym* did it privately? He can have Acquaintance with none whom Mr. *Pym* wou'd be acquainted with, or have ſo much Confidence in, as to impart ſuch a Secret to them. In this certain Letter there was the following great Show of a real Deſign. *The* 10000 *Pounds to the* Scots, *was the Cauſe of many Diſcourſes of Diſlike*

A.D.1641

Digby.

A.D.1641. *like amongſt us of the Army, and came to this Purpoſe, that we were diſoblig'd by the Parliament, and not by the King: This being ſaid often to one another, we did reſolve,* Wilmot, Aſhburnham, Pollard, Oneal, *and my ſelf, to tell his Majeſty of it, and repreſent it as a great Service done him, when his Affairs were in ſo ill a Condition. After this we agreed upon the Petition for* Biſhops, *and I ſpoke to the King, who I found had been ſpoken with before, in a way more ſharp and high, not having Limit either of Honour or Law. The Petition of the Soldiers* was ſoon quaſh'd, ſays the Reverend Hiſtorian, but he owns the King had ſign'd it, and there cou'd not be a greater Breach of Parliamentary Privilege, than to excite an arm'd Power to oppoſe the Senſe of the Nation, declar'd by their Repreſentatives concerning *Biſhops*. The King own'd he had ſet his Name to it, but had no Intention to do what was therein intended: I will here repeat after the Lord *Clarendon*, what his Majeſty is made to ſay in his Declaration from *York*, the next Year, *I cannot without Indignation ſuffer my ſelf to be reproach'd, to have intended the leaſt Force or Threatning to my Parliament, as to be privy to the bringing up of the Army, would imply.* He was privy to the Conſultations which were held to that Purpoſe. He approv'd of them in the moſt ſolemn Manner, by ſetting his Hand to the Paper which the Conſpirators drew up. *Goring* and *Piercy* prov'd this, and his Majeſty acknowledg'd in the ſame Declaration he had written *C. R.* upon it; yet how unconſcionably do the evil Counſellors deal by their Maſter in making him call God to Witneſs, *He had never any ſuch Thought, nor knew of any ſuch Reſolution.* The Parliament in their Anſwer argu'd, *That his Majeſty's Admiſſion of reading and ſigning the Petition, and yet inſiſting that he did not think of, or intend any Force towards the Parliament, was* Proteſtatio contra Factum, *a Proteſtation againſt the Fact; and therefore in Regard of the* Conſpiracy, *was as injurious to the Conſtitution, as the Fact was evident and undeniable: The Parliament never ceas'd to paſs it as a Reproach upon the King throughout the whole Controverſy.* A little Shame, without much Conſcience, was ſufficient to have hindred thoſe evil Counſellors from putting a Denial and a Confeſſion of the ſame Thing into the ſame Declaration. General *Ludlow*, who knew theſe Things as well as Chancellor *Hyde*, is poſitive; "There was a treacherous De- P. 15.
"ſign ſet on Foot, not without the Participation
"of the King, as appear'd under his own Hand,
"to bring up the *Engliſh* Army, and by Force to
"diſſolve the Parliament: The Plunder of *Lon-*
"*don* being promis'd to the Officers, as a Reward for
"that Service: This was confeſs'd by the Lord
"*Goring*, Mr. *Piercy*, and others. The *Scots* Ar-
"my was alſo tried, and the four Northern Coun-
"ties offer'd to be given to them, in caſe they
"wou'd undertake the ſame Deſign.

Clar. 545, 555, 587.

Madam *de Motteville*, who tells us ſhe had her Memoirs from Queen *Henrietta Maria*, affirms, that *Goring* and *Wilmot* engag'd the Army in the King's Service, and to carry over thoſe Troops to him, that were entirely devoted to his Service. *Goring* deſir'd the Queen to ſpeak to the King about it, which ſhe did, but *Goring* afterwards diſcovering the Plot, 'twas all ſpoilt. *Motteville* adds, the Queen did all ſhe could to ſave *Strafford*: Not a Day paſs'd over her Head, but ſhe cloſetted the moſt violent of the Faction, whom ſhe ſent for privately by the Back-Stairs into an Apartment near her own, which belong'd to a Lady that was in the Country, where with a Flambeaux in her Hand, without truſting any body with the Secret, ſhe went all alone to meet them in the Night, and offer'd them every Thing ſhe cou'd think of, but all was in vain. A rare Miniſter muſt this *Strafford* be, who had ſo far gain'd the Affection of a Popiſh bigotted Queen, as to tempt her to lay by her Royalty to ſerve him.

The Queen, her Mother, had been here about three Years, and given ſo much Encouragement to *Roſetti*, the Pope's Agent, that the Parliament took Notice of it: The Multitude alſo threatned her Houſe while the Agent was ſhelter'd there. The King, who had other Occaſions enough for Ship-Money, allow'd her near 40000 Pounds a Year, when *France* wou'd not allow her a *Livre*. However, the Archdeacon is very well pleas'd with the Company of this *illuſtrious Lady*, but the Houſe of Commons pray'd the Lords humbly to beſeech the King that ſhe might depart the Kingdom. There ſeem'd to be a ſtrange Infatuation in the Conduct of this Court, who ſuffer'd that Lady to ſtay till the People bad her be gone. The Reaſons they gave for it were, *Ill Inſtruments about her: The flowing of Prieſts and Papiſts to her Houſe: The Uſe and Practice of the Idolatry of the Maſs.* To quicken her Journey, the Parliament not only order'd 10000 Pounds for it, but gave Intimation that it ſhou'd be follow'd by more, when ſhe was out of *England*. I have touch'd on this Queen's Reſidence here elſewhere, and the 10000 Pounds ſhe had of Mr. *Capell's* Money for his being made a Lord. Cardinal *Richlieu's* Hatred to this Princeſs, purſu'd her implacably whereever ſhe went: He envy'd her the Air ſhe breath'd, and the Food ſhe eat; and her Royal Entertainment in *England*, made him an Enemy to the Court that entertain'd her. He was not ignorant of the King and Queen's good Intentions to aſſiſt her againſt him, when it was in their Power, and he let no Opportunity ſlip of giving them Trouble. King *Charles*, in his Letter to the Queen of the 13th of March, 164⅝, writes, *If this* Rebellion *had not begun to oppreſs me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than ſhe did not many Months after at* Cologne, where ſhe had hardly any Thing to ſubſiſt her but what was given her by the Parliament.

A.D. 1641. *Queen Mother.*

On the 13th of *May* the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Act for the Remainder of the ſix Subſidies, for which Commiſſioners both Lords and Commons had been appointed in the Bill; and the Earl of *Briſtol* being one of them, the Parliament were ſo ſenſible of his deſerting their Cauſe, and of his approving the Treachery of his Son, the Lord *Digby*, that they order'd his Name to be ſtruck out, and put the Earl of *Stamford* in its Place. When there are ſo many Affairs tranſacting at once, it is impoſſible to obſerve the Order of Time exactly, and not break the Thread of the Hiſtory. *Subſidies.*

There was all this while a Bill moving in the Houſe of Commons, for taking away Biſhops Votes in Parliament. The Reaſons in the Archdeacon's Account of it are mutilated, and miſrepreſented. He aſſerts that the main Reaſon was to get rid of the *Scots*, who declar'd they wou'd not ſtir till that Bill paſs'd: The Lords ſcrupling to paſs the Bill as the Commons had drawn it, there was a Conference between the two Houſes; and the Commons Reaſons were, 1. *Becauſe it is a great Hindrance to their Miniſterial Function.* 2. *Becauſe they do vow and undertake at their* Ordination, *when they enter into holy Orders, that they will give themſelves wholly to that Vocation.* 3. *Becauſe Councils and Canons in ſeveral Ages do forbid them to meddle with ſecular Affairs.* 4. *Becauſe the twenty-four* Biſhops *have Dependance on the two* Archbiſhops, *and take their Oath of Canonical Obedience unto them.* 5. *Becauſe they are but for their Lives, and therefore are not fit to have Legiſlative Power over the Honours, Inheritances, Perſons and Liberties of others.* 6. *Becauſe of Biſhops Dependancy and Expectancy of Tranſlation to Places of greater Profit.* 7. *Becauſe ſeveral Biſhops have of late much encroach'd upon the Conſciences and Liberties of the Subjects, and they and their Succeſſors will be much* encou- *Biſhops. Commons Reaſons againſt them.*

A.D.1641. *encourag'd ſtill to encroach. After the Biſhops then in being, came* Sheldon, Morley, Coſins, Stern, Henchman, Gunning, Hyde, Ward, Sparrow, Mew, Blandford, Glemham, Parker, Lake, Ken, *&c.* 8. *Becauſe the whole Number of them are intereſted to maintain the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops, which hath been found ſo grievous to the three Kingdoms, that* Scotland *hath utterly aboliſh'd it.* 9. *Becauſe Biſhops being Lords of Parliament, it ſettles too great a Diſtance between them and the reſt of their Brethren in the Miniſtry, which occaſions Pride in them, Diſcontent in others, and Diſquiet in the Church:* And as to their having had Votes a long Time, the Anſwer is, *If it be inconvenient, Times and Uſages are not to be conſider'd with Law-Makers; ſome Abbots voted as anciently in Parliament as Biſhops.* Dr. *Williams*, now made Archbiſhop of *York*, attempted to anſwer theſe Reaſons in a Pamphlet, intituled, *The Abſtract:* To which preſently came forth a *Reply.* And it were to be wiſh'd Mr. Archdeacon had anſwer'd them in his Hiſtory, inſtead of telling us the Lords declaim'd againſt the *Houſe of Commons for meddling with an Affair that concern'd themſelves*; and made uſe of this moſt convincing Argument, *If they bring up this Bill one Day to take away the* BISHOPS, *they may bring another the next Day to take away the* DUKES; becauſe the Dukes and the Biſhops have the ſame holy Vocation: And all the Reaſons given by the Parliament make againſt the *Dukes*, as much as againſt the Biſhops. This is ſome of the ſtrongeſt Arguments in their Hiſtories. Sir *Simon d'Ewes*, the famous Antiquary, inform'd the Houſe, that in the ancient Manuſcript Copy of the *Greek* Bible, in St. *James*'s Library, the Epiſtles run thus, *The firſt to* Timothy, *written from* Laodicea; *to* Titus, *written from* Nicopolis; whence he inferr'd, that the ſtiling *of* Timothy *to be the firſt Biſhop of* Epheſus, *and* Titus *the firſt Biſhop of* Crete, were the ſpurious Additions of ſome Eaſtern Biſhops or Monks, at leaſt 500 Years after Chriſt. Mr. *Edward Hyde* was Chairman of the Bill concerning Biſhops, and according to his own impartial Hiſtory, he behav'd ſo dexterouſly, that he puzzled all their Enemies. The Reverend Hiſtorian vouches for the Truth of it; but there is not the leaſt Appearance of it in *Whitlock*, or *Ruſhworth*, or indeed in Fact or Probability. *Whitlocke* writes, *there were not many very eager for the Biſhops: Deans* and *Chapters*, were brought into the Bill afterwards, and Mr. *Thomas* made an elegant Speech againſt that Inſtitution; as did alſo Mr. *Pury*, Citizen for *Glouceſter*, in which he ſaid, *Seeing therefore the ſaid Deans and Chapters are but Truſtees, and the Profits of the Lands ſo ill employ'd by them, contrary to the Truſt in them repos'd, I am clearly of Opinion, that by a Legiſlative Power in Parliament, it is fit to take them away, and to put them into the Hands of* Feoffees, *to be diſpos'd of to ſuch pious Uſes as they were firſt intended for.* The next Speech upon this Bill was Sir *Edward Deering*'s, and the whole Story of it in *Echard* is an incredible Piece of Secret Hiſtory, with ſome other Infirmities. The Addition he offer'd to the Bill, was the very ſame Propoſition which Mr. *Pury* had made for putting Church Lands into the Hands of Commiſſioners. Sir *Edward Deering*, among many other Things, ſaid, *I am for aboliſhing our preſent Epiſcopacy, both Dioceſes and Dioceſans, as they now are: But I am withal at the ſame Time for Reſtoration of the pure primitive Epiſcopal Preſidency. Cut off the uſurp'd* Adjuncts *of our preſent Epiſcopacy, reduce the ancient* Epiſcopacy, ſuch as it was in *puris Spiritualibus*. And becauſe he does not allow the Prelacy of *Laud* to be pure primitive Epiſcopacy, which the Archdeacon poſitively avers, therefore is Sir *Edward* a *Madman* and an *Ideot*. Indeed Archbiſhop *Uſher* was not of his Opinion, as to the *Laudean* Hierarchy, *Whitlocke* informs us, "that he offer'd an Expedient for Con- A.D.1641.
"junction in Point of Diſcipline, that Epiſcopal
"and Presbyterial Government might not be at a
"far Diſtance, but reducing *Epiſcopacy* to the
"Form of Synodical Government in the ancient
"Church." So that according to the moſt Reverend Father, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, *Laud*'s Church was not the ancient Church, which is what I have all along been contending for, and no more. Ever ſince I was capable of knowing what was the Meaning of the Words *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*, the Church of *England* has been bleſs'd with ſo many holy, wiſe, and learned Fathers, that all the Arguments made uſe of in theſe Times againſt *Biſhops*, have no manner of Relation to them. If our Church had always been ſo bleſs'd, the ſacred Function wou'd have always met with the Reveſence that is due to it: But the *Laudean* Prelates ſetting their Hearts entirely on the Things of this World, on Power, Wealth and Dignity, gave general Offence to all ſincere Chriſtians, and the holy Order it ſelf was affected by the Pride and Weakneſs of the Men.

Sir Simon d'Ewes.

Mr. Thomas.

Mr. Pury.

Sir Edw. Deering.

Tonnage and Poundage.

The Act for Tonnage and Poundage has been ſufficiently ſpoken of already; and there is hardly a Man of common Senſe in the Kingdom, who does not know that any Revenue which the Crown holds by the Gift of the People, cannot be legally levy'd, till it is given; Yet now the Parliament paſt an Act for levying it, the Reverend Hiſtorian is very angry, that in the Preamble of that Act, the King is made to grant what no King ever deny'd, that the Crown had no Right to take a Gift before it was given. By which, ſays this judicious Writer, *He was ſtript of all he had left.* This Act was to be in Force two Months only, while a new Book of Rates was making; and then another Act was to be paſs'd for levying it, during the Life of the King, as uſual, if no ill Meaſures interven'd to obſtruct it.

Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion aboliſh'd.

When thoſe two monſtrous Courts, the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion* was aboliſh'd by Parliament, the excellent Hiſtorian laſt mention'd, laments the Loſs of them, as the Bulwarks of the Peoples Liberties, Spiritual and Temporal. He ſays in ſo many Words, the *Star-Chamber was a Bulwark for the Liberties of the Subject, that it was haſtily deſtroy'd, and after an unprecedented Manner,* an Act of Parliament. We have ſhewn in the preceding Pages, what a rare Defence this was of the Peoples Rights and Liberties; and it is farther explain'd by a Speech of the Lord *Andover* in the Houſe of Peers before-mention'd, *The very Words of the Statute for it ſhew, that it was a* needleſs Inſtitution; *they who are to judge, can proceed with no* Delinquent *otherwiſe, than as if he were convicted of the ſame Crime by due Proceſs of Law:* And do your Lordſhips *hold this a rational Court, that ſends us to the Law, and calls us to the Law, and calls us back from it again?* ſuch a Confuſion as cou'd not but be pleaſing to ſo clear a Head as that of the Hiſtorian. It is unneceſſary to add more of the Lord *Andover*'s Arguments, when the plain Fact prov'd the Court to have deſerv'd eternal Infamy for its Tyranny and Cruelty. The *High-Commiſſion* Court never had a Word ſaid for it, by Men of Capacity and Conſcience. Mr. Archdeacon begins this Matter with a flagrant piece of Sophiſtry; He ſays, *Queen* Elizabeth *eſtabliſh'd it againſt Popery and Schiſm*, but he ſinks there being no temporal Penalties in the Statute. Dr. *Fuller* informs us, *It was againſt* Magna Charta, *no Man being to be condemn'd to the loſs of Liberty or Property, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers. This Court tender'd an Oath to ſuch as they ſuſpected, obliging the Party to diſcover what might be Penal to himſelf, which was conceiv'd to be unjuſt*; and ſo deteſtably unjuſt, that it is aſtoniſhing to ſee Miniſters of the Goſpel concerning themſelves in ſuch wicked Work; and moſt of the Judges were of that

A.D.1641. that Function in the higheſt Order. I need not repeat more of Dr. *Fuller*'s Arguments againſt this Commiſſion, nor any of the pretended Anſwers, except the chief of them, which is in *Echard:* That theſe Judges puniſh'd *Fornication* and *Profaneneſs*; whereas the quite contrary is ſo very true, that they puniſh'd thoſe who wou'd not be profane, if *Sabbath-breaking* may be reckon'd Profanation: He declaims again, *theſe two Courts might have been of excellent Uſe to the Church and the State:* So excellent the Uſe of them, that the Grievances occaſion'd by them were ſome of thoſe that contributed principally to the Deſtruction of both. Before the King paſs'd theſe two Acts, he gave the Royal Aſſent to the Poll-Tax; *A Gift,* ſays the Speaker, *of ſo vaſt Extent, that Time cannot parallel it by any Example*; however, his Majeſty wou'd not paſs the two other Bills at the ſame Time; they being all three offer'd together; which gave ſo great Diſguſt to the Parliament, that the King came four Days after and paſs'd them; but this ungenerous manner of doing Things, took off much of the Merit of it.

Father Philips *and* Roſetti.

The Inſolence of the *Popiſh* Prieſts was grown to ſuch a Height, that one of them, Father *Philips*, belonging to the Queen, having been found guilty of holding treaſonable Correſpondence with his Brethren abroad for advancing the *Popiſh* Cauſe, the Houſe of Commons ſent for him, and he told the Meſſenger, *The Queen had order'd him not to go till he had ſpoken with the King, and he wou'd obey her Commands before thoſe of the Parliament*; upon which they ſent a Warrant to apprehend him as a Delinquent, and another to ſeize Count *Roſetti*. The latter made his Eſcape, but *Philips* at laſt appear'd at the Bar of the Houſe, and after Examination was impeach'd, *For the damnable Doctrine which he and other Jeſuits hath taught, which hath been the Cauſe of the Civil Wars like to befall theſe Kingdoms, if God in his Mercy does not prevent,* according to the third Article of the Impeachment. His Majeſty in the Cloſe of his Speech on paſſing the two laſt Bills, ſaid, *I have one Word more to ſpeak unto you; it is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector* Palatine, *who having deſir'd me and the King of* Denmark, *to give Conſent to a Writing concerning the Diet at* Ratisbon *with the Emperor, I cou'd not but ſend my Ambaſſador to aſſiſt him, though I am afraid I ſhall not have ſo good an Anſwer as I expect; which my Nephew foreſeeing, hath deſired me for the better Countenance of the ſame, to make a Manifeſto in my Name, about which I deſire your Advice*; and the Houſe gave it very chearfully, and voted to give his Majeſty the neceſſary Aſſiſtance if the Manifeſto did not ſucceed, in which the Houſe of Lords alſo concur'd; another Proof how much all good *Engliſhmen* and good Proteſtants had at Heart the Intereſts of the *Palatine* Houſe. The Speeches as well as the Prayers for them came from the *Puritans*; we find them never mention'd by the *Laudæans*, unleſs with Marks of Hatred or Neglect. Mr. *Hollis* in his Speech to the Lords, ſaid, *The Houſe of Commons look on thoſe diſtreſs'd Princes with an Eye of Tenderneſs, wiſhing that every Drop of that Princely Blood, may ever be illuſtrated with Honour and Happineſs. Laud,* on the contrary, ſtruck them out of the Prayers of the Church.

King's Speech about the Elector Palatine.

His Houſe belov'd.

Mr. Hollis's *Speech for them.*

Sir *Benj. Rudyard.*

Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* ſaid, the good Effect of the *German* Match was loſt by ill Counſels, *Villiers, Weſton*'s, *Laud*'s, &c. And ſpeaking of the belov'd Queen of *Bohemia*, his Majeſty's Royal Great-Grandmother, he added, *By aſſiſting the Prince Elector, we ſhall refreſh and comfort the needful Heart of that moſt noble, virtuous, and magnimouſly ſuffering Queen of* Bohemia, *who is ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by this Houſe, by this Kingdom. Sir* Simon d'Ewes, *It concerns us now at length to provide that the Prince Elector himſelf, and the other princely Branches, ſhou'd not be diſpoil'd of his Inheritance, he being the ſecond if not the firſt and moſt antient of the Empire*; and this firſt and moſt antient of the Imperial Families in *Germany*, is now happily and glorioufly united in the Royal Houſe of *Great-Britain*. With what Pleaſure muſt every good *Engliſhman* obſerve, that the Hearts of their Anceſtors were bound up in Intereſts of the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Poſterity; and with what Indignation read that there was at any Time a Set of Men ſo wicked as to refuſe them their Prayers?

A.D.1641.

Judges impeach'd.

The Judges had hitherto lain under parliamentary Cenſures only, but now ſix of them, *Brampſton, Berkley, Crawley, Davenport, Trevor*, and *Weſton*, were impeach'd at the Lord's Bar: *Berkley* by *William Pierpoint* Eſq; ſecond Son to the Earl of *Kingſton, Crawley* by Mr. *Waller, Davenport* by Mr. *Hyde*. Mr. *Hollis* made a Speech in Praiſe of Sir *Randal Crew*, who was remov'd from the Chief-Juſticeſhip of the *King's-Bench*, for refuſing to join in the odious and illegal Impoſition of *Ship-Money*.

Images.

There being ſtill many Remains of *Romiſh* Idolatry in Churches and publick Places, the Houſe of Commons order'd, all ſcandalous Pictures, Croſſes, and Figures to be remov'd; to pleaſe the *Preſbyterians*, ſays *Echard*, very unfairly; becauſe a very great Majority of the Reform'd Church of *England* were as much pleas'd with it as the *Preſbyterians*. Sir *Robert Harley* Anceſtor to another *Presbyterian* of that Name in our Time, was appointed for this Work, *Whitlocke* tells us he perform'd it zealouſly; and his Succeſſor and Nameſake ſided afterwards with thoſe who were for ſetting them up again.

Sir *Robert Harley.*

King's Journey to Scotland.

The *Pacification* with the *Scots*, which had continu'd all this while in Treaty, being now in great Forwardneſs, and Money given for disbanding the two Armies, the King nam'd the Earl of *Holland* General of the *Engliſh*, and he went to the Army to do that Service. Then his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament to notify his intended Journey to *Scotland* in fourteen Days from the 28th of *July*, which was not well lik'd; and in the Interim they receiv'd Information from the Earl of *Holland*, that he found the Army had been tamper'd with, from what Sir *Jacob Aſhley* own'd to him. The Parliament, as they had Reaſon, ſuſpecting this Journey, was the more jealous of the King's frequent preſſing to have the *Scots* Army disbanded before he began it, and his own Army paid. The Houſe took the former into Conſideration, till Mr. *Strode* roſe up and ſaid, *Mr.* Speaker, *We ought not in ſuch Haſte to part with the* Scotch *Army, leſt the Sons of* Zerviah *in their Abſence be too hard for us*; upon which it was reſolv'd, not to disband the one without the other.

Queen's Journey to the Spaw.

The Commons being inform'd that the Queen intended to go to the *Spaw* for Recovery of her Health, much impair'd by ſome Diſcontents of Mind, and falſe Rumours ſpread againſt her; they had a Conference with the Lords about it, and Reaſons were then agreed upon to be preſented to his Majeſty for Stay of the Queen's Journey; in which they offer'd to do any thing which cou'd be reaſonably deſir'd for the Eaſe of her Majeſty's Mind; and the Queen putting off her Journey, they gave her Majeſty Thanks for it in very reſpectful Terms.

Put off.

Biſhop Wren *impeach'd.*

The Impeachment againſt *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, was carry'd up to the Lords by Sir *Thomas Widdrington*. The Preamble of which ſhews us the true Spirit of the *Laudæan* Prelates and Clergy, the Source of the Miſchiefs of theſe perilous Times: "The ſaid *Matthew Wren* being popiſhly and ſu-
" perſtitiouſly affected, did at his firſt coming to
" be Biſhop of *Norwich*, endeavour by ſundry
" Ways and Means to ſuppreſs the powerful and
" painful preaching of the Word of God, did in-
" troduce divers Orders and Injunctions tending
" to Superſtition and Idolatry, did diſturb and diſ-
" quiet

*A.D.*1641. " quiet the orderly and ſettled State of the Mini-
" ſters, People, and Churches of that Dioceſe, to
" the great Prejudice of his Majeſty, the great
" Grief, Diſquiet, and Hazard of the Eſtates,
" Conſciences, and Lives of many of his Maje-
" ſty's loyal Subjects there, to the manifeſt bring-
" ing in and increaſing of Prophaneneſs, Ignorance,
" and Diſobedience." Then follow particular Inſtances of his tyrannical idolatrous Practices; he puniſh'd one Mr. *Daniel Whayman* for coming within the Rail of a Communion-Table; he excommunicated Mr. *John Shyming*, Mr. *Samuel Dunckon*, Mr. *Edmund Day*, Mr. *John Frowar*, and others, for not kneeling at the Sacrament; he ſuſpended Mr. *William Leigh*, Mr. *Richard Proud*, Mr. *Matthew Brownrigg*, Mr. *Mott*, and ſeveral others, for not reading the wicked *Book of Sports* on the Lord's-Day. Mr. *Powell*, Mr. *Richard Raymund*, Mr. *Jeremy Burroughs*, he forbad preaching Preparation-Sermons; he excommunicated and ſuſpended Mr. *John Carter*, Mr. *Robert Peck*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, Mr. *William Green*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Nicholas Beard*, Mr. *Robert Weſt*, Mr. *Thomas Allen*, and above fifty more Divines for the like Pretences: He drove Mr. *Edmund Calamy* and Mr. *Broom* out of his Dioceſe. In a word, he ruin'd the Manufacturers and Manufactures at *Norwich* and other trading Towns, by forcing the Miniſters to quit their Habitations, and their Flocks ſoon follow'd them.

King's Journey to Scotland.

The Houſe of Commons deſir'd a Conference with the Lords about the King's Journey to *Scotland*, and it was reſolv'd to petition his Majeſty to appoint a *Cuſtos Regni* in his Abſence, with Power to paſs Bills; but, ſays *Echard*, if he had left any ſuch Power, it had been illegal; which is ſo contrary to Fact, that the granting Power by Commiſſion to Lords to paſs Bills, was of no longer Date than the Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*; and the King did now actually ſign a Commiſſion for paſſing Bills in his Abſence; the Commiſſioners being the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, who was alſo made General of all the Forces on this Side *Trent*, with Power to raiſe Soldiers. His Lordſhip was about the ſame Time ſworn Lord-Chamberlain, and Sir *Peter Walſh* Comptroller of the Houſhold, in the room of Sir *Thomas Jermyn*.

Earl of Eſſex *made General by the King.*

Acts paſt.

The Act of *Pacification* with the *Scots*, being ready for the royal Aſſent, the King came to the Houſe, and paſs'd it the 10th of *Auguſt*, as alſo the Act about *Knighthood*, that *for regulating the Clerks of the Markets*, that *againſt monopolizing Salt Petre and Gunpowder*, againſt the *Oppreſſions in the Stannery Court*, and an Act *declaring* Ship-Money *unlawful*. Then his Majeſty made a ſhort Speech, deſiring the Care of the Parliament in his Abſence to preſerve the Kingdom's Peace, and took his leave of them. He began his Journey two or three Hours after, having in his Coach with him the Elector *Palatine*, the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton*. The two Houſes appointed Commiſſioners to attend the King in *Scotland*, *William* Earl of *Bedford*, *Edward* Lord *Howard*, *Nathaniel Fiennes* Eſq; Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and *John Hampden* Eſq; The Parliament ſent a Draught of their Commiſſion to the King to ſign; it impower'd them to treat with *Scots* Commiſſioners according to the Inſtructions they receiv'd from the Two Houſes with the King's Conſent, but his Majeſty wou'd not ſign it; and indeed he look'd on thoſe Commiſſioners as no better than Spies upon his Actions; which the Parliament thought convenient, conſidering he took that Journey contrary to their Advice, and therefore they were jealous that it might be contrary to their Intereſt. The King's Earneſtneſs to go to *Scotland*, where thoſe whom he look'd upon as his Enemies, and whom he lately had proclaim'd Rebels were Maſters, was really very unaccountable, unleſs he was upon a hot Scent of the Intelligence between the Heads of the *Puritan* Party and the *Scots*, which is very probable. *Wentworth* had got Intimation of it in general while he was at the Army, and thought he had learn'd Matter enough againſt Mr. *Pym* and ſome others to form an Impeachment, which the King and he were very intent upon; but *Pym* was before-hand with him, as has been related. His Majeſty cou'd not forgive Mr. *Pym* the Proſecution of *Strafford*, which had oblig'd him to conſent to the Death of a Man contrary to his Promiſe; the reverend Hiſtorian wou'd have ſaid contrary to his Conſcience, as every thing ought to be that is contrary to one's Word and Honour. We have Reaſon to believe that the King was in Hopes of being fully inform'd of that Intelligence by ſome falſe Brethren among the *Scots*, ſuch as *Montroſs*, and Lord *Saville*, doubtleſs gave him the neceſſary Informations of Perſons and Things for that Purpoſe. The Effect of it was, that at his Return he had Articles of High-Treaſon ready againſt the Lord *Kimbolton* and five Members of the Houſe of Commons, and was reſolv'd to have them proſecuted to Death, as will be ſeen hereafter. Thus there ſeem'd to be a Fatality in this *Scottiſh* Journey, as well as in almoſt all the ill Steps taken by this ill-adviſ'd and unhappy Prince. *A.D.*1641.

Act of Pacification with the Scots.

We have ſaid little of the Act of *Pacification* with the *Scots*, becauſe we intended to ſpeak of it by itſelf, that the Thread of the Treaty might not be broken. On the 23d of *November* the King granted a Commiſſion to the Lords already mention'd, to treat and conclude a Pacification with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, to whom the Committees of that Kingdom had given the like Power by their Commiſſion, dated the 31ſt of *October*, and 4th of *November*, and ſign'd *Rothes*, *Montroſs*, *Caſſelis*, *Lothian*, *Lindeſay*, *Balmerino*, *Naper*, *Burghly*, *Eſ. Couper*, *Thomas Hop*, *William Riccarton*, *Home*, *W. Caprinton*, *J. Gartgrith*, *Dundas*, *Edward Edgar*, *Richard Maxwell*, *James Scot*, *Southerfield*, *William Hamilton*, *Maſter W. Moir*, *Ja. Sword*, *Hew Kennedy*, *Rutherford*.

The firſt Article of the Treaty was, that the Acts of the *Scots* Parliament which the High-Commiſſioner had not paſs'd, ſhou'd be confirmed, leaving out ſome Words in the Preamble and Concluſion which reflected on his Majeſty's Authority, and related not to the Subſtance of the Acts.

2. The Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and other Strengths of the Kingdom, to be furniſh'd for the Defence of the ſame.

3. The *Scots* in *Scotland* not to be cenſur'd for ſubſcribing the *Covenant*, nor preſs'd with Oaths and Subſcriptions contrary to it.

4. The Authors and Cauſers of the late Troubles to be cenſur'd and ſentenc'd by Parliament.

5. All Ships and Goods to be reſtor'd, and Damages made good on both Sides.

6. The great Expence of the *Scots* to be paid, and their Loſſes ſatisfy'd,

For which the Parliament gave 300000 Pounds, and appointed the following Commiſſioners to receive it and pay them: Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Stamford*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Mandeville*, Lord *Brook*, Mr. *Capell*, Mr. *Martin*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *Arthur Ingram*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Robert Pye*, Mr. *Henry Bellaſis*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *William Litton*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Thomas Cheek*, Sir *John Strangeways*, Mr. *Arthur Goodwin*, Mr. *Hampden*, Alderman *Soam*, Alderman *Pennington*. Theſe Commiſſioners for paying the *Scots* were nam'd about the beginning of *February*, ſo that Mr. *Capell* and Sir *John Strangeways* had till then kept their Integrity, and call'd the *Scots* their Brethren

A.D.1641. Brethren, as they were term'd in this Act; the Benefit of which was not to extend to *John* Earl of *Traquair*, Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, Sir *John Hay*, and Maſter *Walter Balcanquel*, cited and purſu'd as Incendiaries. The *Scots* were to have Liberty to ſue for Reparation of Loſſes.

The conſtant and friendly Conjunction of the two Kingdom to be firmly obſerv'd and continu'd to all Poſterity; *England* nor *Ireland* not to make War on *Scotland* without the Conſent of the Parliament of *England*, and ſo *vice verſa*; all who do ſo to be deem'd Traytors. Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms to be appointed in the Interim between the ſitting of *Parliaments* to keep the Peace now happily concluded; both Armies to be disbanded when the Act is paſt; the Garriſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* to be remov'd, *&c.* The ratifying Clauſe comes laſt, *His Majeſty for himſelf and Succeſſors doth promiſe in* Verbo Principis, *never to come in the contrary of this Statute and Sanction*, &c. Like as the Parliaments of both *Kingdoms give full Aſſurance to the Obſervance of the whole Articles inviolably*, hinc inde, *in all Times to come*. Theſe Articles and the ratifying Act, were by the King's Command printed at *Oxford*, upon Advice that the *Scots* were raiſing an Army to aſſiſt their Brethren in *England* two Years after, purſuant to this Treaty. What good Effect the printing of it then cou'd produce for the King, is not to be comprehended, it only putting the *Scots* in mind of doing what by this Treaty they were oblig'd to do againſt all who took Arms againſt the Parliament. But I obſerve King *Charles* very often printed and publiſh'd Papers with Intent they ſhou'd make for him when they made againſt him.

Parliament. Mr. *Echard* tells us that the Members of Parliament after the King went for *Scotland*, grew weary of ſitting, or being afraid of Infection, for this Reign was much viſited with the Plague, left the Town, and there remain'd but twenty Lords and an hundred Commoners, which is falſe as to the Number of Commoners, who taking Advantage of thin Houſes, *laid the Liturgy aſide, which was then much reverenc'd throughout the Kingdom*, juſt as much as his Hiſtories are at preſent. The much greater Part of the Nation were *Puritans*, who groan'd under it, and deſir'd to have it aboliſh'd, which is evident from the general Clamour for aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*. This *pack'd* Aſſembly, according to him, voted *the taking away the Rails and removing the Communion-Table to the Middle of the Church*. What follows proves ſtill farther how he abounded with good Judgment and good Manners: *The Lords for the major Part being ſenſibly offended that the Commons ſhou'd preſume to diſturb the Peace of the Church by ſuch unprecedented Inſolence*. This Falſity is ſo barefac'd, that the Houſe of Commons complain'd that this major Part of the Houſe of Lords were but *eleven to nine*. A Majority 'tis true, but one of the eleven had made it none; yet as ſmall as it is, he has not Modeſty enough to reſtrain him from calling the Repreſentative of the People of *England* INSOLENT, a worſe Name than I durſt venture to give him, if there is not Falſhood with the Inſolence. We have the true Hiſtory in *Larrey*; "The Parliament who had now ſtruck all the great Strokes "they deſign'd, were apprehenſive of nothing du-"ring the King's Abſence, and thought of giving "themſelves ſome Reſpite after their long and "painful Seſſion; and moſt of the Peers and Com-"mons were glad to return to their Counties to "receive there the Applauſe of the People for the "vigorous Oppoſition they had made to Epiſco-"pacy and arbitrary Power." So very wide from the Truth is what the Author of the HISTORY OF THE REBELLION pretends, and what *Echard* has ſlaviſhly and blindly follow'd, that thoſe Members who remain'd ſitting were the only vigorous Oppoſers of Epiſcopacy; for thoſe who went into the Country, did it to receive the Applauſe of the People for that vigorous Oppoſition againſt Epiſcopacy; and there was not one Oppoſer of Biſhops who *much reverenc'd* the Liturgy. The Fact is really the very Reverſe of their Hiſtories: It was the Abſence of a good Number of Lords, which gave the Friends to the *Common-Prayer* Book an Opportunity of continuing it by a Majority of eleven to nine; the Commons ſaying in their Declaration publiſh'd with the Conſent of the Lords upon it, "The laſt Order of "the Houſe of Lords was made with the Conſent "only of eleven Lords, and that nine other Lords "who were preſent did diſſent from it; ſo that it "may be well hop'd when both Houſes ſhall meet "again, the good Propoſitions and Preparations "in the Houſe of Commons for preventing the "Grievances, and reforming the Diſorders and "Abuſes in Matters of Religion may be brought "to Perfection." The Lords who diſſented were the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Clare*, Lord *Mandeville*, Lord *Newport*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Hunſdon*, who declar'd, *They held it fit to have the Conſent of the Houſe of Commons in thoſe Things which ſo nearly concerns the quiet and Government of the Church*. The Lords in the very Order for continuing the Service, direct *that no Parſons, Vicars, or Curates, preſume to introduce any Rites and Ceremonies which may give Offence*. Such were all the Innovations introduc'd by *Laud* and his Followers, the Rails, the Cringings, the Bowings, which the Commons had voted againſt, and for which Mr. *Archdeacon* calls the Parliament INSOLENT.

Two Armies. There was a Debate about disbanding the Armies, whether the *Engliſh* or *Scottiſh* Armies ſhou'd be firſt disbanded; at laſt it was agreed that it ſhou'd be done at one and the ſame Time, which did not need much debating. Accordingly it was done the 6th of *Auguſt*, the *Scots* having receiv'd their firſt Payments, upon which they were to begin their March. After this the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of *October*, having appointed a Committee of fifty to ſit during the Receſs with ample Powers, but not with ſo much Power as their Principals the Parliament itſelf had, which the reverend Hiſtorian avers as poſitively as if it had been true. All the Power they had, was, 1. *To meet when they thought fit.* 2. *To receive and anſwer Letters from their Committee in* Scotland. 3. *To take Care of the disbanding of the Army, and of paying them.* 4. *To recall the* Scots *Committee if they ſee Cauſe.* 5. *To prepare Matters againſt Delinquents*; and three or four other Particulars of leſs Conſequence. The Committee of the Houſe of Commons, were Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *John Franklyn*, Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Lawrence Whitaker*, Sir *Thomas Bowyer*, Mr. *Wheeler*, Sir *William Drake*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, Sir *Robert Pye*, Sir *Edward Hales*, Sir *Thomas Dacres*, Sir *William Litton*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Serjeant *Wilde*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Bridgman*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Wingate*, Alderman *Soame*, Alderman *Pennington*, Captain *Venn*, Mr. *Vaſſal*, Captain *Rainsborough*, Mr. *Bence*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Winwood*, Mr. *Scawen*, Mr. *J. Goodwin*, Mr. *Morley*, Mr. *Martin*, Mr. *A. Goodwin*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Glyn*, Mr. *Bedingfield*, Mr. *Blakeſton*, Mr. *Waller*, Mr. Sollicitor *St. John*, Mr. *Strode*, Mr. *Spurſtow*. *The grand Committee of Commons.*

Of Lords. The Houſe of Lords alſo appointed a Committee during the Receſs, who were Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, Earl of *Mancheſter* Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Eſſex* Lord-Chamberlain, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Clare*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Cleveland*, whoſe Powers were limited to the three or four firſt Articles of thoſe of the Committee of Commons.

Thankſgiving. About the time of the King's Journey to *Scotland*, there was a Day of *Thankſgiving* for the Pa-

A.D.1641. *cification* with the *Scots*, appointed by Parliament. Biſhop *Williams* had prepar'd a *Form* of Prayer to be us'd at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, where the Houſe of Commons us'd to go on ſuch Occaſions; but to avoid that *Form*, they went to *Lincoln's-Inn* Chapel. A.D.1641.

The Archdeacon gives a Summary of the King's great Conceſſions in paſſing ſeveral Bills before he went to *Scotland*. He and his fellow Writers always repreſent the redreſſing of Grievances as a *Conceſſion* from the Crown; as if the ſovereign Power was given to do Hurt, and it was the King's ſuper-abounding Goodneſs only when it did Good. He affirms his Majeſty had now done all his Subjects cou'd deſire for their Security and Welfare: *Therefore from this Period of Time*, ſays he, *impartial Poſterity may beſt judge which Side was moſt blameable in the ſucceeding Tranſactions.* The very next Tranſaction of the King's, was his breaking into the Houſe of Commons with an arm'd Power, and invading their Rights in ſuch an enormous Manner, that it caus'd a general Uproar and Mutiny in the City of *London*: And why may not impartial Poſterity begin their Judgment from that the very next Period, which Side was moſt blameable?

The King's Deſign by his Journey.

I have hinted already that the Journey to *Scotland*, a Kingdom hated by the King, cou'd not be undertaken ſo haſtily out of a Deſire to ſee the People. The *Engliſh* Parliament oppos'd it for ſeveral Reaſons urg'd to the Lords by Mr. *Hollis*; and his Majeſty's being deaf to thoſe Reaſons, muſt proceed from ſome ſecret Deſign, which Mr. *Acherley* hit on, with this Miſtake only, that he calls the *Intelligence* an *Invitation*, whereas the latter was an Impoſture, and the *Engliſh Puritans* went no farther than Encouragement. "All Things
F. 441. "being now quieted, *ſays the learned Lawyer*, the "King in Execution of Part of the Deſign, re- "ſolv'd in *July* 1641, to make a Tour into *Scot- "land* to ſettle, as was given out, Affairs in that "Kingdom, but in Reality to accompliſh ſome "Undertakings that were not publickly own'd; "which Reſolution alarm'd the leading *Inviters* "at *Weſtminſter*, who cou'd not imagine what "ſhou'd be the Meaning of that Journey by the "King, who had ſo lately within nine Months "arraign'd and pronounc'd the *Scots* to be *noto- "rious Rebels*, and had with Vehemence preſs'd "the chaſing them as ſuch out of *England*. The "*Inviters* therefore ſuſpecting the Deſign, ſpar'd "no Endeavours, nor Inſinuations, nor even par- "liamentary Addreſſes, but in vain, to prevent "the Journey. However, they procur'd a Com- "mittee of Parliament to be ſent to take Care that "Lord *Wariſton* ſhou'd keep ſtable, and never part "with the Original Invitation. Mr. *Acherly means "the Letters before inſerted.* The King and his "Miniſters being at *Edinburgh*, diſcover'd that "many who were now the leading Men in both "Houſes of the *Engliſh* Parliament, ſollicited the "*Scots* to invade *England*, and found ample Evi- "dence to prove the Facts. The King cou'd "prevail no farther with *Wariſtoun* than to make "ſome faint Promiſes to bring the original En- "gagement into *England*." The Lord *Wariſtoun* knew by this Time the whole Secret of the Letters, and was ſo deep in the Correſpondence with thoſe leading Men, that he cou'd not have brought them on the Stage without bringing himſelf: For notwithſtanding the Act of Oblivion, the Court wou'd have found Means to have made away with him under Colour of Juſtice, as they did afterwards. The Names of the ſeven Lords to the forg'd Letter were, as I have hinted already, cut out, and each Name deliver'd to the Lord to whom it belong'd: But *Saville* pretended to the King that their Names were genuine, and wou'd have excited him to try them upon it for High-Treaſon, if that counterfeit Original had been produc'd. *Acherley* proceeds; A.D.1641. "Thoſe Meaſures were for a long time kept in "Obſcurity, and the obſtinate Proſecution of the "Invitation, may be accounted the very true tho' "hidden Spring and Ground of all the Wars and "Troubles that enſu'd, *He ſays elſewhere*, The "Queen, whoſe Power with the King was abſo- "lute, incens'd him at his own *Conceſſions*;" and the Cabinet-Council reſolv'd, as Father *Orleans* confeſſes, *That ſince his Majeſty cou'd not be beloved, he ſhou'd put himſelf into a Condition to be fear'd.* A Prince in ſuch Circumſtances is in the worſt Condition in the World, and has no great Reaſon to deſire to live in it longer. The Queen and theſe evil Cabinet-Counſellors, inceſſantly ſollicited the King to proſecute thoſe Members of both Houſes who had correſponded with the *Scots* to draw them into *England*; and as ſoon as he return'd from *Scotland*, they put him upon that irrecoverable Step the violent Entry into the Houſe of Commons. The *Scots* were not only forgiven the Invaſion they made upon *England*, but the Invaders were rewarded with Poſts and Honours: Of Courſe there remain'd no Guilt in that Invaſion, thoſe that acted having been more criminal than thoſe that counſell'd; common Policy therefore would have pardon'd the leſs criminal as well as the greater, and not have puſh'd his Majeſty's Reſentments againſt them ſo far, as in the Purſuit of them, according to *Acherley, to cover the three Nations with Calamities dreadful and amazing.* And now let impartial Poſterity judge again on whoſe Side the Blame lies.

While his Majeſty was at *Edinburgh* careſſing Reybold. the *Scots*, he ſifted them to ſee whether he cou'd not prevail with them to invade *England* on his Account, and aſſiſt him to ſubject the Parliament to his Will. He offer'd them the three *Northern* Counties as a Reward for that Service; he cajol'd them in the higheſt Degree; but all his good Words and fair Promiſes ſucceeded not, the *Scots* being ſenſible that after the *Engliſh* had loſt their Liberty, they ſhou'd not be long in Poſſeſſion of theirs.

The King had not been many Weeks in *Scotland*, before News came to *London* of a Conſpiracy at *Edinburgh* to murder the Marquis of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Argyle*. Lord *Clarendon* *Vol.* I.298. confeſſes it was a true Plot, but *Echard* ſays of it as he ſaid of *Goring's* Conſpiracy, it was only a pretended one. The Truth is, *Montroſs* himſelf offer'd to get thoſe two Lords aſſaſſinated; and as *Acherley* adds, *no doubt* Wariſton *was to have kept them Company. This every one concluded* Montroſs *dar'd not do, if he had not known that the Mind of the Government labour'd with Revenge. This Rumour ſufficiently alarm'd the Inviters at* Weſtminſter, who had good Reaſon to take the Alarm, if they believ'd that bloody Propoſal to cut the Throats of thoſe two great Lords cou'd be received, and the *Propoſer* come off with Impunity. Mr. *Pym* Chairman of the Grand Committee during the Receſs, having Information of it, wrote to the Lord-Mayor to place convenient Guards in ſeveral Parts of the City, and propos'd to the *Committee* that a ſtrong Guard might be kept in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; which was agreed to by the Committees of both Houſes, and Letters written to their Committees in *Scotland* to inform his Majeſty of it. The Train'd-Bands of *Weſtminſter* attended in Arms in the *Palace-Yard*, and the Lord-General the Earl of *Eſſex* appointed an hundred of them to do Duty by Day and by Night; tho', ſays *Echard, the Plot was only a Matter of Ridicule.* It muſt not be in his Hiſtory, where when the Author renders himſelf ridiculous, his Matter is extreamly melancholy. If the Sham had not taken, Mr. *Pym* and his Committee wou'd have been called to an Account by the Parliament for what they had done againſt the *Common-Prayer-Book*, the Communion-Table, and the Rails about it, the bowing to the Altar, *&c.* *Plot in* Scotland.

A.D.1641. *Epiſcopacy aboliſh'd in* Scotland.

In *Scotland* King *Charles* paſs'd an Act *which condemn'd Biſhops as contrary to the Word of God.* He alſo gave away the Church-Lands to ſome of the Covenanters. He dignify'd with new Titles the *Marquiſs* of *Hamilton*, who was made a Duke, the Earl of *Argyle* a Marquis, General *Leſley* Earl of *Leven*, Lord *Lowdon* Earl of *Lowdon*, &c. for which General *Leſley* cry'd out, according to the ſame ſincere Hiſtorian, *May my Hands rot off if ever I act more againſt ſo* gude *a King*; which being ſo agreeable to the Manners of the *Scots Presbyterians*, cannot but gain due Credit with the Reader. The *Scots* Parliament proſecuted the Earl of *Traquair*, the Biſhop of *Roſs*, and the Earl of *Montroſs*, for dangerous Practices againſt the *Kirk*, and gave the King to underſtand that their Lives were ſpar'd purely in Conſideration of the Conceſſions he had made them.

Iriſh *Maſſacre.*

While the King was at *Edinburgh*, he receiv'd News of the damnable Rebellion and Maſſacre in *Ireland*, where the Papiſts roſe upon the Proteſtants on the 23d of *October*, a Day dedicated to St. *Ignatius Loyala*, Patron of the Sanguinary Order of Jeſuits: Never was ſuch a dreadful Butchery ſeen or heard of, either as to the Number of thoſe who were Butcher'd, or the Variety of Cruelties inflicted: But though the Execution of this Barbarity is prodigious, yet it is leſs ſurprizing than the miraculous Manner by which *Dublin*, the Capital City of the Kingdom, was ſav'd; and which afterwards gave the *Engliſh* an Opportunity to repair this great Loſs, and to chaſtiſe the diabolical Murderers, and re-eſtabliſh their Dominion and Religion. *Echard* calls this infernal Maſſacre a *Concuſſion* only; and tells us from an Author, whom he calls *ingenuous*, and who indeed ſeems to be as ingenuous as himſelf, that thoſe who cut off the Earl of *Strafford*'s *Head, were the true Cauſe of the Inſurrection of the* Iriſh; the Stupidity and Inſolence of which are equally inconceivable: For if they have any Meaning at all, it muſt be, that if the Earl of *Strafford* had been alive, he wou'd by his good Government, have kept the *Iriſh* Quiet: As falſe a Suggeſtion as one can meet with in any Hiſtory but his own. For in Truth there was then a Committee of both Houſes of the *Iriſh* Parliament ſent over on purpoſe to repreſent the heavy Preſſures the Kingdom of *Ireland* had for ſome Time ſuffer'd, under the Government of the Earl of *Strafford*; though the Archdeacon avers with a ſurprizing Confidence, that the taking off *Strafford*'s Head did not a little *contribute to the Tragedy.* An *Italian* Papiſt, *Gregorio Leti*, ſpeaking of this Maſſacre, ſays, as in the *French* Tranſlation of *Cromwell*'s Life, *On n'a jamais bien ſcu, Si le Comte de* Strafford, *avoit eu part ala Reſolution des* Irlandois, *mais il y en eut tontes les apparences*; "It is not very well known whether the Earl of "*Strafford* was concern'd with the *Iriſh* in this "Conſpiracy, but it is very likely that he was." I have as little Faith in *Leti*, as I have in *Echard*, but the former, in my Opinion, is more credible then the latter; who relates the Cauſes the *Iriſh* pretended for their Rebellion, which Cauſes are all groundleſs; but he muſt ſay ſomething to extenuate their Crime; he ſays, *they were ſeldom treated as freeborn Subjects.* Sir *John Temple*, a Privy-Counſellor in *Ireland*, aſſures us, *The Lords Juſtices did gently unbend themſelves into a happy and juſt Compliance with the reaſonable Deſires of the People.* *Echard* again, They were provok'd by a Saying of one of the *Leaders of the Houſe of Commons, that they ſhould be converted with the Sword.* Sir *John Temple*, Their *religious Rites and Ceremonies were freely enjoy'd without any manner of Diſturbance.* And to load the *Presbyterians* with the Guilt of ſo much Proteſtant innocent Blood, the Reverend Author inſinuates, the Earl of *Argyle*, and the *Scots Covenanters*, were privy to the Conſpiracy, which was general, and had been concerted with ſo much Secrecy, that it was not diſcover'd till the very Time that the Conſpirators were going to put it in Execution. The Diſcovery was made by one *Owen O-Conelly*, a Servant to Sir *John Clotworthy*, a Native *Iriſhman*, yet a Proteſtant. *Mac Mahon*, a Grandſon of that obſtinate Rebel the Earl of *Tyrone*, was one of the chief Conſpirators, and it was he who reveal'd the Conſpiracy to *Owen O-Conelly*, over a Bottle of Wine, at a Tavern in *Dublin*, the Night before the Caſtle of *Dublin* was to have been ſeiz'd, the Lords Juſtices murder'd, and the Maſſacre to have commenc'd in the Capital City, where a great Number of the Conſpirators were already arriv'd, to enter upon the intended Tragedy the next Day. *Owen O-Conelly* ſeemed to approve of the helliſh Deſign, and drank *Mac Mahon* to a Pitch, to find out the bottom of it, in doing which, he got fudled himſelf; and when he came to give Information of it to Sir *William Parſons*, one of the Lords Juſtices, he did it with the Diſtraction that accompanies Drunkenneſs, which gave him the leſs Credit with the Lord Juſtice *Parſons*, who however diſmiſs'd him, with Orders to return to *Mac Mahon*, and get as much more out of him as he cou'd. The Lord Juſtice immediately took Care for the Safety of the Caſtle, where were Arms for eight or ten Thouſand Men, which was the chief Booty the Conſpirators aim'd at. He alſo order'd the Lord-Mayor of *Dublin* to double the City Watch, and to ſeize all Strangers, expecting the Return of *Owen O-Conelly*, who was ſeiz'd by the Watch, and was carrying to Priſon, but reſcu'd by one of the Lord *Parſons*'s Servants, who accidentally came by. *Parſons* was gone to Sir *John Borlace*'s Houſe, the other Lord Juſtice, where they were attended by Sir *Thomas Rotheram*, and Sir *Robert Meredith*, two of the Privy-Council, who took *Owen O-Conelly*'s Examination, containing in Subſtance, that the Lord *Macgwire*, Colonel *Mac Mahon*, and a great Number of Papiſts, were then in *Dublin*, reſolving to take the Caſtle, poſſeſs themſelves of the Magazine there, then to fire the City, and murder all the Proteſtants: That the *Iriſh* were to riſe at the ſame Time in other Parts of the Knigdom, which nothing cou'd prevent: *Mac Mahon* ſuſpecting that *Owen O-Conelly* wou'd make a Diſcovery, reſolv'd to keep him till the Blow was ſtruck, and he was forc'd to leap over a Wall to make his Eſcape. On ſo many Accidents depended the Fate of *Ireland*; for had *Dublin* Caſtle and City been taken, it wou'd have been impoſſible to have recover'd that Kingdom without an immenſe Expence of Blood and Treaſure, more than the People of *Great Britain* could at that Time ſpare. Other Lords of the Council attending the Lords Juſtices, they ſate up all Night in Conſultation. They caus'd *Mac Mahon* to be ſeiz'd in his Lodgings, as was the Lord *Macgwire* ſoon after: *Hugh Birne*, *Roger Moore*, Colonel *Plunket*, Captain *Fox*, and other chief Conſpirators, made their Eſcape; and the next Morning the Lords Juſtices publiſh'd a Proclamation concerning the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy, and requiring the People to betake themſelves to their Defence. The ſame Night the Lord *Blaney* arriv'd with the News of the Surprizal of his Houſe, his Wife and Children, by the Rebels of the County of *Monaghan*. Next Day Sir *Arthur Tyringham* ſent Advice of the taking of the *Newry*, which was follow'd with a terrible Account of Burnings, Spoilings, Murders of Men, Women, and Children, in the Province of *Ulſter*, where the *Iriſh* firſt roſe. Perſons were continually arriving with freſh Information of Slaughters, Rapes, Robberies, the Detail of which wou'd be too long and too ſhocking. I ſhall content my ſelf with a few Particulars; cutting of Throats, and ſtabbing, were the mildeſt Treatment the Proteſtants met with; ſome had their Eyes pluck'd out, and were

Temple 23.

A.D.1641.

*A.D.*1641. ſeveral Days dying in the moſt exquiſite Torments; ſome were drown'd, ſome burnt, the Murderers forcing the poor harmleſs Creatures to fetch the Straw that was to burn them: ſome periſh'd by Cold, others by Hunger, others by Thirſt, and ſome were bury'd alive; Mothers were hang'd on the Gallows, and their Children about their Necks: There was no Regard to Women great with Child, nor to Children at the Breaſt: And by an Exceſs even of Popiſh Cruelty, at which Nature ſhrinks, one of theſe miſerable Wretches being deliver'd while ſhe was under the Hands of the Tormentor, the Rebels flung the Child to be eaten by a Dog and a Hog, which they brought thither to ſatiate their helliſh Appetite of Blood, and feed their Eyes with the grateful Sight of ſeeing the Newborn Infant thus devour'd. Nay theſe infernal Monſters carry'd their Inhumanity yet further, and oblig'd Fathers and Mothers to murder their own Children, Children their Parents, Husbands their Wives, and Wives their Husbands: Matrons and Maidens were firſt deflour'd, and then butcher'd. When their deviliſh Luſt and Cruelty were thus glutted, they left the naked Carcaſſes in the moſt obſcene Poſtures with the dead Men they had ſlaughter'd, to make Sport, which the Devil himſelf muſt abhor: Theſe were the fine Subjects, with whom a Ceſſation of Arms was made by Command of the King two or three Years after, and ſome of them ſent to *England*, to act as far as they cou'd the like Tragedies there. In this Maſſacre, which reach'd from one end of *Ireland* to the other, two hundred Thouſand Proteſtants periſh'd. *Echard*, who ſpeaks with ſingular Tenderneſs of theſe barbarous Butchers, reduces the Number to 50000; but thoſe who diminiſh the Number moſt, make it amount to 154000.

Letter to Mr. F. Dr. of the Sorbone.

Iriſh *Regiſter.*

Two Days after the Diſcovery, the Lords Juſtices diſpatch'd *Owen O-Conelly*, the Diſcoverer, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who in Perſon communicated it to the Houſe of Commons, accompany'd with thirteen Lords of the Privy-Council. It is impoſſible to expreſs the Grief, Terror and Indignation, with which both Lords and Commons receiv'd this dreadful News. The firſt and moſt natural Reflection was, that the continu'd Favour to *Papiſts* during all this Reign, had embolden'd them to take Arms in this dreadful Manner, to eſtabliſh their idolatrous Religion by the Deſtruction of the Proteſtants.

When the Earl of *Leiceſter* had read the Lords Juſtices Letter, and *Owen O-Conelly*'s Examination, his Lordſhip, and the Lords of the Council withdrew, and the Houſe took the Information they had receiv'd into Debate: Inſtead of imputing this bloody Maſſacre to the *Death of the Earl of* Strafford, *to the* Scots *Invaſion*, or the Earl of *Argyle*'s Contrivances, as the ingenious *Echard* does with equal Judgment and Probity, let us ſee what the Parliament thought of it. " As ſoon as the Earl " of *Leiceſter* withdrew, ſays *Larrey*, the Mem- " bers began to explain themſelves, and ſpake of " the *Iriſh* Maſſacre as a Conſpiracy of the Pa- " piſts, not only of that Kingdom, but of *Eng-* " *land*, excited by the Pope's *Nuntio*, ſupported " by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl " of *Strafford*, during the Life of the one, and " the Liberty of the other, and by their Party " ſince the Earl's Death, and the Archbiſhop's " Impriſonment. They added, that all theſe Ene- " mies of the Proteſtant Religion were ſupported " and encourag'd by the Queen, who openly pro- " tected them, and indirectly by the King, who " had too much Complaiſance for the Queen on " that Point, which was but too apparent in my " Lord *Strafford*'s Government of *Ireland*, during " which Time it could not be doubted the Plot " was concerted: The modeſt Mr. *Echard* aſſures us, if he had been alive, there had been no Plot at all. " Their Suſpicions went farther, and they *A.D.*1641. " were apprehenſive the Conſpiracy was form'd " againſt the three Kingdoms, and that from *Ire-* " *land* they deſign'd to have proceeded to *Scot-* " *land* and to *England*. It was to that End, ſaid " they, the Earl of *Strafford*'s Levies were deſign'd, " as alſo the Proviſions and Ammunition that were " found in the Caſtle of *Dublin*: So fairly does this Foreigner repreſent it, and ſo wildly does it ſtand in the *Hiſtory* of the *Rebellion*, and the Archdeacon's Hiſtory.

What he ſays of the Queen's protecting the *Iriſh* Papiſts, is confirm'd by Biſhop *Burnet*. The Earl of *Eſſex* told the Biſhop, that he had diſcover'd when he was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, that the " Queen hearken'd to the Propoſitions made by *P.* 41. " the *Iriſh*, to take the Government of *Ireland* in- " to their Hands, which they thought they cou'd " eaſily perform, and then they ſaid, they wou'd " aſſiſt the King to ſubdue the hot Spirits at *Weſt-* " *minſter*; with this the Plot of the Inſurrection " began, and all the *Iriſh* believ'd the Queen en- " courag'd it; but in the firſt Deſign there was no " thought of a Maſſacre; that came in Head as " they were laying the Methods of executing it: " The Prieſts were the chief Men that ſet on the " *Iriſh* to all the Blood and Cruelty.

As to the King's being indirectly concern'd in V. Crom. the *Iriſh Rebellion*, it is not only ſaid by *Larrey*, but by *Gregorio Leti*, as thus tranſlated out of the *Italian*, *Il eſt certain que le Roy fut coupable indi-* *P.* 269. *rectement dans cette occaſion car ſi il n'eut pas donne aux Catholiques un pouvoir ſi ample de s'aſſembler a Kilken, comme ils firent, ce Maſſacre ne ſeroit pas ar-* *rive*, &c. " 'Tis certain the King was indirectly *P.* 267. " guilty on this Occaſion; for if he had not given " the Catholicks full Power to aſſemble at *Kil-* " *kenny*, as they did, the Maſſacre had never hap- " pen'd." He turns it thus, that the Papiſts in *Ireland* being alarm'd at the Zeal and Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, ſent eight Deputies to the King, for Liberty to meet and conſult how to defend themſelves, in caſe the *Engliſh* Parliament, whom they call'd *audacious* and *inſolent*, ſhou'd give them Diſturbance. The King not penetrating into their Deſign, authoriz'd them to meet at *Kilkenny*, where they conſulted how to eſtabliſh their Religion, and to throw off the *Engliſh* Yoke. In this Aſſembly, one *Peeton*, an *Iriſh* Lawyer, made a Speech, wherein he inſinuated, *That the* *P.* 268. Sicilians *had no way to deliver themſelves from the* French *Servitude, but by maſſacring them, as they did in the famous* Sicilian Veſpers; *and if they wou'd deliver themſelves from the* Engliſh *who were in* Ireland, *it muſt be the ſame Way:* Upon which Leti, *Ib.* they enter'd into a Combination, and mutual Engagement by Oath, and as the *Italian* Papiſt ſays, *were guilty of one of the moſt horrible Maſſacres that was ever heard of among Chriſtians. War-* *wick* aſſures us, the *Parliament was not diſpleas'd* *P.* 200. *when they heard of the* Iriſh *Rebellion:* General *Ludlow, The News of this Rebellion was not diſ-* *P.* 17. *pleaſing to the King, as I have heard from Perſons of undoubted Credit, though it was attended with the Maſſacre of many thouſand Proteſtants.*

I don't think the King gave the *Iriſh* a formal Commiſſion to fall upon his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*; but as much as I have ſaid of it, I do believe; and that the Queen's protecting, and his indulging them, gave them that Spirit, of which they made this damnable Uſe. Certain it is, the *Iriſh* gave out they had his Commiſſion. Having before me Manuſcript Memoirs of the Life of the Lord *Broghil*, written from his Lordſhip's own Information by his Chaplain, Mr. *Thomas Morris*, Vicar of *Harpford* in *Devon*, I ſhall tranſcribe what relates to this Rebellion.

" His Lordſhip arriv'd in *Ireland* the very Day " the Rebellion broke out; but it was not known " then in *Munſter* that the *Iriſh* were in Arms. He " landed

Vol. II. *P.* 113.

A.D.1641 " landed ſafely with his Lady, and came to *Lyſ-*
" *more*, his Father the Earl of *Corke*'s chief Seat.
" Two or three Days after, the Earl of *Corke* and
" the Lord *Broghil*, went to dine with the Earl of
" *Barrymore* at *Caſtle-Lyons*, where when they
" came, they met with the Lord *Muskerry*, and
" other *Iriſh* Papiſts, with whom they were very
" free and familiar; but it happen'd that while they
" were at Dinner, a Gentleman brought Letters
" to the Earl of *Corke*, and a Meſſage, the Hor-
" ror of which appear'd in his Looks, containing
" part of the Story of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre, as is
" before related; adding, that the *Iriſh* were Ma-
" ſters of almoſt all *Leinſter*, inſomuch that he was
" forc'd to take the moſt private ways to come to
" him, which had made him ſo long on his Jour-
" ney. In the Packet of Letters was the Lords
" Juſtices Proclamation, which having read, the
" Earl of *Corke* call'd the Lord *Muskerry* to him,
" and told him what he had heard and read; *Muſ-*
" *kerry* laugh'd at it, and ſaid, 'twas only ſome
" few Malecontents in the *North* who were riſen,
" and he cou'd not believe the *Iriſh* wou'd gene-
" rally riſe. The Lord *Corke* ſeeing the other make
" ſo light of it, acquainted all the Company with
" the Information he had receiv'd, and call'd the
" Gentleman who brought the News to confirm
" it: This Gentleman addreſſing himſelf to the
" Lord *Muskerry*, ſaid, *You are ſuſpected to know it*
" *well enough*; *Muskerry* poſitively deny'd it, and
" laugh'd again: But the *Engliſh* Gentlemen made
" haſte home to ſtand on their Defence. The
" Earl of *Corke* ſent immediately to Sir *William*
" *St. Leger*, Preſident of *Munſter*, to give him the
" ſame Information he had receiv'd. *Muskerry*
" told every one he met that there was nothing
" in it, and a few Days after appear'd himſelf in
" Arms at the Head of four or 5000 *Iriſh* Pa-
" piſts, who committed the like Acts of Cruelty
" and Rapine. The Earl of *Corke* ſummon'd in
" all his Tenants, who with ſome Voluntiers form'd
" ſeveral Companies of Foot, and a Body of
" Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Broghil*, his
" Son, who join'd the Lord Preſident *St. Leger*,
" and march'd againſt the Rebel *Muskerry*, who
" had then about 3000 Men with him marching
" towards *Limerick*. *St. Leger*'s Troops were not
" above 1500, and thoſe in no very good Plight.
" *Muskerry* halted to let him come up, and both
" Parties drew up in *Battalia*. While the Lord
" Preſident *St. Leger* was preparing for a Battel, a
" Trumpet arriv'd from *Muskerry*, with one *Walſh*
" an *Iriſh* Lawyer. The Lord Preſident, who had
" then with him the Lord *Kinelmealy*, and the
" Lord *Broghil*, ſent two or three of his Attendants
" to demand what Errand they came upon; *Walſh*
" ſaid, about Buſineſs of the greateſt Conſequence,
" and he deſir'd to ſpeak with the Preſident; which
" being permitted, *Walſh* and the Trumpet ad-
" vanc'd, and coming near enough to be heard
" by Sir *William St. Leger*, and the Officers who
" ſtood at the Head of their Men, drawn up in
" *Battalia*; *Walſh* told the Lord Preſident he muſt
" ſpeak with him alone, ſome few Paces off from
" his Men; Sir *William St. Leger*, and the Gen-
" tlemen who were with him, ſeeing and know-
" ing *Walſh*, upbraided him with his Diſloyalty
" and Rebellion; and expreſſing great Wonder
" that a Perſon of his Parts and Education ſhould
" be guilty of ſo much Wickedneſs and Madneſs,
" as to join with the Rebels; *Walſh* reply'd, *We*
" *are no Rebels, as I will ſoon convince you, if I*
" *may ſpeak with the Lord Preſident in private.*
" Sir *William St. Leger*, a very brave Gentleman,
" was preſently for ſpeaking with him privately;
" but the Lords who were with him demurr'd up-
" on it, not thinking it ſafe that their General
" ſhould be truſted alone with an Enemy; there-
" fore they told *Walſh*, they would not ſuffer any
" ſuch Conference with him, but if he wou'd
" ſpeak to the Lord Preſident, it ſhould be in their A.D.1641.
" Preſence; upon which *Walſh* threatned to be
" gone, without delivering his Meſſage, which
" Sir *William St. Leger* wou'd by no Means ſuffer;
" and it was at laſt agreed, that *Walſh* ſhould have
" Liberty to talk privately with the Lord Preſi-
" dent, provided a Party was plac'd on either Side
" of them, while they were at their private Par-
" ley, to revenge any Violence *Walſh* ſhould offer
" to the Lord Preſident: *Walſh* riding up towards
" him, was met by *St. Leger*, the Guards not being
" within Hearing: Then ſaid *Walſh* in few Words,
" *You muſt take Care what you do in fighting againſt*
" *us, for the Lord* Muskerry *has a* Commiſſion
" *from the* King *for what he does; and by virtue*
" *of that Commiſſion he has rais'd Men, to aſſiſt his*
" *Majeſty in all Extremities; and if I may have a*
" *free and ſafe Conduct, I will bring the Commiſſion*
" *to you under the* Great Seal, *and ſhew it you at*
" *your own Houſe to morrow Morning.* The Lord
" Preſident was mightily ſurpriz'd at this Meſſage,
" and having aſſur'd *Walſh* he ſhould have ſafe
" Conduct, if he came the next Day with the
" Commiſſion, *Walſh* departed; and Sir *William*
" *St. Leger* returning to his Company, told the
" chief of them what *Walſh* had told him, at
" which they were all aſtoniſh'd, and the Lord
" *Broghill* queſtion'd the Truth of the *Iriſh* Law-
" yer's Meſſage, ſaying, *The King wou'd never*
" *grant out Commiſſions to thoſe whom in his Pro-*
" *clamation he calls* Rebels. He therefore deſir'd
" the Lord Preſident diligently to peruſe the Com-
" miſſion, if *Walſh* brought any, which he doubt-
" ed; and that it was only a Trick of the Lord
" *Muskerry*'s, to amuſe them while he paſs'd by:
" However, 'twas agreed to wait the Lawyer's
" Return, Sir *William St. Leger*'s Houſe being
" within a few Miles of the Place; ſo he encamp'd
" his Men, and *Muskerry* drew off his. The next
" Morning *Walſh* and the Trumpet came again
" to the Lord Preſident's Quarters; they were im-
" mediately receiv'd, and conducted to his Lord-
" ſhip's Houſe, where the Lawyer, as before, de-
" ſir'd to be in private with him, and the Lords,
" as before, would not let him; but conſented
" that he ſhould be admitted into a Room with
" the Preſident, one Man ſtanding at the Door
" with a drawn Sword, and a Piſtol charg'd; which
" being done, *Walſh* produc'd a large Parchment,
" wherein there was a very formal Commiſſion
" drawn up for the Lord *Muskerry* to raiſe 4000
" Men, and the Broad Seal was affix'd to it:
" *St. Leger* having read it over, diſmis'd *Walſh*,
" and return'd to the Lords, telling them *Muskerry*
" *has really a Commiſſion for what he does; I will*
" *diſband my Men, and ſtir no more in this Buſi-*
" *neſs, for I will die before I will be a* Rebel:
" Upon which the Lords and Gentlemen who
" were with him, withdrew to their ſeveral Homes;
" and *St. Leger* took it ſo much to Heart, that he
" never held up his Head afterwards, but dy'd in
" a ſhort Time, and the Earl of *Inchiquine* was
" made Lord Preſident of *Munſter* in his Room."

The *Devonſhire* Parſon who wrote this Account, was one whom a Reverend Divine recommended to me thus, *I can depend upon his Veracity, having been well acquainted with him, and his good Character was indeed univerſal:* I ſhall often make uſe of this Manuſcript, and it was therefore neceſſary to acquaint the Reader with its Authority. The Author informs us that the Lord *Broghil* believ'd the *Commiſſion* to be a *Cheat*, and found it out at laſt, but does not tell us how, and ſlurs it over in ſuch a Manner, as makes but a weak Impreſſion on our Mind after his Hiſtory, ſo circumſtantiated, had made ſo ſtrong a one.

Parliament. The Houſe of Commons in *England*, who had met the 20th of *October*, purſuant to their Adjournment, receiv'd the terrifying News of this Maſſacre a Week after it was begun to be perpetrated in

A.D. 1641 *Ireland*, and voted 50000 Pounds to be forthwith provided for the Service of that Kingdom. That *Owen O-Conelly* have 500 Pounds paid down, and 200 Pounds a Year Penſion, till Proviſion be made for an Inheritance of greater Value; and that the Lords be deſir'd to appoint a ſelect Committee of the Commons, and take Cognizance of the Affairs of *Ireland*. Three or four Days after, they RESOLV'D, that 200000 Pounds be forthwith ſupply'd for the Occaſions of *Ireland*; that a *convenient* Number of Ships be provided for guarding the Sea Coaſts of that Kingdom; that 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, be rais'd for the preſent Expedition into *Ireland*; that the *Magazines* of Proviſions and Stores of War in that Kingdom be ſupply'd, and all other Methods taken for the ſpeedy Relief of the diſtreſs'd Proteſtants in that Kingdom. The Lords Juſtices, Sir *William Parſons*, and Sir *John Borlace*, were ſo ſenſible of the great Care and Sollicitude of the Parliament to aſſiſt them, that they return'd them Thanks by their Letter of the 27th of *November*; yet *Echard* charges them with Supineneſs and Negligence in the *Iriſh* Affairs; their whole Buſineſs being Deſigns againſt his Majeſty's Prerogative; whereas in Truth, his Majeſty's ſtretching that Prerogative ſo much as he did, immediately after his Return from *Scotland*, oblig'd the Parliament to conſider their own Safety in *England*, as well as that of their Brethren in *Ireland*. For no ſooner was the King come from *Scotland*, than he diſmiſs'd the Guard of Train'd-Bands, which had done Duty near the Parliament-Houſe, and order'd others in their Places, which the Houſe of Commons diſcharg'd, and their Petition for a Guard in which they could confide, was abſolutely deny'd. It was contriv'd that his Majeſty, when he return'd to *London*, ſhou'd be receiv'd with uncommon Magnificence, to ſhew how much he had the Affection of the City, and mortify the Parliament, who pretended to be poſſeſs'd of them: This was manag'd by the Queen, who gain'd the Lord-Mayor in the King's Abſence. On the 25th of *November*, the King and Queen ſet out from *Theobalds* with the Prince, Duke of *York*, Prince of *Orange*, Elector *Palatine*, Duke of *Richmond*, Duke of *Hamilton*, Maſter of the Horſe, Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord Chamberlain, and other Lords; at *Stamford-Hill* he was met by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, *George Garret*, and *George Clarke*, with 72 Men in Scarlet Cloaks. There was a Paſſage made from *Kingſland* to *Moorfields*, for this Royal Cavalcade: In the firſt Field, Mr. *Richard Gourney*, Lord-Mayor, had pitch'd a ſumptuous Tent, at the Entrance of which his Majeſty's Coach ſtopp'd, and the Nobility and Gentry who waited there to congratulate his Return, had the Honour to kiſs his and the Queen's Hand; there the Recorder, Mr. *Thomas Gardiner*, made a Speech, bleſſing himſelf and the Nation, in the *hopeful Succeſſion* of King *Charles* the Second, and King *James* the Second: He aſſur'd their Majeſties, that no King nor Queen was ever ſo well belov'd by the *Londoners* as they were; he then made a Preſent to them of their Hearts *as a New-Year's-Gift*, a Month before *Chriſtmas*; and pray'd his Majeſty to uphold the Authority of the Mayor, and the Reverence due to the Aldermen. The King made a long Speech in Anſwer to Mr. Recorder's, wherein he expreſſes his Comfort that *all the Miſreports of him in his Abſence*, had not the leaſt Power to do him any Prejudice in their Affections; and aſſures them he will protect the *true Proteſtant Religion*, as it was eſtabliſh'd by his *Famous Predeceſſor*, his Father; after which his Majeſty was pleas'd to Knight the Lord-Mayor and the Recorder with the City-Sword; and then the Court proceeded in a very ſolemn manner through the City to *White-Hall*; there was great Affectation of Love and Loyalty, of Favour and Affection on both Sides. The King was very well pleas'd with the Conduct of the Lord-Mayor and Citizens, and they were tranſported with the King's gracious Speech; but we ſhall in a few Days find that it was all Outſide, and the Joy no better founded than on the Show and Glitter of the Court: 'Twas obſerv'd that the King was continually pulling off his Hat, which was a rare Thing with both his Father and himſelf. A.D 1641.

King's Return from Scotland.

Recorder's Speech to him.

The only popular Thing which was attempted at that Time, was the promoting ſome Divines who were frequent Preachers, to Epiſcopal Sees, though they were not likely to be a Penny the richer for their Biſhopricks; as Dr. *Thomas Winniffe* to be Biſhop of *Lincoln*, vacant by the Promotion of Dr. *Williams* to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, Dr. *Henry King* to the See of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Ralph Brownrig* to that of *Exeter*, Dr. *Thomas Weſtfield* to that of *Briſtol*, and the Biſhoprick of *Carliſle* was given *in Commendam* to Archbiſhop *Uſher*. As grateful as theſe Divines were to the People, their Promotion at this Time was very ungrateful, not on Account of their Perſons, but their Function; and it was done with a Deſign to put a ſtop to the Bill for taking away Biſhops Votes in Parliament; which no body could think his Majeſty wou'd conſent to, when he had ſo lately added ſo many to their Number; but then he had almoſt as lately entirely aboliſh'd the very Order in the Kingdom in which he was born. *Biſhops made.*

His Majeſty in his firſt Speech to the Parliament, after his Return from *Scotland, tells them he had left that Kingdom quiet and contented, but finds this diſtracted with Jealouſies and Alarms: He took Notice of the joyful Reception he had met with from the City of* London, *and recommends to them the State of* Ireland: He told them alſo he did not repent of the kind Things he had done for them, and would be ready to do more upon Occaſion; which Speech was the more extraordinary, for that the Parliament had the Night before, *December* the firſt, preſented him with the grand *Remonſtrance* drawn up by them ſince their Meeting after the Receſs. They ſent the Remonſtrance by a Committee, who were Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who had not even yet deſerted the Country Party, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Simon d'Ewes*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*, Sir *Arthur Ingram*, Sir *James Thynne*, Sir *Henry Bellaſis*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Richard Wynne*. Sir *John Corbet*, Sir *Edward Deering*. The Report of the Delivery of it was made by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who told the Houſe, the firſt Thing his Majeſty ſpoke to, was that Part where they *charge him with having a malignant Party about him, who deſign'd to change Religion*; upon which the King ſaid, *The Devil take him, whoever he be, that deſigns to change Religion:* And as to appropriating the Rebels Lands in *Ireland* towards the Expence of the War, he was pleas'd to ſay, *we muſt not diſpoſe of the Bears Skin till the Bear be dead.* The Remonſtrance was rough enough in the wording of it, but it was not the leſs true. It contain'd all the *Miſtakes, Misfortunes, Illegalities and Defaults in Government, ſince the King's coming to the Crown*, the Evil Counſels and Counſellors, *&c.* It did not paſs by a great Majority, and Mr. *Palmer* and Mr. *Hyde* two Lawyers proteſted againſt it after a moſt diſorderly and unprecedented Manner, for which *Palmer* was ſent to the *Tower*, and *Hyde* eſcap'd very narrowly. This Remonſtrance was the firſt Stroke of the *Paper War*, which gradually drew on the *Civil*. The other Remonſtrances and Petitions of Parliament are expreſs'd as forcibly, and the King's Anſwers to all of them are as evaſive as his Anſwer to this, which upbraided the Houſe with printing their Remonſtance contrary to his Deſire. He juſtify'd the Votes of Biſhops, as *grounded on the fundamental* Laws of the Kingdom; ſo were once the Lord *Abbots* and Lord *Priors*. The *fundamental* Laws are always urg'd on this Occaſion, as if they had never been *Parliament.* *Grand Remonſtrance.* *Sir* Ralph Hopton. *Paper War.*

A.D.1641. been broken on many other Occaſions in this Reign, and as if the Legiſlative Power had not now as much Right to take away thoſe Votes, as ever it had to eſtabliſh them. He deſir'd the Parliament to name the Evil Counſellors; and might they not have named the Lord *Digby*, and a much greater one who lay in his Royal Boſom? His Anſwer was follow'd by a Declaration, wherein among other Things it was ſaid, *He had preferr'd no Perſons this Seſſion but what were in particular Eſtimation with the People.* The Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepyr*, are meant here. The Lord *Falkland* was made Secretary of State, *Digby* and *Colepepyr* reconcil'd and preferr'd. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who deliver'd the Remonſtrance, made his Bargain ſoon after them. Theſe Gentlemen were juſtly in the Eſtimation of the People while they were in their Intereſts, from which when they apoſtatiz'd, the People no longer held them in Eſteem. It will not be expected that we would ſhew how fallacious many of theſe Papers are on both Sides, neither ſhall we inſert them entire. The Lord *Clarendon* does not loſe a Word of the King's Declarations, Meſſages, or Anſwers, tho' they are long to Exceſs. He doubtleſs was enamour'd with them for the Sake of the Drawer, who probably was himſelf, there being ſuch a *Redundancy of Words*, as *Warwick* obſerves of his Writings, and no where is he more redundant than in his Hiſtory and Characters. The Parliaments Petitions and Remonſtrances are written with more Spirit and more Regard to Truth, than his tedious Declamations.

P. 196.

'Tis ſurprizing that Foreigners and Papiſts ſhou'd think more juſtly of theſe Things than the *Engliſh* Proteſtants and even Lawyers. " Perſons of Con-

P. 262. " dition, ſays *Salmonnet*, thought that the King ſhou'd " have made Advantage of this Remonſtrance; " and having not been hitherto fully inform'd of " the Conduct of his Miniſters in abuſing his Au- " thority and Confidence, he might have manag'd " better for the future, and prevented the Peoples " laying the Faults of the Miniſters at the Door of " the Prince."

An Act for preſſing. There being an abſolute Neceſſity to raiſe an Army for the Relief of *Ireland*, a Bill was brought into the Houſe for preſſing Soldiers; in the Preamble of which it was declar'd, *That the King cou'd in no Caſe but upon an Invaſion from a foreign Power, preſs a free-born Subject*; which as agreeable as it is to common Juſtice and common Senſe, was a *Doctrine unknown to the Lords*, according to *Echard*, who inclin'd to hear the Attorney-General argue the Caſe before them; but the Commons reſolv'd their *Committee* for *Ireland* ſhould not ſit till the Bill for raiſing Men was paſs'd; and the King coming to the Houſe, offer'd to paſs it with a *Salvo Jure* to his Prerogative; a Word which is ever in the Mouth of an ill King, and has hardly been once mention'd from the Throne ſince the *Revolution*: For their Majeſties King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and King *George*, have made ſo good uſe of their Royal Prerogative, that the People have frequently rather thought it too little than too much: But in this and the former Reign it was never mention'd but to be abus'd. Both Lords and Commons join'd in a Petition to the King, *to declare the Name of ſuch Perſon by whoſe Information he was induc'd to that Violation of their Privileges, by taking Notice of the Contents of a Bill before it came to him in due Courſe.*

Sir Will. Balfour *and* Lunsford. In the mean time Sir *William Balfour* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was remember'd for refuſing to take a Bribe and let the Earl of *Strafford* eſcape. The Houſe of Commons having Notice that there was a Deſign to remove him, order'd his Attendance, and examin'd him about it, who explaining the Cauſe of his Removal, they debated a Petition to the King for his Continuance; but before they came to a Reſolution, Sir *William Balfour* reſign'd the Keys of the *Tower* to his Majeſty, and Colonel *Lunsford* a Ruffian was put in his Place. We ſhall ſee how he was qualify'd for ſuch a Poſt by the Character which the Parliament gave him, *A Man of a decay'd and deſperate Fortune, and ſo may be tempted to undertake any ill Deſign. He had been condemn'd in the Star-Chamber for an Attempt to murder Sir* Thomas Pelham *in his Coach as he was coming from Church.* *Echard* takes no Notice of this Man's Infamy, but imputes the Care of the Commons for the Safety of the *Tower* to a *ſeditious Clamour*. The Lords wou'd not join with the Commons in a Petition to the King to turn out *Lunsford*, tho' the Citizens were afraid to bring their Bullion to the *Mint*, while ſo profligate a Perſon had the Command of it. Several great Lords, as the Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Earl of *Carliſle*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Clare*, Earl of *Stamford*, Earl of *Newport*, Earl of *Bolingbroke*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and about a Dozen more Lords, were for agreeing with the Commons: But the Courtiers were as tender of the Prerogative as if no ill Uſe had been made of it. However the Commons order'd Sir *Thomas Barrington* and Mr. *Martin* to repair to the Earl of *Newport* Conſtable of the *Tower*, and deſire him to reſide there and take the Cuſtody and Guard of that Place, while *Lunsford* was continu'd Lieutenant to the extream Terror of the City. The Court was always complaining of the Fears and Jealouſies of the People, and yet always doing Things to make them more jealous and fearful. The Citizens were in continual Alarms till that Aſſaſſin *Lunsford* was remov'd from the Government of the *Tower*; even the very loyal Lord-Mayor *Gourney* repreſented to the King the great Danger of an Inſurrection, if *Lunsford* was not turn'd out immediately; which was done, and the Keys given to Sir *John Byron*. The Office of Conſtable was taken from the Earl of *Newport* as ſoon as it was known that the Parliament had ſo great Confidence in him. We often read in *Clarendon* and *Echard*, that there were falſe Rumours rais'd by the Artifices of Mr *Pym*, Mr. *Hampden*, and the greateſt Names in Parliament; but we now meet with one ſo extravagant, that it cou'd never gain the leaſt Belief with reaſonable Men, which is the Report of a Plot to ſeize the Queen and her Children while the King was in *Scotland*. His Majeſty was inform'd of it, and hearken'd to the Information, that the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Newport*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Mandeville*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Dungarvon*, Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and Mr. *John Pym*, had a Conſultation for that Purpoſe at *Kenſington*. The Earl of *Newport* hearing of this vile Rumour, waited upon the Queen with ſome other Lords, and with many Aſſeverations, aſſur'd her of the Falſity of it. Her Majeſty ſeem'd ſatisfy'd; but when the King return'd, the falſe Report was reviv'd, and his Majeſty demanded of the Earl of *Newport* whether he himſelf had not ſaid at the pretended Conſultation, *If there's a Plot in* Scotland, *here are his Wife and Children.* His Lordſhip deny'd there were any ſuch Words ſaid, the King reply'd, *I am ſorry for your Memory.* The Earl gave Information of it to the Houſe of Peers, who finding ſome Commoners concern'd in it, deſir'd a Conference concerning theſe ſcandalous Rumours, that thoſe who ſpread them might be puniſh'd. Both Houſes agreed upon a *Petition* to the King to that Effect; and his Majeſty anſwer'd, *I do not believe the Report*; *I have ask'd* Newport *ſome Queſtions about the Buſineſs, but far from that Way of expreſſing a Belief of the Thing which* Newport *hath had the Boldneſs and Confidence to affirm, which I cou'd eaſily make appear, but I think it beneath me to conteſt with any particular Perſon.* His Majeſty refus'd to tell who it was that inform'd him of the pretended Plot.

A.D.1641.

A Plot by the Parliament.

*A.D.*1641. Rushw. 459.

The Removal of *Lunsford* not being known, the Citizens who had petition'd againſt him, Common-Council Men, and Men of like Repute, attended at *Weſtminſter*, whither came alſo ſeveral Apprentices with a Petition *againſt Papiſts and Popiſh Innovators, ſuch as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and their Dependants; the Extirpation of which Government Root and Branch, had been humbly deſir'd by ſeveral Petitions from this City*, and was now more vigorouſly inſiſted upon than ever. It was very natural for theſe Citizens to cry out, *No Biſhops*, it be[illegible]; what they came about. One *Hyde* an Officer in the Army under the Earl of *Strafford*, fell foul on theſe Citizens, ſaying, he wou'd cut the Throat of thoſe *round-headed cropp'd-ear'd Dogs*; whence the Term *Roundhead* was given to the Friends to the Parliament. *Hyde* ſtoutly drew his Sword upon the unarm'd People, and deſir'd ſome Gentlemen to ſecond him, which they refuſing, he was apprehended, brought before the Houſe of Commons and ſent to Priſon; he was afterwards caſhier'd. The ſame Day, *December* 27. *Lunsford* coming thro' *Weſtminſter-Hall* with thirty or forty ſuch Gentry as himſelf, met with the *Londoners* who brought the laſt mention'd Petition: *Lunsford* preſently drew his Sword, which began a Fray, and ſome were hurt. This was enough to give a juſt Alarm to the whole City, who had an Abhorrence for that *Bravo*, and many hundreds of the younger ſort came to aſſiſt their Fellows at *Weſtminſter*, which caus'd a great Uproar; and tho' *Lunsford* and his Crew ſhuffled away as faſt as they cou'd, yet the Storm being rais'd, 'twas ſome time before the troubled Waters cou'd ſubſide. *Echard* miſrepreſents this Matter in every Particular; he tells us that *Lunsford*'s Followers were the King's Houſhold Officers, and the Citizens a *contemptible Rabble*, tho' only two of the *Londoners* who petition'd againſt that Bully, Mr. *Randal Manwaring*, and Mr. *Maximilian Beard*, cou'd have bought *Lunsford* and all his Houſhold Officers, if they had all been no richer than himſelf. An Hiſtorian of thoſe Times ſets it in a truer Light; *The beſt affected Citizens, Men of the beſt Note and Quality of the whole City both for Piety and Ability, went with this Petition to the Parliament Houſe in moſt grave and ſubſtantial Equipage in fifty or ſixty Coaches, and were moſt graciouſly receiv'd by the Lords and Commons.* No doubt there were Infantry as well as Cavalry, ſome afoot as well as in Coaches, as is unavoidable on theſe Occaſions. *Echard, Some briſk Gentlemen of the Inns of Court did alſo offer their Service to guard his Majeſty*, who in Truth was very well guarded by the Militia of *Weſtminſter* and *Middleſex*. General *Ludlow*, who was a Witneſs of this Tumult, writes thus, "The King finding that nothing leſs "wou'd ſatisfy the Parliament than a thorough "Correction of what was amiſs, and full Security "of their Rights for the future from any Violation, conſider'd how to put a Stop to their Proceedings, and to that End encourag'd a great "Number of looſe debauch'd Fellows about the "Town to repair to *Whitehall*, where a conſtant "Table was provided for them, *Theſe are* E-"chard's *Houſhold Officers*. Many Gentlemen of "the Inns of Court were tamper'd with to aſſiſt "him. *Theſe are the Inns of Court Gentlemen who*, "he ſays, *offer'd their Service*. Things were brought "to ſuch a paſs, that one of thoſe Courtiers ſaid "publickly in my Hearing, *What ſhall we ſuffer "thoſe Fellows at* Weſtminſter *to domineer thus? "Let us go into the Country and bring up our Te-"nants to pull them out*; which Words not being "able to bear, I queſtion'd him for them, and he "either out of Fear of Publick Juſtice, or of my "Reſentment, came to me the next Morning, "and ask'd Pardon, which by Reaſon of his Youth, "and want of Experience, I paſs'd by." The reverend Hiſtorian affirms that General *Ludlow* made this Story. *This is all Invention.* He'll ſay he nam'd not the General, but he names the Thing. Some of the *Londoners* being got into the Abby, Dr. *Williams* Archbiſhop of *York* ſhut the Doors upon them, and detain'd them; which others of them hearing, they flock'd thither, and endeavour'd to break down the Doors; but the Archbiſhop's Men flung Stones upon them from the Leads, his Grace not at all approving of the Petition againſt Archbiſhopricks. Several Citizens were hurt, and, ſays *Ruſhworth*, among the reſt Sir *Richard Wiſeman* one of the Archdeacon's *Foot-Rabble*, who dy'd ſoon after of the Hurt he receiv'd.

*A.D.*1641.

Whence the Term Round-head.

Tumult.

Parl. Chron. 56.

Vol. I. 21.

*A.D.*1641.

The next Day the Houſe of Commons fell into Debate concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*, and the Obſtructions which the Relief of it met with. One was the Want of a Proclamation under the Great-Seal, declaring the *Iriſh* Papiſts in Arms and their Adherents to be *REBELS* and *TRAYTORS*; which was very inconſiſtent with the Declaration publiſh'd in *Ireland* by Sir *Phelim Oneal* Head of thoſe *Traytors* and *Rebels*, wherein it is ſaid, *Be it known to all our Friends and Countrymen, that the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, for many great and urgent Cauſes him thereunto moving, and repoſing Truſt and Confidenee in our Fidelity, hath ſignified to us by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal of* Scotland *bearing Date the Firſt of this Inſtant* October; then follows the Commiſſion itſelf, *to arreſt and ſeize the Goods, Eſtates, and Perſons of all the* Engliſh *Proteſtants*. The Lords and Commons in their Addreſs to the King at *Theobalds* two Months after, ſaid, "That the Deſign of deſtroying the "Proteſtant Religion, was laid by thoſe who were "moſt in the King's Favour; that the Queen and "the Pope's Agents who reſided about her, were "the principal Chiefs; that the Troubles of *Scot-"land* proceeded from the ſame Source, and the "*Iriſh* Maſſacrers boaſted they had the King's Approbation, and that they had only taken up Arms "to reſtore his Authority which was depreſs'd by "the *Puritans*, according to an intercepted Letter "from one of the Chiefs to his Brother in *Eng-"land*; to which they added an Order ſign'd *C. R.* "that is, *Charles* Rex, to Captain *Legg*, to receive "on board his Ship ſuch of the Conſpirators as "ſhou'd demand it, and to tranſport them wherever "they deſir'd. Mr. *Jephſon* a Member of Parliament affirm'd it at a Conference between the "two Houſes, that *Dillon*, whilſt he reſided at "Court, wrote to two of the Leaders of the Rebels, *Muskerry* and *Taaf*, of the King's Approbation; that Reaſons of State oblig'd him to "diſſemble at preſent, but that he wou'd ſupport "them in a proper Seaſon." If the Traytor *Oneal*'s Commiſſion is forg'd, and if *Ludlow* goes too far in ſaying the King was not diſpleas'd with the Maſſacre, moſt certain it is, the Parliament of *England* were ſo jealous of his Majeſty's Diſpoſition, that they wou'd not truſt him with the Management of the War; and it is as certain their Jealouſy was not unreaſonable, as appear'd by the Peace he made with thoſe *Iriſh* Rebels not long after, contrary to his poſitive Engagement with them, and ſent for a great Body of thoſe *Cut-throats* to act againſt them and their Friends.

Ireland.

Vol. II. Larrey, 118.

P. 117.

*A.D.*1642.

One of the Reaſons for a Proclamation to declare the *Iriſh* REBELS, was becauſe *they had given out as if they had ſome Authority for what they did.* Sir *John Colepepyr* and others were appointed to draw up a Declaration concerning the Obſtructions of the Relief of *Ireland*; and on the Firſt of *January* a Proclamation was publiſh'd, declaring the *Iriſh* Papiſts who were in Arms, and their Adherents, *REBELS* and *TRAYTORS*; but the Secretary of State Sir *Edward Nicholas*, in his Warrant to the Printer ſaid, *It is his Majeſty's Pleaſure that forty Copies only ſhou'd be printed, and thoſe* not to be publiſh'd till his Majeſty's further Pleaſure was ſignify'd; upon which Mr. *May* obſerves, *All Men extreamly wonder'd, comparing it with*

*A.D.*1642.

Brev. 38.

A.D.1642. *with the late Proceedings againſt the* Scots, *who were in a very quick and ſharp Manner proclaim'd* Rebels, *and thoſe Proclamations forthwith diſpers'd with as much Diligence as might be thro' all the Kingdom.*

Biſhops ill advis'd.

About the beginning of the Year, the *Biſhops* took a Step which one wou'd think they were put upon by the Courtiers to facilitate their Ruin, which cou'd not have been ſo ſuddenly effected without it; and there wou'd be the better Pretence to drop them when they had brought the Deſtruction upon themſelves. They drew up a Proteſtation, and deliver'd it to the King, wherein they declar'd againſt *all Laws, Orders, and Votes which have paſs'd or ſhall paſs, ſince they abſented themſelves from the Houſe of Lords.* If this Indiſcretion had been the Effect of their great Application to the Divine Duties of their Function, which eſtrang'd them to the Wiſdom of this World, it wou'd rather have been laudable than blameable. But it cou'd not be thought that *Wright* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Goodman* of *Glouceſter*, *Pierce* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Owen* of *St. Aſaph*, *Skinner* of *Oxon*, *Towers* of *Peterborough*, *Owen* of *Landaff*, *Wren* of *Ely*, and *Cooke* of *Hereford*, cou'd have become Strangers to human Policy, by devoting themſelves entirely to the Cure of Souls and the Study of Diviniry. The three other Biſhops, Dr. *Williams* Archbiſhop of *York*, Dr. *Moreton* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Dr. *Hall* Biſhop of *Norwich*, were not in ill Terms with the Parliament on their own Account, but for the Company they kept. The former was skilful enough in Politicks, but as it often happens, he loſt himſelf in this *Proteſtation*. Biſhop *Morton* and Biſhop *Hall* were primitive apoſtolical Fathers of the Church, and deſerv'd to have been diſtinguiſh'd on this Occaſion, tho' they were drawn in by the others to proteſt with them. His Majeſty immediately ſent the *Proteſtation* to the Lord-Keeper to have it regiſter'd. What need was there of taking that Burden upon himſelf? It was no ſooner read in the Houſe of Peers, than their Lordſhips ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by Sir *John Banks* and Judge *Reeves*, to deſire a preſent Conference; at which the Lord-Keeper *Littleton* deliver'd the *Proteſtation*, and ſpoke as follows, *The Petition and Proteſtation of the* twelve Biſhops *contain Matters of high and dangerous Conſequence, and ſuch as my Lords are very ſenſible of, and ſuch as require a ſpeedy and ſudden Reſolution, it extending to the deep entrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Beings of Parliaments; therefore the Lords have thought fit, that this Matter concerning the whole Nation may be communicated to the Houſe of Commons, it being a Thing of ſo great and ſo general a Concernment.* After this Communication, the Houſe *RESOLV'D* to accuſe theſe twelve Biſhops of *High-Treaſon* for *endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Beings of Parliament*; which was done at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords by Mr. *Glyn*, who was order'd alſo to thank the Lords for communicating the Biſhops *Proteſtation* to them with ſo much Affection and Speed, and for expreſſing their Senſe thereof, ſo great was the Harmony in this auguſt Senate on this Occaſion, which Mr. *Archdeacon* repreſents as the Effect of *Artifice* and *Sedition*. Immediately Warrants were iſſu'd out by the Houſe of Peers for their Seizure and Commitment, directed to the Uſher of the Black-Rod, who ſoon apprehended them all, and brought them to the Bar of that moſt honourable Houſe, by whom they were all ſent to the *Tower*, except the pious and reverend Dr. *Moreton* Biſhop of *Durham*, in Regard, ſays *Ruſhworth*, of his worthy Parts, and Dr. *Wright* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, in regard of his Age and Indiſpoſition, who remain'd with the Black-Rod. The People rang the Bells, and made Bonefires, as if at laſt they had obtain'd their long-wiſh'd for Triumph over *Epiſcopacy*. Mr. *Archdeacon* pretends, *that this very much leſſen'd the Reſpect and Veneration that had formerly been entertain'd for Parliaments*. But the Diſciples of *Laud* had before ſo far loſt all Veneration and Reſpect for Parliaments, that there was nothing left to be leſſen'd. As for the reſt of the Nation, it no where appears that this Proceeding had the leaſt Effect on the People's Good-will to the Parliament. To this is added another Falſity, *the abſent Members of both Houſes were* three *Parts in* four; whereas the Numbers of the ſitting Members much exceeded that Proportion before the Receſs. Theſe Falſities are ſtill aggravated by a third, *The King's Servants were of the beſt Fortunes and Reputations in their ſeveral Counties*; that is, Mr. *Hyde* had a better Eſtate than Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Warwick* a better Eſtate than Mr. *Hampden*, and the Lord *Cottington* than the Earl of *Bedford*. This Compariſon wou'd run thro' both Houſes, and agrees exactly with *Echard*'s *three Parts in four abſent*. For three or four Months after this, when many of the Members of the Houſe of Commons had deſerted the Service of their Country, there were in that Houſe three hundred Members, fifty more were employed by the Parliament in the Country, fifty had expreſs Leave to be abſent, and fifty-one had been expell'd for abſenting themſelves without Leave. And ſix Years after this, when the Members were ſecluded by the Army, you will find in *Pag.* 353 of this very Hiſtory, that the Houſe conſiſted of above four hundred Members; tho' the Earl of *Clarendon*, or whoever wrote the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, taught *Echard* ſo falſely to miſrepreſent their Number.

Lord Keeper's Speech concerning them.

Parl. Chron. 106.

Number of the Houſe of Commons.

A Meſſage to the City about Tumults.

The King ſent a Meſſage to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, which the Secretary of State Sir *Edward Nicholas* notify'd to the Recorder, and that it wou'd be brought by the Lord *Newburgh* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, who deliver'd them a Paper concerning the *Tumults*, in which his Majeſty told them *it was out of Idleneſs* that the Citizens came flocking to *Weſtminſter*. Indeed moſt of the Petitions at that Time complain'd of the great Decay of Trade occaſion'd by the Favour ſhewn to Papiſts, and the Tyranny of the Prelates, as is expreſs'd in very ſtrong Terms in the Petition of the Apprentices. I cannot find that the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, took any more Notice of the Lord *Newburgh*'s Meſſage *to prevent tumultuary Aſſemblies*, and *not believe the Reports of ill-affected Perſons*, than to agree among themſelves to *ſpread it abroad and make the Meſſage known*, and that the Lord-Mayor ſhou'd iſſue out his Precepts for Watch and Ward.

Parliament addreſs for a Guard.

The Houſe of Commons order'd Mr. *Hollis* to carry a verbal Meſſage to the King, that a Guard might be aſſign'd them under the Command of the Earl of *Eſſex* Lord-Chamberlain. They complain'd *that there had been ſeveral Attempts to bring Deſtruction upon their whole Body at once, and Threats and Menaces againſt particular Perſons; that there was a malignant Party bitterly envenom'd againſt them, daily gathering Strength and Confidence, and now come to ſuch a Height, as to have given Boldneſs to ſome to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of his Majeſty's Subjects in the Face and at the Doors of the Parliament.* The Threats againſt particular Perſons, refers to a *Plague-Plaiſter* ſent Mr. *Pym* to infect and murder him. The reverend Author makes a Jeſt of it, tho' the murderous Deſign has certainly nothing ludicrous in it in the Conception of Perſons of Sobriety and Virtue. The Plaiſter is too filthy to be much ſpoken of; the Letter which contain'd it was ſent to Mr. *Pym* in the Parliament Houſe with theſe *Cavalier* Expreſſions, *Mr.* Pym, *Do not think that a Guard of Men can protect you, if you perſiſt in your traiterous Courſes and Deſigns. I have ſent a Paper Meſſage to you, and if this do*

A.D. 1642. *not touch your Heart, a Dagger ſhall, ſo ſoon as I am recover'd of my Plague-Sore.* Unheard-of Aſſaſin, to contrive this Murder with the Mark of Death upon him! *In the mean Time you may be forborn, becauſe no better Man may be endanger'd for you.* REPENT TRAYTOR. Theſe Menaces and the Rage of *Lunsford* and the Houſe Officers, produc'd this Addreſs: In anſwer to which the King blam'd them *for their groundleſs Jealouſies, Diſtruſts, and Fears,* and proteſted *if he had Knowledge of any ſuch Deſign,* he wou'd purſue the Authors to condign Puniſhment. He told them *he wou'd appoint them ſuch a Guard as he wou'd be reſponſible for to God Almighty.* The Commons in the mean time order'd Halberts to be provided and brought into their Houſe for their better Security, and they remain'd there a conſiderable Time afterwards; by which we may ſee they had good Information of what was contriving againſt them; and the Court might have ſeen that their Contrivances wou'd end in their Confuſion.

It ſhou'd have been mention'd, that during the Parliament's Adjournment in the *Chriſtmas* Holydays, a grand Committee was order'd to meet at *Guildhall,* and a leſs Committee at *Weſtminſter,* till the two Houſes met on the 3d of *January*; when the Lord-Keeper acquainted the Lords that his Majeſty had given Order to Sir *Edward Herbert* Attorney-General, to acquaint their Lordſhips with ſome Particulars from him; which Particulars were a Charge of *High-Treaſon* againſt the Lord *Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis* Eſq; *John Hampden* Eſq; Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge, John Pym* Eſq; *William Strode* Eſq; The Lord *Kimbolton* after the Charge was read, ſtood up and offer'd to obey whatever the Houſe ſhou'd order. The Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, that ſome of their Members were accus'd of High-Treaſon; and at the ſame time Information was brought that ſeveral Perſons were ſealing up the Trunks, Doors, and Papers belonging to the accus'd Members; upon which the Houſe order'd that their Serjeant ſhou'd have Power to break open the Doors and Seals upon the Trunks, *&c.* 'Twas alſo reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, that if any Perſon came to ſeize their Perſons, thoſe Members ſhou'd ſtand upon their Guard. While they were debating theſe Things, Serjeant *Francis* came from his Majeſty to arreſt the *Five Members,* but the Houſe wou'd not let them go, and order'd Sir *John Colepepyr,* the Lord *Falkland,* Sir *John Hotham,* and Sir *Philip Stapleton,* to attend his Majeſty, and acquaint him that the Matter *concern'd the Privilege of Parliament, and therein the Privilege of all the Commons of* England; *that they wou'd take it into Conſideration, and return an Anſwer in all Humility and Duty, with as much Speed as the Greatneſs of the Buſineſs wou'd permit; and in the mean Time the ſaid Members ſhall be ready to anſwer any legal Charge made againſt them*; accordingly the Speaker, by Command of the Houſe, enjoin'd the five Members to conſtant Attendance. Here was a Criſis! Had there been ſo much Wiſdom and Temper in the King's Counſels, as to have been ſatisfy'd with this prudent Meſſage of the Parliament, there had been no Civil War; for from his Conduct at this Time, 'twas eaſy to obſerve that there was no Probability of preventing it. The Lords made a like Order about the Doors and Trunks, and reſolv'd to join with the Commons in a Petition for a Guard. The latter commanded their Speaker to iſſue out Warrants for apprehending Sir *William Fleming* and Sir *William Killegrew,* who had preſum'd to ſeal up thoſe Trunks and Doors. They alſo order'd a Conference to be deſir'd with the Lords, to acquaint them that there is a *ſcandalous Paper* publiſh'd, containing Articles of High-Treaſon againſt the Lord *Kimbolton,* &c. And foraſmuch as it is againſt the Members of both Houſes, they deſire the Lords that Right may be done againſt the Publiſhers of the ſaid *ſcandalous Paper* and *an Enquiry made who were the Authors and Publiſhers thereof, that they may be puniſh'd,* and the Commonwealth be ſecur'd againſt ſuch *dangerous Perſons.* Thus it is plain that the Parliament reſolv'd to defend the *accus'd Members* againſt a Charge, *which,* ſays a learned Lawyer, *was ſmil'd at as chimerical, and as having in Truth no Foundation,* which he fully proves. And it is amazing, that when the Court ſaw the vigorous Oppoſition that was made to thoſe treaſonable *Chimeras,* they ſhou'd add Violence to Violence, and purſue their deſperate Meaſures to an open Rupture between the King and his Subjects: For the next Day, *January* the 4th, the Houſe of Commons was inform'd by one Captain *Langriſh* lately an Officer in *France,* that he came from among the Officers and Soldiers at *Whitehall,* and underſtanding by them that his Majeſty was coming with a Guard of military Men *Commanders and Soldiers* to the Houſe of Commons, he paſs'd by them with ſome Difficulty to get to the Houſe before them, to ſend in word how near they were. A certain Member, ſuppos'd to be Mr. *Pym,* had had private Intimations from the famous Counteſs of *Carliſle* Siſter to the Earl of *Northumberland,* that Endeavours wou'd be us'd that very Day to apprehend the five Members, the Counteſs of *Carliſle* happening to be in the Room when the Queen talk'd of it to the King, and urg'd him to it with an indecent Eagerneſs. She who underſtood *French* perfectly well, knowing the Deſign, went out of the Room immediately, and ſo down the Back-Stairs, that ſhe might not be obſerv'd, and going directly to her Brother *Northumberland,* told him all ſhe knew; of which he immediately inform'd Mr. *Pym.* The Houſe upon Captain *Langriſh*'s Information, requir'd the *five Members* who were there attending according to Order, to depart forthwith, leſt Miſchief ſhou'd follow, if the Soldiers attempted to pull them out by Force, the Commons being reſolv'd in ſuch Caſe to defend them with their Halberts, *which,* ſays *Welwood, might have endanger'd the King's Perſon.* Four of the *five Members* left the Houſe, but Mr. *Strode* wou'd not ſtir; Sir *Walter Earle* his old Friend, ſtrove to puſh him out, the King being by this Time in the Court of Requeſts. At laſt a Member told him Mr. *Hampden* wanted to ſpeak with him below, and then *Strode* follow'd the reſt juſt as his Majeſty was entering with his Officers, Reformades, and Soldiers.

A.D. 1642.

Ach. 448. *&* ſeq.

Five Mem. bers.

MS.

When he came to the Door, his Majeſty gave a loud *Knock,* and it was thrown open. He enter'd, and as he paſs'd towards the Chair, caſt his Eye on the right-hand where Mr. *Pym* us'd to ſit, but not ſeeing him, he went forward and ſaid, *By your Leave, Mr.* Speaker, *I muſt borrow your Chair a little*; which the Speaker quitting, the King ſtept up into it, and after he had ſtood there a while, caſt his Eye around upon the Members, but cou'd not ſee thoſe for whom he came. He then made a Speech, wherein he ſaid, *He came to apprehend ſome that were by his Command accus'd of High-Treaſon; in which Caſe no Perſon hath Privilege, and as long as thoſe Perſons are here, he cou'd not expect this Houſe wou'd be in the right Way, and he muſt have them whereſoever he found them.* He aſſur'd them *he never intended any Force*; which the Reformades and Soldiers were a plain Proof of. The Speaker ſtanding below by the Chair, his Majeſty ask'd him whether he ſaw any of thoſe Perſons in the Houſe. The Speaker falling on his Knee, reply'd, *I have neither Eyes to ſee, nor Tongue to ſpeak, but as the Houſe pleaſes to direct me, whoſe Servant I am here; and humbly beg your Majeſty's Pardon, that I cannot give any other Anſwer than this to what your Majeſty is pleas'd to demand of me.* How different is Mr. Speaker *Lenthall*'s Behaviour from Mr. Speaker *Finch*'s. The former while the

King enters the Houſe.

A.D.1642. King was preſent in the Houſes profeſſes his Obedience to the Parliament; the latter when the King was at *Whitehall*, refus'd to obey them, having receiv'd his Majeſty's Command to the contrary. The King told the Speaker he thought he was in the right, and then left the Houſe, which was in the greateſt Diſorder, many Members crying out aloud, ſo as he might hear them, *Privilege, Privilege*, and immediately adjourn'd to the next Day. I have referr'd the Reader to *Acherley* for the Articles of Impeachment againſt the *five Members*, and his judicious Remarks upon them. It gives one Pity to ſee how the Earl of *Clarendon*, and Archdeacon *Echard*, labour to explain away an outragious Act againſt the Peoples Rights and Privileges, which is attended with ſo many aggravating Circumſtances. Mr. Archdeacon informs us, it was follow'd with a Proclamation, to prevent the Perſons accus'd from flying out of the Kingdom, *and to forbid all Perſons to entertain them*; which methinks ſhould not have been mention'd, ſince their *Accuſers* were preparing to fly the Kingdom, and that the Citizens of *London* not only entertain'd them, but offer'd to defend them at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes. The Houſe of Commons full of juſt Reſentment, which the Reverend Hiſtorian calls Rage, *Voted* the King's entring their Houſe to be done in a warlike Manner, and therefore they in great Fear, Trouble and Confuſion, adjourn'd for ſeven Days, 'till *Tueſday* the 11th of *January*, but appointed a Committee to ſit in the mean Time at *Guild-Hall*, which had been done before in this Seſſion. This Committee were, Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *Robert Coke*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Thomas Walſingham*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *John Wray*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Sir *Samuel Rolle*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *William Litton*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Mr. *Whitlocke*, Mr. *Pierepoint*, Mr. *N. Fiennes*, M. *W. Long*, Mr. *Herbert Price*, Mr. *Wheeler*, Mr. *Glynne*, Mr. *Grimſton*, Mr. *Wylde*.

Committee of Parliament in the City.

The ſame Day the King came to the City with his uſual Attendance; and the People, as he went along, cry'd out aloud, *Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament*; Mr. *Walker*, an Ironmonger and Pamphleteer, threw a Paper into his Coach, as the *compleat Hiſtorian* tells us, wherein was written, *To your Tents, O Iſrael*; for which he was committed, and afterwards proceeded againſt at the Seſſions. This Paper was a Sermon on that Text. His Majeſty was nobly entertain'd at Dinner by one of the Sheriffs, and after Dinner return'd to *Whitehall*, without interruption of Tumults. The Committee of the Houſe of Commons at *Guildhall* employ'd themſelves in drawing up a Declaration touching his Majeſty's late coming to their Houſe. They were upon it five Days, examining Perſons to prove the Words, Actions, and Geſtures of thoſe that follow'd the King, and ſtood ready at the Door of the Houſe of Commons.

Lord Mayor, &c. Petition.

In the mean Time the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council petition'd the King, "Complaining of the great Succeſs of the bloody *Iriſh* "Rebels, the want of Aid to ſuppreſs them, of "Deſigns to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and "the Lives and Liberties of his Majeſty's Subjects, "by putting out Perſons of Truſt from being "Conſtable and Lieutenant of the *Tower*, of for-"tifying *Whitehall* with Men and Ammunition, "of wounding Citizens in their paſſing to *Weſt-"minſter*, of tampering with *Inns of Court*, of "the Miſunderſtanding between his Majeſty and "the Parliament, by Reaſon of Miſinformation, of "his going to the Houſe of Commons with a "great Multitude of armed Men beſides his or-"dinary Guards, in Breach of the Privileges of "Parliament; *All which tends not only to the Overthrow of Trade, which we already feel in a deep Meaſure, but alſo threatens the utter Ruin of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of all his Majeſty's Subjects.* Their Prayer was, that *Ireland* may be ſpeedily reliev'd by the Advice of Parliament; the *Tower* put into the Hands of Perſons of Truſt, ſuſpected and unknown Perſons to be remov'd from *Whitehall*; a known and approv'd Guard to be appointed for the Parliament; and that the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the *Five Members*, may not be reſtrain'd of Liberty, or proceeded againſt, other than according to Privilege of Parliament." To which *Echard* tells us the King return'd an Anſwer, *uncommonly obliging and condeſcending*, as in the following Inſtance, *There has been nothing left undone on the King's Part, as to* Ireland, *and his Zeal for its Relief will appear, in a* DECLARATION *which will be ſpeedily publiſh'd; that his Majeſty wonders they ſhould entertain any Fears about the* Tower, *after he had remov'd a Servant of good Truſt and Reputation,* Lunsford, *and put in another, whoſe Ability and Reputation were unqueſtionable; that as to the fortifying* Whitehall, *his Majeſty did not doubt but they had themſelves obſerv'd how he was provok'd to it by ſeditious Language, utter'd under his own Windows; and if any Citizens were wounded, he is confidently aſſur'd they deſerv'd it:* How wonderfully obliging! He diſown'd the Knowledge of *Fireworks in the Hands of* Papiſts, mention'd in the Petition, and alledg'd, that no Privilege cou'd extend to *Treaſon* or Breach of Peace, and that his Attendants, when he went to the Houſe, had only Swords.

A.D.1642.

The Committee remov'd from *Guildhall* to *Grocers-Hall*, to give the Common-Council Room to aſſemble in the former about this Petition, and appointed a Sub-Committee to draw up Heads for their ſafe coming to *Weſtminſter*, with the *five Members* in their Company, on the 11th of *January*. It was reſolv'd that the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* ſhou'd then raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus* to guard the King and Parliament that Day. The Maſters of Ships and Mariners came to the Committee with a Petition ſign'd by 1000 Hands, offering their Service to guard them by Water to *Weſtminſter*, which was accepted of. After theſe came the Prentices with their Offer, but Serjeant *Wylde* gave them Thanks in the Name of the Committee, telling them there wou'd be no need of it, the Seamen being to attend them by Water, and the Train'd-Bands wou'd do the ſame by Land. The accus'd Members aſſiſted at the Committee who drew up the Declaration about the King's entring the Houſe, all Members that came being to have *Votes*. The Reader will obſerve, that of this Committee were Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and ſome of the moſt eminent Members of that illuſtrious Aſſembly, who declare, "That his Majeſty came to the Houſe, "attended with a Multitude of *arm'd Men* in a "hoſtile Manner; that ſeveral Soldiers, Papiſts, "and others, about 500 in Number, came with "him, ſome of them with their Piſtols cock'd "near the Door, ſaid, *I am a good Markſman, I "can hit right: Pox take the Houſe of Commons, "a Pox of God confound them*, &c. true Cava-"lier Language. The publiſhing of this Declaration was *much to the Parliament's Diſhonour*, according to *Echard*; and then he contradicts himſelf, by ſaying, *It was more detrimental to the King's Affairs:* He adds, *the Shops of the City were generally ſhut up*, to inſinuate that the Citizens took this Declaration ſo ill, that they wou'd not Trade upon it. The Truth is, the Shops were ſhut while the Citizens attended the Committe and the accus'd Members, to the two Houſes of Parliament, which they did in a triumphant Manner: The Committee and the *five Members* took Boat at the *Three Cranes*, attended with thirty or forty Bar-

*A.D.*1642. Barges, with Guns and Streamers, and a great Number of Citizens in Boats; thus they row'd to *Weſtminſter*, with Sound of Variety of Muſical Inſtruments, interrupted only with the loud Acclamations of the People, while the Train'd-Bands march'd thither by Land, to ſecure the Paſſages that way. The whole was to be perform'd with ſo much real Pomp and Splendor, that the Court to avoid ſo magnificent, but to them ſo hateful a Sight, left the Town, and the King never ſaw it afterwards, 'till he was brought thither to his Tryal. *Echard* tells us, this Return of the Committee, and the five Members to their Seats in Parliament, was interpreted at *Whitehall as the beginning of the War*, and ſo interpreted no where elſe. The *beginning of the* War was before this, and well explain'd by the judicious Lawyer. *It appear'd alſo, that if the five Members attempted to ſit again, the King, or his Men at Arms, would be at Hand to come and ſeize them; and that therefore without Guards, they, or the Houſe, wou'd never more ſit ſafely; and if ſo, the Inference is inconteſtable, that this* STORM *on the Houſe, was the* FIRST STROKE *that was given in the* WAR. He proceeds, "The King not being able to ſee "the *five Members* ſo generally eſpous'd; for what "is ſaid in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion, and the* "*Archdeacon's Hiſtory, of a pack'd Mob, is all di-* "*rectly contrary to known Truth*; and himſelf and "his Proſecution ſo diſappointed, did on the Day "before, *Monday* the 10th of *January*, retire "from *Whitehall* to *Hampton-Court*, after that to "*Windſor*, and from thence to *York*, and abſented "and would never after return to his Parliament."

Acts. King begins the War.

See what the Conjurer *Lilly* ſays on this Subject. "The King diſliked theſe too frequent Addreſſes "unto both Houſes in ſo unwarrantable a Manner, whereupon fearing the worſt, as himſelf "pretended, he had a Court of Guard before "*Whitehall* of the Train'd-Bands: He had alſo "many diſſolute Gentlemen that kept within "*White-Hall*, with their Swords by their Sides, "to be ready upon any ſudden Occaſion: Verily "Mens Fears now began to be great, and it was "by many perceiv'd, the King began to ſwell with "Anger againſt the Proceedings of Parliament, "and to intend a War againſt them. Some Speeches "dropp'd from him to that Purpoſe. *Of his break-* *ing into the Houſe of Commons for the five Members*, Lilly *writes*, "All this Time he had a Guard with "him, conſiſting of many Gentlemen with Halberts and Swords. This raſh Action of his coſt "him his Crown; for as he was the firſt of Kings "that ever, or ſo imprudently broke the Privileges, by his entring into the Houſe of Commons "aſſembled in Parliament; ſo by that unparallel'd Demand of his, he utterly loſt himſelf, and "left ſcarce any Poſſibility of Reconcilement: He "not willing to truſt them; nor they him, who had "ſo often fail'd them. It was my Fortune that "very Day to dine in *Whitehall*, and in that Room "where the Halberts newly brought from the "*Tower* were lodg'd, for the Uſe of ſuch as attended the King to the Houſe of Commons. "Sir *Peter Wich*, e're we had fully din'd, came into the Room I was in, and broke open the "Cheſts wherein the Arms were, which frighted "us all that were there: However, one of our "Company got out of Doors, and preſently inform'd ſome Members, that the King was preparing to come into the Houſe, elſe I believe "all, or ſome of theſe Members had been taken. *Echard*, the Author of the *Hiſtory* of *the Rebellion*, and all the Authors of that precious Kidney, do every where treat the City of *London* as a Neſt of Rebels, the Sink of Sedition and Schiſm; for the Zeal of the Citizens in Defence of *Engliſh* Liberty, and for promoting a *thorough* Reformation. They learnt this of *Laud*; and King *Charles*, in Purſuance of the ſame Leſſon treated them accordingly, which naturally diſpos'd them to make all Oppoſition to his arbitrary Government, and on all Occaſions to appear for the Parliament, the Bulwark of their Rights and Privileges. He highly provok'd them a little before the breaking out of the *Scots* Troubles, by countenancing one Sir ---- *Philips*, a *beggarly Knight*, as my Author calls him, from whom I take the following Account; "*Philips* exhibited his Bill againſt the Citi- "zens of *London*, for certain Miſdemeanours pre- "tended to be committed by ſome of their Offi- "cers in *Ireland*, about the Parts of *London-* "*derry*. True it is, the Citizens of *London* very "gallantly, about the coming in of King *James*, "ſent Colonies of their own in great Numbers, "and at their own extream great Charges, to ſet- "tle Plantations in the *North* of *Ireland*. They "had a large Patent from King *James*, and "many Privileges granted them for their ſo doing, "and Planting: Above 30 Years they had quietly "poſſeſs'd their own Lands there, had built ma- "ny beautiful Market-Towns, one or more City "or Cities, many Churches in the Territories aſ- "ſign'd them; but about the Year 1639, this Sir "------ *Philips* demanding ſome unreaſonable "Things of the Citizens, and being denied them, "he in Malice exhibits his Bill for Miſdemeanors "of their Officers againſt the *Londoners* in the "STAR-CHAMBER, and brought the Cauſe unto "a Hearing. The Court of *Star-Chamber* fin'd "the *Londoners deeply*, adjudg'd their Plantations "forfeited to the King, who as eagerly and gree- "dily ſwallow'd them for his own. This very "Act, in or near this Exigence of *Time*, ſo im- "bitter'd the Spirits of the Citizens, that though "they were ſingularly invited for Loan of Monies, "and had as great Plenty in their Poſſeſſions as "ever, yet they wou'd not contribute any Aſſi- "ſtance for Money againſt the *Scots*." *Echard* and *Clarendon* cannot find Words good enough for this *Star-Chamber*, and this King's Juſtice and Piety.

*A.D.*1642. L. *P.* 45.

King begins the War. P. 54.

Five Members. P. 58.

King's Party hate the Londoners.

The Senſe of the Nation, with reſpect to the Danger that threatned them from the King's unparallel'd Breach of Parliamentary Privileges, and preparing Forces to ſupport it, appears by a Petition to the Parliament, from the *Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and other principal Inhabitants of the County of* Somerſet, *in Behalf of themſelves, and many Thouſands of the County, ſhewing,*

Somerſetſhire *Petition.*

"That whereas inſtead of ſettled Peace and "Safety, (the long expected Fruit of your faith- "ful Endeavours, and our chearful Contributions) "great Diſtractions and Dangers are daily mul- "tiplied and increas'd, threatning the utter Diſap- "pointment of our Hopes, and the Overthrow of "the very Foundation of our *Weal* and *Liberty*; "*eſpecially for the late Breach of the Privileges of* "*Parliament, in an unparallel'd Manner, by the* "*wicked Devices of a malignant Party, as we con-* "*ceive of* Popiſh Lords *and* Biſhops, *and others*; "we being ſtricken with the Senſe and Horror of "ſo deſperate a Miſchief, do hold it high Time "to declare the ſincere and ardent Affection of "our Hearts, which we are ready to ſeal with our "pureſt Blood, in Defence of our Religion, his "Sacred Majeſty, our dear Country, and that "which is the Life of our Liberty, the Rights "and Privileges of Parliament.

"May it therefore pleaſe this honourable Aſſem- "bly to aſſiſt the earneſt Deſires of your Petitio- "ners, that all Privileges of Parliament, the Inhe- "ritance and Safety of the Subject, may be made "firm. That *Popiſh* Lords and *Biſhops* be forth- "with remov'd from voting in the Houſe of Peers; "that all Evill Counſellors, and other Delinquents, "may receive condign Puniſhment; that a ſuffi- "cient Remedy be provided againſt the *ſcanda-* "*lous Miniſters*; that to ſecure us from all home-

"bred

A.D. 1642. Sir Tho. Wroth's Speech at delivering it.

" bred and foreign Practices, *this Kingdom be ſpee-*
" *dily put into a Poſture of Defence*; and that the
" Relief and Safety of our diſtreſſed Brethren in
" *Ireland* be effectually proſecuted, *&c.*" This Petition was preſented by Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Burgeſs for *Bridgwater* in *Somerſetſhire*, and the reſt of the Repreſentatives of that County, the Knight introducing it with a Speech, which began thus: *Mr.* Speaker, *The High and Glorious Aſſembly of the three Eſtates in* Parliament, *hath a near Reſemblance to the Day of Judgment; for in Parliament we are call'd to Account for our Actions, both Good and Evil; here we hear the Voice of* Ite *and* Venite: *From this* Venite, *the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of* Somerſet, *have been encourag'd to intruſt us humbly to preſent their Petition:* He then excuſes its coming *late, and not attended with a multitudinous Troop, on Account of the Diſtance of the Petitioners from* London; but he ſaid, *We have Hearts and Hands as zealous and ready to maintain the Contents of our Petition, as any of the preceding Counties.* We ſee then, that theſe Addreſſes were the *Vox Populi*, and not the Effect of Artifice and Impoſture, as Mr. Archdeacon repreſents them; and that in Particular, the Knights, Gentlemen, and principal Inhabitants of this Rich and Spacious County, in the Behalf of many Thouſands, addreſs'd the Parliament to prepare for their Defence, though the Lord *Clarendon* affirms, they were there *One and All* for the King. *Echard* mentions this noble Knight in his noble Hiſtory, not at all to his Honour, as will be ſeen in the Sequel.

Arms, &c. ſent to Whitehall.

Before we proceed further, we muſt reflect a little on Mr. Archdeacon's Repreſentation of the King's low Condition at this Time. He had lately been ſupply'd with Arms out of the *Tower*. *Ruſhworth* informs us, that the very Day he enter'd the Houſe, there were privately brought to *Whitehall* 100 Arms, 200 Barrels of Powder, Match and Shot proportionable; which was a ſufficient Magazine for a King who intended to live in Peace with his Subjects. *Echard* means, he had not furniſh'd himſelf with warlike Stores for *Sieges* and *Battels*, which no body then thought of, if they did not think of it at *Whitehall*. His Words are, *He had neither Arms, Money, nor Credit, therefore nothing but a Senſe of Honour, Loyalty or Gratitude, could have brought ſo many to join him in the enſuing War*. After this vain and groundleſs Reflection, ſee what General *Ludlow* ſays, who, as an Hiſtorian, is as much ſuperior to him, as the Cauſe of Liberty is above that of Slavery. He is opening the *Civil War* as well as the Archdeacon; " I thought the Juſtice of the Cauſe I had engag'd " in to be ſo evident, that I could not imagine it " to be attended with much Difficulty: For tho' " I ſuppos'd that many of the Clergy, who had " been the principal Authors of the Miſeries, " together with ſome of the Courtiers, and ſuch " as abſolutely depended upon the King for their " Subſiſtance, as alſo ſome Foreigners would ad- " here to him; yet I could not think that many " of the People who had long been oppreſs'd with " heavy Burthens, and now with great Difficulty " obtain'd a Parliament compos'd of ſuch Perſons " as were willing to run Hazards to procure a laſt- " ing Settlement for the Nation, would have been " either ſuch Enemies to themſelves, or ſo un- " grateful to thoſe who had truſted them, as not " to ſtand by them to the utmoſt of their Power. " At leaſt, though ſome might not have ſo much " Reſolution and Courage, as to venture all with " them, yet that they would not be ſo treacherous " aud unworthy to ſtrengthen the Hands of the " Enemy againſt thoſe who had the Laws of God, " Nature and Reaſon, as well as thoſe of the Land, " on their Side." Every Word in *Clarendon* and *Echard*, is the Reverſe of this. General *Ludlow* then gives the Reaſon why the Lord *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, the Lord *Capel*, Sir *John Strangeways*, and a *good Number of worthy Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, and a great Nnmber of Country Gentlemen deſerted the Country Intereſt, and fought for the Court in the* Civil War. A.D. 1642.

" Finding by Experience the ſtrong Combination
" of Inrereſts at Home and Abroad againſt the
" Parliament; the cloſe Conjunction of the *Popiſh*
" and *Prelatical* Parties in Oppoſition to them;
" what vaſt Numbers depended on the King for
" Preferments or Subſiſtence; how many of the
" Nobility and Gentry were contented to ſerve
" his arbitrary Deſigns, if they might have Leave
" to inſult over ſuch as were of a lower Order;
" *a Remark worth a Hundred in* Clarendon *and*
" Echard; and adding to all this the Corruption
" of the Nation, I became convinc'd of my for-
" mer Error, and began now more to wonder how
" they found ſo many Friends to aſſiſt them in
" their juſt and lawful Undertaking, than I had
" done before at the Oppoſition they met with.

The Earl of *Clarendon* values his Cauſe very much on the Offer of ſome *briſk* Gentlemen, but nameleſs, of the *Inns of Court*, to be a Guard to the King. He did not know, or wou'd not tell us, that ſome other as *briſk* Gentlemen of the ſame Inns, offer'd to be a Guard to the Parliament; as Mr. *Rich Fiennes*, Son to the Lord Viſcount *Say*, Mr. *Charles Fleetwood*, whom the Earl calls a *Trooper*, Son to Sir *Miles Fleetwood*, Mr. *Edmund Ludlow*, Son to Sir *Henry Ludlow*, all of the Inns of Court, and many young Gentlemen more of thoſe Inns, who procur'd an experienc'd Officer to inſtruct them in the uſe of Arms, and prepare them for the Parliament's Service.

General *Ludlow* omits one ſtrong Reaſon why ſo many Gentlemen of Worth deſerted the Service of their Country, beſides the *Digbies*, the *Hydes*, and others, from whom no better cou'd be expected, and eſpous'd a Quarrel they had till then abhorr'd, *Arbitrary Power*, and *Prieſtcraft*; and that was the Jealouſy they had conceiv'd one of another. Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr *Hampden*, and a few more leading Members, had apparently the Authority and Management in the Houſe of Commons, where the others were like to act under-Parts only; but if they betray'd their Party, and revolted to the King, they might be *Chancellors* and *Secretaries*, and *Comptrollers*, and *Barons*, and *Earls*, and what not. Poor Conſiderations! and ſuch as large and generous Minds deſpiſe, if not to be acquir'd without ſacrificing the Publick to private Intereſt.

Upon the King's abſenting himſelf from his Parliament, Mr. *Acherley* obſerves, *The Houſe of Commons were ever after oblig'd to ſtand upon their own Defence, and to provide themſelves with Guards, to prevent the like Surprize*. Thus do reaſonable Men argue on the Neceſſity the Lords and Commons found themſelves in, to prepare to defend their Seſſion againſt future Inſults, and to be arm'd if War was made upon them, for which they knew Preparations were making. " In this Poſture of Af-
" fairs, ſays the *learned Lawyer laſt mention'd*,
" the Miniſters held ſecret Counſels with the
" Queen at *Windſor*, which were guided by her
" Popiſh Cabal; for the Nuntio and the Prieſts
" ſatisfy'd the Queen, and ſhe the King, as Father
" *Orleans* tells us, *That the Treaſon of calling in the*
" Scots, *ſhould be proſecuted with War, and Force*
" *of Arms*." The *French* Jeſuit, who conſulted our abdicated King in his Hiſtory, confeſſes that King *Charles* had reſolv'd upon an Offenſive War before the Parliament had taken any Step towards a defenſive one: For that End, it was concluded that the Queen, under the Umbrage of conducting her Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, lately marry'd to the Prince of *Orange*, to her Husband, ſhould take that Opportunity to tranſport her ſelf to *Holland, and at the ſame Time to negotiate the Supplies of Men and Money: That the King ſhou'd retire to* York,

A.D.1642. *there to make his first Levies, and seize the Magazine at* Hull, *but proceed slowly*, which occasion'd the many dilatory Messages, and evasive Answers the Parliament receiv'd from him. Here I think the *French* Jesuit has determin'd the Beginning of the War, and that the King had resolv'd to reduce the Parliament by Force of Arms, before ever they had come to any formal Resolution to defend themselves. The two Houses order'd Thanks to the City of *London*, for their friendly Behaviour towards the *Committee*, and the *accus'd Members*; as also to the Masters of Ships, and Mariners, for their Kindness. Colonel *Skippon* was appointed to attend with such a Guard of the Train'd-Bands as he thought sufficient, which was two Companies, every Day at *Westminster*: The King propos'd 200 of them under the Command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, but they excus'd it, and took *Skippon* for their Captain.

Buckinghamshire *Petition.*

The next Day, several Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, to the Number of 5000, chiefly from *Buckinghamshire*, came to *London*, riding every one with a printed *Protestation* in his Hat, and presented a Petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the King's late Breach of the Privileges of Parliament, and offering to live and dye in their Defence; for which they receiv'd the Thanks of that House, and afterwards of the House of Lords, for the like Address to them. They then sent eight of the Petitioners to *Windsor* with a Petition to the King, in which they declare their Astonishment at a Charge of *High-Treason* against their Representative Mr. *Hampden*, which was to wound them thro' his Sides. They desir'd that the Privileges of Parliament might be secur'd, and Delinquents brought to Punishment. The King told them he had wav'd the *Accusation of the* five Members, *and did not conceive that their Crimes cou'd in any Sort reflect upon those his Subjects.* But the Parliament was not satisfy'd with waving the Accusation for the present only, since he said *in his Message he wou'd still proceed against them.* There is not a Step taken but there seems to be *Fatality* in it; they therefore resolv'd to begin first, and fell upon Sir *Edward Herbert* Attorney-General, whom they impeach'd of High-Crimes and Misdemeanors, for drawing *up a false and scandalous* Charge against the Lord *Kimbolton* and the *five Members*. Both Lords and Commons join'd in a Petition to the King, which was sent by the Earl of *Newport* and the Lord *Seymour*, to be inform'd of the Proof against those Members, and to know the Names of their Accusers. To which his Majesty reply'd, *that he having found Cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the* accus'd Members, *he had commanded the Attorney-General to proceed no farther.* However, the two Houses proceeded farther against the Attorney-General; and the Lords having consider'd the Impeachment of the Commons, voted, *That he shou'd be incapable of being a Member, Assistant, or Reader in either House of Parliament, and of all Offices saving that of* Attorney-General, *and be committed Prisoner to the* Fleet *during their Pleasure.*

Herbert *Attorney-General.*

Digby *in Arms at* Kingston.

Rushworth says, "Information was given to the "House that the Lord *Digby* with Colonel *Lunsford* and other disbanded Officers and Reformades, have with Troops of Horse appear'd in "an hostile Manner at *Kingston* in *Surrey*, where "the Magazine of Arms for that Part of the County lies; and a Committee being appointed to "examine into the Matter, they reported, *That* "*there were about two hundred Men at* Kingston, "*most of them Officers; that the Town was full of* "*Horse; that they have Pistols, and carry themselves in a disorderly Manner to the Terror of the* "*People; that the Lord* Digby *was there on Horseback with Pistols; that Colonel* Lunsford *and two* "*others of that Name were there also; and that* "*there were two Cart-loads of Ammunition.* The Action was so near *London*, that if there had not been two hundred arm'd Men at *Kingston*; if *the Town had not been full of Horse*; if *Digby* and those Ruffians the *Lunsfords* had not behav'd to the Terror of the People, this Report of the Committee of Parliament must have been a Jest, and such a Discredit to all their Reports, as wou'd have render'd them incredible and contemptible. The Earl of *Clarendon*, as usual, is the Reverse of all this too: He affirms the Lord *Digby* was not there on Horseback, that he came in a Coach with six Horses only to visit Colonel *Lunsford*. He is mightily improv'd in his Company as well as Politicks. *Echard* backs this righteous Evidence with a positive Number; *the six Coach-Horses were all the Horses that appear'd there.* We are like to have hopeful History from them in the Course of the *Civil War*, which they begin so cleverly. General *Ludlow* assures us, *those that the King had formerly entertain'd at* Whitehall, *appear'd at* Kingston *in a military Posture with the Lord* Digby *and Colonel* Lunsford *at the Head of them. The two Houses having Notice thereof, desir'd the King to disperse the said Troops, and to return to the Parliament. Lunsford* was taken and sent to the *Tower*, and the Lord *Digby* accus'd of *High-Treason*, but he avoided the Punishment by flying the Kingdom. The Parliament order'd the Train'd-Bands of *Sussex* and *Hampshire* to suppress those Forces, as *Rushworth* terms them, and prevent the carrying of Arms and Ammunition to *Portsmouth*; the Governor of which Fortress Colonel *Goring*, was requir'd not to deliver it up, nor receive any Forces into it without their Consent.

Portsmouth.

The Debate about securing *Portsmouth*, gave Occasion to another about *Hull*; and at the Conclusion of it, Sir *Philip Stapleton* was sent to the Lords to concur with the Commons in an Order, "That some of the *Militia* of *Yorkshire* near the "Town of *Hull*, shou'd be put into the said Town "under the Command of Sir *John Hotham*, for "securing the King's Magazine there; and that "he, or whoever he shou'd appoint under him, "shou'd not deliver it up without Consent of both "Houses, to which their Lordships agreed." The Care of the Parliament to secure that Magazine, was on certain Intelligence that the Earl of *Newcastle* was secretly withdrawn from *London* with the same Commission from the King, who had also given a like Commission to Colonel *Legg* to possess himself of *Newcastle*, before the two Houses came to any Resolution about *Hull*. The Earl of *Newport* Master of the Ordnance, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, were requir'd not to let any of the Stores there be remov'd, and Colonel *Skippon* was order'd to appoint a sufficient Guard both by Land and by Water about the *Tower*, to prevent the carrying off any Ordnance or Ammunition. A Parcel of great Saddles were discover'd at *Kingston* for the use of *Echard*'s Coach and Six Horses. What Patience shou'd one be endow'd with to deal with such History! The House was inform'd by Mr. *Bagshaw* of *Windsor*, where the Court then was, that he saw divers Troops of Horse hovering about that Place, and that a Waggon loaden with Ammunition was arriv'd there, where were about four hundred Horse and forty Officers, to shew how far the Court were from making any military Preparations. Upon this an Order was made for ten Horsemen to patroll always, and give Intelligence if any Forces approach'd near the City, and for the like Service Boats and small Vessels were order'd to ply up and down in the *Thames*. A Committee was appointed the 14th of *January*, three Days after the King left *London*, to consider of some Heads for putting the Kingdom into a Posture of Defence; Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Glyn*.

Hull.

Horse and Arms at Windsor.

Committee for the Defence of the Kingdom.

Mr. *Archdeacon* uses all his Art, which is not consiserable,

A.D. 1642. ſiderable, to turn the juſt Fears of the Parliament and People into Ridicule; and among other ſuch Witticiſms, tells us *there was a Plot to blow up the* Thames *with Gunpowder*, which threw the whole City into inexpreſſible Conſternation. He makes the like Sport with the Petitions the Houſe of Commons receiv'd from the ſeveral Counties and Cities which we have already mention'd. He repreſents them as Trick. The Counties of *Eſſex*, *Hertford*, *Berks*, *Surrey*, and moſt of the Counties and Cities of *England*, ſent up Petitions one after another to the ſame Purpoſe as that from the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*; who being deſir'd to lend 100000 Pounds for the Relief of *Ireland*, gave theſe Reaſons for the Obſtructions the Loan met with.

London *Petition.*

1. "The refuſing of the Offer of 10000 *Scots* "to be ſent to *Ireland*.

2. "The not paſſing the Bill for *preſſing*.

3. "The ſlow iſſuing out Commiſſions to thoſe "who are willing to ſerve.

4. "The not diſarming *Papiſts* in *England*, and "not removing the Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

5. "The ſuffering Delinquents to make their "Eſcapes in the King's Ships.

6. "The ſheltering of many Thouſands of un-"known deſperate Perſons in *Covent-Garden* and "thereabouts, to be ready for an Attempt againſt "the Parliament and City.

7. "The not vindicating the Privileges of Par-"liament, the not puniſhing Delinquents, nor ſuf-"fering the Laws to be put in Execution againſt "Prieſts and Jeſuits:" All which Premiſes occaſion the Decay of Trade, and increaſe the Fears of the People, which diſcourage them in parting with their Money. The Petition of the *Knights, Gentlemen, Miniſters, and Freeholders* of *Eſſex*, com-

Eſſex.

plain of *the great Stop of* Reformation *in Matters of Religion*; and pray that *Papiſts may be diſarm'd*, Ireland *ſpeedily reliev'd, and the Kingdom put into a Poſture of Defence*; as alſo that *Biſhops and Popiſh Lords be excluded the Houſe of Peers*. The Petition

Hertfordſhire.

of the *Knights, Gentlemen*, and *Freeholders* of *Hertfordſhire*, "acknowledge the great Care of the Par-"liament for the Good of the Commonwealth in "procuring the *Execution of exemplary Juſtice*, in "putting down *arbitrary Courts, Ship-Money, Mo-"nopolies*, and other illegal Impoſitions." They add, *That the malignant Party of Prelates and Papiſts, and their Adherents, have by their manifold wicked Practices and Deſigns, endeavour'd to hinder all* thorough Reformation *in Church and Commonwealth, and ſtifle all good Bills in their Birth*. Of this Party moſt certainly was the Earl of *Clarendon*, which will not be deny'd; and how fairly he has repreſented thoſe good *Engliſhmen* who promoted that *thorough Reformation*, may eaſily be imagin'd as well as ſeen. The Men of *Hertfordſhire* pray that the Kingdom *might be put into a Poſture of Defence, the Privileges of Parliament repair'd and thoroughly vindicated*; *that the Votes of the* Popiſh *Lords and Biſhops might be taken away, ſpeedy and ſtrong Relief ſent to* Ireland, *and Delinquents brought to further Puniſhment*. Theſe Petitions were read in the Houſe of Lords by Mr. *Pym*, who explain'd them in an eloquent Speech, which wou'd be an Ornament to Hiſtory, but I have not Room for Speeches, Declarations, and Meſſages at length. The Earl of *Clarendon* does not loſe a Word of them; but, as his good Friend *Warwick* obſerves, he was a great Dealer in Words himſelf, and took much Delight in it. Mr. *Pym* ſpeaking of Evil Counſellors, of whom that Lord was always underſtood to be one, ſaid, "Their Influence hath "been the Cauſe of the Preparation for a War "with *Scotland*, of the procuring a Rebellion in "*Ireland*, of corrupting Religion, ſuppreſſing the "Liberty of this Kingdom, and of many fearful "and horrid Attempts, to the ſubverting the very "Being of Parliaments, which was the only hope-"ful Means of oppoſing and preventing all the "reſt; and this appears to be a moſt predominant "Evil of the Time, whereat we need not won-"der, when we conſider how Counſellors have "been preferr'd and prepar'd. I appeal to your "Lordſhips own Conſciences, whether the giving "and the countenancing of Evil Counſels, hath "not been almoſt the only Way to *farther Ad-"vancement*." This evil Counſel is in the Earl's Hiſtory, the *Wiſdom*, *Virtue*, and *Sobriety* of the Nation. Mr. *Pym* had the Thanks of the Houſe for his Speech; and the King hearing of it, ſent a Meſſage to them concerning a Paſſage, that *ſince the Ports had been ſtopp'd againſt all* Iriſh *Papiſts by both Houſes, many Officers now in the Head of the* REBELS *had been ſuffer'd to paſs by his Majeſty's immediate Warrant*, which he deſir'd might be prov'd; and the Commons in their Anſwer prov'd it, naming Colonel *Butler* a Papiſt, Unkle to the Marquis of *Ormond*, Sir *George Hamilton* another Papiſt, the Lord *Nutterfield*'s Son, and ſeveral others. To which his Majeſty reply'd in general only, *that thoſe* Papiſts *who had had Paſſes, were not in the* Rebellion, *and that he expected there may be Warineſs us'd before ſuch publick Aſperſions be laid upon him*. In a Meſſage of the 20th of *January*, he adviſ'd them to *digeſt into one Body all the Grievances of the Kingdom, and to ſend them to him, promiſing his favourable Aſſent to thoſe Means which ſhou'd be found moſt effectual for Redreſs, wherein he wou'd not only equal but exceed the moſt indulgent Princes*. This is what Father *Orleans* call'd proceeding ſlowly, and it was by ſuch flattering Meſſages as theſe, that he gradually gain'd over great Numbers of Lords, Gentlemen, and others, who, without ſeeing one Grievance effectually redreſs'd, after they drew their Swords for him, continu'd fighting in hopes of ſo weakening the Parliament, that the King might have it in his Power to break or keep the Laws according to his Will and Pleaſure.

A.D. 1642.

On the 28th of *January* the Houſe of Commons ſent an Anſwer to this moſt healing Meſſage, *That they return'd his Majeſty moſt humble Thanks for his gracious Meſſage, which they reſolv'd to take into ſpeedy and moſt ſerious Conſideration*; *and to enable them with Security to diſcharge their Duties, they petition'd*, "That the *Tower* and other princi-"pal Forts of the Kingdom may be put into the "Hands of ſuch Perſons as his Parliament cou'd "confide in, *without which, in all human Reaſon, "the great Diſtraction of the Nation muſt needs "overwhelm it with Miſery and Ruin*. To which the King reply'd, "that he thought the *Militia* to "be lawfully ſubject to no Command but his own, "and therefore wou'd not let it out of his Hands." Father *Orleans* informs us, *'twas the Reſolution of the Queen's Junto to deny all Particulars*. "That he "had preferr'd to the Lieutenancy of the *Tower* a "Perſon of known Honour, Fortune, and unque-"ſtionable Reputation, and that he wou'd prefer "none but ſuch to the Command of his Forts "and Caſtles, yet wou'd not intruſt the Power of "conferring thoſe Places and Dignities from him-"ſelf, being deriv'd to him from his Anceſtors by "the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom." This is all along the Cant of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion. The ſovereign Power when exercis'd according to Law, as it has been in all the glorious Reigns ſince the Revolution, and was never ſo exercis'd in any other Reign ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s, is doubtleſs one of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the beſt Security the Subjects have for their Rights, Liberties, and Properties; but in the Abuſe of it, and when exerted againſt the Laws, which is the well-known Caſe of this Government, it becomes tyrannical, and Tyranny is a Contradiction to the Fundamentals of Government. According to *Law*, the *Laws of the Land*, and the like, are every where in *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, as if Miniſters were to be as well protected in the Breach of them as in the Execution. The

*A.D.*1642. The King's Denial of this reaſonable Requeſt alarm'd the Houſe of Peers, who till then had not meddled much with this Matter, but now they join'd with the Houſe of Commons in a ſecond Petition the 2d of *February*, for putting the *Tower*, Forts, Caſtles, and the whole *Militia* of *England* into the Hands of ſuch Perſons as they ſhou'd recommend to him. *Echard* now corroborates the Evidence of the Jeſuit *Orleans*, and confeſſes the King dealt doubly with the two Houſes in his Anſwer, and ſaid *what he never was poſitive to conſent to, Things not being yet ready.* He promis'd to put *ſuch Perſons into thoſe Places as both Houſes ſhould recommend to him*, with a Proviſo, *That he had no Exceptions againſt them*; which were eaſy to be made againſt any Man who had made Exceptions againſt his Government.

Petition for the Militia.

Tower.

After a long Debate about the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, the Houſe reſolv'd to move the King, that Sir *John Biron* be put out, and Sir *John Coniers* be put in, which was granted. The Archdeacon's Comment upon this, is another ſhining Inſtance of his exquiſite Judgment in the Choice of his Authors: *It was a plain Proof that at this Time he had no Thoughts of a War; which is agreeable to what the old Earl of* Briſtol *ſaid,* "That nothing ſo much "terrify'd his Conſcience from taking Arms a-"gainſt the King, or more confirm'd him in his "Duty of adhering to him, than the *certain and* "*infallible Knowledge he had of the King's unfeign'd* "*Deſires and Endeavours to have prevented the* "*War; an Authority that will ſtand good againſt* "*a thouſand Opinions and Conjectures.*" This at firſt ſight is falſe, and yet with what Confidence he tells it. The Earl of *Briſtol* cou'd not know it, and therefore did not know it; for there is not one ſober Author but aſſerts the quite contrary. *Whitlocke*, the faireſt of all Writers, ſays, *The Queen obtain'd Leave of the King, who alſo acquainted the Parliament, that his Daughter was to go to* Holland *to her Husband the Prince of* Orange, *and that her Mother deſir'd to go with her; accordingly the Queen went over with her Daughter into* Holland, *and carry'd with her all her own and the King's Jewels, not leaving behind the Jewels of the Crown; that with them, and the Aſſiſtance of the Prince of* Orange, *a ſufficient Party might be rais'd for the King.* Another Author writes, "The Queen paſs'd into *Holland* un-"der Pretext of keeping her Daughter Company "to her Husband, but ſhe carry'd with her the "Crown Jewels of *England*, and pawn'd them "there, whereby ſhe bought Arms for that War "that enſu'd, and was it ſeems then deſign'd by "the King againſt the Parliament."

I have ſeen an Account of the Sums borrow'd in *Holland* to buy Arms and Ammunition for the War intended againſt the Parliament.

	Guilders.
Borrow'd in Rotterdam *of the Burgomaſters*	400000
More of the Bank in Rotterdam	25000
In all from *Rotterdam*	425000
Borrow'd of the Bank at Amſterdam, *by Mr.* Sandys	84500
At the Hague *of* Fletcher	126000
More of him	40000
At the Hague *of* Van. Cyren. *by Sir* William Boſwell	9000
Of Monſieur d'Eſpernon	230000
Of Webſter *by three Obligations together on the Pendant Pearls*	100000
Of him more	43200
Of him more, and borrow'd by him ſince	70000
Of Monſieur Vicford	70000
Of Sir Charles Herbert	20000
Of Collmore *of* Antwerp	64000
In all	1281700
With Webſter *the ſix Rubies of the Chain left for*	20000
To Webſter	20000
To the Prince of Orange	300000

*A.D.*1642.

Here's above 100000 Pounds borrow'd to make Proviſions for War, and all with a ſincere Intention to keep the Peace. The Abſurdity of this Pretence is ridiculous, and it is further prov'd by the ſending *Cockrain* to *Denmark* to deſire Aſſiſtance of that King before the War commenc'd. The Subſtance of his Inſtructions was, "To in-"form the King's Unkle of a dangerous Combi-"nation of his Majeſty's Subjects againſt him, "and to demand his Aſſiſtance againſt them, who "intended to ſet up a Commonwealth and Preſ-"bytery, whereas Epiſcopacy is the chief *Column* "*of the Crown*: That his Majeſty has been forc'd "to forſake *London*, and ſend the Queen to *Hol-*"*land*: That the States of *Holland* have agreed to "give her Majeſty the Queen a Convoy of the "greateſt Part of their Fleet: That the Parlia-"ment deſign to aſſiſt the *Dutch* to take away his "*Daniſh* Majeſty's Cuſtoms of the *Sound*; and in "order to extirpate the Royal Blood of *England*, "they are endeavouring to baſtardize all the Royal "Family, by proving the King of *England*'s Mo-"ther, Siſter to the King of *Denmark*, to be an "Adultereſs, and her Children illegitimate; and to "enable him to puniſh them, he deſires his *Da-*"*niſh* Majeſty to lend him 100000 Pounds on "Jewels, and to ſend him 6000 Muskets, 1500 "Horſe Arms, and 20 Pieces of Field Artillery "with ſome Horſemen only: That there is in *Hol-*"*land* a great Collar of Rubies, and another of "Rubies and Pearl, if he will lend more Money "upon them, *&c.*

The King in a printed Declaraton from *Newark*, *March* 9. 164½, tells the Parliament, *Whatſoever you are advertiz'd from* Paris, *&c. of foreign Aids, we are confident no ſober honeſt Men in our Kingdom can believe that we are ſo deſperate or ſo ſenſeleſs to entertain ſuch Deſigns as wou'd not only bury this our Kingdom in certain Deſtruction and Ruin, but our Name and Poſterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy.* This Negotiation of *Cockran*'s is not deny'd. You have the King's own Reflections on ſuch Negotiations; and after this, What can one ſay too coarſely of the Lord *Clarendon*'s and Archdeacon *Echard*'s Hiſtories, which are the Reverſe of it? *Leti* agrees with *Orleans*; and being both Papiſts, Mr. *Archdeacon* himſelf will not expect better Authority. *The King ſtaid till he had ſent away the Queen to* Holland, *after which he declar'd he wou'd not do what the Parliament deſir'd, and* qu'il ne leur avoit rien accorde que par contrainte, *and that he had granted them nothing but what was forc'd from him.* *Ludlow*, "Both King and Queen "deſign'd not only to withdraw, but alſo to make "what Preparations they cou'd for the raiſing an "Army againſt the Parliament; in order to which "the Queen carry'd with her the Jewels of the "Crown, and pawn'd them in *Holland* for Arms "and Money." The Genius, Learning, Knowledge, Quality, and Fortune of this Hiſtorian, is ſuperior to any Compariſon with the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*; and there is nothing to be objected againſt his Authority, but that he was a *Commonwealth's Man*; which in the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon's Senſe, is worſe than a *Laplander* or *Canibal*. *Larrey* repreſents the Matter thus; "According to the King's own "Hiſtorian the Lord *Clarendon*, the Appearance "of his deſigning a War was ſtrong againſt him, "from his Deſign to ſeize on *Portſmouth* and *Hull*. "The Parliament knew very well that it was re-"ſolv'd on to ſend the Queen to *Portſmouth*, the "Governor of which Town was in her Intereſts, "and the King himſelf was to ſeize on *Hull*. The "Diſcovery of the Plot, tho' by whom is not "certainly

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King begins the War.

A.D.1642. " certainly known, was the Occaſion of its not " ſucceeding; and the Queen being afraid of a " Proſecution, avoided it by going out of the " Kingdom; and avoided too the Indignity of a " Flight, by the Pretence of going with her Daugh- " ter into *Holland*." Letters were intercepted from the Lord *Digby* to the Queen and Secretary *Nicholas*, dated at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, adviſing the King to *betake himſelf to ſome Place of Strength, where he and others might ſafely reſort to him, and he doubted not but that he ſhou'd do him acceptable Service*. The Son knew the King was about entering upon the War, but the Father the Earl of *Briſtol, knew certainly and infallibly that it was his unfeign'd Deſires to prevent it*. We will not believe *Digby*'s offer of *acceptable Service*, was of the ſame Kind as his Offer concerning the *Five Members*, whom he wou'd have murder'd if they wou'd not have yielded to him. *Echard* indeed ſays only, *He offer'd to fetch them alive or dead*. Theſe Letters were intercepted a few Days before the Departure of the Queen. The Parliament ſent to the King to deſire *he wou'd not correſpond with* Digby *nor any other whom his great Council had proclaim'd Traytors*.

The Houſe of Commons were buſy in Debates touching the ordering the *Militia* of the ſeveral Counties; in which ſome declar'd their Opinions, *that the Power of the* Militia *was ſolely in the King, and ought to be left to him; and that the Parliament never did or ought to medale with the ſame*. Others were of Opinion that the *King had not this Power in him, but that it was ſolely in the Parliament; and that if the King refus'd to order the ſame according to the Advice of the Parliament, that then by Law they might do it without him*; which was moved to be now done by the Parliament, the King having deny'd all their Petitions for ſettling the *Militia* as they deſir'd; the Motion being ſeconded and well ſupported, the Houſe of Commons paſs'd an Ordnance the 2d of *March*, to which the Lords conſented, for *ordering of the Militia of the Kingdom of* England *and the Dominion of* Wales. By which they appointed Lieutenants for the ſeveral Counties and Towns as follows;

Lord Lieutenants appointed by Parliament.

Berkſhire, Earl of *Holland*.
Bedfordſhire, Earl of *Bolingbroke*.
Buckinghamſhire, Lord *Paget*.
Cambridgſhire and *Iſle of Ely*, Lord *North*.
Cheſhire and City of *Cheſter*, Lord *Strange*.
Cornwall, Lord *Roberts*.
Cumberland, Lord *Grey* of *Werke*.
Derbyſhire, Earl of *Rutland*.
Devonſhire and City of *Exeter*, Earl of *Bedford*.
Dorſetſhire and Town of *Pool*, Earl of *Salisbury*.
Iſle of *Purbeck*, Sir *John Banks*.
Durham, Sir *Henry Vane* Sen.
Eſſex, Earl of *Warwick*.
Glouceſterſhire and City of *Glouceſter*, Lord *Chandos*.
Hampſhire and Town of *Southampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*.
Iſle of Wight, Earl of *Pembroke*.
Hertfordſhire, Earl of *Salisbury*.
Herefordſhire, Lord *Dacres*.
Huntingtonſhire, Lord *Kimbolton*.
Kent and City of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Leiceſter*.
County of *Lancaſter*, Lord *Wharton*.
Leiceſterſhire, Earl of *Stamford*.
Lincolnſhire and City of *Lincoln*, Earl of *Lincoln*.
Middleſex, Earl of *Holland*.
Northamptonſhire, Lord *Spencer*.
County and Town of *Nottingham*, Earl of *Clare*.
Northumberland and Town of *Newcaſtle*, Earl of *Northumberland*.
Norfolk and City of *Norwich*, Earl of *Warwick*.
Oxfordſhire, Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*.
Rutlandſhire, Earl of *Exeter*.
Salop, Lord-Keeper *Littleton*.
Somerſetſhire, Marquis of *Hertford*.
Staffordſhire and City of *Litchfield*, Earl of *Eſſex*.
Suffolk, Earl of *Suffolk*.
Suſſex, Earl of *Northumberland*.
Warwickſhire and City of *Coventry*, Lord *Brooke*.
Weſtmorland, Earl of *Cumberland*.
Wiltſhire, Earl of *Pembroke*.
Worceſterſhire and City of *Worceſter*, Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*.
County and City of *York* and Town of *Hull*, Earl of *Eſſex*.
Lindſey in *Lincolnſhire*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*.
Monmouth, Lord *Philip Herbert*.
Iſle of *Angleſey*, Earl of *Northumberland*.
Brecknockſhire, Lord *Philip Herbert*.
Cardiganſhire, Earl of *Carberry*.
County and Town of *Caermarthen*, Earl of *Carberry*.
Carnarvon, Earl of *Pembroke*.
Denbigh, Lord *Fielding*.
Flintſhire, Lord *Fielding*.
Glamorganſhire, Lord *Philip Herbert*.
Montgomeryſhire, Earl of *Eſſex*.
Merionethſhire, Earl of *Pembroke*.
Town of *Haverfordweſt*, Earl of *Northumberland*.
Radnorſhire, Lord-Keeper *Littleton*.

A.D.1642.

LONDON.

Sir *John Gayer*, Sir *Jacob Garret*, *Thomas Atkin* Eſq; Sir *John Wollaſton*, *John Warner* Eſq; *John Towſe* Eſq; Serjeant-Major General *Skippon*, *Randall Manwaring* Eſq; Mr. *William Gibbs*, Mr. *John Fowke*, Mr. *James Bence*, Mr. *Francis Peck*, Mr. *Samuel Warren*, Mr. *James Ruſſel*, Mr. *Nathaniel Wright*, Mr. *William Barkley*, Mr. *Alexander Normanſton*, Mr. *Stephen Eſtwick*, Mr. *Owen Roe*.

This Ordnance, with a Petition to paſs it, was ſent to the King by the Earls of *Carliſle* and *Monmouth*, who gave for Anſwer, that the Queen being upon her Departure for *Holland*, he muſt reſpite a particular Reply till he return'd from accompanying her to *Dover*; which both Houſes took as a ſort of Denial, and petition'd him for a ſpeedy Anſwer, which he return'd the 28th of *February* by the Earl of *Portland*, Sir *Thomas Heal*, and Sir *William Saville*, who brought him the Petition, containing in Subſtance, That *the Ordnance was a Breach of his hereditary Right*. He had before ſent for the Earl of *Eſſex* Lord-Chamberlain, and the Earl of *Holland* Groom of the Stole, to attend him, but they excus'd themſelves *with the Neceſſity of performing their Duties in Parliament*, for which they were both immediately turn'd out of their Places as they expected. His Majeſty alſo ſent for his two Sons from *Hampton-Court*, and the Parliament cou'd not but take it as an Indication of his intending an open Rupture. Their laſt Petition about the *Militia* Ordnance, intimated, That if he refus'd to paſs that Bill, they ſhou'd be conſtrain'd to ſettle that neceſſary Buſineſs without him. Had he really had an unfeign'd Deſire, and did ſeriouſly endeavour to have prevented the War, inſtead of caviling evaſive Anſwers, he wou'd have paſs'd this Ordnance which was but temporary; and the Lords who were appointed Lieutenants were Perſons whom he might as well have confided in as the Parliament, as appear'd by their future Conduct.

The Houſe of Commons appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration of the Cauſes of their Fears and Jealouſies, which was deliver'd to the King at *Newmarket March* the 9th, by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*. In the mean time they receiv'd Advice of Negotiations with foreign Princes to aſſiſt the King againſt them; and both Houſes commanded the Earl of *Northumberland* Lord High-Admiral, to fit out ſome Men of War for

*A.D.*1642. the Defence of the Kingdom, Beacons were now made, Sea-Marks ſet up, and Expreſſes diſpatch'd to the Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties to have an Eye on the Enemies of the Conſtitution. The Declaration laſt mention'd was read to the King by the Earl of *Holland*. The firſt Article was, *His attempting to incenſe the late northern Army againſt the Parliament.* 2. Jermyn's *Treaſons and Tranſportation by his Majeſty's Warrant.* When that was read, the King cry'd, *'Tis falſe. The Petition deliver'd to Captain* Legg *with the King's own Hand, and ſign'd* C. R. *That's a Lye*, ſaid his Majeſty; ſo unfeign'd was he in his Endeavours to prevent a War. When he was inform'd it related not to the Date, but to the Execution of the Warrant, he ſaid, *It might have been better expreſs'd then.* 3. *The Buſineſs of the Lord* Kimbolton *and the Five Members.* 4. *The ſuſpicious Deſigns of a Guard about his Perſon.* 5. *The underhand promoting of the* Iriſh *Rebellion.* 6. *The ordering Sir* John Pennington *to land the Lord* Digby *in* Zealand, *from thence to alienate the King from his Parliament, and to procure for him foreign Aſſiſtance; which appears the more credible by his Removal with the Prince, and the many Advertiſements from* Rome, Venice, Paris, *and other Parts, of Aid to be given to the King, in reference to ſome Deſign againſt Religion and the Parliament.* 7. *They deſire his Majeſty to put away his wicked Counſellors, and to put his Truſt in his two Houſes; which if he wou'd do, they wou'd ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Honour and Greatneſs of his Majeſty and his Royal Poſterity.* When the Declaration was read, the King ſaid, *I cou'd not have believ'd the Parliament wou'd have ſent me ſuch a one, if I had not ſeen it brought by ſuch Perſons of Honour. I am ſorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it, for I doubt not to ſatisfy my People by it, tho' I am confident the greater Part is ſo already; and that the Parliament hath had worſe Informations than I have had Counſels: What is it I have deny'd them?* The Earl of *Pembroke* reply'd, *the Militia*, and endeavour'd to perſuade the King to return to *Whitehall*, which was the ſureſt Way to have prevented a War. His Majeſty anſwer'd, *I wiſh you had given me Cauſe, but I am ſure this Declaration is not the Way to it, and in all* Ariſtotle's *Rhetorick there is no ſuch Argument of Perſuaſion.* The Earl of *Pembroke* told him *the Parliament humbly beſought him to come near them.* His Majeſty reply'd in the Terms of the Declaration, *Words are not ſufficient.* The Earl of *Pembroke* then mov'd him to expreſs what he wou'd have. The King ſaid, *I wou'd whip a Boy in* Weſtminſter-School *that cou'd not tell by my Anſwer.* His Lordſhip then propos'd to ſettle the Militia as in the Ordnance for a Time: The King cry'd, *By God not for an Hour.* How unfeignedly did he deſire to prevent a War! His Majeſty added, *You have ask'd that of me in this, which was never ask'd of any King, and with which I will not truſt my Wife and Children.* As to the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, he ſaid, *It will never be done in the Way you are in: Four hundred will never do the Work.* *Echard* affirms there were not many above one hundred in the Houſe. *If I were truſted with it, I wou'd pawn my Head to end it; and tho' I am a Beggar myſelf, yet by God I can find Money for that Work.* This Swearing before a Company of Puritans was extreamly decent and diſcreet, as is the whole Dialogue, if one had room to animadvert upon it.

King's Diſcourſe with the Earl of Pembroke.

Sir Ralph Hopton *deſerts.*

Parl. Chron.

Sir Edw. Deering.

In the Debate of this Declaration, Sir *Ralph Hopton* deſerted his old Friends, and ſpoke againſt it with ſo much Violence that he was committed to the *Tower*; which rough Treatment was ſuch a Conviction to his Underſtanding and Conſcience, that he abandon'd the Country Intereſt as long as he liv'd. Sir *Edward Deering* growing cool in the Debate about Biſhops, wherein he had been at firſt ſo hot, and afterwards inſtigating the *Kentiſh-Men* to petition againſt the *Militia* Bill, was expell'd the Houſe and committed to the *Tower*. *Echard* ſays it was for publiſhing a Book of the Speeches he had made in Parliament; whereas it was rather for a Speech he printed which he had never made, and for which his Book was burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman. *Echard* miſrepreſents alſo the Puniſhment of *Edward Sanderford* a *Laudæan* Taylor, which according to him was much more cruel than what was inflicted on Dr. *Leighton*, Mr. *Lilburne*, &c. for only calling the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Warwick* TRAYTORS, and wiſhing King *Pym*, and Sir *John Hotham* hang'd; whereas it was for calling the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament *Traytors*; for which he was, 1ſt, *Fin'd* 100 *Marks*, Dr. *Leighton* was fin'd 10000 Pounds; 2d, *To ſtand in the Pillory*, Dr. *Leighton* to be twice pillory'd, and to have both his Ears cut off; 3d, *To be whipp'd at the Cart's-Tail*, Dr. *Leighton* to be twice whipp'd, to have his Noſe ſlit, and his Face ſtigmatiz'd; yet the reverend Hiſtorian reflects upon it with his wonted Sincerity, that the Taylor's Sentence was more ſevere than had been ever pronounced in the *Star-Chamber*, where Dr. *Leighton* was ſentenced. He takes no Notice of the Offence of one *Browning* an *Eſſex* Parſon, who Sir *Simon d'Ewes* ſaid, *was a notable Altar-Adorer*, in ſaying, *There were forty more Members of the Houſe of Commons, beſides the five accus'd Members, who were* TRAYTORS; *and that the King's entring the Houſe was a juſt Act.* There wou'd be no End of it, if we ſhou'd mention all ſuch Offences of ſuch Parſons as *Browning*, who were in a perpetual Rage againſt the Parliament for aſſerting the Rights and Liberties of the People, and reforming the Abuſes in Church and State. Dr. *Calamy* tells us that Multitudes of *Petitions came from all Quarters againſt their Miniſters, charging them with* Inſufficiency, Falſe Doctrine, Illegal Innovations, or Scandal. *John White* Eſq; *of the* Temple, *Chairman of the Committee of Reformation, publiſh'd a Century of ſcandalous Miniſters, which was afterwards follow'd with a ſecond Century; both were fill'd with moſt abominable Particularities, the concealing which had been a much greater Service to Religion than their Publication, which was but making Sport for* Atheiſts, Papiſts, and Profane. Now ſee Mr. Archdeacon's Sincerity, *They took Care to place ſuch Preachers and Lecturers in the moſt populous Places, as were well known to abhor the Church of* England; *many of whom were impos'd upon the Pariſhes by the Houſe of Commons; all canonical Clergymen were induſtriouſly diſcountenanced, impriſon'd, or forc'd to a tedious Attendance upon the Houſe under the unhappy Name of* Scandalous Miniſters, tho' they were ſo ſcandalous as to make their very Lives a Jeſt to *Atheiſts* and *Papiſts*. What ado does he make with his *Canonical Clergymen!* He has almoſt provok'd me to name one in our Time, who liv'd ſo ſcandalouſly even in Goal where he was a Priſoner for Debt, that his fellow Priſoners petition'd to be rid of him. But I am ſenſible People's ill Nature is apt to throw on Generals what is meant of Particulars, ſo I ſhall ſay no more of it.

*A.D.*1642

Bad Clergy

The King, in his Abſence, granted a Commiſſion for paſſing two Bills. The firſt, *To take away the Votes of Biſhops in Parliament, and all temporal Juriſdictions and Offices, as to be Privy-Counſellors, Juſtices of the Peace,* &c. *from them, and all others in Holy Orders:* The ſecond was, for *preſſing of Soldiers for the Service of* Ireland. The Archdeacon ſpeaks of the firſt Bill, as if all Nature had ſuffer'd Shipwreck, and the whole State was involv'd in the temporal Intereſts of the Clergy. How much better does a Layman, the Lord *Wiquefort*, underſtand his own Function than himſelf. " There are ſome Clergymen, who look " upon their meddling with temporal Affairs, to " be againſt God's Command, and contrary to " the

Bill againſt Biſhops Votes paſt.

A.D. 1642. "the Precepts of Chriſtianity. God would not allow the *Levites* to have any Share with the other *Tribes*, that their Aſſiduity and conſtant Attendance on the Service of the Altar, might not be interrupted by the Care they were oblig'd to take to till their Lands, and preſerve their Eſtates. It is for this Reaſon he alſo ſays, ***He will be their Portion and their Inheritance:*** Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſays alſo, ***His Kingdom is not of this World:*** That thoſe who follow him, muſt renounce all Things, and caſt off all Sollicitude for temporal Things, that they may with leſs Incumbrance travel in the Path they are to follow, during the whole Courſe of their Lives. There is no ſerving of two Maſters, nor dividing the Heart, which has been once given, and entirely devoted to God. At *Venice* the Clergy have no Share in the Management of State Affairs, *&c.*" I do not wonder the Archdeacon's Head had no Room for ſuch Reflections; but it is matter of Wonderment that Biſhops, ſuch as *Laud* and *Juxon*, ſhould, inſtead of renouncing all worldly Concerns, take upon them the Management of the *Exciſe* and *Treaſury*. The King, ſays our Reverend Author, diveſted himſelf of the Regal Authority, by paſſing the Bill to take away Biſhops Votes, ***by which Foundations were ſhaken***; they had before been as much ſhaken, when twenty-ſeven Abbots and Priors were turn'd out of the Houſe of Peers. It wounded his ***Majeſty's Conſcience***, which receiv'd no Wound at all when he utterly aboliſh'd ***Epiſcopacy*** in *Scotland* about Six Months before. Were there ever ſuch Arguers? And how do the paultry Intereſts of this miſerable World, miſlead the Judgment and Conſciences of thoſe who ſhou'd teach us to wean our ſelves from it? He will not tell us what an inſolent *French* Jeſuit ſaid of the King's ſigning the Commiſſion to paſs this Bill at *Canterbury*, when he was accompanying the Queen to *Dover*, where ſhe embark'd for *Holland*, *God deſign'd to humble the* Engliſh Biſhops, *in the Original Seat of their* Epiſcopacy, *which they had corrupted by their Schiſm, and ſo many ſeveral Errors.* This Hiſtorical Dunce has the Impudence thus to abuſe the pureſt Church in the World, I mean the Reform'd Church of *England*; and this is the Hiſtorian Mr. *Echard* formally recommends in the Title Page of the Tranſlation, as if the Work was a whit the better for't. A whimſical Fellow, one *Griffith*, inform'd the Houſe of a Plot to carry off the Prince into *France*; for which we are told Mr. *Hampden* took him up in his Arms, and ſaid, ***my Soul rejoyces to ſee that God hath put it into your Heart to take the right Way:*** A manner of Expreſſion which agrees exactly with the Character of one of the fineſt Gentlemen in *England*, as Mr. *Hampden* was accounted; though not according to the modern Idea of a fine Gentleman.

Endeavours were us'd in *London*, to obſtruct the executing the Parliament's Ordnance concerning the *Militia*; and the malignant Party got a Petition ſign'd by three or four Hundred Hands againſt it. The chief Agents in it were Mr. *Gardiner*, and Mr. *Binion*, the latter a buſy pragmatical Silkman, who were both committed to the *Tower*; and a Counter Petition was preſented by the Citizens, deſiring Juſtice againſt theſe ſeditious Perſons, who had obſtructed the Ordnance; accordingly the Parliament order'd the firſt Petition to be burnt by the common Hangman; but when *Binion* got out of the *Tower*, he was Knighted, as a Reward for the 3000 Pounds which the Parliament had laid upon him for Sedition and Inſolence: A ſevere Fine, conſidering he was not much better than a Bankrupt, though he made a great Buſtle.

Ireland. The two Houſes taking into Conſideration the Relief of *Ireland*, ***Voted***, that two Millions and half of Acres of the forfeited Eſtates ſhould be granted to Adventurers, who wou'd lend Money for that Service. For each Adventure of 200 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Ulſter*; 300 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Connaught*; 450 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Munſter*; and 600 Pounds, 1000 Acres in *Leinſter*; to which his Majeſty conſented; and by this Act, no Peace was to be made with the *Iriſh*, contrary to the Contents thereof. A.D. 1642.

The Pope and Secretary Nicholas.

Secretary *Nicholas* ſent a merry Letter to the Houſe of Commons, which he had lately receiv'd from a Perſon of Quality at *Venice*, giving him to underſtand, that the *Pope* was much incens'd at the Proceedings of the Parliament againſt *Romiſh Prieſts* and *Recuſants*; and if they ſo proceeded, his Holineſs wou'd cauſe ***an Army to be rais'd and ſent into*** Ireland; ***and that the Pope took it ill that the Parliament will not diſcharge the*** Seven Prieſts ***whom his Majeſty had repriev'd.*** Though this Secretary *Nicholas* makes but a very ordinary Figure in Hiſtory, and ſuch a ridiculus Buſineſs might have been expected from his Capacity, yet it is ſtrange that all the Counſellors about the King ſhould not have Wiſdom enough to hinder the ſending ſuch a Letter to the Parliament; for which thoſe who ſent it wou'd certainly be either laugh'd to Scorn, or puniſh'd for countenancing Correſpondence with the Pope. The Houſe preſently voted an Addreſs to the King, that the ſeven Prieſts might be hang'd, and the *Capuchin* Fryars at *Somerſet-Houſe* be immediately ſeiz'd, and brought before them.

Meſſage from Huntington.

From *Huntington* the King ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, dated the 15th of *March*, that he intended to make his Reſidence at his City of *York*, ***and thought it neceſſary to publiſh, that he expected and requir'd Obedience from all his loving Subjects, to the Laws eſtabliſh'd:*** By which was always underſtood in this Reign, a Power to raiſe Money without Conſent of Parliament, to impriſon and preſs Men at Pleaſure, a Submiſſion to the Oppreſſion and Superſtition of the *Laudean* Hierarchy, and the like. Again, and ***That they preſume not, upon any Pretence or Ordnance, to which his Majeſty is no Party, concerning the Militia, or any other Thing, to do or execute what is not warrantable by theſe Laws, his Majeſty being reſolv'd to keep the Laws himſelf***, as has has been plentifully evidenc'd to us in the whole Courſe of this Hiſtory, ***and to require Obedience to them from all his Subjects.*** Upon the Receipt of this Meſſage, the two Houſes came to theſe Reſolutions, 1. "To inſiſt on their former Votes concerning the *Militia*. 2. That the "King's Abſence is not only an Obſtruction, but "may be a Deſtruction to the Affairs of *Ireland*. "3. That when the Lords and Commons, which "is the ſupreme Court of Judicature in the King-"dom, ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, "to have this not only queſtion'd, but contradict-"ed, and a Command that it ſhou'd not be obey'd, "is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament. "4. That a Committee be appointed to enquire "where this Meſſage was fram'd. 5. That thoſe "who adviſ'd his Majeſty to this Meſſage, are "Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and "juſtly ſuſpected to be favourers of the Rebellion "in *Ireland*. 6. That thoſe who adviſ'd his Ma-"jeſty to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, are "Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom. RE-"SOLV'D, *Nem. Cont.* That the Ordnance about "the *Militia*, is not any way againſt the Oath of "Allegiance; that the Commiſſion granted under "the Great Seal, to the Lieutenants of the ſeveral "Counties, are illegal and void; and whoever "ſhall exerciſe any Power over the Militia, by "Colour of ſuch Commiſſion, ſhall be accounted "a Diſturber of the Peace of the Kingdom; that "in Caſe of extream Danger, and of his Majeſty's "Refuſal, the Ordnance agreed on by both Hou-"ſes doth oblige the People, and ought to be "obey'd by the fundamental Laws of this King-"dom." To theſe Votes agreed the Lord Keeper

Anſwer.

*A.D.*1642. of the Great Seal, whoſe Conſcience went ſtill with his Knowledge; but in a few Days he left both them and the Parliament, and made his Eſcape to *York*. The very learned and judicious *Whitlocke* ſays, "The Houſe of Commons receiv'd "great Encouragement and Confirmation in theſe "Votes, from the Opinions of ſeveral of their "Members, *Pym*, *Hampden*, *Hollis*, *Stapleton*; "and of Lawyers, Sir *John Corbet*, Lord *L'Iſle*, and "ſeveral others, chiefly from the confident Opini- "on of the Lord Keeper *Littleton* concurring "with them.

The King publiſh'd a Declaration in Anſwer to that which was read to him at *Newmarket*; which as has been obſerv'd, conſiſted of a poſitive Denial of the Matters laid to his Charge; and the Parliament juſtify'd their Declaration, in a Petition which was preſented to him at *York*, *March* the 26th, wherein they ſay, "We have lately receiv'd "Information from the Deputy-Governor of the "*Merchant Adventurers* at *Rotterdam*, that an un- "known Perſon appertaining to the Lord *Digby*, "did lately ſollicit one *James Kenelly*, a Mariner, "to go to *Elſinore*, and take Charge of a Ship in "a Fleet of the King of *Denmark*'s, there pre- "par'd, which he ſhou'd conduct to *Hull*, in "which Fleet he ſaid likewiſe, a great Army was "to be tranſported; and although we are not apt to "give Credit to Informations of this Nature, yet "we cannot alrogether think it fit to be neglected, "but that it may juſtly add ſomewhat to the "Weight of our Fears and Jealouſies, conſidering "with what Circumſtances it is accompany'd, "the Lord *Digby*'s preceding Expreſſions in his "Letter to her Majeſty, and Sir *Lewis Dives*, and "your Majeſty's ſucceeding Courſe of withdraw- "ing your ſelf Northward from your Parliament, "in a Manner very ſuitable and correſpondent to "that Evil Counſel, &c." This is ſober Reaſoning, and carries Conviction with it. *Digby* adviſ'd the King to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome Place of Security; and what Place would be more ſecure than *Hull*? Father *Orleans* confeſſes it was agreed the *King ſhould retire into the* North, *and there* P. 55. *make his firſt Levies*. *Echard*, though he is let into very few Secrets, declares it *was Time* now *for the King to remove to* York; which agrees with what General *Ludlow* ſays. The *Declarations* on both ſides proving ineffectual, and the King's Deſigns, both at Home and Abroad, being grown ripe, he expreſs'd his Diſſatisfaction more openly, and withdrew to *York*. The Reverend Hiſtorian tells us, his *Indignation was rais'd*; and *Larrey*, *It is certain he had a Deſign upon* Hull, and it is then as certain he had a Deſign to make War upon his Proteſtant Subjects.

On the 8th of *April*, the King ſent another Meſſage to the Parliament, wherein he declar'd his Intention to go with all Speed to *Ireland*, to raiſe 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, and arm them from the Magazine of *Hull*, which was to prepare the way for his ſeizing the whole. Mr. *Acherley* aſſures us, This very much alarm'd and diſcompos'd the two Houſes, who doubted not but *Ireland* was the Place of *Strength to which his Majeſty was to retire, according to the ſecret Reſolutions taken with the Queen*. The Parliament return'd a reſpectful Anſwer, and propos'd to raiſe 6000 Men under the Lord *Wharton*, for that Service, but the King denied his Commiſſion There's a haughty Air, and a dry commanding Stile in this King's Meſſages and Anſwers, which were good for nothing but to ſower Mens Minds, and is as unskilful in Politicks as it wou'd be in Phyſick, to apply Corroſives inſtead of Lenitives. To this muſt be added a Weakneſs, which is without Example. The King knew that the Parliament had diſcover'd the Contrivances of ſending the Queen to *Holland*, of his own Journey *Northward*, of his Queen's Favourites with the *Iriſh*, and his own Tenderneſs to that murderous Crew, and that the Parliament were *A.D.*1642. not ſo much afraid of them, as of the Deſigns he was forming againſt the Proteſtants in *England*; yet he offers to go to *Ireland* with an Army: He cou'd not be at the Head of one any where, but they wou'd be taken by the Parliament to be their moſt mortal Enemies; and it was very unlikely they would conſent to his tranſporting Forces to *Ireland*, where there were 40000 Enemies already Ireland. in Arms againſt them and their Friends. The Parliament told him ſo in plain Terms, when he made the Offer for *Ireland*, "That it cou'd be of no "Service, but prejudicial to the Proteſtants, by "whom he was ſuſpected, and advantageous to "the Papiſts, who boaſted of his Conſent, and "wou'd become more bold on his Arrival." *Orleans* owns his *Correſpondence with the* Iriſh Catholicks *had ſome Appearance of Truth*. The Truth is, the Diſtractions the King occaſion'd by his abandoning the Parliament, were a fatal Obſtruction to the Relief of *Ireland*. The two Houſes knew not how ſoon they ſhou'd want all the Power they could raiſe for Self-Preſervation, and that muſt perplex their Thoughts as to tranſporting Forces elſewhere. The King knew all the People of *England* had the Relief of their Brethren in *Ireland* at Heart: The Parliament minded him of it in all their Declarations; and this Offer to go himſelf, was to take off the Odium from him, but it did not ſucceed; 'twas viſible that he obſtructed all ſolid Meaſures prepar'd for relieving the diſtreſs'd *Engliſh* in *Ireland*, and that he never propos'd any Thing which was not either chimerical or dangerous. The Parliament were in Earneſt, as they ſhew'd with a Vengeance, when they had ſecur'd themſelves againſt their Enemies in *England*, and it was for that Security only, that they at any Time poſtpon'd the Succours, which with their whole Souls they wiſh'd in *Ireland* This is the natural Light this Affair ſtands in, and we ſhall ſay the leſs hereafter for what is now ſaid.

In the Act for the *Iriſh Adventurers* there was a Clauſe for leaving the Management of that War to the two Houſes; and another Clauſe beforemention'd, by which the King oblig'd himſelf not to give any Terms to the REBELS, or to make Peace with them without the Parliaments Conſent: Both which he did, at the ſame Time that in all his Speeches, Meſſages, Anſwers, *&c.* he has the Laws, and the Laws of the Land, almoſt in every Paragraph, in a Suppoſition that the People did not know how he had obſerv'd them, or that he had ever broken them: Upon this Act conſiderable Sums of Money were brought in; and ſays *Ludlow*, "The "Parliament neglected no Opportunity to carry "on ſo neceſſary a *War*. They procur'd ſome "Forces to be ſent from *Scotland* into the *North* "of *Ireland*; and they alſo diſpatch'd ſeveral Re- "giments of *Engliſh* thither, who were bleſs'd with "wonderful Succeſs againſt the *Rebels*." That General afterwards commanded in Chief in that Kingdom, but it ſeems was not ſo well acquainted with Affairs there, as Archdeacon *Echard*, who ſays, "The War was carry'd on by ſuch ſlow Steps, "that the *Iriſh* Rebels daily increas'd in Strength, "and by Rumours of the Parliament's Prepara- "tions, enlarg'd their Power. The Parliament "were willing to drive them to Extremity, out of "Revenge and Contempt, as a People eaſy to be "cruſh'd." We ſhall find the King's beſt Officers among them in the Courſe of our Hiſtory.

The King being ſettled at *York*, the reverend *The King* Hiſtorian tells us, "Moſt Perſons of Quality of *at* York. "that great County and Parts adjacent reſorted to "him, many Perſons of Condition from *London*, "ſome out of a Senſe of Duty and Gratitude, and "others out of Indignation againſt the Parliament; "ſo that in a ſhort time the Court appear'd with "Luſtre;" which is the more to be admir'd at, becauſe he owns preſently after, the moſt Illuſtrious

A.D.1642. were afraid, or aſham'd of being ſeen, for why elſe were they oblig'd to be *Incognito*. General *Ludlow* writes, "Several Lords, and others, affected to his Intereſt, reſorted to him with "Plate, Money, Horſes and Arms, amongſt "whom were many *Papiſts*, who, though to cover the King's Deſigns, they were forbidden to "come to Court, were yet privately encourag'd, "and daily liſted and arm'd; and as the Diſtance "of *York* from the Parliament was one Reaſon, ſo "its Nearneſs to *Hull* was another.

Hotham at Hull. At the ſame Time that the Houſe of Commons ſent to Colonel *Goring*, Governor of *Portſmouth*, to ſecure that Town, they diſpatch'd Sir *John Hotham* to ſecure *Hull*; both were faithful to them at firſt, and both at laſt baſely betray'd them. Mr. *Hotham*, Sir *John*'s Son, poſted away thither before his Father, who had Orders to put a Garriſon of the Train'd-Bands neareſt the Place, into the Town, for the Security of the Magazine there. Mr. *Hotham*, who was alſo a Member of Parliament, ſtood up in the Gallery of the Houſe before he went, and ſaid, *Fall Back, fall Edge, I will go down and perform your Commands.* The Houſe of Commons had certain Information of the Deſign form'd againſt that Magazine and Town, and it was the Place of Strength the Lord *Digby* wou'd have had the King retire to, where he might receive Aſſiſtance from Abroad. They had Notice alſo, that the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was ſent by the King to poſſeſs himſelf of it, and was prevented only by the Parliaments and *Hotham*'s Diligence.

Having mention'd the laſt Petition of the two Houſes to the King, which was preſented by the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Dungarvon*, and Sir *Anthony Irby*, on the 26th of *March*, we muſt alſo ſay ſomething of his Anſwer, though they are all ſo diſagreeable, that one can't take much Delight in it: *We are reſolv'd that no Streights or Neceſſities to which we may be reduc'd, ſhall ever compel us to do that which the Reaſon and Underſtanding that God hath given us, and our Honour and Intereſt with which God hath truſted us, for the Good of our Poſterity and Kingdoms, ſhall render unpleaſant and grievous to us.* It was generally ſuſpected that the King, who heartily repented of the popular Acts he had paſt, intended to have them made null and void, on Account of a pretended Force upon him, when it was in his Power to do it. The Parliament ſpeak of it in this Petition; and in his Anſwer he ſaid, *I defy the Devil to prove there was any ſuch Deſign.* The Reverend Hiſtorian joins the *Parliament* with the *Devil*, which is more than the King himſelf did; and being falſe as well as ſcandalous, would have brought the Author into Danger of *Sanderford*'s Puniſhment, if the Long Parliament had had the handling of him. The two Houſes nominated the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of the Fleet in the Room of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was indiſpos'd, and on whoſe Indiſpoſition and Recovery, *Waller* has a fine Copy of Verſes, of which this is the laſt Diſtich; ſpeaking of his Lordſhip, and his charming Siſter, the Counteſs of *Carliſle*.

With Courage guard, and Beauty warm our Age,
And Lovers fill with like poetick Rage.

This is the Lady who *Warwick* ſays had two Gallants, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Mr. *Pym*; and this *Warwick* is the ingenious judicious Author, whom Mr. *Echard* has copy'd almoſt Word for Word.

The King appointed Sir *John Pennington* to be Admiral; the ſame who forc'd the *Engliſh* Ships to join the *French* Fleet againſt the Proteſtants in *Rochelle*; more Fatality! He receiv'd a Petition from the two Houſes, that they might remove the Magazine from *Hull* to the *Tower*, where the Stores had been pretty well drain'd by the Supplies for *Ireland*: But the King, ſays *Larrey*, *had no more Complaiſance for the Parliaments Requeſts, than they had for his*; and being jealous of each others Intentions, *from their mutual Refuſal, they now thought of nothing but War*, which is a ſhort and plain State of the Caſe, and wou'd ſave hundreds of Pages in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory!, where he gueſſes, conjectures and *Subtilizes* without knowing it, and is every where wretchedly copy'd by *Echard*. His Majeſty finding there was no way of ſatisfying the two Houſes and their Adherents, but by complying a little in the Buſineſs of the *Militia*, order'd the Attorney-General to draw up a Bill of the ſame Tenure with the Ordnance, only limiting the Time to a Year; which being offer'd to the Parliament, they took no Notice of it. *Larrey* proceeds, "But before they came to an open "Rupture, the King, who could not deceive the Parliament, endeavour'd to ſurprize the Gover- "nor of *Hull*, and coming into the Neighbour- "hood of that Town, accompany'd by ſome Gentlemen of the Country, and 300 of his Horſe- "Guards, he drew nearer and nearer, and ſent "Sir *Lewis Dives* to tell the Governor, Sir *John* "*Hotham*, he *would dine with him*, a Stratagem which had not the leaſt Proſpect of Succeſs, if his Majeſty had not before-hand made ſure of Sir *John*, which he was ſo far from having done, that *Hotham* hearing of his Approach, ſent three Meſſengers one after another, with an humble Petition to deſiſt, and come no nearer to the Town, where were at that Time, the 23d of *April*, St. *George*'s Feaſt, the Duke of *York*, the Prince Elector, the Earl of *Newport*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and other Perſons of Quality, whom the *Mayor* and Governor entertain'd with great Reſpect: Sir *John Hotham* having held a Conſultation with Mr. *Pelham*, a Member of Parliament, and Alderman of *Hull*, what to do in that Emergency, it was reſolv'd to draw up the Bridge, ſhut the Gates, and command the Soldiers to ſtand to their Arms round the Walls. His Majeſty about Eleven a Clock, advancing to *Beverley* Gate, call'd for the Governor, and commanded it to be open'd; but though he reiterated his Command, he could get no other Anſwer from Sir *John Hotham*, than *I am intruſted by the Parliament to ſecure the Town for his Majeſty's Honour, and the Kingdom's Uſe, which I intend by God's Help to do.* He deſir'd the King not to *miſinterpret his Action*, proteſting his Loyalty, and proffering if his Majeſty would be pleas'd to come in with the Prince, and twelve more, he ſhould be very welcome, otherwiſe he could not, without betraying his Truſt to the State, admit Entrance to ſo great a Guard. His Majeſty refus'd to enter without his whole Train. About one a Clock, the Duke of *York*, the Prince Elector, and the Lords who accompany'd them, went forth to the King, who departed not from the Gates till four a Clock, and then return'd an Hour after, when he gave Sir *John Hotham* one Hour to conſider what he did; who then giving the ſame Anſwer as he had done before, his Majeſty commanded him to be proclaim'd *Traytor* by two *Heralds* at Arms, which frighten'd Sir *John Hotham* as much as if it had been done by twenty. The King retreated to *Beverley* in great Confuſion, and the next Morning ſent a *Herald*, and others, with Offers of Pardon to Sir *John*, if yet he would open the Gates; but as yet he was deaf to Threats, or Flattery, and remain'd true to the Truſt his Country had depos'd in him: So the King return'd to *York*, and ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, *to demand Juſtice againſt* Hotham, *and that immediately the Magazine be deliver'd up to him; and till this be done, he will intend no other Buſineſs; to be in worſe Condition than the meaneſt Subject, not to enjoy his own*; which is as Sophiſtical as the reſt. He was not in a worſe Condition. If the meaneſt of his Subjects had Poſſeſſion of the Weapons of ano-

A.D.1642. *King at Hull.*

*A.D.*1642. ther Man, who, as he had certain Intelligence, intended to uſe them againſt him; all Laws, Human and Divine, allow'd that Subject in the Detention of thoſe Weapons, though the Property was in that other Man. Every one of the Declarations, Meſſages and Anſwers, are as eaſily confuted, but indeed they do not want Confutation. It is not doubted, if the King had poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Place of Arms, he would ſoon have rais'd Forces enough at Home, and have receiv'd them from Abroad, to have fallen upon the Parliament and their Friends, unprovided for War, and have deſtroy'd them, according to the Scheme in the Jeſuit *Orleans's Revolutions*, "To ſecure ſome Place "of Strength, *meaning firſt* Hull, *ſays* Acherley, "which was the ſole Motive of his Journey *North-*"*ward*, in order to get the Magazine of Arms; "and that in Caſe of Diſappointment, his Majeſty "ſhould go into *Ireland*, and never come to any "Accommodation with the Parliament." The *French* Jeſuit goes farther, and allows, that the King never intended to let any of the popular Acts he had paſs'd, continue as Laws: *All Mankind believ'd*, ſays he, *That the King did not grant ſo much, but in order to revoke all; and that he underhand was preparing for War, that the Sword might cut all thoſe Knots he had made with his Pen.* 'Twas the certain Information of this Scheme, and the Proſecution of it, which made the Parliament inſiſt ſo obſtinately on the *Militia* Bill; and it was the certain Deſign to purſue it, which made the King refuſe it with the like Obſtinacy. His Majeſty order'd the Expreſs from the Parliament to *Hull* to be way-laid; an illegal Act, and juſtifiable only in Time of open War: The Parliament, as they had good Reaſon, voted it a breach of Privilege, and RESOLV'D to *defend their Privileges with their Lives and Fortunes*: They juſtify'd Sir *John Hotham*, and order'd the Sheriffs and Juſtices of the Peace to ſuppreſs all Forces that ſhall be rais'd, or gather'd together againſt *Hull*, or to diſturb the Peace. *Echard*, who thinks as wildly as any one, outdoes himſelf in his Thought on this Occaſion, the *Gentlemen of* Yorkſhire *wou'd have taken the Town of* Hull *with* Yorkſhire *Men*; whereas in Truth, Sir *John Hotham*, by Virtue of his Warrants from the Parliament, ſummon'd the Train'd-Bands of that County to appear at *Hull* with their Arms; and when he had them there, *he diſarm'd them, and turn'd them home again*, according to *Whitlocke*. There is no following the Reverend Hiſtorian in any Part of his Hiſtory, where the Diſputes between the King and Parliament are in Queſtion; and here he takes particular Care to lay the whole Blame of the War on the two Houſes; *War was too remote from the King's Thoughts; the King well ſaw the impending Storm. It is juſtly believ'd, that had the King, with the Forces of the Nobility and Gentry, boldly attack'd the Town, it had been ſurrender'd*; and a few Lines after, *Sir* John Hotham *was better able to take* York, *than the King to take* Hull. Such a Head as this, was moſt equal to the Work he undertook, and the Cauſe he eſpous'd, which is, to make the Parliament the Aggreſſors in Words and Deeds; when there is nothing more notorious in Chronicle, than that this King, from the beginning of his Reign to the meeting of this Parliament, had ſuffer'd his Miniſters and the *Laudean* Biſhops to commit all Acts of Tyranny, Oppreſſion and Cruelty, under Colour of Courts of Juſtice, ſuch as the *Star-Chamber*, *High-Commiſſion*, Strafford's *Northern-Court*, &c. and that he had no Regard to the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the Free People of *England*, as appears by his Impriſonment of Members of Parliament, great Merchants, and eminent Citizens, by his violating their moſt ancient Privileges, and extorting illegal Taxes; yet as has been obſerv'd, and muſt be again, he ſpeaks of nothing more than the *Fundamental Laws*, the *Laws of the Land*, which in the Interpretation he intends the *Sovereign Power*, as it was corrupted and abus'd in his Adminiſtration, and not that *Sovereign Power* under which the Three Kingdoms have been ſo ſafe, ſo happy, and ſo glorious, ever ſince the Abdication of King *James*, the laſt Male Monarch of the Houſe of *Stuart*. The two Houſes take Notice in one of their Papers, of that *malignant* Party, *who by falſe Colours and Pretenſions of maintaining your Majeſty's Prerogative againſt the Parliament, wherein they fully agree with the* REBELS *in* Ireland, *have been the Cauſes of all our Diſtempers and Dangers*; and if the Lord *Clarendon*, and Mr. *Echard*, have not alſo maintain'd the Prerogative againſt the Parliament, I have done them much Wrong. *A.D.*1642.

The two Houſes order'd a Committee; the Earl of *Samford*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Sir *Edward Ayſcough*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Sir *Samuel Owfield*, Mr. *Hatcher*, to repair to the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, and Town of *Kingſton upon Hull*, for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and they requir'd all Lord Lieutenants, and all other Officers and Magiſtrates, to be aiding and aſſiſting to them. The King wrote a Letter, dated the 5th of *May*, to the Sheriff of *Yorkſhire*, a truſty one, Sir *Marmaduke Longdale*, to forbid the muſtering of the *Militia* by Ordnance of Parliament; and if any did Muſter, he requir'd him to raiſe the Power of the County and ſuppreſs them: He alſo publiſh'd a Proclamation, forbidding the Relief of *Hull*; another Military Act, practis'd in War Time only, and in Sieges and Blockades; and every one knows, that to ſtarve a Town is as much making War againſt it, as to batter or ſtorm it: The Parliament are as yet in Peace, and 'tis to argue with Madmen and Idiots, that this is not the beginning of the War. Yorkſhire *and* Lincolnſhire *Committee.* *King begins the War.*

About a Fortnight before his Majeſty's March to *Hull*, the Gentry, Miniſters, and Freeholders of *Yorkſhire*, preſented a Petition to him, wherein, after very ſtrong Expreſſions of Duty and Loyalty, they pray him *to declare ſuch fit Means and Expedients, as may take away all Diſtances and Miſunderſtandings betwixt his Majeſty and his great Council.* The King, in his Anſwer, highly commended them for their Loyalty, in relying upon his Word for the Propagation of the Proteſtant Religion, and advis'd them to propoſe to the Parliament the ſettling the *Militia* as he would have it, which he ſaid was the fitteſt Means and Expedient to take away all Diſtances and Miſunderſtandings; but that was too groſs to take with them.

A Committee of the Houſe of Commons; Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and ſome of the beſt Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire*, was order'd to remain at *York*. They had deliver'd the Parliaments Anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage about *Hull*, which the King not liking, gave Orders they would return back; but they excus'd their Stay, becauſe commanded ſo to do by thoſe who employ'd them; and being Gentlemen of the beſt Remark in that County, they had ſurely as good Reaſon to reſide in it, as the Gentry to whom the King made a Speech the 12th of *May*, wherein he admoniſh'd them to take Heed leſt the Committee, *their Countrymen*, ſhould corrupt them, and told them, he *was reſolv'd to have a Guard.* It goes on gradually. To which theſe Gentry reply'd, *They willingly concurr'd in his Majeſty's Preparations for a Guard, conſiſting of Perſons unqueſtionable in their Religion.* The Reply was made for them, the King thank'd them particularly for excluding *Papiſts*. He muſt have a very mean Opinion of the People's Underſtandings, to think that wou'd paſs upon them. We muſt know, however, that this ſame Guard was not ſo well approv'd of by the *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen, as the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Echard* wou'd make us believe. Nor did they underſtand the York *Committee.*

*A.D.*1642. raiſing of it as the King underſtood it. They declar'd they wou'd not interpoſe in the Buſineſs of *Hull*, but wou'd ſerve him with their Lives and Fortunes as far as his Majeſty *ſhou'd be pleas'd legally to enable them.* In another Addreſs they ſaid, the beſt Advice they cou'd offer him, was to *hearken to the Counſels of his Parliament.* In another they beſought him to *impart the Grounds of his Fears and Jealouſies to his High Court of Parliament, of whoſe moſt loyal Care and Affection to his Majeſty's Honour and Safety, and Proſperity of his Subjects and Dominions, they were moſt confident.* They added in *Behalf of thoſe Members of Parliament lately employ'd to attend his Majeſty from both Houſes, being all of them Gentlemen of Quality and Eſtate in this County, and truſted to ſerve in that moſt honourable Aſſembly*; *they humbly crave his Majeſty's Leave to expreſs their Confidence in their untainted Loyalty and Affection to his Majeſty to be ſuch, as his Majeſty may ſecurely admit their Attendance*; and for their Fidelity they do all engage themſelves. Mr. *Archdeacon* affirms they continu'd at *York* in perfect Defiance of the King. The ſame Gentlemen told his Majeſty he might depend on the general Fidelity of his Subjects in that County *without an extraordinary Guard*; and there were but few Gentlemen or Freeholders who approv'd of the Guard of Horſe, knowing full well that 'twas only a Pretext to begin his Levies according to the Scheme of which they cou'd not all be entirely ignorant; ſo very falſe is what the Archdeacon tells us, that *they generally and chearfully agreed.* The Committee of Parliament in a Letter to their Principals inform them, that *ſeveral thouſand Freeholders* came to *York* and enter'd their Proteſt againſt *concurring in a Guard*; that the Committee of twelve *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen, who were appointed to give Anſwer to his Majeſty's Propoſition about it, were divided; ſix were for the Anſwer as deliver'd to the King, and ſix were for the Anſwer wherein they told his Majeſty *he was ſafe without an extraordinary Guard*; and this Anſwer the greater *Part of the Gentlemen and Freeholders agree to.* I will make no Excuſe for treating *Echard* almoſt as rudely as he treats the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, till I find ſomebody that can clear him of this audacious and incredible Falſity, *They generally and chearfully agreed for a Guard.* It conſiſted of a Troop of Horſe, of which the Prince of *Wales* was Captain, and a Regiment of Foot of about ſix hundred Men, which was the firſt Levy of Troops in the Civil War, and was juſtly taken to be the beginning by thoſe who did not allow the ſtarving of *Hull* to be a warlike Act. Mr. *Acherley* ſpeaks of it thus; *Such a Body of Men might by an expeditious March, eaſily have enter'd the Houſe of Commons, and diſpers'd the* UNARM'D *Parliament, who look'd on that Proceeding as a clear Evidence of his Majeſty's Intentions to make War upon them,* in Purſuance of the before-mention'd Scheme form'd in the King's Cabinet-Council at *Windſor* juſt before the Queen's Departure for *Holland*, as we read in *Orleans.* "If "this Scheme and Reſolution be admitted to be "true, *ſays the judicious* Acherley, then it is obvi- "ous that the Cauſe of the War was the *Invita-* "*tion* of the *Scots* Invaſions, and the End of it "the Puniſhment of the Inviters;" *which muſt have caus'd a Deluge of the beſt Blood in* England, *and the reſcinding of the Acts of* Reformation *paſſed in this Parliament.*

Rushw.

Rushw. 621.

King begins his Levies.

Upon News of the King's levying Forces in *Yorkſhire*, the two Houſes voted, "That he intend- "ed to make War againſt the Parliament, contra- "ry to his Oath, and tending to the Diſſolution of "his Government; and that whoſoever ſhou'd "ſerve or aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, ſhou'd be ac- "counted *TRAYTORS* by the *fundamental Laws* "of the Land; and that the ſame had been ad- "judg'd by two Acts of Parliament, 2 *Rich.* 2. "and 1 *Hen.* 4. and that they ought to ſuffer as "Traytors. *A.D.*1642.

Militia.

The Ordnance for the *Militia* having had the Sanction of both Houſes, the Lord-Lieutenants who were nam'd for the ſeveral Counties, were impower'd to act and appoint Deputy-Lieutenants; the Lord *Paget* Lord-Lieutenant of *Buckinghamſhire*, nam'd Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Goodwyn*, Mr. *Greenville*, Mr. *Tyrrel*, Mr. *Winwood*, and Mr. *Whitlocke*, to be his Deputy-Lieutenants; and by their Names only we may know that the Gentlemen of the beſt Characters eſpous'd the Cauſe of the Parliament: For tho' many Gentlemen of Diſtinction deſerted that Cauſe out of a lawleſs Deſire to lord it over their fellow Subjects, or out of a vain Ambition for Titles and Dignities, or out of baſe Envy and Jealouſy of the leading Senators, whoſe illuſtrious Virtues gave their weak Eyes the Jaundice; yet the moſt ſober, the moſt wiſe, and moſt religious, were ſteady in their good *Engliſh* Principles both as to Church and State. The Lord-Keeper *Littleton* was not only confident in his Opinion for the Legality of this Ordnance, but accepted of the Lieutenancy of two or three Counties, nam'd his Deputies, and often ask'd the Clerk of the Houſe of Lords for his Deputations, commanding him to deliver them to one of his Servants, which accordingly was done. He alſo agreed to the ſeveral Forms of thoſe Deputations, and never made the leaſt Objection to the Ordnance as againſt Law and antient Uſage. Of the ſame Opinion were thoſe great Lawyers Serjeant *Maynard*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Grimſton*, Mr. *St. John*, and Mr. *Selden*, who all accepted of Deputations from the Lord Lieutenants, and continu'd in the Parliament Service.

The King reſolving to adjourn *Eaſter* Term from *London* to *York*, the Parliament voted it to be illegal, and order'd the Lord-Keeper not to iſſue Writs or Proclamation for that Purpoſe. The Court at *York* ſhew'd in their Conduct that they matter'd not how prejudicial any of their Counſels were to the Publick, or how little beneficial to themſelves, if the Parliament were anger'd or diſoblig'd by them.

Parliament Declaration May 19.

On the 19th of *May* the two Houſes publiſh'd a large Declaration much to the ſame Effect as the former were, mentioning *that the* Rebellion *was countenanc'd in* Ireland *by the evil Counſellors about the King*; *that the proclaiming the* Iriſh *Traytors, had been deferr'd from* October *to* January, *and then but forty Copies order'd to be printed, nor any of them to be publiſh'd without the King's Order*; *whereas the Proceedings againſt the* Scots, *and proclaiming them* Traytors *were very ſharp.* This was very barefac'd; and it is aſtoniſhing that Perſons who pretended a Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, ſhou'd take Arms for the Support of a Government which did ſo much to ſupport that horrid Rebellion.

The King repeated what he had ſaid before to evade this Charge, and wrote to the Council in *Scotland* to acquaint them with the State of his Affairs in *England*; to which he receiv'd a dutiful and affectionate Anſwer, with a Petition from ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, full of Zeal and Loyalty to his Service; which the Parliament hearing of, took a Courſe to turn the Ballance, and within eight Days after the *Scots* Council declare their earneſt Deſires both to King and Parliament to join in a perfect Union, and humbly deſire the King to *hearken to his beſt and moſt unparallel'd Council. They diſſuade him from a perſonal Journey to* Ireland, *and pray that a Mediation be at Home before the Breach be wider.* In the Cloſe they manifeſt *their true and hearty Affection to the Parliament of* England, proteſting *to do nothing contrary to them in their Privileges.* A Multitude of People at *Edinburgh* hearing of his Majeſty's Letter to the Council there, and of the Anſwer to it, petition'd the

Scotland.

*A.D.*1642. the Council not *to meddle by any verbal or real Engagement for the King againſt the Parliament of England*; which gave great Encouragement to their Friends in both Kingdoms.

Order about Arms and Soldiers going to York.

On the 28th of *May* the Parliament order'd that all Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, *&c.* within one hundred and fifty Miles of *York*, ſhou'd make Stay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying to *York*, and apprehend the Conveyers; and that all Sheriffs do ſuppreſs all Forces coming together by the King's Commiſſion, and all Perſons to aid them. The King in return forbids Obedience to any Ordnance of Parliament concerning the *Militia*, and ſummons the whole County of *York* to meet him at *Heworth-Moor* at a certain Day, which the Parliament declare to be againſt Law, and forbid Obedience. He told the *Yorkſhire* Men, *we cannot but declare our ſelf moſt heartily ſorry to find ſuch Separatiſts and Schiſmaticks, who preſume againſt the Law*; againſt which no Proteſtant Prince ever preſum'd ſo much as his Majeſty *to foment new Doctrines and Diſciplines*. The King did not expect that a Puritan or Presbyterian wou'd draw a Sword for him; but conſidering the Bent of the Nation turn'd that Way, where was the Policy of ſpeaking againſt them to the Men of *Yorkſhire*, where they abounded as much as in any Part of *England*? Beſides, as this is meant of the *Puritans*, there is not a Babe in Divinity but knows that the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, and the Diſcipline of the Apoſtolical Biſhops, ſuch as *Titus* and *Timothy*, which they only profeſs'd according to their primitive Purity, are many hundred Years older than the *Romiſh* Hierarchy and Idolatry, which, as *Echard* tells us, were rival'd by *Laud*. The King in a Declaration of his, deſcends to a Reflection which has ſtill more Poverty in it, and that is the imputing the Madneſs and Rage of ſome *German* Enthuſiaſts, not only to thoſe Diſſenters in *England* who go under the Denomination of *Baptiſts*, who have that *Dutch* Enthuſiaſm in Abhorrence as much as *Laud*'s Superſtition, but alſo to the whole Parliament of *England*. *Can we with Safety commit the Militia into their Hands, who in all Probabilty would be no ſooner poſſeſs'd of it, than they wou'd revive that Tragedy which Mr.* Hooker *relates of the* Anabaptiſts *in* Germany, *who talking of nothing but of Faith and of the true Fear of God, and that Riches and Honours were Vanity, at firſt upon the great Opinion of their Humility, Zeal, and Devotion, procur'd much Reverence and Eſtimation with the People; after finding how many Perſons they had enſnar'd with their Hypocriſy, they began to propoſe to themſelves to reform both the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Government*. By which is underſtood, that all the Votes and Declarations of the Parliament tending to the reforming of Abuſes in Church and State, of which we ſhall ſee preſently the King himſelf has confeſs'd enough to ſhew the Neceſſity of a Reformation, were nothing better than the Effects of the Hypocriſy and Fury of the Rabble at *Munſter*. I do not repeat his Majeſty's Anſwers and Declarations at large, for they will not bear it; they are ſo full of Evaſions, Colourings, Concealings, Aſſertions, and Denials, poſitive and arbitrary, that one can learn little by them of the Merits of the Cauſe; and when Mr. *Hyde* comes to have the penning of them, they are ſo full of Words, or as *Warwick* ſays, ſo *redundant*, we are loſt as in a Labyrinth. Mr. *Archdeacon* tells us with his uſual Conſiſtence, *The Leaders in the Parliament were confident there wou'd be no War, therefore prepar'd for it accordingly both with Men and Money*. This Preparation was the muſtering the *Train'd-Bands* of *London* in *Finsbury-Fields* before the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, who were there treated by the City. The King immediately ſent for Major-General *Skippon*, who appear'd at the Head of the *Militia*, to attend him at *York*, but the Parliament voted that he ſhou'd attend their Service as Captain of the Guards which did Duty near the Two Houſes; and if Guards were neceſſary, ſurely the Attendance of the Captain muſt be of equal Neceſſity; and the ſending for him cou'd be done with no other Deſign than to increaſe the Jealouſies of the Parliament, and turn all Hope into Deſpair. The reverend Hiſtorian highly reſents the Parliament's Orders to ſeize one *Beckwith*, who was in a Plot to deliver *Hull* to the King, but he ſinks that he was a *Papiſt*, and as my Author adds, a great Favourite at Court. The Town was to be fir'd in ſeveral Quarters upon a Sign made from *Beverley* Minſter; and while the Townſmen were buſy'd in putting out the Fire, two thouſand of the King's Forces were to aſſault it in ſeveral Places, and the Parliament's Officer, with whom *Beckwith* correſponded, and who diſcover'd the Treaſon, was at the ſame time to open a Gate. Mr. *Archdeacon*, whoſe Hiſtory is ſo well ornamented with the *Ridiculum*, aſſures us it was a very ridiculous Thing to take up *Beckwith*, and not to take up *Hotham*; but *Beckwith* was protected by the Court at *York*, and the Serjeant who came for him and other Delinquents, was us'd worſe than the Committee of the Parliament who reſided there, and were hiſs'd when they read any thing from the Lords and Commons; at which I do not wonder, for it muſt be ſuch ſort of Creatures who wou'd take Arms in the Defence of arbitrary Power, Superſtition, Idolatry, and Profaneneſs. If afterwards Men of a better Character join'd with them, it was out of Caution, Ambition, Jealouſy, or Vanity, and for want of making a right Uſe of their Underſtanding. Some of the Courtiers, the *Lunsfords* probably, ſaid openly, *Let the Parliament Men look about them, ſome of 'em will ſoon be ſhorter by the Head*. One *Hurſt* a Retainer to the Lord *Crofts*, inſulted the Committee, and was rather encourag'd than puniſh'd.

*A.D.*1642.

Parl. Chron. 118.

Parliament in the City.

Major-General Skippon.

Ld-Keeper Littleton *goes to* York.

The Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, who had been a main Promoter of the Militia Bill, being requir'd to deliver up the Seal to one *Elliot* who was ſent from *York* on purpoſe, comply'd with the Order, and the next Day follow'd *Elliot* himſelf to *York*. When he was upbraided with Abjection in ſurrendring his Office which the Parliament wou'd have ſupported him in, he excus'd himſelf on account of an Oath he had privately taken before the Seal was deliver'd to him, that he wou'd ſurrender it to the King at Demand; an odd ſort of Oath, which ſhew'd ſome Foreſight at leaſt of the future Difference between the King and the two Houſes. The Deſertion of the Keeper, as *Echard* wou'd have us believe, threw the Parliament into *Diſtraction: This great Man left them for their Exorbitancies*. All which is of a Piece, and unworthy a Scholar at *Weſtminſter*. He did not leave the Parliament for Exorbitancies, but for fear of being queſtion'd after he had ſo tamely parted with the Seal; and he had himſelf been a principal Promoter of the *Militia* Buſineſs, which was the greateſt Exorbitancy the Parliament was ever guilty of. *Whitlocke* ſays the King and Court did not regard him.

Inſolencies at York.

Parliament Deſerters.

Parl. Chron. 106.

By the Deſertion of ſeveral Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, the Court at *York* became numerous. *Ludlow* has told us what ungenerous Sentiments thoſe Deſerters were acted by; to which we have added the Envy of ſome Members to the Superiority of others in the Favour of the Two Houſe; yet nothing can be falſer than that there was not a fifth Part of the Houſe of Commons, nor above twelve Peers; for at that Time, about the Middle of *June*, there were four hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons attending the Service of the Houſe in Parliament or in the Country, or abſent with Leave; and in the Upper Houſe above thirty Peers. The King himſelf who magnify'd his Intereſt in the Number of his Attendants, did not pretend they were greater in Tale, but

A.D.1642. in *Honour, Fortune, Wiſdom, Reputation, and Weight.* It might have been added, in *Heighth, Breadth, Complexion, Shape,* &c. The Compariſon is too mean for Hiſtory, and as much without Decency as Foundation. The Names of *Northumberland, Bedford, Hampden, Hollis,* &c. ſufficiently ſhew the Vanity of it. I am ſenſible this is trifling, but I was led into it by a very great Trifler, and by Declarations, Meſſages, Hiſtories, and Characters. *The People,* ſays *Echard, were every Day recovering from their ſuperſtitious Reverence to the Two Houſes, and grew every Day ſenſible of their Duty to the King.* This Duty throughout all their Hiſtories, is the ſame with that Allegiance which the Subjects owe to Sovereigns that make the Law the Meaſure of their Government; which how King *Charles* the Firſt did, how his Father and his two Sons did, has and will be ſeen from one End of this Hiſtory to the other, eſpecially in the following nineteen Propoſitions ſent to the King at *York*, as the ſureſt Means to prevent a Breach of the Peace.

Nineteen Propoſitions.

1. " The King's Miniſters and Counſellors to " be approv'd by Parliament.
2. " Privy-Counſellors to ſign the Opinion they " give at the Council-Board.
3. " Great Officers of State to be approv'd by " Parliament.
4. " As alſo the Government of the King's Chil- " dren,
5. " And their Marriages.
6. " The Laws againſt *Papiſts* to be executed.
7. " No *Popiſh* Lord to vote in Parliament.
8. " A Reformation in the Church and Li- " turgy.
9. " The *Militia* Ordnance to be confirm'd.
10. " All Members of Parliament who have " been diſplac'd during this Seſſion, to be reſtor'd.
11. " All Privy-Counſellors and Judges to take " an Oath to maintain the *Petition* of *Right*.
12. " All Officers plac'd by Parliament, to hold " their Places *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*.
13. " Delinquents to be puniſh'd.
14. " A general Pardon with certain Excepti- " tions.
15. " Forts and Caſtles to be diſpos'd of by " Parliament.
16. " The King's new Forces to be disbanded.
17. " His Majeſty to enter into Alliance with " all reform'd States for the Recovery of the *Pa-* " *latinate*; *a Clauſe the Parliament always had at* " *Heart, and all their Enemies treated with Neglect* " *and Contempt.*
18. " The Lord *Kimbolton* and the Five Mem- " bers to be clear'd.
19. " No Peer to ſit hereafter in Parliament " without their Conſent.

The *French* Jeſuit ſays theſe Propoſals were very ſawcy, but the following Expreſſions at the end of them have no Sawce at all in them: *Theſe humble Requeſts being granted to us by your Majeſty, we ſhall endeavour, as we ought, to regulate the Revenue of your Majeſty, and to increaſe it more and more in ſuch ſort, that it ſhall ſupport the Dignity Royal with Honour and Abundance, beyond whatever the Subjects of this Kingdom allow'd to the Kings your Majeſty's Predeceſſors. We will alſo put the Town of* Hull *into ſuch Hands as your Majeſty ſhall pleaſe with the Approbation of Parliament, and will give a good Account of the Munitions of War, and of the Magazine. To conclude, we ſhall chearfully do our Endeavours to give unto your Majeſty Teſtimony of our Affection, Duty, and Faithfulneſs to preſerve and maintain your Royal Honour, the Greatneſs and Safety of your Majeſty and your Poſterity.* This according to *Echard* was receiv'd *with great Indignation*, it being much more eaſy to diſdain than to anſwer. However, the Indignation was not ſo great, but that his Majeſty in the Reply he made to it, allow'd and admitted many of the legal Rights which juſtly *belong'd to every one of the three Eſtates,* King, Lords, *and* Commons; and ſays the learned Lawyer, one wou'd have thought that Declaration *which was ſo plain and honourable,* might have been the Foundation for a good Agreement. It may be wonder'd why the Lord *Clarendon took no notice of ſo bright a Part of the King's Anſwer, unleſs the Omiſſion infer ſomebody's Inſincerity*, the King's or his own; and thus I am not the only Perſon who ſays the Book call'd *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory is not ſincere. Mr. *Archdeacon* calls the *Propoſitions unheard-of.* But the ſame learned Author who condemns the Lord *Clarendon* for *Inſincerity*, adds, *The Omiſſion in* Echard *of that material Part, is not diſagreeable to the reſt of his Miſrepreſentation; for that Hiſtorian has ſpar'd no Pains to repreſent his Majeſty's* DEPARTING *from the Rules of Law to an arbitrary Power to be in all Things* RIGHT, *and the Parliament's Proceedings to reduce that arbitrary Power, to be in all Things* WRONG; *whereas this Royal Declaration was a contradictory Judgment proceeding out of the King's own Mouth, whereby moſt of the Steps of his own Government before this Parliament, ſtand condemn'd as illegal; and yet* Echard *has rack'd his Invention to honour and even adore the one, and diſparage the other with the moſt affecting Epithets,* as far as his Capacity and Elocution extended; for his Praiſe is the moſt nauſeous Flattery, and his Diſpraiſe the moſt ſtupid Malice which ever dropp'd from ſo voluminous an Hiſtorian. Mr. *Acherley*, as ſober and judicious a Writer as any in our Time, charges *Echard* with racking his Invention to abuſe the Lords and Commons of *England*; which I think is the worſt Sort of Falſhood, and he ſpeaks not much better of *Clarendon*, which I hope is ſome Excuſe for the honeſt Liberty I have taken and ſhall take with both of them. Mr. *Acherley* has collected ſome of his Majeſty's Confeſſions quite contrary to the Lord *Clarendon*'s and Mr. *Echard*'s Hiſtories, which are thus prov'd to be falſe by King *Charles* the Firſt's Account of himſelf: *He admitted that before this Parliament he had departed from the known Laws to an arbitrary Power, and that great Miſchiefs had grown from the Exerciſe of that arbitrary Power, and that the Preſſures and Sufferings of his Subjects had proceed d from the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments; and therefore his Majeſty had reſolv'd, without putting any Gloſs upon his former Commands,* which the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* put for him in almoſt every Paragraph of their Hiſtories, *or endeavouring to make any Excuſe for his Miniſters* Buckingham, Strafford, Laud; *and he promis'd that the Meaſure of his Juſtice and Favour by way of Reparation, ſhou'd far exceed the Oppreſſions and Sufferings his good Subjects had undergone.* Yet in all his Meſſages, Anſwers, Declarations, Proclamations, there are no Expreſſions repeated with more Tautology than *the Laws, the Laws of the Land, the fundamental Laws*, tho' thoſe Laws had been ſo much invaded and abus'd, as by the King's own Confeſſions; yet himſelf, or the Penman of thoſe Papers, endeavour'd to impoſe upon the People that the King had kept to the Letter of them, and was now forc'd to take Arms in their Defence.

A.D.1642. Ach. 497. *Condemns* Clarendon & Echard. *King confeſſes his illegal Acts.*

While his Majeſty was careſſing the *Yorkſhire* Gentry and Freeholders, and liſting them in his Troops, the Parliament order'd all Deputy-Lieutenants to be preſent at Muſters, purſuant to Warrants iſſu'd by the Lord-Lieutenants of the ſeveral Counties. They alſo made an Order for bringing in Horſes and Arms, Money and Plate, for the Defence of the King and Parliament, and for preſerving the publick Peace: This was after his Majeſty had commanded Commiſſions of *Array* to be iſſu'd in moſt Parts of *England*, which is another beginning of the War on his Side. His Commiſſion for *Leiceſterſhire* was directed to the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Devon*, *Henry Haſtings* Eſq; Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, Sir *Henry Berkley*,

Militia. *Commiſſion of Array.*

A.D.1642. *Berkley*, Sir *George Villiers*, Sir *Thomas Burton*, Sir *Henry Skipwith*, Sir *John Skeffington*, Sir *Richard Holford*, Sir *Wolſtan Dixie*, Sir *Richard Roberts*, Sir *John Bolle*, Sir *Thomas Hartop*, Sir *Eraſmus de la Fountaine*, Sir *William Jones*, *Henry Haſtings* Eſq; *George Aſhby* Eſq; and *John Hale* Eſq; ſome of whom wou'd not accept of the Honour, as *George Aſhby* Eſq; and Sir *Thomas Hartop*, whom I find among the Parliament's Commiſſioners, as will be ſeen next Year. The Houſe of Commons upon the Queſtion, voted *the Commiſſion to be againſt Law, againſt the Liberty and Property of the Subject.* This did not hinder theſe *Array-men*, who underſtanding there was a Magazine of Arms and Ammunition laid up at *Leiceſter* by the Earl of *Stamford* Lord-Lieutenant of the County, order'd Mr. *Haſtings* the Sheriff to ſeize it. Accordingly he came to *Leiceſter* with a good Troop of Horſe under Pretence of guarding the Judges at the Aſſizes, which the Committee of Parliament in the *North* having Notice of, Information was given to the Two Houſes, who order'd three Companies of Foot to be rais'd for the Defence of the Magazine. The Captains nominated for this Employment, were Major *Gray*, Dr. *Baſtwick*, and Captain *Ludlow* the General's Brother, who repar'd to *Leiceſter* to raiſe their Companies, but before they had compleated them, the King with all his Cavalry, conſiſting of about two thouſand Horſe, arriv'd at *Leiceſter*, againſt whom three Companies being no way ſufficient to defend the Town, the three Officers reſolv'd only to ſecure the Place where the Magazine lay; which not being large enough to receive above one Company, Major *Gray* remain'd there with his Men, and Dr. *Baſtwick* and Captain *Ludlow* diſpers'd theirs, and ſet forwards for *London*, but had not rode many Miles before they were ſeiz'd by the Sheriff's Troop, brought back to *Leiceſter*, and from thence ſent to the common Goal at *York*; where, according to the Cavalier manner, they were cruelly treated. Theſe were the firſt Priſoners, and the King's Men took them. Major *Gray* capitulated, and the Magazine was ſent to the ſeveral Parts of the County for which it was provided.

Magazine at Leiceſter.

Ludlow, 29.

The Parliament, who by no means wanted Intelligence, had early Intimation of the Queen's carrying off the Crown Jewels to pawn them in *Holland*, againſt which they paſs'd a Vote, declaring all ſuch as brought Money into *England* which was borrow'd upon them, or paid any Bill upon that Account, *to be Promoters of the War intended by the King, and to be Enemies to the State.*

Crown Jewels.

A Committee was appointed to take Care that all Votes and Orders of the Houſe ſhou'd be *divulg'd, diſpers'd*, and *publiſh'd*; which Committee were Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Samuel Rolle*, *Arthur Goodwyn* Eſq; Mr. *Pury*, Mr. *Noble*.

Committee for Votes & Orders.

The Houſe of Lords took into Conſideration the Deſertion of ſeveral Peers to the King at *York*, and voted an Order for their Appearance on Pain of Delinquency. A Summons was ſent to them, and they return'd an Anſwer the 4th of *June*, ſubſcrib'd by *Northampton, Devonſhire, Dover, Monmouth, Rich, Andover, Grey* of *Ruthen, Coventry, Capel*; wherein they told the Houſe of Lords, *they hop'd no Character wou'd be fix'd upon them but what became Men of Honour to hear.* The Houſe of Commons impeach'd them for deſerting the Parliament, and refuſing to return upon Summons, and the Lords paſs'd Sentence againſt them not to ſit or vote in that Houſe during this Seſſion of Parliament, not to enjoy parliamentary Privilege, and to ſtand committed to the *Tower* during the Pleaſure of the Houſe. The Houſe of Commons laid a Mulct of an hundred Pounds upon every one of their own Members who abſented themſelves from the Service of the Houſe; ſo deſirous were they to have their Aſſembly full, and the Senſe of the Nation to be as general as poſſible; and ſo far from uſing Artifices to leſſen their Number, and pack a Company for private Ends, as the Archdeacon more than once intimates with equal Modeſty and Truth.

Lords Deſerters.

Houſe of Commons.

A.D.1642.

The Commiſſioners of *Array* beginning their Work in the Country, and putting the People in Motion, the Parliament quicken'd the Execution of the Ordnance for the *Militia*, which in a great Meaſure fruſtrated the Deſigns of the *Array-Men*, who, if they had ſucceeded, wou'd ſoon have got a Power together with the King at the Head of it, which wou'd have diſpers'd the Parliament, and conſequently have utterly deſtroy'd the Conſtitution, as was the Queen's Deſign, which the King did not diſlike. *Orleans* ſays, "The Queen was zealous for reſtoring the "Catholick Religion, full of that Spirit which "warms the Blood of abſolute Monarchs. A li- "mited Authority ſeem'd to the Queen no better "than Servitude, which caus'd her to make the "utmoſt Efforts to reſcue the King her Husband "from it. She always had a Nuntio with her; ſhe "openly correſponded with the Catholick Lords; "ſhe ſtood up with Heat for every Thing that "regarded the Church. The King gave her full "Liberty, and ſupported her, which made it ſuſ- "pected he was no thorough Proteſtant; and the "Zeal with which he promoted the Archbiſhop's "Deſign, gave his Enemies good Ground to ac- "cuſe him of being a Catholick. What can be plainer? "The Queen is reſolv'd to eſtabliſh Po- "pery and arbitrary Power:" The King ſupports her in it; the Archbiſhop has a Deſign too againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the King promotes it; the *French* Jeſuit who wrote his Hiſtory in Concert with King *James*, tells us ſo; and if we had an hundred other Proofs of their Reſolution and Deſign to alter Religion and Government, one might take Father *Orleans*'s Words for it.

The ill Deſign of the Court.

On the 19th of *June* the Two Houſes reſolv'd, that all thoſe who are Actors in putting the Commiſſion of *Array* in *Execution, ſhall be deem'd Diſturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and Betrayers of the Liberty of the Subject.* We have mention'd the firſt Attempt to diſturb the Peace and betray the Peoples Liberties, which was made by Mr. *Haſtings* in *Leiceſterſhire*. The ſame Commiſſion was begun to be executed in *Cambridgeſhire*, but the County ſuppreſs'd it, and petition'd the Parliament for Arms to ſtand on their Defence againſt that malignant Part.

Parliament.

Sir *Richard Gurny* Lord-Mayor of *London*, had been ſo much flatter'd by the Courtiers for his Loyalty, that he gave himſelf up entirely to them, and proclaim'd the Commiſſion of *Array* notwithſtanding he had been warn'd to the contrary by the Houſe of Lords, who committed him to the *Tower* for his Contempt, and depriv'd him of his Mayoralty. The Ordnance for the *Militia* took Effect in the City under the Management of Sir *John Wollaſton*, Alderman *Gibs*, Alderman *Towſe*, Alderman *Warner*, and other Magiſtrates, the moſt wealthy and eminent Citizens. The King to obſtruct them ſent for Sir *John Wollaſton* and Alderman *Gibs* to attend him at *York*, but the Parliament commanded their Attendance at *London*, and declar'd it was againſt the *Laws of the Land*, for which his Majeſty declares himſelf a Champion, *to command any of his Subjects to attend him, but only ſuch as are bound by ſpecial Service*; which I am ſure is agreeable to common Senſe, if not to common Law.

London Militia.

The Earl of *Northampton* was very officious with his Commiſſion of *Array* in *Warwickſhire*, but to as little Purpoſe as Sir *Richard Gurny* in *London*, for the *Militia* Ordnance being executed there by the Lord *Brook*, no leſs than eight hundred Horſe and two thouſand Foot appear'd to ſupport it. Upon which the Earl of *Northampton* dropp'd his Commiſſion,

Earl of Northampton.

Lord Brook.

A.D.1642. miſſion, and made Haſte back to the King at *York*.

Cheſhire. In *Cheſhire*, Earl *Rivers*, a *Papiſt*, who had lately been an Occaſional Conformiſt, taking the Oath of Allegiance to qualify him to do Miſchief, impriſon'd ſeveral Perſons for not obeying his Commiſſion of *Array*; and the Papiſts were grown ſo preſumptuous in thoſe Parts, by the Countenance of the Lord *Rivers*, and Sir *Thomas Aſton*, that they demanded the Re-delivery of their Arms, which had been taken from them according to Law; but the Ordnance of the *Militia* being put in Execution, above three Fourths of the County fell in with it. All theſe Attempts, the great Proviſion made for War by the Queen and Cavaliers in *Holland*, are with *Echard* only Evidences that the King never intended to break the Peace. *It was a Matter of Wonder*, ſays that wiſe Man, *and ſtill remains Matter of Cenſure, that the King never put himſelf into a Poſture of Defence:* He had indeed rais'd Horſe and Foot in *Yorkſhire*, and was preparing to beſiege *Hull:* He had try'd what he cou'd do with Commiſſions of *Array*, to ſet the People every where in Arms; which not ſucceeding as it was hop'd, Mr. Archdeacon wonders that he did not do what he could not do better than he did. He is perfectly well vers'd in the Cant of the Court Declarations, the *Law*, the *Laws of the Land*, the *Fundamental Laws*; and not only the King, who confeſs'd that he had been breaking of them ſixteen Years, but all the Lords and Gentlemen who made ſo glorious an Appearance at *York*, were ſuch, who by *regular Obſervance of the Laws, had render'd themſelves unblameable to the People*, by whoſe Repreſentative a great Number of them lay under Impeachment for the breach of them. I am not at all ſurpriz'd at that prodigious Falſity, where he informs us, that the Parliament collected *eleven Millions* Sterling only out of *London*, *Middleſex* and *Eſſex*, by their Order for bringing in Money and Plate; the whole Sum collected by them ſince their Seſſion, being but 1,267,326 Pounds: A Man that cou'd believe *eleven* Millions were rais'd in *London*, and two Counties, muſt be well acquainted with the Caſh and Stock of the Nation, and very well deſerve our Attention to what he reports. He confirms it by another *Falſity*, that the *Lecturing Preachers* accurs'd all thoſe that did not bring in their Plate and Money. This Order was made the 10th of *June*, and was introduc'd with the Cauſe of it, the levying Forces, and iſſuing Commiſſions of *Array* by the King, which oblig'd the two Houſes to provide for their Safety, and the Preſervation of the publick Peace. The Security of the Parliament, which was their own, and the Intereſt at eight *per Cent*, brought in Treaſure enough in a few Days, to anſwer their preſent Occaſions.

The ſending for the Aldermen of *London*, was back'd with a Letter to forbid the Citizens lending Money: His Majeſty's Counſellors cou'd not but know that all theſe Letters expos'd his Authority, which cou'd not have its due Weight, while 'twas exercis'd in Defiance of the Parliament.

Letters intercepted by the Parliament. In the mean Time Letters were intercepted coming from *Holland*, in which 'twas ſaid, *There are Fourſcore Gentlemen ready to tranſport themſelves to* York; *that much Money had been got upon the Jewels, and all ſorts of Arms of Proof were provided*, in order to preſerve the Quiet of the Kingdom, and defend the Privileges of Parliament, as was the Cant at *York*; that *Prince* Rupert *was ſhipping Horſe, and one* Lightfoot, *a Merchant, had bought* 15000 *Pounds of Powder, and was buying Match*; *that one Jewel was pawn'd for* 40000 *Guilders*; *that in a Ketch belonging to one* White *of* Dover, *there were many Fats of Match, with Proviſion of War*; *that Prince* Rupert, *Prince* Maurice, *Lord* Denby, *Lord* Digby, Oneal *the* Iriſh *Traytor*, *Sir* Lewis Dives, *Colonel* Wilſon, *Colonel* Cockram, *and that brave Captain* Hyde, *were ready to imbark, being very jocund, and had in their Cups made Dividends of the Parliament Mens Lands.* A Letter from General *Wilmot* to Mr. *Crofts*, was alſo intercepted, wherein he wrote him the naked Truth, and ſpoke the Sentiments of his Heart; by which one may ſee, how the Cavaliers deluded one another with falſe Reports, and vain Hopes; the *King is become the Favourite of the Kingdom: His Enemies are not able to raiſe an Army: Indeed here lies the Jeſt, for they will be follow'd juſt enough to forfeit their Eſtates, which I have heard you ſay often, were better beſtow'd on ſome of us*; and without doubt 'twas with this View, that the Appearance was ſo glorious at *York*; that ſo many Lords and Gentlemen deſerted the Country Intereſt, and embark'd with the Court. *Yeſterday*, continues *Wilmot*, *the Houſe ſent for* Berkley, Aſhburnham, *and my ſelf, but the King gave the Meſſenger a ſhort Anſwer, and an Officer or two gave him a ſhort Cudgel, ſo he return'd to* London *with his Arm in a Scarf, like a fine Gentleman:* It muſt be own'd the Cavaliers were very good at Cudgelling, when they had Liquor and Number on their Side. They are like to have their Bellyfuls of it in a little while. A.D.1642.

Lords at York. The King being ſurrounded with ſuch a ſhining Circle of Lords, we are told their Lordſhips were deſir'd to ſign a Paper, containing the Particulars of ſome Affronts they had receiv'd in the Tumults at *London*, as good Reaſons for their Abſence; but theſe Lords having the next Day thought better of it, deſir'd the Paper might not be publiſh'd, and ſome of them declar'd if it was, they would diſown it; which ſhews us how little Regard was had to ſtrict Truth in thoſe Papers: For if what the Court had prepar'd for their Lordſhips to ſign, had been ſtrictly true, they needed not to have diſown'd it, nor to have been afraid of its being ſeen. *Echard*, without entring into any ſuch ſcrupulous Conſiderations, tells us, the *Paper* wou'd have been of ſovereign Uſe, if the Lords had not repented of their ſigning it, and would have ſuffer'd it to have been made Publick: But to make ſome Atonement, they enter'd into an Engagement the next Day, *To obey no Orders nor Commands, but what were warranted by the known Laws of the Land.* As for Inſtance, the Ordnance for the *Militia*, which was declar'd to be the *Law* of the *Land*, by the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, who was the firſt Peer who ſet his Hand to this contradictory Agreement; in which was added, *the Defence of his Majeſty's Perſon, Crown and Dignity*; *the true Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſh'd by the* Law of the *Land, the Liberties of the Subject, the Privileges of Parliament:* The Subſcribers were, Lord Keeper *Littleton*, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Earl of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Huntington*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Earl of *Briſtol*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, Earl *Rivers*, Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Earl of *Dover*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, Earl of *Newport*, Lord *Mowbray* and *Matravers*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Lord *Howard* of *Charlton*, Lord *Newark*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Chandos*, Lord *Falconbridge*, Lord *Powlet*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Saville*, Lord *Dunſmore*, Lord *Seymour*, and the nine Lords expelled the Houſe of Peers, for deſerting their Duty in Parliament. They alſo ſign'd a Paper, wherein they profeſs'd before God, *That the King had no Intention to make War upon the Parliament*; which we alſo have ſhewn already, and ſhall ſhew again and again, before the Year is out. The Earl of *Salisbury* was ſo ill ſatisfy'd with this Service, that he left *York* the next Day, and was readmitted to his Seat in Parliament.

Engagement ſign'd by Lords at York.

His Majeſty, to enable him to go through with the Deſign he had on Foot, offer'd the Security of his

The King raiſes Money.

A.D 1642. his *Lands, Foreſts and Houſes, to ſuch as wou'd advance Money,* which he ſaid was a *more real Security* than that of the Parliament; but he found the People thought otherwiſe, and had former *Loans* too much in their Head, to crowd to *York* with their Treaſure, though ſeveral Lords, Gentlemen and Clergymen, contributed according to their Abilities, both of Mind and Purſe. Mr. Archdeacon has a very clear way of expreſſing himſelf; the King was ſo far from being in a Condition to make War, that *he had not one Poſt*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* having, ſays he, juſt *ſecur'd that Town upon the* Tyne, *for his Majeſty's Uſe*; and juſt then the Ship *Providence* arriv'd from *Holland*, with Powder, Arms, Artillery great and ſmall, to let the World ſee the King had no Intention to make War; ſo immediately after theſe Stores were brought to *York*, he granted Commiſſions for raiſing Regiments of Horſe and Foot, and made the Earl of *Lindſey* General of his Army, Sir *Jacob Aſhley* Major-General; all which was before the Parliament voted the raiſing an Army, or declared a General; and was a very plain Proof that the King was determin'd for War, and that the Parliament was not. They wanted not early Information of every Step that was taken at *York*, nor Wiſdom to guard againſt it. To that End they order'd the Earl of *Warwick* to ſecure the Fleet, as is already hinted; the King wrote to the Earl, to deliver it up to *Pennington*, another ſuch truſty Perſon as *Lunsford*, which was obey'd like the Letter to the *Londoners*, to lend no Money. His Lordſhip writing to Mr. *Pym*, ſaid, "I reſolv'd, "however, not to defer taking on me the Charge "committed to my Truſt, wherein God hath "made me hitherto ſo ſucceſsful, but to continue "it till it ſhall be revok'd by the Authority which "entruſted me; which having declar'd to my "Captains at a Council of War, all of them unanimouſly and chearfully took the ſame Reſolution, excepting five, who were the Rear-Admiral, Captain *Fogg*, Captain *Barley*, Captain *Slingsby*, "and Captain *Wake*, who at firſt pretended to "ſtand in their Defence againſt me, only Captain "*Barley* came in and ſubmitted. The next Morning I weigh'd Anchor, and caus'd the reſt of my "Ships to do ſo. All Things being in a Readineſs to attack thoſe who ſtood out, Sir *John* "*Mennes*, the Rear-Admiral, and Captain *Fogg*, "came in to me, but *Slingsby* and *Wake* refus'd "ſtill, whereby I let fly again over them, and "ſent them word I had turn'd up the Glaſs, and "if in that Space they came not in, they muſt "look for me aboard them: My own Boat, and "moſt of the Boats in the Fleet, went with the "Meſſage, and their Anſwer was ſo peremptory, "that my Maſter and Sailors grew impatient, and "though they had no Arms at all, enter'd the "Ships in a Moment, took hold of the Shrouds, "ſeiz'd the Captains, ſtruck their Yards and Top-"maſts, and brought them in to me." All this was doing, while the King was *privately reſolving* to take the Fleet into his own Hands, which the Parliament had publickly reſolv'd to take into theirs. Mr. Archdeacon gives us a tedious Account of the *private Reſolution*, which being a *Reckoning* without one's Hoſt, is equally vain and impertinent; *Doubtleſs had Sir* John Pennington *been there, the greateſt Part of the Fleet had been preſerv'd for the King.* The Truth is, he ſtaid all the while at *Dover*, to ſee whether any of the Ships wou'd receive him as Admiral: But all the Commanders ſign'd a Writing, *That they would readily obey the Earl of* Warwick, *and not deſert the Parliament.* Which Writing his Lordſhip ſent to the two Houſes, and ſoon after took the *Lyon*, a Ship of 42 Guns, which had in her Company a little Ship, loaden with Gunpowder and Ammunition for his Majeſty's Uſe. The King reclaim'd the two Ships, but the Earl refus'd to part with them.

Earl of Warwick *and the Fleet.*

His Majeſty, to give further Proof of his peaceable Intentions, ſet out from *Beverley* on the 6th of *July*, with 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, to beſiege *Hull.* Pray obſerve, as yet there was no Army voted to be rais'd, nor no General in Nomination for the Parliament. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham*, were detatch'd from the King's Army with 200 Men, to cut off all Supplies from *Barton upon Humber.* Sir *John Hotham*, Governor of *Hull*, drown'd the Country about the Town, and ſent the Parliament Information of the Siege with which he was threatned. The two Houſes order'd two Men of War to *Hull*, the Captains of which were to obey *Hotham*, and publiſh'd a Declaration, that they would make good the Damage the Country receiv'd by Drowning it, and ſatisfy and protect all Perſons that ſhould convey Supplies to the Town. The Cavaliers burnt the Town Mills, but not without Loſs of ſome Men from the Cannon ou the Walls. However this is not to be deem'd a War, burning of Mills not being Bloodſhed. The Earl of *Newport* was wounded in one of the Skirmiſhes between the Beſiegers and the Beſieged. Now it was that *Beckwith*'s Plot, before-mention'd, was diſcover'd, which ſo enrag'd the Inhabitants, that they took Arms almoſt to a Man, for the Defence of the Place. About the latter end of *July*, Sir *John Meldrum* ſally'd out with 500 Men, who being very well known to the Train'd-Bands in the King's Army, the latter refus'd to Fight, and the reſt of the Forces that were with them took to their Heels, leaving 30 of their Company behind them Priſoners, but two only were kill'd. Sir *John Meldram* made another Salley with 60 Horſe, and 300 Foot, who drove away thoſe of the Cavaliers who were neareſt the Town, kill'd 21, and took 15; after which he advanc'd to *Aulbie*, about four Miles from *Hull*, where the King's Magazine was kept in a Barn; Sir *John* vigorouſly attack'd the Guard, who made ſmall Reſiſtance; and being moſtly Train'd-Bands, threw away their Arms, and fled to their ſeveral Homes. This Loſs oblig'd the King to give over all Thoughts of reducing *Hull*, and to remove the Seat of the War which he had begun, into the Heart of the Kingdom. To cover this Diſgrace at *Hull*, the Lord *Clarendon*, and *Echard* after him, tell us a long Story of the Lord *Digby*'s correſponding with *Hotham* to betray the Town. He came from *Holland* in a Bark, which was taken, and carry'd into *Hull*, where he made himſelf known to the Governor Sir *John Hotham*, and ſo debauch'd him by his Perſuaſions and Flatteries, that *Hotham* commenc'd that Treaſon, for which he afterwards ſuffer'd, though he cou'd not accompliſh it, for the brave Sir *John Meldrum*, Lieutenant-Governor of the Town, could not be corrupted; and indeed it is aſtoniſhing, that ſo many gallant Men, in Appearance and Character, were ſo liable to Corruption, and cou'd be tempted by vain Titles, and imaginary Honours, to deſert the beſt Cauſe in the World, that of Religion and Liberty, and eſpouſe the worſt, abſolute Lawleſs Power, Superſtition and Perſecution. The Townſmen of *Hull* were zealouſly engag'd with *Meldrum*, and the Earl of *Warwick* appearing in Sight with the Fleet, the King no ſooner ſaw the Admiral's Flag than he thought it was high Time for him to march off.

A.D. 1642. *The King before* Hull. Hull *beſieg'd by the King.*

The Parliament being not to be perſuaded by all theſe peaceable Diſpoſitions, that there was no War intended againſt them, RESOLV'D on the 12th of *July*, that an Army be forthwith rais'd for the *Safety of the King's Perſon, Defence of both Houſes of Parliament, and of thoſe who have obey'd their Orders and Commands, and preſerving of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdom:* RESOLV'D, *That the Earl of* Eſſex *ſhall be General:* RESOLV'D, *That in this Cauſe, for*

The Parliament raiſes an Army.

Earl of Eſſex *made General.*

A.D.1642 *for the Safety of the King's Perſon*, &c. as before, *This Houſe will live and die with the Earl of* Eſſex, *whom they have nominated General:* RESOLV'D, *That a Petition be fram'd to move his Majeſty to a good Accord with his Parliament, to prevent a Civil War:* To which Reſolution the Lords agreed, and the Earl of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, were order'd to repair to *Beverley*, and preſent the Petition to his Majeſty. The Earl of *Bedford* was voted General of the Horſe, and a Declaration was made upon it, ſhewing in many Particulars that the King had begun the War.

Earl of Bedford *General of the Horſe.*

The King began the War.

1. " By Mr. *Haſtings* oppoſing the Sheriff of " *Leiceſter* in the Execution of his Office, to keep " the Peace, with 200 Foot, and 100 Horſe.

2. " By putting a Garriſon of Soldiers into *New-* " *caſtle*, under the Earl of that Name, who was " order'd to ſeize *Hull*, and would have ſeiz'd it, " had not the Parliament prevented it.

3. " By fortifying the Mouth of the River *Tyne*, " to intercept the Coal Trade between *Newcaſtle* " and *London*.

4. " By ſending for, and receiving Artillery, " Gunpowder and warlike Stores from *Holland*.

5. " By warlike Preparations in *Yorkſhire*, iſſu- " ing Commiſſions for raiſing Regiments, and " naming Officers of the Army, in which are ſe- " veral *Papiſts*, and other Perſons of deſperate " Fortune, ready to execute any Violence, Rapine " and Oppreſſion. Troops of Horſe are ſent into " *Lincolnſhire*, who have driven the well-affected " People from their Dwellings. Horſes are taken " away from the Owners by Force, Acts of Ho- " ſtility are committed, Proviſions are reſtrain'd " from coming to *Hull*, and an Army ſent to be- " ſiege it. They conclude, The WAR being by " his *Majeſty thus* BEGUN, *the Lords and Com-* " *mons in Parliament held themſelves bound in Con-* " *ſcience to raiſe Forces for the Defence of their* " *Religion, Rights, Liberties and Properties*, in which " they deſire the Concurrence of all well-diſpos'd " Perſons." With whatever Confidence the Archdeacon tells his Readers that the Parliament *began the War*, it is notorious that all thoſe Articles are true, and that the King actually began it with the Siege of *Hull*; *he inveſted the Town with his Army*, ſays *Larrey*, *he laid Siege to it in Form, and open'd the Trenches*. Again, This firſt Enterprize of the Royal Army, *preſag'd but indifferently for the King*: Again, *The King's Troops firſt took the Field.*

Marſton *a malignant Clergyman.*

There was not at this Time wanting a great Number of *Laudean* Clergy, who though they durſt not preach ſo openly againſt the Rights and Liberties of the People, as when *Laud* was at their Head, yet they could not forbear expreſſing their Rage againſt thoſe who aſſerted and defended them. One *Marſton*, a Parſon in *Canterbury*, was brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, for ſpeaking ſcandalouſly of the two Houſes, ſaying, *He would ſtab the Hearts Blood of thoſe who oppos'd the* Kentiſh *Petition againſt the* Militia BILL, *That the Parliament cozened and cheated the Country, and that there would be Bloodſhed in* England *before* Midſummer *Day*, and there was within three Weeks of it; for which Sayings he was ſentenc'd *to be depriv'd of all his Eccleſiaſtical Livings and Dignities, to be incapable of any for the future, and to be impriſon'd in the Gatehouſe during their Lordſhips Pleaſure.*

Petition at Beverley.

The Earl of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, deliver'd the Parliament's Petition to the King at *Beverley*, wherein they pray'd him to disband his Forces, recall his Commiſſions of *Array*, and return to his Parliament. But he refus'd it all, purſuant to the Scheme reſolv'd on by the Queen's Cabinet Council at *Windſor*, to proſecute the *accuſed Members* with War, and Force of Arms; and while he prepar'd for it, to deny all Particulars that could poſſibly be deny'd, to the

Ach. 457.

Parliament, which is what the Reverend Hiſtorian calls his *firm Reſolution*; and his Majeſty in his Anſwer does not a little confirm the juſt Fears of the Parliament, that he intended to reſcind all the good Acts to which he had given the *Royal Aſſent*, during their Seſſion; for he ſaid, *He had never conſented to any Thing ſince the beginning of the Parliament, which had been prejudicial to him, but he had been promis'd he ſhould receive no Damage from it, and yet he always found himſelf miſtaken.* A very frank Confeſſion that he thought himſelf injur'd by the popular Acts he had paſs'd, and might right himſelf by Arms, *he would be no more ſwagger'd into Conceſſions*, ſays the Earl of *Clarendon*; which as Mr. *Acherley* obſerves, *implies as if his Majeſty's Sentiments were, that the former Acts had been extorted; and the Opinion of the People was become almoſt general, that thoſe Acts of his Majeſty's Juſtice and Favour, without the ſecret Operation of the* Scots *Encampment in* England, *had never been obtain'd; and that therefore thoſe arbitrary Powers, call'd his Majeſty's Rights and Prerogatives, would, whenever the Force could be reſum'd, be remov'd.* This Belief being ſo general, was there any other Safety under Heaven for the Parliament and People of *England*, but that of the *Militia*, in the Hands of thoſe they could truſt? For beſides all the open Acts of Violence which have been juſt mention'd, and all the warlike Preparations in *England* and *Holland*, Mr. *Acherley* ſpeaks of Negotiations with the Pope's *Nuntio* to procure 40000 Men from the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; of a Treaty with the King of *Denmark*, which was unqueſtionable, for 6000 Muskets, and 1500 Horſe-Arms, 20 Pieces of Artillery, and as many Troopers as wou'd agree with the *Daniſh* Affairs. Directions were given for landing them at *Newcaſtle*, ſecur'd for that Purpoſe by the Earl of that Name, or *Holy-Iſland*, which laſt Place was deſcrib'd as the fitteſt *Harbour* in *England*, having an excellent Road in and out, and a ſtrong Fort, under the King's Command. After all theſe known Truths had been render'd unqueſtionable, with what Conſcience could the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, and Mr. *Echard*, endeavour to impoſe on their Readers a Belief that the Parliament drove on furiouſly to a War, and the King never thought of it, till he was almoſt ſurrounded by their Armies? Mr. Archdeacon tells us, the King had no Money. *Whitlocke, he was furniſh'd with Money upon the pawn'd Jewels, and by Contributions from the* Cavalier Lords and Gentlemen, and a Loan from *Oxford* Univerſity, who have never been behind-hand when any ſuch good Work has been going forward. The Maſters and Fellows of all the Colleges in *Cambridge*, ſent their Plate to the King at *York*; ſo anxious were thoſe Reverend Gentlemen for the Preſervation of the publick Peace; *Many wiſhing*, *ſays* Fuller, *that every Ounce was a Pound.* The *Parliament look'd on it as an Act unjuſt in it ſelf, and dangerous in its Conſequences*; *for the preſent Maſters and Fellows were only* Fiduciaries, *not* Proprietors *of the Plate, to keep and uſe, but not to diſpoſe of it:* The Univerſity took not this into Conſideration. The Dominion of the *Laudean* Clergy was in Danger, and a Church Reformation threaten'd. Nothing but the King's abſolute Power could prevent it, and the Maintenance of it warranted any Injuſtice. His Majeſty did not enquire into the Title of the Maſters and Fellows to that Plate, but the Parliament brought the Univerſity to a Reckoning for it afterwards; Dr. *Beal*, Dr. *Martin*, and Dr. *Sterne*, Maſters of St. *John*'s, *Queens* and *Jeſus* College, were brought to *London*, and impriſon'd in the *Tower* for their Activity in the Plate Buſineſs, as was Dr. *Holdſworth*, the *Vicechancellor*, for printing the King's Declaration, contrary to a Vote of the two Houſes. A Conſiſtory being held at *Cambridge*, they were requir'd to contribute to the Parliament, as they had done to the

A.D.1642.

Oxford *Univerſity.*

And Cambridge.

*A.D.*1642. King, but they refus'd it, and ſome of the Fellows were impriſon'd in St. *John*'s College. Dr. *Robert Pink* Warden of *New-College Oxon*, and Vice-chancellor of that Univerſity, was very buſy there in forwarding the Commiſſion of *Array*, which the honeſt Townſmen did not approve of, and for which he was afterwards apprehended and committed Priſoner to the *Gatehouſe* at *Weſtminſter*; ſo zealous were our two famous Univerſities for abſolute Monarchy and Biſhop *Laud*'s Hierarchy, and ſo little Concern had they for the Preſervation of the true Proteſtant Religion, and the Rights, Properties, and Liberties of their Fellow Subjects. Learning never flouriſh'd long but with Liberty, and their being inſenſible of ſo invaluable a Bleſſing, was a ſure Preſage of the Dearth of it which ſucceeded.

From *Beverley* the King remov'd to *Leiceſter*, where he courted the Inhabitants, but proclaim'd the Earl of *Stamford* Traytor; he might as well have been proclaim'd an *Hermaphrodite*. Where was the Treaſon in obeying the Call of his Country, and preparing to defend it from Violence and Injuſtice? The two Houſes vindicated him by a Declaration for removing the County Magazine, and ſetting Guards about it; and return'd an Anſwer to a Meſſage from the King peremptorily requiring the Town of *Hull* to be immediately ſurrender'd to him, and the Parliament to remove their Seſſion to ſome other Place where he might reſide ſafely. The Two Houſes juſtify'd their keeping *Hull* "for the Security of Religion, the Rights "and Liberties of the People, all which they ſaw "in imminent Danger, but no Reaſon why his "Majeſty ſhou'd require the adjourning of the "Parliament, ſince the Loyalty and Fidelity of the "City of *London, and the honeſt Care of the Two* "*Houſes, render the uſual Place as ſafe for his Roy*"*al Perſon as any.*" *Thus*, ſays *Echard, they denounced War*, which his Majeſty had only whiſper'd in *Yorkſhire*, by raiſing an Army, laying Siege to *Hull*, *&c.* We have mention'd Sir *Richard Gurny*, whom he calls the BRAVE Lord-Mayor, and affirms he was put out of his Office contrary to the *Laws of the Land*, and Alderman *Pennington* choſen Mayor contrary *to the Rules of Election, and by the Noiſe and Clamour of the* RABBLE; which to ſay the worſt we can of it, is as falſe as any Thing in his Hiſtory: For the Rules of Election were exactly obſerv'd by *Pennington*, but Sir *John Cordel* whom the *Cavalier* Faction put up againſt him, had many Voters who had never before been ſeen at Elections, and were not on the Livery; *theſe with clamorous Voices*, to uſe my Author's Words, *cry'd out a* Cordel, *others were for Alderman* Towſe *a worthy grave Citizen*; *but the moſt numerous and hearty Votes were for Alderman* Pennington, *who had more Voices than* Towſe, *and* Towſe *more than* Cordel. Yet the reverend Hiſtorian very modeſtly aſſerts he was choſen by the Clamour of the Multitude; and that Judge *Mallet* was another Object of the Parliament's Severity, who for refuſing to read their Orders, was diſgracefully taken off the Bench at *Kingſton* Aſſizes. This was particularly charg'd againſt him; yet the Author's next Words are, *he was kept Priſoner in the* Tower *two Years without any particular Charge againſt him.* Another particular Charge was his promoting the Commiſſion of *Array* in *Kent*. When he was ſeiz'd, he produc'd the King's Letter for his Protection, which was not likely to do him much Service when his Majeſty had begun the War.

Alderman Pennington choſen Ld-Mayor.

Parl. Chron. 167.

Judge Mallet impriſon'd.

The two Parties King and Parliament have now appeal'd to the Sword; the natural Conſequence of which was, that each of them wou'd give the Law where they had Power to do it, as far as was neceſſary for their Preſervation. Yet the Earl of *Clarendon*, and after him *Echard*, are perpetually holding up their Hands in Aſtoniſhment, that the Two Houſes ſhou'd dare to do or ſay any thing contrary to the *Authority Royal*, which is with both of them *the only Law of the Land.* The Parliament have declar'd that Authority to be exercis'd in Breach of the Truſt for which it was repos'd; and yet theſe two renown'd Hiſtorians are amaz'd at their Impudence in oppoſing it, after they had raiſed an Army to defend themſelves againſt the Violence with which they were threaten'd by it: For the Clouds began now to riſe in the *South* as well as the *North*; *Goring* whom they had ſent to *Portſmouth* to ſecure that Town for them, prov'd a Traytor, deſerted their Service, and declar'd for the King. The Parliament immediately order'd the Earl of *Warwick*, who was return'd from *Hull*, to place a Guard of Ships, and hinder all Supplies to *Portſmouth* by Sea, while the Train'd-Bands block'd it up by Land. *Goring*'s Men found Means to make their Way thro' them by Night, and to plunder *Portſey-Iſland*. The Lord *Wentworth* ſally'd out with ſixty Horſe, and took a Piece of Ordnance which the Parliament's Soldiers had left in that Iſland. In another Salley Colonel *Goring* and the Lord *Wentworth* advanc'd to the very Court of Guard in the Blockade; but being receiv'd very warmly, they retir'd with the Loſs of three Men, one *Glover*, and a Servant to Mr. *Weſton* Brother to the Earl of *Portland*, were two of the ſlain, *Winter* their Guide was taken. This was about ten Days before the King ſet up his Standard, and the Place held out againſt the Parliament's Forces near a Month. It was then ſurrender'd to Sir *William Waller* upon Articles. Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Thomas Jervaiſe*, Sir *William Lewis*, and Colonel *Hurrey* took Poſſeſſion of it for the Parliament. The Governor Colonel *Goring*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Mr. *Lewkner*, Mr. *Weſton*, and their Party, having Liberty to depart and to diſpoſe of their Effects. *Goring* embark'd for *Holland*, but ſoon return'd to the ſame Service in *England*, and became one of the moſt famous and moſt hated of the King's Generals.

*A.D.*1642.

Portſmouth.

The Parliament having voted all the Commiſſioners of *Array* Traytors, the King did the ſame by the Earl of *Eſſex* and all the Colonels and Officers of his Army, which ſtill remain'd quiet in and about *London*.

Earl of Eſſex proclaim'd TRAYTOR.

On the 12th of *Auguſt* the King publiſh'd his Proclamation and Declaration very large, ſetting forth what he had done in Favour of the People, and for the Satisfaction of the Deſires of the Parliament; then the evil Actions of the Parliament againſt him; and in all juſtifies his own, and condemns the Parliament's Proceedings. His own are thus repreſented by General *Ludlow* upon his rejecting the NINETEEN Propoſitions, "He was "reſolv'd to ſteer another Courſe, preſuming he "might obtain as good Terms as theſe if reduc'd "to the laſt Extremity; and that if his Arms ſuc"ceeded according to his Hopes, his Will might "paſs for a Law, purſuant to the Opinion of thoſe "who thought no way ſo likely to render his Au"thority abſolute, as the making a War upon his "People." The King at the ſame time requir'd all Men to repair to his ROYAL STANDARD at *Nottingham* on the 22d of *Auguſt*, *which*, he ſaid, *all good Subjects were oblig'd to attend.* Let the King govern according to Law, or contrary to Law, let him do what he will, let his Subjects ſuffer what they can, they are not good Subjects unleſs they ſacrifice their Lives for him. Excellent Logick!

King.

The Two Houſes finding there was no Safety for the Conſtitution but in a *defenſive War*, proceeded in the forming of their Army; the Earl of *Pembroke* was made Lieutenant-General of the Foot, the Lord *Kimbolton* a Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Meyrick* and Sir *William Balfour* Major-Generals.

Parliament Generals and Colonels.

The following were Colonels:

The Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the

A.D.1642. the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Lord *Brook*, the Lord *Fielding*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Hampden*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Colonel *Grantham*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Colonel *Fiennes*, Colonel *Goodwyn*, And other Members of both Houſes; whom the Reader may put into the Scale with thoſe Gentlemen whom his Majeſty valu'd himſelf upon for their Quality and Weight.

Before the *Royal Standard* was erected, the King in a Declaration *recapitulated*, ſays the reverend Hiſtorian, *the inſolent and rebellious Acts* of the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons, when there had not been the leaſt Pretence of *Rebellion* in any Acts of the Two Houſes, except to reſiſt an unlawful Power be to *rebel*. A rare Doctrine for the People of *England* at this Day, a rare Complement to be addreſs'd to his late ſacred Majeſty King *George* the Firſt, a rare Piece of Service to the Conſtitution; for which, to the Shame of his Patrons, the Hiſtorian met with other Kinds of Rewards than he deſerves. If I knew the Names of thoſe who recommended him to his late Majeſty, they ſhou'd live as long as this Work with the Scandal of it; and the Excuſe they gave for it, that they did not know what was in his Book, and were ſorry for what they had done, ſhou'd not preſerve their Memory from the due Animadverſion of Hiſtory. *The Parliament*, ſays he, *were now proclaim'd* REBELS, *and we are now entring upon a dark Scene of Miſery, a calamitous Seaſon, uſher'd in by Prodigies and ſtrange portentous Sights ſeen in the Air, as Musketeers, harneſs'd Men, and Horſemen moving in the Clouds in Battel-Array, and attacking each other in ſeveral furious Poſtures.* A Man that's capable of writing ſuch Stuff as this, muſt have an immenſe Capacity for ſound Reaſon and Argument. He has pick'd up a fine Cauſe, and the Cauſe has pick'd up a fine Hiſtorian; which has the beſt of it, the Hiſtorian or the Cauſe, I can't ſay.

Fights in the Clouds out of Echard.

Lilly erected a Figure upon the erecting of his Majeſty's Standard, under an evil Conſtellation, which he deſcribes thus in his *Obſervations on King* Charles's *Life and Death*; "The Heralds or at "leaſt thoſe who were then with the King, were "ignorant how and in what Manner to ſet up the "*Standard Royal*; they therefore hung it out in "one of the Turrets or Upper-Rooms of *Not-*"*tingham-Caſtle* within the Caſtle-Wall, where "King *Richard* III. ſet up his *Standard*. His Ma-"jeſty diſlik'd his Standard as plac'd within the "Caſtle; he ſaid it was to be plac'd in an open "Place, where all Men that wou'd might freely "come unto it, and not in a Priſon: They there-"fore carry'd it at his Command without the Ca-"ſtle, towards or into the Park there adjoyning, "into an open Place and eaſy of Acceſs. When "they came to fix it in the Ground, they per-"ceiv'd it was a meer Rock-Stone; ſo that they "with Daggers and Knives made a Hole for the "Standard to be put in, but all wou'd not ſerve. "Men were enforc'd for the preſent to ſupport it "with the Strength of their Arms and Bodies, "which gave great Occaſion to ſome Gentlemen "there preſent, to give a very ſad Judgment on "the King's Side, and to divine long beforehand "that he wou'd never do any Good by Arms. I "have alſo heard that in eight or ten Days he had "not thirty attended the *Standard* or lifted them-"ſelves."

King's Standard ſet up.

P. 67.

We have ſpoken of the King's Averſion to the *Londoners*, whom he now charges with thoſe *Tumults* which he ſaid oblig'd him to leave *Whitehall* and the Parliament for ever. That this Charge is not fair, will appear by what follows; and that the Author of *Eikon Baſilike*, is no fairer than other Authors on the ſame Side, read *William Lilly* upon it; "Whereas the Writer *of the King's Portraiture* "complains, *that the Inſolency of the Tumults was* "*ſuch, that his Majeſty's Perſon was in danger in* "*the Streets:* This is a very great Untruth, for "notwithſtanding his Majeſty dined in the City "that Day he requir'd the *Five Members* of the "Citizens, yet he had no Incivility in the leaſt "Meaſure offer'd unto his Perſon, only many cry'd "out as he paſs'd the Streets, *Sir, Let us have our* "*juſt Liberties, we deſire no more*; unto which he "ſeveral Times anſwer'd *you ſhall*. An honeſt "Citizen, as I remember, threw into his Coach "a new Sermon, the Text whereof was, *To thy* "*Tents O Iſrael*. Indeed the Citizens, unto their "immortal Honour be it ſpoken, did with much "Reſolution protect the *Five Members*, and many "thouſands were willing to ſacrifice their Lives in "Defence of the Parliament." This *Clarendon* and *Echard* repreſent as the beginning of the Rebellion, and it is much the ſame in *Eikon Baſilike*; of the Veracity of which, one may from thence have a juſt Conception. It was not the *Londoners* only whom the King was diſpleas'd with, the Seamen had ſhewn their Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberties, in refuſing to ſerve under *Pennington* againſt the *Rochellers*; they now alſo did the ſame in offering their Service to defend the Parliament, and particularly the *Five Members*; which his Majeſty being told of, ſaid, *I wonder how I loſt the Affection of thoſe Water-Rats*; and this Saying being reported among them, 'tis no wonder the Earl of *Warwick* ſoon after ſo eaſily got Poſſeſſion of the Fleet, he being exceedingly belov'd by the Sailors.

A.D.1642.

London *not tumultuous.*

After the Standard was ſet up at *Nottingham*, with a moſt thin Appearance of Soldiery, and Omens more ominous than all Mr. *Archdeacon's* impoſſible Viſions in the Air, as *its tumbling down again*, and the gloomy Looks of the People, as if the *Standard* was going to be hang'd inſtead of being erected: The Royal Army march'd to *Coventry*, but, ſays *Echard*, the King found the Gates ſhut againſt him to his *great Surprize*; whereas every Man who knew any thing of the Matter, would have been ſurpriz'd if he had not found them ſo ſhut; for his Undertakings were not ſo very well lik'd as to make wiſe Men fond of his Company. The Train'd-Bands of *Nottingham* refus'd to march out of their County, and the Townſmen of *Nottingham* wou'd not let any Part of their Magazine be taken from them. However, his Majeſty ſent to *Coventry* to let the Inhabitants know he intended to come and reſide with them ſome time, requiring them to provide Billets for his Army. The Mayor, Aldermen, and chief Citizens return'd for Anſwer, That his Majeſty ſhou'd be moſt welcome in Perſon, but they wou'd not permit his Soldiers to enter their City; for which my Author aſſures us he threaten'd to lay it in a Heap of Rubbiſh. What Surprize then cou'd he be in to find Entrance deny'd to his Army, who endeavour'd to force it, and fir'd ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance againſt the Town. One Shot beat down Part of the Lady *Hales's* Houſe in the *Whitefryars*, killing the Lady herſelf and an old Gentlewoman who had five Years lain bed-ridden. The Townſmen aſſiſted by three hundred Men from *Buckingham*, fir'd on the Cavaliers, who in their Retreat had their Rear attack'd and ſo roughly dealt with, that they were forc'd to leave ſome of their Ordnance behind them. The Parliament had made timely Preparations for the Relief of *Coventry*, the Lord *Brook*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Grey*, Colonel *Hampden*, Colonel *Hollis*, Colonel *Cholmley*, with ſix thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe, were on the March for that Purpoſe. The Archdeacon tells us they were but one thouſand two hundred, and that the King's General *Wilmot* was blam'd for ſuffering them to advance without attacking them, *which he might eaſily have done, and it wou'd have*

The Standard *ſet up at* Nottingham.

Coventry *Gates ſhut againſt the King.*

Parl. Chron. 139.

A.D.1642. *been a ſeaſonable Victory.* Of ſuch Facts and Reflections, and ſometimes even worſe, is his Hiſtory compos'd. The Lord *Brook* and the other Parliament Officers, took up their Quarters at *Southam*; and if the Royaliſts had attack'd them, they wou'd have had ſome Advantage by the Number of their Horſe one thouſand four hundred, whereas the Parliament Cavalry exceeded not three hundred; but the latter were ſuperior in Foot, and the Lord *Brook* having march'd towards *Dunſmore* to meet the Enemy, and the Earl of *Northampton* coming in ſight of them, the Parliamentarians prepar'd for Battel, *Hampden*'s Regiment leading the Van. The Lord *Brook* had ſeven or eight Pieces of Ordnance, with which he cannonaded the Cavaliers with ſo good Effect, that the Earl of *Northampton*'s Foot ſoon quitted the Field, and his Horſe follow'd their Example. There were about twenty kill'd, and twelve taken Priſoners of the Royaliſts, among the latter were Captain *Legg* who commanded a Troop of Horſe, and Captain *Clarke*. The Lord *Brook* took his Cannon alſo, but did not purſue him for want of Cavalry; or this Action, tho' little talk'd of, might have been deciſive, the King having ſo ſmall an Army with his Standard, it muſt have been ruin'd by the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Body of it. The Parſon of *Southam*, a Man of *evil and diſſolute Converſation*, in the Words of the Chronicle, had his Houſe full of the King's Soldiers before the Lord *Brook* came, for which his Lordſhip order'd it to be ſearch'd, and there was found Store of Ammunition, Saddles, Muskets, Powder, &c. which were all ſeiz'd together with the Prieſt: and we ſhall find many more of his Cloth and Character engag'd in this Quarrel, for which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was ſo well provided, that his Palace at *Lambeth* being ſearch'd, there was diſcover'd a Magazine of Arms ſufficient for five hundred Men. The Parliament had Information of an hundred and twenty Pieces of Cannon ſmall and great, that lay near the Water-Side four Miles below *Graveſend*, and they order'd a Troop of Horſe to ſecure them, as alſo to ſearch *Cobham-Hall*, where they met with ſome Reſiſtance; but having forc'd their Entrance, they found in it five Cartloads of Arms and Ammunition; freſh Inſtances that the Cavaliers never had the leaſt Thought of War till they were forc'd to it by the *Roundheads*.

Southam *Rout.*

Arms diſcover'd.

Laud *provided with Arms.*

Somerſet *Militia.*

The Ordnance for the *Militia* was put in Execution in *Somerſetſhire* by Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Pyne*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Sir *John Horner*, Mr. *Cole*, Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Hippeſley*, Mr. *Sandford*, Mr. *Harbyn*, Mr. *Strode*, and other principal Gentlemen, Deputy-Lieutenants of that rich and ſpacious County; to oppoſe whom the King ſent the Marquis of *Hertford* Governor of the Prince, with Orders to execute the Commiſſion of *Array*; in which he was vigorouſly aſſiſted by the Lord *Powlet*, Sir *John Stawel*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Mr. *Smith*, and other Gentlemen, who procur'd a ſort of Petition from ſome of the County to hinder the Execution of the *Militia* Ordnance. Accordingly Sir *Ralph Hopton* arreſted Mr. *Strode* for High-Treaſon, and Mr. *Smith* behav'd with ſo much Inſolence, that both he and Sir *Ralph* were expell'd the Houſe of Commons, and ſent for as Delinquents, as were alſo Sir *Francis Dodington*, a *ſcandalous* Miniſter, and five or ſix others, who took Care to keep out of the Way. The Marquis of *Hertford* proclaim'd the Commiſſion of *Array* at *Wells*, and got together five hundred Horſe, Sir *John Stawel* join'd him with a Regiment of Horſe, and Sir *Ralph Hopton* and others brought in ſo many Men, that they form'd a little Army, on which the King built much of his Hopes. But the County at that Time Proteſtant and ſober, was for the moſt part againſt them, excepting thoſe Gentry and Peaſantry who had oppos'd the putting down Revels and Riots. Colonel *Popham* and his Brother Captain *Edward Popham*, Sir *John Horner*, Mr. *Aſh*, &c. were deſir'd to gather a Force, and drive the *Array-Men* out of *Somerſetſhire*, who had already begun to plunder the Houſes of all thoſe that were not of their Faction. Sir *John Horner*, moſt zealous in the Cauſe of the Reform'd Religion and Liberty, whoſe Merits and Memory do Honour to his Name, arm'd his Servants and Tenants, and his Neighbours took Arms to aſſiſt him. Being thus provided he march'd to *Chewton*, where he join'd Colonel *Alexander Popham* and his Brother Captain *Edward Popham* afterwards Admiral. Colonel *Popham* Grandſon to the Lord-Chief-Juſtice, ſet a like Example to his Poſterity, as did gallant Sir *John Horner* in a vigorous Oppoſition to an abſolute Monarchy and a perſecuting Hierarchy. He brought with him about a thouſand Men beſides his own Regiment of *Militia*, that of the *Eaſtern* Diviſion of the County. To them came Mr. *Aſh*, and ſoon after Sir *Edward Hungerford* and ſeveral Gentlemen from *Briſtol*, with Reinforcements, who altogether made a Body of four thouſand Men, and encamp'd on *Mendip* in ſight of *Wells*, whither the *Array-Men* retir'd after they had plunder'd *Shepton*, and were very welcome to *Pierce* the Biſhop, and his Cathedral Clergy. Colonel *Popham*, Sir *John Horner*, the reſt of the Gentlemen who headed the *Militia*, and their whole Army, lay all Night on the Hill, reſolving to fall on the Enemy the next Day; Sir *John Horner* had a Furze-Buſh for his Bed, as they all had; and the brave old Knight, animated with a true *Engliſh* Spirit of Liberty, was wont to ſay, *His Furze-Buſh was the beſt Bed he ever lay on.* The Marquis of *Hertford* and his Men of *Array* did not like the Neighbourhood of the *Militia*, whom they ſaw on the Hill, and ſent to treat. Sir *John Horner*'s Men were impatient to fall on them, and chaſtiſe them for their Rapine and Inſolence at *Shepton-Mallet*, and wou'd allow the Marquis and his Followers but an Hour's time to conſider of the Terms they ſent; which the Lord *Hertford* employ'd in cauſing his Soldiers to march off as quietly as they cou'd, himſelf, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Stawel*, Sir *Francis Dodington*, and the reſt of the Cavalier Gentry, making the beſt of their Way to *Shireburn*, a Manor which had been Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s, and then *Car* Earl of *Somerſet*'s, and was now in Poſſeſſion of the Earl of *Briſtol*. *Horner*'s Men having waited beyond the Time appointed for an Anſwer, and receiving none, enter'd the City of *Wells* without Oppoſition, except from the ill Tongues and ill Conduct of the *Cathedral Company of the Minſter*; for which, according to my Author, they met with ſome *Knocks* and *Loſs*. At the other End of the County Sir *William Portman*, Mr. *Coles*, Mr. *Pyne*, and others, enter'd *Taunton* with a Body of Horſe and Foot, where, in one Houſe, Mr. *Brown*'s a Papiſt, they found ſixty Men's Armour. In Alderman *Skinner*'s Houſe twenty Arms, and in the Houſe of one *Tucker* Steward to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who is Lord of that and ſeveral adjacent Manors, an hundred Mens Armour for Horſe and Foot, twenty Barrels of Powder, fifty great Saddles, and Shot of all Sorts, which Biſhop *Curle* had provided as a Proof that no body had ever thought of making War for Church and King, till the Earl of *Eſſex* was on the March.

A.D.1642.

Parl. Chron. 133.

Ib. 134.

Ib. 135.

At *Bridgwater* was found good Store of Arms and Ammunition, and the like at *Glaſtenbury*, *Ilcheſter*, and *Ilminſter*. Mr. *Baſſet* and Mr. *Barret* ſearch'd *Bath*, and in all were diſcover'd Arms for one thouſand eight hundred Men, one hundred and fifty great Saddles, twenty-five Horſes for Service, and ten thouſand Pounds ready Money ſtor'd up in the Houſes of Delinquents and ſuſpected Perſons, which were all lodg'd in the Caſtle of *Taunton*. *Ludlow* mentions an Action between the *Militia-Men* and the *Array-Men* at *Martial*'s Elm on *Poldon* Hill, which is ſaid to have been the firſt in this War, but we have ſeen otherwiſe in the

Courſe

A.D.1642. Courſe of the Hiſtory. Thus was this populous trading County ſecur'd for the Parliament; but thro' the Corruption of the leading Men, and the Inconſtancy of the People, ſo many deſerted this Cauſe afterwards, as gave great Trouble to the well-affected in thoſe Parts. Thoſe Deſerters were not the *Horners*, the *Pophams*, the *Harbyns*, the *Hippeſleys*, the *Wroths*, who continu'd in the Intereſt and Service of their Country.

Meſſage. His Majeſty's Affairs promiſing ſo ill in the beginning of the War, his Followers prevail'd on him to ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, and Sir *William Udal*, with Propoſals of a Treaty, but couch'd in ſuch Terms as ſhew'd it to be the Effect of Fear, and not a Deſire of Peace. The two Houſes took it ſo, and return'd for Anſwer, *That in ſetting up of his Standard againſt them, he had put the Two Houſes of Parliament, and in them the whole Kingdom, out of his Protection; therefore until he recall'd his Proclamations whereby the Earl of* Eſſex, *both Houſes of Parliament, and all their Adherents, are declar'd* TRAYTORS, *and until he had taken down his* Standard, *he had put them into ſuch a Condition, that by the fundamental Privileges of Parliament, the publick Truſt repos'd in them, or with the general Good of this Kingdom, they cou'd not give him any other Anſwer.* *Anſwer.* This the reverend Hiſtorian calls *unheard-of Inſolence*, and is in a Rage at their refuſing to let the Deſerters who brought the Meſſage ſit in either Houſe of Parliament. The King ſaid *that he never intended to declare the Parliament* TRAYTORS, *but if Proclamations of* Traytors *be recall'd by them, he will recall his and take down his Standard.* *King's Reply.* The two Houſes voted *that the Arms of the Parliament for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, ſhall not be laid down till Delinquents be left to Juſtice, that their Eſtates may diſcharge the Debts of the Commonwealth*; than which nothing cou'd be more juſt and equal, that thoſe who were the Cauſe of the Diſtemper might pay for the Cure. *Votes.* *Echard* makes this Vote to ſubject all the Eſtates in *England* to the Power and Pleaſure of the Parliament, who wou'd declare whom they pleas'd to be *Delinquents*. A vile Suggeſtion! which the whole Tenor of the Hiſtory diſproves; for they had often declar'd who were the *Delinquents*, all thoſe evil Counſellors who had counſelled the King to govern as he had done againſt Law and Juſtice, during fifteen Years Intermiſſion of Parliament, all thoſe who had been active Judges in thoſe cruel and unjuſt Courts, the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion*; all thoſe who had countenanc'd the Tyranny of the *Laudæan* Hierarchy, Superſtitions, Innovations, Profanation of the Sabbath, *&c.* all thoſe who had executed the Commiſſions of *Array*, which put the Parliament under a Neceſſity to oppoſe Force with Force for their own Preſervation, and the Preſervation of the *Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the People.* Thoſe and many more ſuch Offenders about the King made a whole Hoſt, and there cou'd be no Safety for the Innocent while the Guilty remain'd unpuniſh'd. The Parliament were ſo moderate, that in the Article of Exception, which was the fourth of their Directions to the Lord-General the Earl of *Eſſex*, there were but few nam'd to be excepted by him out of any Pardon he was impower'd to grant Delinquents. *Excepted Perſons.* The Earl of *Briſtol*, Earl of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Earl of *Caernarvon*, Earl *Rivers*, Duke of *Richmond*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, Lord Viſcount *Newark*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, Mr. *Edward Hyde*; the latter is ſaid to be the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*; and having been excepted out of every Pardon, propos'd by the Lords and Commons of *England*, no doubt he wou'd be extremely impartial and candid in his Hiſtory and Characters of them. It is not to be ſuppos'd that the Parliament excepted Mr. *Edward Hyde*, and Mr. *Endymion Porter*, out of Greedineſs for their Eſtates, whatever they might have in View by the Viſcount *Newark*'s and Secretary *Nicholas*'s Manors and Manſions. A.D.1642.

The Parliament according to the reverend Author, wax'd ſo proud, that they ſeiz'd on all Perſons of Quality whom they did not like; and if they were Abettors of Tyranny and Superſtition, the Parliament never lik'd them. *They impriſon'd them with all Circumſtances of Cruelty and Inhumanity*; and then he names the Lord *Montague* of *Broughton*. But he does not tell us *he was a notable Malignant*, as another Hiſtorian ſtiles him; and that his Priſon was only the Houſe of his own Daughter the Counteſs of *Rutland*, as his own *Warwick* informs us. By *Delinquent* and *Malignant*, the Language of thoſe Times, are to be underſtood Perſons who endeavour'd to introduce arbitrary Power as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, and to ſacrifice the Privileges of Parliament, and the Rights, Properties, and Liberties of the People to the King's Will and Pleaſure, and under him to their own. In what Fury is Mr. *Archdeacon*, when he ſpeaks of the Parliament's pious Deſign of reforming the Clergy; *the Wildfire was kindled by the Mouths of their Preachers, who had driven the moſt learned from the Pulpits*; and moſt of whom had really been ſo driven by *Laud* and his perſecuting Brethren. *Many were much ſet againſt the Biſhops*, ſays Dr. *Calamy*, *by obſerving Men of Parts and Piety ſilenc'd, while inſufficient and vicious Men*, the very ſame whom *Echard* means by the *moſt learned, were encourag'd and preferr'd.* This is not the only falſe Repreſentation in his and the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtories, concerning the *ſober Miniſtry* who ſided with the Parliament. Dr. *Calamy* again; *It hath indeed been aſſerted that it was the ſeditious Preachers who ſtirr'd up the People, and were the Cauſe of all the Commotions, which is a notorious* FALSITY; *many indeed there were who diſcover'd their Diſlike of the* Book of Sports *and* bowing to Altars, *and* diminiſhing Preaching, and ſilencing Miniſters, *and were glad that the Parliament attempted a* REFORMATION; *which was a Death Stroke to* Echard's moſt *learned Clergy*, whom it drove out of the Pulpits; *but very few even of theſe ſtirr'd up to War.* The Parliament who we are told had juſt rais'd Eleven Millions by voluntary Contributions, are now, as he tells us, in ſuch Diſtreſs three or four Months after, *that they voted all who wou'd not contribute ſhou'd be diſarm'd.* There was ſo little need of Compulſion, not on account of Mr. *Archdeacon's Eleven Millions*, but the People's Readineſs to bring in their Wealth, that many voluntarily offer'd great Sums as a *Gift* and not a *Loan*, particularly the Lady *Rumney* of *London* ſent two thouſand Pounds as a free Gift to *Guildhall*; and other Ladies and Gentlewomen did not ſtick to part with their Jewels and Plate for the Service of the Parliament; Women of inferior Rank bringing in their Rings and Bodkins as ſo many Mites to the Publick Treaſury. A few Members of the Houſe of Commons excus'd themſelves, and wou'd not contribute, as Sir *Sidney Montagu*, and Mr. *Fountaine* the Lawyer, who for reflecting on the Contributions were both impriſon'd; but *Fountaine* contributed afterwards, and enrich'd himſelf by his Practice on both Sides. *Contributions to the Parliament.*

Before the King left *Nottingham*, his two Nephews Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* came to him, and had Commands given them in his Army. I do not repeat all the King's Meſſages nor the Parliament's Anſwers; both the one and the other have very thin Diſguiſes, but the latter are more plauſible and popular, and it cou'd not be otherwiſe. The King cou'd when he pleas'd have given the Parliament a reaſonable Security for their Religion, Liberties, and Properties; the Parliament cou'd not give themſelves up to his Will and Pleaſure, *Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice.*

*A.D.*1642. ſure, without not only betraying the Truſt the People had repos'd in them, but utterly deſtroying the Conſtitution in Church and State: For as to the *Law*, the *Laws of the Land*, and the *fundamental Laws*, in almoſt every Paragraph of the King's Speeches, Meſſages, Declarations, and Anſwers, we have obſerv'd already it muſt provoke Mirth or Indignation in all Men of Thought, who had ſeen and felt how ſhamefully they had been broken ever ſince this Royal Houſe reign'd in *England*, if their Memories were of ſo long ſtanding: And what a Jeſt muſt it be now to read the King's Meſſages, wherein he wou'd make the People believe while he was drawing into *Wales*, ſtill farther off from the Parliament, he was extremely deſirous to be with them. The Two Houſes reply'd, that *the Oppreſſions, Rapines, and Murders, which had been committed upon his good Subjects, were but ill Tokens of a real Diſpoſition to Peace; that they ſought nothing but their Religion, Liberty, and the Tranquility of the Kingdom; that the Parliament might be ſecur'd from the open Violence and ſubtle Practices of a wicked Party who had long plotted their Deſtruction.* They complain'd that *Iriſh* TRAYTORS *and* REBELS *were admitted to his Preſence, Grace, and Favour*; which is not to be deny'd without Bluſhing; and if *he wou'd return to his Parliament without his Forces, they wou'd ſecure his Royal Perſon, Crown, and Dignity*, which is not to be queſtion'd: The Conteſt not being now with the King's Perſon, but with his Government; not with the Monarchy, but with the Miniſtry; and the protecting *Delinquents* ſpiritual and temporal, was certainly the fatal Obſtacle to Peace, and the Cauſe of all the enſuing Calamities both to King and People.

King's March and Speech.

From *Nottingham* the King remov'd to *Derby*, thence to *Stafford*, thence to *Wellington*, where he made a Speech to his Army, and thence to *Shrewſbury*. In his Speech he mention'd again his good Intentions *to govern by the known Laws of the Land, which gave Comfort and Satisfaction to the* Welſhmen *on the Marches, and Life and Encouragement to the Soldiers*, who by liſting under *Lunsford*, *Goring*, &c. ſhew'd they had a great Concern upon them about the *Laws of the Land*. The Lord *Clarendon*, and my reverend Author after him, aſſure us theſe *Borderers* thought the King's Word a greater Security to them than an Act of Parliament. They liv'd ſo far off, that probably they had never heard of the Nature of that Security, and had ſo little to pay, that they knew not what was meant by *Loans*, *Benevolences*, *Ship-Money*, and the like. Mr. *Acherley* ſpeaking of this ridiculous Buſineſs, ſays, *The noble Author's Story of it is ſo mean and inſipid, as to be far from coming from the Pen of that exalted Genius, without fixing an Imputation upon* Shropſhire-*Men, as if they were a People of much Zeal and little Knowledge*; which is to put them in the ſame Predicament as they appear'd to be in after *Sacheverel's* Condemnation. The reverend Hiſtorian adds, his Majeſty convinc'd all the antient *Britons* that *he was the Father of his Country*. One is tempted to ſay it may as well be taken in a literal as a figurative Senſe. Indeed we meet with Things ſo mean and inſipid, as Mr. *Acherley* obſerves, in both *Clarendon* and *Echard*, that 'tis impoſſible to obſerve always the Gravity and Decency of Hiſtory. The Borders of *Wales* are ſo far from *Whitehall*, that the Borderers might be eaſily convinc'd of a Thing which they knew nothing of. The Petition from *Cornwall*, ſign'd among the reſt by Vicars and Curates; and that from *Cumberland* ſpeak in the ſame Tone: And Mr. *Acherley* gives us the Reaſon for it, ſo natural, ſo eaſy to be conceiv'd, that 'tis not poſſible it cou'd have eſcap'd any Writer whoſe Conception was eaſy and natural. *Thoſe on whom the Parliament's Repreſentations prevail'd, were generally People of the* Midland *Counties, and the Traders in the Southern Parts of the Kingdom, who had ſmarted moſt by the arbitrary Acts of Power, ſuch as Seizures of their Goods, Proſecutions for Ship-Money, Loans, Tonnage and Poundage, Fines and Puniſhments in the Star-Chamber and Foreſt Courts, at the Council-Table by Martial Law, illegal and irremedial Impriſonments.* Theſe People being the richeſt as well as the moſt numerous Part, we muſt remember his Majeſty's *Weights and Scales were invigorated by that eternal and irreconcileable Enmity im planted in human Nature againſt Oppreſſion, which makes Men rack their Inventions to free themſelves from it whenever Time offers the Means. Thoſe on whom the King's Repreſentations prevail'd, were generally his Subjects in the fartheſt Parts of the Nation, in* Wales, Cornwal, Cumberland, *&c. who were the leaſt ſenſible, and had been the leaſt afflicted with the late Preſſures and Suffrings under the King's Exerciſe of arbitrary Power after the departing from the known Laws*; which his Majeſty has ſaid an hundred times he is forc'd on a War to defend. The Counties neareſt *London*, as *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, never admitted of any of his Gariſons, or never for any Time worth ſpeaking of. They had long groan'd under the *Preſſures* and *Sufferings* mention'd by the learned Lawyer, and cou'd not be convinc'd by Speeches, nor be perſuaded by Declarations, that the King who had govern'd for fifteen Years together contrary to the *known Laws*, was at the End of that Term making War in Defence of them. Tho' the King had other Perſons about him beſides *Machiavels*, yet they were cunning enough to ſee that the Inhabitants of the Counties neareſt to *London* wou'd not do his Buſineſs, therefore they drew him firſt towards the *Northern* Counties, and then to the Borders of *Wales*, where the Ignorance and Poverty of the People had defended them againſt the Oppreſſions by Taxes, and the Proſecutions in the Spiritual Courts.

*A.D.*1642.

Parliament Party.

King's Party.

Echard's *Hiſtory.*

Clarend. *wrong.*

P. 535.

The Earl of *Eſſex* rendezvous'd his Army at *St. Albans*, where he muſter'd about 16000 Horſe and Foot. He was attended by ſeveral Members of both Houſes of Parliament, and a Multitude of People crowded the Way as he march'd to wiſh him Victory. A Committee accompany'd him to take Subſcriptions for Loans, to order Matters concerning Delinquents and Malignants, and conſider of the Good of the Army. The Parliament's Directions to their General before-mention'd, were, 1. *To reſtrain all Prophaneneſs in the Army.* 2. *To fight the Army with the King, and reſcue his Perſon, the Prince, and Duke of* York, *from thoſe about him.* 3. *To preſent their Petition to his Majeſty, and if he ſhall pleaſe to withdraw himſelf from the Army, then to cauſe thoſe Forces to disband and to guard the King in his Return.* 4. *To declare Pardon for thoſe who lay down their Arms taken up againſt the Parliament*, except thoſe I have elſewhere named, particularly Mr. *Hyde*, who in his Hiſtory, if it was his, boaſts of the *Malignancy* of his Family; and indeed he was one of the firſt who was ſet a-part for Juſtice.

Lord-General at St. Albans.

His Inſtructions.

The Cavalier Spirit breaks out often in the Courſe of this Conteſt, to the Terror of all ſuch as had any Sentiments of Pity or Humanity. Dr. *Baſtwick*, and Captain *Ludlow*, who had been taken at *Leiceſter*, were order'd to be try'd for their Lives; but the two Houſes ſending a Meſſage to Judge *Heath*, that they would cauſe two for one to be hang'd, if thoſe Gentlemen were executed, a ſtop was put to that bloody Deſign.

Dr. Baſtwick, *Captain* Ludlow.

Among the many brave young Gentlemen who offer'd their Service to the Parliament, were Mr *Fiennes*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Ludlow*, whom we have elſewhere ſpoken of, Mr. *Rich*, Mr. *Roſwel*, *&c.* who with Major-General *Harriſon*, Colonel *Thomlinſon*, Colonel *Twiſleton*, Major *Whitby*, and others, to the Number of 100, form'd a Troop of Life-Guard for the Lord General, under the Com-

Lord General's Life-Guard.

*A.D.*1642. Command of Sir *Philip Stapleton*. The Earl of *Eſſex* detach'd Colonel *Eſſex* to poſſeſs himſelf of *Worceſter*, where the Cavaliers had a Garriſon, which had been admitted by the Mayor, without Conſent of the Citizens. Theſe were reinforc'd by Prince *Ruport*, who engag'd the Parliament Forces in that Neighbourhood, before the General cou'd advance ſo far. This Engagement, call'd the *Fight* at *Powick*, was on the 22d of *September*, and is reckon'd the firſt Fight in the Civil War. *Echard* deſcribes it as a moſt glorious Action on the King's Side; but General *Ludlow*, who was preſent, relates it otherwiſe. There are but two or three *Falſities* in the Reverend Hiſtorian's Relation of this Fact; as that of Prince *Rupert*'s *Handful* of Men, when he was ſuperior in Number; that this Party was the Parliament's beſt Men, when *Ludlow* aſſures us, they knew not the Difference between *Wheeling* and *Running*; and the two Houſes of Parliament order'd a *Day of Thankſgiving* for this Victory at *Powick*. In the Account of Battels and Skirmiſhes, I ſhall almoſt always quote my Author; and at the End of it ſhew how *Echard* falſifies it; for there is not one Action during the whole Courſe of the War, which the Earl of *Clarendon* and he have not repreſented otherwiſe than the Fact was, according to the Report of the faireſt Writers.

Powick *Fight.*

The King increas'd his Army to 22000 Men at *Shrewsbury*: The Gentry of *Wales*, and the *Marches*, being much better able to ſupply him with Men than with Money, which was brought him from *Oxford*; ſome collected at *London*, and ſent thither; and ſome rais'd by the Contributions of the Colleges and Halls, contrary to the Univerſities ſolemn Promiſe to *Whitlocke*, who with the Lord *Say*, and a Body of *Militia*, had viſited it; and had *Whitlocke*'s Advice been taken, it had been Garriſon'd for the Parliament, before any of the King's Forces ſhew'd themſelves in thoſe Parts.

The King refuſes the Petition from Eſſex.

Prince *Rupert* ſtaid at *Worceſter*, only while he cou'd draw off his Troops and Baggage; and he had not been gone many Hours, before the Earl of *Eſſex* enter'd the City with the main Body of the Army; from thence he ſent to *Shrewsbury* for a ſafe Conduct, and free Acceſs to his Majeſty, he having a Petition from the Parliament to deliver to him: His Lordſhip addreſs'd to the Earl of *Dorſet*, who wrote back that the King's Anſwer was, *He wou'd receive any Petition that ſhould be preſented to him from his Parliament, and give free Acceſs to thoſe that ſhould bring the ſame; but he would not receive any Petition out of the Hands of any* TRAYTOR. After which way of Thinking, he cou'd receive no Petition at all; for he had declar'd the Earl of *Eſſex, and all his Adherents*, Traytors; which included the Parliament of *England*, who had voted to live and die with the Earl, and all the People who adher'd to them.

Parliament ſend Envoys *Abroad.*

The two Houſes now deſpairing of an Accommodation without War, ſent Agents to Foreign Parts, to inform Princes and States of the Neceſſity they were under to take Arms for their Preſervation, and to remove the Prejudices which his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors had rais'd againſt them. To *Holland* they ſent Mr. *Strickland*, an *obſcure Gentleman*, ſays *Echard*; whereas he was as conſpicuous, as being a Member of Parliament, and of one of the beſt Families in *England* could make him. Mr. *Strickland* inform'd the *States-General*, that the *Parliament contended for nothing but to enjoy the Benefit of the ancient and fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which had been all violated by his Majeſty's aſſuming a Power to govern contrary to them, by his arbitrary Will and Pleaſure, and by his endeavouring to make himſelf an abſolute Lord, and his Subjects ſlaviſh Vaſſals; that they acted purely on the defenſive Part, and had continually invited the King to return to his Parliament, offering to be obedient according to the Law of the Land, but his Majeſty obſtinately ſtood out againſt Treaty and Peace.* The learned Lawyer proceeds, "The "Parliament produc'd, and ſhew'd to the foreign "Potentates, the *Preambles* of ſeveral Acts of Par- "liament, to which the King had lately given the "Royal Aſſent: By which it did appear, that the "ſeveral Inſtances of his Miſgovernment did there- "by ſtand not only acknowledg'd, but by himſelf "condemn'd." Yet the whole Drift of the Hiſtory, which goes by the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Name, is to prove that thoſe very Things were juſt and laudable which the King himſelf condemn'd. "This Evidence ſo far prevail'd on them, eſpeci- "ally the King of *Denmark*, that his Majeſty was "forc'd to order *Cockrain*, his Reſident at *Copen- "hagen*, to preſent a Memorial to that King, in "which he apologiz'd for making the Conceſſions "the Parliament had inſiſted upon. In ſhort, all "the foreign Potentates either deny'd, or fail'd to "ſend the King Aſſiſtance; objecting that his Ma- "jeſty needed none, for he had in his own Hands "Means to relieve himſelf; which was to return "to his Parliament, and conform his Government "*to the Laws* of his Kingdom; in Defence of "which, his Majeſty proclaims every-where he has taken Arms: And the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* every where proclaim, he had never broken them.

Ach. 531.

*A.D.*1642.

The Earl of *Eſſex* ſtaid at *Worceſter* ſeveral Days, in Expectation of a ſofter Anſwer; all which Time the King improv'd, by increaſing his Army, and gathering Contributions. From *Shrewsbury* he march'd to *Bridgnorth*, having, ſays *Echard*, not one Papiſt a Field-Officer in his Army, but Sir *Arthur Aſton*, which is as true as his Truths generally are. Had he never heard of Major-General *Webb*, Sir *William Vavaſor*, Major-General, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Sir *Henry Gage*, Sir *Thomas Tildeſley*? but what need I name more, I have before me a Liſt of ſome Hundreds of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains, all Papiſts, and Sufferers in their Perſons and Purſes, for his Service. The Papiſts themſelves publiſh'd it in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, as an Argument for Favour to them and their Religion, on the Score of this Merit.

King's March.

Papiſts in his Army.

At *Killingworth* Caſtle, as the King was pointing out to this Center, Judge *Heath* ſate upon a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to attaint the Earl of *Eſſex* of *Rebellion* and *Treaſon*; an uſeleſs Provocation, which render'd thoſe contemptible who affected to make themſelves terrible by it. Mr. *Echard* aſſures us, the King had but 6000 Foot, 2000 Horſe, and 1000 Dragoons, when he came to *Bridgnorth*, and that afterwards his Army was much inferior in Number to the Parliaments; whereas we read in a Letter ſign'd by Colonel *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Colonel *Ballard*, Sir *William Balfour*, Sir *John Meldrum*, and Mr. *Charles Pym*, and addreſs'd to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, that their Number was 18000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe and Dragoons, when the two Armies engag'd in the *Vale* of *Redhorſe*, under *Edgehill*, near *Keinton* in *Warwickſhire*, *October* the 23d.

Ruſhw. *P.* 36.

Edgehill *Fight.*

General *Ludlow* having been in this Battel alſo, let us follow his Relation of it. *Sunday* Morning about nine a Clock, ſome of the Enemies Troops were diſcover'd upon *Edgehill*. Our Forces had been order'd that Morning to Quarters of Refreſhment, having had but little Reſt for 48 Hours. This Order was immediately countermanded. The Enemy drew down the Hill, and we into the Field. The beſt of our Field-Pieces were planted on our Right Wing, guarded by two Regiments of Foot, and ſome Horſe: Our General commanding to Fire upon the Enemy, it was done twice, on the Part of the Army where it was reported

*A.D.*1642. ported the King was. The great Shot was exchang'd on both Sides for the Space of an Hour, by which Time the Foot began to engage; and a Party of the Enemy being ſent to line ſome Hedges on our Right Wing, thereby to beat us from our Ground; they were repuls'd by our Dragoons, without any Loſs on our Side. The Enemies Body of Foot, wherein the King's *Standard* was, came within Muſket-ſhot of us; upon which we obſerving no Horſe to encounter withal, charg'd them with ſome Loſs from their Pikes, though very little from their Shot; but not being able to break them, we retreated to our former Station; whither we were no ſooner come up, than we perceiv'd that thoſe who were appointed to guard the Artillery, march'd off: And our Captain, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, wiſhing for a Regiment of Foot to ſecure the Canon, we of the Life-Guard promis'd to ſtand by him in Defence of them, cauſing one of our Servants to load and level one of them, where a Body of Horſe appear'd advancing towards us from that Side where the Enemy was; we fir'd at them with Caſe-ſhot, but did them no Miſchief, our Gun being overloaded, and planted on high Ground, which happen'd very fortunately; this Body being part of our Army commanded by Sir *William Balfour*, who had bravely charg'd into the Enemies Quarters, and nail'd ſeveral Pieces of Cannon, and we did not diſcern the Signal he made us of being Friends. The Earl of *Eſſex* order'd two Regiments of Foot to attack the Body which we had charg'd before, and where the King's *Standard* was, but they cou'd not break it, till Sir *William Balfour* attack'd them in the Rear, at the Head of a Party of Horſe, and we marching down to take them in Flank, they broke, and ran away toward the Hill. In this Action was killed Sir *Edmund Varney*, Standard-Bearer, *Who engag'd on that Side, not out of any good Opinion of the Cauſe*, as *Ludlow* was inform'd by a Perſon of Honour, *but from a Senſe of a Duty which he thought lay upon him, in reſpect of his Office, and Relation to the King.* Colonel *Maurice*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Herbert*, and other principal Officers, were then killed, and many Colours taken, as well as the Standard, which Colonel *Middleton*, then a Voluntier, took and diſplay'd in Token of Victory; but a ſtrong Party of Horſe coming upon us, we were oblig'd to retire with our *Standard*; and having brought it to the Earl of *Eſſex*, he mov'd it twice or thrice above his Head, and then deliver'd it to his Secretary, Mr. *Chambers*, from whom it was taken by one Captain *Smith*, a Papiſt, whom with two more, had diſguis'd themſelves with *Orange*-colour'd Scarfs, the Lord General's Colours, and pretending it was unfit that a Penman ſhould have the Honour to carry the Standard, took it from him, and rode with it to the King, for which Action he was made a Knight Banneret. After this there was no other Engagement on either Side, only a few great Guns continued to fire upon us from the Enemy, 'till towards the cloſe of the Day we diſcover'd a Body of Horſe marching from our Rear on the Left of us, under the Hedges, which we of the Life-Guard firſt perceiving to be the Enemy, we advanc'd towards them, fell upon their Rear, and did good Execution. This was the Right Wing of the King's Army, commanded by Prince *Rupert*, who taking Advantage of the Diſorder that our own Horſe had put our Foot into, who had open'd their Ranks to ſecure them in their Retreat, preſs'd upon them with ſuch Fury, that he put them to Flight: And if the Time he ſpent in plundering the Waggons had been employ'd in taking the Advantages which offer'd themſelves in the Place of Battel, it might have prov'd more ſerviceable to the carrying on of the Enemy's Deſigns. Inſtead of which, Prince *Rupert* fell upon the Waggoners, Carters, Labourers, Pioneers, and others, unarm'd, among whom many Women were ſlain, and this Slaughter was the greateſt in the Parliament Army, according to the Lord *Brooke*'s Speech to the Citizens in *Guild-hall*. *Ludlow* adds, *The Night after the Battel, our Army quarter'd on the ſame Ground the Enemy fought on the Day before.* Another writes, "Our "Army being thus wholly poſſeſs'd of the Ground "which the Enemy choſe to fight upon, and ſo "clear Maſters of it, that none dar'd to diſpoſſeſs "them of it, we ſtood there all Night till next Morn-"ing." Sir *Faithful Forteſcue* betraying his Truſt, and going over to the King's Party with his Troop in the beginning of this Battel, was a great Diſcouragement to the Parliamentarians; but their good Heart and good Cauſe recover'd that Fault. The Falſities in *Echard's* Hiſtory of this Battel are, 1. The Number of the King's Forces five or 6000 leſs than the Parliament's. 2. The Number of the Slain 5000, which were not above 2500. 3. Sir *John Smith*'s Valour, by which he got the Royal Standard and Knighthood, whereas it was deliver'd to him by Miſtake and Surprize, without ſtriking a Stroke. 4. The Victory was on the King's Side. *Whitlocke* ſays, the Parliament Army *had the Victory*, though but a *ſmall* one. 5. The Diſorder in the Faces of the Earl of *Eſſex's* Men, the great Dejection of the common Soldiers. *Ludlow* writes, *we hop'd we ſhou'd have purſu'd the Enemy, who were marching off as faſt as they could; but inſtead of that, for what Reaſon I know not, we march'd to* Warwick: Indeed the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Conduct on that Occaſion, was much diſapprov'd. He had receiv'd a Reinforcement of 4000 Men, under Colonel *Hampden*, and Colonel *Granthem*, and might have cut the Cavalier Army to Pieces; inſtead of which, ſays General *Ludlow*, he let the King march off as if Maſter of the Field, as the Lord *Clarendon*, *Warwick* and *Echard*, ridiculouſly repreſent it. Some impute this Neglect to his Deſire of lengthening out the War, and conſequently his high Command in it; which Conjecture ſeems to have ſome Probability in it. Others tell us, the Parliament Army wanted Reſt and Refreſhment, which they had been without eight and forty Hours. The principal Officers ſlain on the King's Side, were the Lord General, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Lord *George Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, Colonel *Munro*, and one of the *Lunsfords*: Among the Priſoners were the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, Sir *Edward Stradling*, who were ſent to *Warwick* Caſtle. Of the Parliament Officers were ſlain, the Lord *St. John*, and the brave Colonel *Eſſex*: Among the Priſoners were Colonel *Walton*, a Member of Parliament, and Captain *Auſtin*, an eminent Merchant of *London*, of whom the laſt died through the hard Uſage he met with in *Oxford* Goal. Captain *Wingate*, before-mention'd, who was taken at *Powick*, was ſo near Death through the like hard Uſage, that had he not made his Eſcape, weak and languiſhing as he was, 'tis ſuppos'd he could not many Days have ſurviv'd the Enemies Cruelty. There is nothing ſtrange in that Cruelty: A humane Tyranny is Contradiction in Terms; lawleſs, arbitrary Power admits not tender compaſſionate Sentiments; Rage is its Guide, and Torture and Death its Diverſion; and whoever were capable of eſpouſing ſuch a Cauſe, muſt with it eſpouſe all its Conſequences, Rapine, Slaughter and Deſolation: Whereas Liberty inſpires all its Lovers with Benignity and Benevolence, and ſoftens the Mind at the ſame Time that it enlarges it.

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Parl. Chron. P. 196.

The Reverend Hiſtorian affirms, that the Lord St. *John*'s laſt Words were, *I did not intend to be againſt the King, but wiſh him all Happineſs.* Ludlow *ſays, He declar'd at his Death full Satisfaction and Chearfulneſs to lay down his Life in ſo good a Cauſe.* The Parliament Officers who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in this Battel, were the Earl of *Eſſex*, the

Lord St. John *dies of his Wounds.*

A.D.1642. the General, Sir *William Balfour*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Brook*, Colonel *Hollis*, Colonel *Ballard*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, the Lord *Grey*, Major *Hurrey*, Captain *Draper*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Captain *Cromwell*, whoſe Name is remember'd in the Chronicle with thoſe other Heroes: But *Echard* is poſitive that *He abſented himſelf from the Battel, and obſerving from the top of a neighbouring Steeple, the Diſorder the Right Wing ſuſtain'd from Prince* Rupert, *he was ſo terrify'd, that ſlipping down in Haſte by a Bell-Rope, he tookHorſe, and ran away with his Troop.* If we had not ſuch a Cloud of other Witneſſes of this Hiſtorian's Judgment and Sincerity, this wou'd be enough to let us into his Character. The News of *Edgehil* Fight came to *London* the next Day: The firſt Man that brought it, having been in that Part of it where Prince *Rupert* had the better, made Report accordingly, that the King was Victorious. Other Meſſengers ſoon brought other Advice, that the Earl of *Eſſex* had routed the King's Army, kill'd and taken many, and gain'd a compleat Victory; which News was almoſt as much too good, as the other was too bad. The King went ſtill farther, and order'd a Day of ſolemn *Thankſgiving* for a Victory which he did not obtain. There is nothing ſtrange in this neither, that thoſe who had by an Edict enjoin'd the Profanation of the Lord's-Day, ſhou'd make a Mock-Holyday, and profane even that with diſſembled Prayer; in the Form of which for this Thankſgiving, it was ſaid, *Thy Hand alone, thou God of Hoſts, hath diſpoſed of Victory to thy Servant the King; accompliſh the great Work thou haſt begun for us; not unto us, but unto thee, O God, we give the Praiſe; continue theſe Bleſſings on the Head of our Sovereign and his Army; continue the Fear and Conſternation thou haſt already caſt upon the Hearts of thoſe who have Rebelliouſly riſen up againſt him; make them ſee, that to fight againſt him, is to fight againſt Heaven*; it is not to be written or read without Trembling: God the Searcher of Hearts, knew the Pride, Vanity, Ambition, Luſt and Cruelty of thoſe Hearts thus addreſſing to an Omniſcient, Omnipotent Being, for a Bleſſing on lawleſs deſpotick Power, on Superſtition and Prophaneneſs, in Oppoſition to Law, Liberty and Reformation. We ſhall find more ſuch Forms of Prayer on the like Occaſions. The Victory for which the King and his Followers give God the Praiſe, is thus deſcrib'd by Colonel *Hollis*, and other Colonels, in their Letter to the Speaker; Mr. *Lenthall, The King's Foot are either ſlain, or moſt of them run away, and we ſhou'd have purſu'd them, but that we muſt of pure Neceſſity refreſh our Men.* Beſides the *Thankſgiving*, his Majeſty publiſh'd a *Declaration* after his VICTORY againſt the REBELS, which is all of a Piece; he ſays, *He is ſatisfy'd there are a far greater Number of* Papiſts *in the Parliaments Presbyterian Army, than in his own:* Theſe Papiſts had every Day Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Manton*, Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*, Mr. *John Sedgwick*, Mr. *Wickens*, and ſeveral other Presbyterian Miniſters to preach to them, and pray with them; to exhort them, as they did in the heat of this Battel, *to ſtand to it, and fight for their Religion, Laws, and Chriſtian Liberties.* Beſides the *Papiſts* already mention'd, the Parliament charg'd the King with granting Commiſſions to Sir *Nicholas Thornton*, Sir *Thomas Howard*, Sir *William Riddel*, Sir *William Gerrard*, Sir *Cecil Strafford*, the Lord *Herbert*, Mr. *Smith* of *Aſh*, Mr. *George Wray*, Mr. *Edward Gray* of *Morpeth* Caſtle, Mr. *Lancelot Evrington* of *Denton*, Mr. *Lancelot Holtby*, Mr. *Clifton*, Mr. *William Malton*, Mr. *Anderſon*, moſt of them of the *Lancaſhire* and *Northern* Counties, and with entertaining ſome that were actually *Iriſh* REBELS, as the Lord *Taaf*, Sir *John Dungan*, Colonel *Fitz Williams*, and Dr. *Meara*, who having been indicted for the Rebellion in *Ireland*, fled that Kingdom, and was appointed Phyſician to Prince *Rupert*. His Majeſty ſaid further in his Declaration, *That as to the Charge of his raiſing an Army againſt the Parliament, the Scandal was ſo ſenſeleſs, none of his Subjects cou'd believe it*; a Thing ſo very apparent, was ſcarce worth mentioning in the Declarations. *Echard* had told us, there were about 5000 Men kill'd on both Sides; and three Days after the Fight, he tells us there were but 300 of the King's Soldiers miſſing; the Lord *Brook* told the *Londoners*, not above two or three Hundred *Soldiers, Waggoners, Labourers*, and Women, were kill'd on the Parliament Side; which ought to be mention'd, to ſhew the Errors that lye in our way, and require our utmoſt Care to avoid them.

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Parl. Chron. 198.

The King's Thankſgiving Prayer.

Ruſhw.

King's Declaration.

The Parliament in their Anſwer to the the King's Declaration, ſay, *They find it full of Scandals and Invectives againſt them, without any Ground or Colour of Truth*; as indeed that about the Papiſts is notoriouſly ſo in Fact and Reaſon; *a Charge, ſay they, contrary to Senſe and Policy, that they who have rais'd an Army for the juſt Defence of their Privilege and Liberties, and of the true Proteſtant Religion, ſhould make Uſe of the* Papiſts, *the only Enemies of them all, to be the Inſtruments and Means to protect them.* Salmonet, a *French* Popiſh Hiſtorian, engag'd on the ſame Side with the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, furniſhes them with ſeveral ſuch Truths as theſe: *Several Catholick Prieſts were found amongſt the Dead on the Parliament Side; for they had not only two Companies of* Walloon Papiſts, *and other Catholicks in their Army, but had done what they could to engage Sir* Arthur Auſton *in their Service*; the ſame whom *Echard* names as the only *Popiſh* Field-Officer in the King's Wing. The King prov'd that the Parliament had more Papiſts than he in their Troops, and that they endeavour'd to gain over all the Catholicks, by a Promiſe to repeal all the Laws againſt them. The two Houſes fully anſwer'd what was ſaid in the King's Declaration of the Kingdom's being govern'd by a Faction of ten or twelve Men, of *Browniſts* and *Anabaptiſts* being in their Army, and the like; but I have not Patience to repeat all that was ſaid in this *Paper War*; though I muſt needs ſay, there are on the King's Side much Aſſertion and Haughtineſs, and much Truth and good Senſe on the Parliaments, which probably I ſhall never be requir'd to prove, becauſe it is ſo eaſy to do it.

Parliament's Anſwer.

His Majeſty made General *Ruthen* a *Scotchman*, General of his Army; and in his March to *Oxford*, took in the Lord *Say*'s Houſe at *Broughton*, *Banbury* Caſtle, and two or three ſmall Garriſons, which were not Tenable. The Falſities in the Archdeacon's Hiſtory are aggravated by the Abuſe of the moſt ſacred Terms, as *God, Providence*, and the like; which are apply'd to Facts which either never happen'd, or not in the manner he repreſents them. *At* Oxford, *the only City in* England *which was entirely at the King's Devotion, he was receiv'd by the Univerſity with the greateſt Acclamations of Joy; to whom is to be imputed the Integrity and Fidelity of the Place*; which were equal to the Fidelity and Integrity of the Hiſtorian. *Whitlocke*, who was at *Oxford* with the Lord *Say* about a Month before, tells us, they were viſited by the Mayor, Aldermen, Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houſes, and Proctors, who *proteſted all of them their Duty to the Parliament, their Deſires of Peace, and engage themſelves not to act any Thing againſt the two Houſes, nor to ſend their Plate to the King*; which they did a Day or two after, to ſhew their *Integrity*. The Lord *Say* had then with him 3000 Horſe, Foot and Dragoons; and *Whitlocke*, as I have hinted, blames him very much for not ſecuring the Place, as well as the Plate, which wou'd have prevented his Majeſty's making it his Place of Arms, and Capital Garriſon, within three Days March of *London*, near which City Prince *Rupert*

King takes Broughton, Banbury, *and* Oxford.

Ech.

A.D.1642. immediately made Incurſions; and the Parliament order'd the Earl of *Eſſex* to bring up the Army, as well to Recruit it, as to be near them, if the King ſhould offer to give them any Diſturbance; and obſerving the King had by a formal Commiſſion, impower'd Sir *William Gerrard*, Sir *Cecil Trafford*, *Charles Townly*, Eſq; *Thomas Clifton*, Eſq; *Chriſtopher Anderton*, Eſq; *John Clausfield*, Eſq; and other Popiſh Gentlemen, to take Arms with their Tenants and Servants againſt the Parliament,

Scots. the two Houſes reſolv'd to ſtrengthen themſelves by the *Presbyterian* Intereſt, as the King did by the *Popiſh*; accordingly they deſir'd Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, purſuant to the *Act of Pacification*.

Apprentices. They alſo publiſh'd a Declaration for the Encouragement of *Apprentices* that would liſt in their Service, who were to have the Time they ſo ſerv'd allow'd in their *Apprenticeſhips*, which was the beſt way of Recruiting the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army.

Earl of Eſſex. That General was honourably receiv'd at *Weſtminſter* the 7th of *November*, and preſented with a Gratuity of 5000 Pounds by the Lords and Commons, who did alſo *Declare and Publiſh to the laſting Honour of the ſaid Earl, the great and acceptable Service which he hath done the* Commonwealth, *and they ſhall be ready upon all Occaſions to expreſs the due Senſe which they have of his Merit, by aſſiſting and protecting him, and all others under his Command, with their Lives and Fortunes, to the utmoſt of their Power: This to remain upon* RECORD *in both Houſes of Parliament, for a Mark of* HONOUR *to his Perſon, Name and Family, and for a* MONUMENT *of his ſingular Virtue to all Poſterity.* *Echard* endeavours to make a Jeſt of this glorious *Monument* to his Merit, though it is more valuable than all the fulſome Panegyricks in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Characters; 'tis the Voice of his Country, and thoſe Panegyricks only the Flattery of the Hiſtorian.

Militia. The Train'd-Bands of *London* were reinforc'd with part of the Train'd-Bands of the aſſociated

Aſſociated Counties. Counties, *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suffolk*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, for the Security of the City; and a ſtrong Garriſon, under the Command of Colonel *Ven*, was ſent to *Windſor* Caſtle. Outworks were rais'd, and ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance planted upon them. Many diſaffected Perſons were taken up in the City of *London*, as Sir *George Whitmore*, Sir *William Acton*, Sir *Henry Garraway*, and

Reading. Sir *John Cordel*, Aldermen; and nothing was omitted that could be thought of for the Safety of that Metropolis. The King being advanc'd as far as *Reading*, from whence Mr. *Martin*, the Governor, had withdrawn the Parliament Garriſon on the Approach of the Royal Army; the News of it, according to *Echard*, threw the Parliament and City into a terrible Pannick; and again into a *new Conſternation*; ſo without *further Conſideration*, they diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to the King, to deſire a ſafe Conduct for a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend him with a *Petition*. This Pannick and Conſternation, are the Birth of his ſeeming Fancy, or that of the Viſionary Authors whom he ſlaviſhly copies. The Parliament were indeed uneaſy at the wrong Step that was taken by their Army's retreating to *Warwick*, and not purſuing the King, whoſe Troops their General might eaſily have diſpers'd, after he had been reinforc'd with 4000 Men: But their Deſire of a ſafe Conduct proceeded not from Fear, it was to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, and reſtore the publick Peace.

First Treat. At a Conference of the two Houſes three Days before the Earl of *Eſſex* return'd to *London*, the Earl of *Northumberland* acquainted the Commons, that the *Committee* for the Safety of the Kingdom had ſome Thoughts of Propoſitions to be made to his Majeſty, but were of Opinion to acquaint firſt his Excellency with their Intentions; who return'd them for Anſwer, *That he believ'd the Committee had ſuch Reaſons for thoſe Propoſitions as were laid on ſure Grounds; but withal he hop'd, they had no Thoughts of any Weakneſs of his Army, or that the Courage of thoſe who ſtood it ſo ſtoutly in the late Battel, wou'd fail them, if nothing but a ſecond Encounter muſt decide the Matter.* Both Houſes agreed to ſend Sir *Peter Killegrew* to his Majeſty, then at *Reading*, to deſire a free Acceſs for their Commiſſioners, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, Sir *John Evelyn*, the Lord *Wainman*, and Sir *John Hippeſley*. The King told Sir *Peter, he would grant a ſafe Conduct to any ſuch as he had not proclaim'd* TRAYTORS; and then excepted againſt Sir *John Evelyn*. Sir *Peter Killegrew* was again ſent to his Majeſty on his former Errand, and the King again gave him the ſame Anſwer. The great Spite againſt Sir *John*, was for his impeaching the Lord *Digby*; and the Proclamation in which he was declar'd a *Traytor*, was thought to be publiſh'd on Purpoſe, it being wet from the Preſs when it was firſt ſhewn. And Sir *Peter Killegrew*, had been kept Priſoner 24 Hours by Prince *Rupert*, to hinder his delivering the Meſſage 'till the Proclamation was printed: At laſt Sir *John Evelyn*'s earneſt Sollicitations prevail'd with the Parliament to leave his Name out of the Commiſſion, that it might not retard the Peace which they all ſo much deſir'd. Mr. *Pierrepoint* being added to the Commiſſioners, they carry'd the Petition to *Colebroke*, and preſented it to the King the 11th of *November*. His Majeſty appointed them to attend him at *Windſor* Caſtle with their Propoſitions, and deſir'd the Treaty might be ſpeeded: But in the midſt of theſe peaceable Diſpoſitions, and when the Parliament depended entirely on the *Faith of the Treaty*; the King, as General *Ludlow* writes, " taking the Advantage of " a very thick Miſt, march'd his Army the very " next Day, *November* the 12th, within half a Brentford " Mile of *Brentford*, before he was diſcover'd, de- *Fight.* " ſigning to ſurprize the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Train of " Artillery, which was then at *Hammerſmith*, the " Parliament and City; which he had certainly " done, if two Regiments of Foot, and a ſmall " Party of Horſe that lay at *Brentford*, had not " with unſpeakable Courage oppos'd his Paſſage, " and ſtopp'd the March of his Army moſt part " the Afternoon; during which Time the Army that quarter'd in and about *London*, drew together, which ſome of them, and particularly the Life-Guard, among whom was *Ludlow*, had Opportunity the ſooner to do, being at that very Inſtant drawn out into *Chelſea* Fields to Muſter, where they heard the Vollies of Shot that paſs'd between the Enemy and the Parliaments little Party. The Diſpute continu'd ſome Hours, till the latter were ſurrounded with Horſe and Foot; and then being overpower'd with Numbers on every Side, many brave and gallant Men having loſt their Lives upon the Place, the reſt choſe rather to commit themſelves to the Water, than to thoſe that were engag'd in ſo treacherous a Deſign; where many Officers, as Major *Quarles*, and Captain *Lacy*, and private Soldiers were drown'd, and ſome taken Priſoners. However, the Enemy's Deſign was by this Means defeated, and they diſcourag'd from any further Attempt that Night. The Parliament were ſo alarm'd with the Danger and Treachery of this Enterprize, that they us'd all poſſible Diligence to bring their Forces together, ſo that by eight a Clock the next Morning, the Lord General had an Army of 20000 Horſe and Foot drawn up upon *Turnham-Green*, and Part of their Army which lay at *Kingſton*, was marching to them by way of *London*. The Enemy drew out a Party of theirs towards the Hill at *Acton*, which the Earl of *Eſſex* order'd ſome Troops to attack, and they forc'd them to retire in Diſorder to their main Body. *And hereupon*, ſays *Ludlow*, in the Opinion of *many judicious Perſons, we loſt, as at* Edgehill, *a favourable*

A.D.1642.

A.D.1642. *favourable Opportunity of engaging the Enemy with great Advantage, our Number exceeding theirs, and their Reputation being utterly loſt in the laſt Attempt.* *Whitlocke* ſays, "Some of the King's Party did af-"terwards confeſs, if they had fallen upon them "then, they had probably broken them." This Action in Time of Treaty was ſo ill reſented, that the Parliament voted *they wou'd have no Accommodation.* The Falſity of the Archdeacon's Hiſtory of this Fight, conſiſts more in the Reflection than Fact. He ſays, many are of *Opinion* IF *the King's Army* of about 12000 Men, had attack'd the Parliament's of about 20000, *it had preſently given way.* Another Falſity is, that Dr. *Downing* and Mr. *Marſhal,* two Army Chaplains, gave *Abſolution* to thoſe Soldiers who had been taken Priſoners at *Brentford,* and broke their Words by liſting again in the Parliament Army, after they had promis'd to bear Arms no more againſt the King. He ſays gravely they did it for the better recuiting their Army with thoſe 500 Priſoners, which in Fact were but 150, tho' the City of *London was pouring out Men,* as we read in *Ruſhworth*; and it was hardly worth while for the two Miniſters to abſolve them of Breach of Faith when they were ſo little wanted; which added to the Rarity of *Presbyterian* Abſolution, makes very merry Hiſtory.

Parliament Petition. His Majeſty retreated to *Reading,* where he receiv'd a Petition from the two Houſes, who it ſeems were in a little better Temper than when they voted no Accommodation, to deſire him to *return to his Parliament with his* Royal, *not his* martial Attendance: *That Religion, Laws, and Liberties might be ſettled by their Advice, finding by a ſad and late Accident, he was environ'd with ſuch Counſels as rather perſuaded a deſperate Diviſion, than join'd in a good Agreement with his Parliament.* The King in Excuſe of that ſad Accident at *Brentford,* ſaid he had ſent a Meſſenger to give Notice of it; and as to any intended Surprize and Sack of *London,* he diſown'd it, and added, *probably God Almighty wou'd not have given ſuch a Bleſſing to our Journey, as to have aſſiſted us ſo by Land and Water, as with leſs than a third Part of our Foot, and with the Loſs but of ten Men, to beat two their beſt Regiments out of both* Brentfords; *for all the great Advantage of their Works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and kill and drown many others, to take* 500 *Priſoners,* &c. *if he who is the Searcher of Hearts and Truth itſelf, had not known the Innocency of our Heart; and the Bleſſing of God upon this Action, will we doubt not clear us; and God ſo bleſs our future Actions, as we have deliver'd the Truth.* Notwithſtanding theſe ſolemn Appeals, and theſe boaſted Evidences of God's Bleſſing, the Fact is otherwiſe; the Number of the King's Forces at *Brentford* Fight was treble to that of the Parliament, and inſtead of loſing ten Men only, the King loſt more than the Parliament, as one of their Author's writes; *At laſt our Numbers and Proviſion increaſing continually, Prince* Robert *and his Crew of* Robbers, *were forc'd to fly, being beaten back from their Ground with great Slaughter.* Again; *notwithſtanding all thoſe firſt Diſadvantages, the Loſs at this bloody Bickering* was moſt conſtantly reported to *be far more on the Enemy's Side than on ours, at leaſt three to one.* *Ruſhworth* tells us there were but 150 Priſoners taken. The beſt Proof of the *fair Intention* by attacking the Parliament's Forces in Time of Treaty, is what his Majeſty ſays; *It may appear by my not purſuing my Victory at* Brentford; *when he had juſt before* ſpoken of his *great Diſadvantage* by the Superiority of the Earl of *Eſſex* Army in Number, and by his *giving Order to his own Army to march off before he had Notice of Forces from* London. It is very likely that 24000 Men which the Earl muſter'd the next Day at *Turnham-Green,* cou'd gather together and his Majeſty have no Notice of it. One Hiſtorian ſays *his Army was forc'd to fly.*

King's Anſwer.

Parl. Chron. 215.

Wnitl.

Parl. Chron. 215.

Ludlow, Thoſe Perſons who were againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*'s purſuing the King, *well knew the Enemy to be in a flying and not in a charging Condition:* Yet his Majeſty declares ſolemnly to the Parliament and the whole World, that he did not attack the Earl of *Eſſex,* to prove that he intended nothing at all by ſurprizing the Parliament's Forces at *Brentford.* Mr. *Acherley* remarks that *Brentford* Fight was *while there was a Treaty depending, and after the* Two Houſes *had order'd their Army to forbear Hoſtilities; on which Account it was call'd a perfidious Part, as bad as maſſacring the Parliament's Forces, who were reſting under a Treaty as they thought ſecure.* *Orleans* makes a ſorry Excuſe for it; *he thought he no way tranſgreſs'd the Treaty, being ſcarce commenc'd.* It is not to be doubted but the King's Army wou'd not have fallen upon the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Troops in *Brentford,* had they not depended upon ſome Advantage by the Security they were in; and then how muſt it ſhock one to read in his Majeſty's Anſwer, that *God had given a Bleſſing* to that very *perfidious Part* which the learned Lawyer ſpeaks of.

A.D.1642.

Earl of Newcaſtle

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* aſſociated ſeveral Counties in the *North* of *England* for the King, as *Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, Durham,* with the Town of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne,* which was too great a Power for the Lord *Fairfax* with the divided Forces of *Yorkſhire* to cope with; and that Power was the more dangerous, for that the Earl's Army was full of Papiſts Officers and Soldiers. This formidable Combination between the Papiſts and their Abettors againſt the Religion and Laws of *England,* cou'd not but allarm the *Scots,* and diſpoſe them to lend a willing Ear to the Deſires of the Parliament for their Aſſiſtance; and ſo ſtrong an Aſſociation put the Two Houſes upon taking the like Method.

Occaſions the Scots *entering* England.

The Lord *Fairfax,* Sir *William Brereton,* Sir *William Waller,* Lord *Grey* of *Groby,* Earl of *Manchester,* Earl of *Denbigh,* Major-General *Brown,* Sir *Thomas Middleton,* were order'd to aſſociate *Yorkſhire, Cheſhire, Hampſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Eſſex,* and the *Eaſtern* Counties, *Shropſhire, Berkſhire, North-Wales,* &c.

About the ſame time Colonel *Skippon* was made Major-General of the Army, and due Care was taken to ſupply the Earl of *Eſſex* with all Neceſſaries.

His Majeſty garriſon'd *Reading,* and made Sir *Arthur Aſton* a Papiſt Governor; from thence he remov'd to *Oxford,* where Mr. *Edward Hyde* his Chancellor of the Exchequer had more Leiſure to draw up Declarations than the People found to read them. *Warwick* owns his *Language and Stile were a little too redundant*; and tho' he made plain the *Deceitfulneſs* of the Parliament, yet a wiſe Lord ſaid of him, *our good Pen will harm us,* with Multiplicity and Wantonneſs of Words. I obſerv'd this in every Paragraph of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*; and it is amazing that ſo voluminous a Hiſtory without one good hiſtorical Quality, ſhou'd have impos'd on the World above twenty Years: But that Impoſition is wearing off to make room for Sincerity and Truth.

P. 196.

P. 197.

The reverend Hiſtorian informs us that the two Houſes, "Tho' they ſeem'd ſo deſirous of a Peace, "ſeverely proſecuted all ſuch as really endeavour'd "it; *not one Word of which is true.* It is obſerv'd, "that their Partiality and Injuſtice was ſo notori-"ous, that there was no Rule or Meaſure of Right "in any Matter depending before them; *every Word of which is falſe, and is ſo ſelf-evident, that there needs no Proof of it.* Again; *The Two Houſes found themſelves preſs'd for Want of Money,* and forc'd it from the Citizens by Impriſonment, Diſtreſs, and the late violent Methods; which is as true as the reſt. Such as refus'd to obey their Ordinances for Contributions, were dealt with as the Law directs in Caſes of Refuſal to pay Taxes.

*A.D.*1642. But the *Londoners* in general contributed chearfully, inſomuch that the Parliament now deſiring a Loan of 30000 Pounds, they ſuddenly advanc'd 60000 Pounds, and reſolv'd there ſhou'd be no Want of Money if the Earl of *Eſſex* was oblig'd to carry on the War. 'Tis worth obſerving what a ſtrong Appetite the Cavaliers had to Blood: For not content with ſpilling it in an unnatural War, they wou'd fain have fed it by Form of Law; and to that End *Heath* one of their Judges was order'd to try Captain *Lilburne*, who had been taken at *Brentford* for High-Treaſon at *Oxford*, which was as fooliſh as it was cruel. The Parliament had more Priſoners than they, and cou'd make Repriſals on Delinquents when they pleas'd, which a little right Thinking wou'd have taught them. But they went on till Notice was given them, that if any one was put to Death for having been in the Parliament's Service, they wou'd inflict the like Punihment on ſuch Priſoners as were or ſhould be taken by their Forces; which the wiſe Heads at *Oxford* might eaſily have foreſeen, and not have ſhewn their Teeth when they durſt not bite. His Majeſty publiſh'd a Declaration againſt the Two Houſes raiſing Money by Ordnance, which he had done before, and with as good Succeſs; but he thought to ſucceed better in the Affair of the Sheriffs which he nominated for the ſeveral Counties of *England*, whether they were in his Poſſeſſion or not, which was done with a double Deſign, the one to exerciſe the Authority Royal, the other to authorize them to receive a Tax of 400000 Pounds, which had by Act of Parliament been made payable to the Sheriffs, and by them to be return'd to the Places of Receipt in the ſaid Act ſpecify'd; but the Houſe of Commons RESOLV'D, *That all thoſe that preſum'd to exerciſe the Office of High-Sheriff without Conſent of Parliament, ſhou'd be ſummon'd to appear as Delinquents to anſwer ſuch Matters as ſhou'd be juſtly alledg'd againſt them.* The Author of the *Chronicle* aſſures us many of theſe Sheriffs appointed by the King were *Papiſts, and all of them univerſally Perſons very ill-affected, and fit for any Deſign.*

Parl. Chron. 220.

Cavaliers for Blood.

Farnham *taken.*

About the ſame time the Two Houſes were inform'd that Sir *William Waller* had taken *Farnham* Caſtle, and in it Mr. *Denham* High-Sheriff of *Surrey*, Captain *Hudſon*, and ſeveral Perſons of Note, with a great Booty of Money, Arms, and Ammunition. Sir *William Brockam* the new High-Sheriff of *Kent*, was ſeiz'd by Sir *Michael Liveſay*, with his Commiſſion under the Great-Seal, ſeveral Writs, Proclamations, and other ſuch Ware, all which he ſent to the Parliament. The Sheriff of *Devonſhire* Sir *Edmund Forteſcue*, was taken by a Detachment from the Garriſon of *Plymouth*, and ſent up to *London*, together with Sir *Edward Seymour*, *Edward Seymour* Eſq; Mr. *Baſſet*, Colonel *Champernoun*, Captain *Pomeroy*, Captain *Bidlake*, Captain *Peter Forteſcue*, Mr. *Barnes*, Mr. *Shepton* Clerk of the Peace, Major *Firman*, *Robert Warren* Eſq; *Thomas Shipcot* Eſq; and other Gentlemen, who had Cannon with them, and had great Things in their Heads if they cou'd have accompliſh'd them.

Briſtol.

Winche-ſter.

Marlbo-rough.

The City and Caſtle of *Briſtol* had been ſecur'd for the Parliament by Colonel *Eſſex* with a Party of 1500 Foot and 500 Horſe before *Edge-Hill* Fight. Sir *William Waller* took *Wincheſter*, where the Lord *Grandiſon* and Commiſſary *Wilmot* commanded for the King. Theſe with the Lord *Digby* had juſt taken *Marlborough*, and committed ſuch Cruelties and Robberies as render'd their Names infamous and odious. But what better cou'd be expected from ſuch Leaders and ſuch Soldiers, the Corruption of the corrupt Part of the Kingdom? *Digby* return'd with his Plunder to *Oxford*. *Grandiſon* and *Wilmot* advanc'd to *Wincheſter*, near which City Sir *William Waller*, who was ſent out after them, found them drawn up to receive him with an equal Number of Forces, which he drove into the Town, and purſu'd them to the Walls, where Colonel *Brown* ſoon made a Breach, and entering the Place, bravely ſeconded by the other Officers, the Cavaliers were forc'd to retire into the Caſtle, where they ſurrender'd at Diſcretion, and the Town was given the Soldiers to pillage, the Townſmen having made as much Oppoſition to the Parliament's Soldiers as the Royaliſts. What was Matter of great Scandal to the latter, was the breaking the Organ Pipes in the Cathedral dedicated to one St. *Swithin*, whoſe Sainſhip was owing to a Miracle of his in piecing together a whole Basket of broken Eggs. The Cathedral Men took in great Dudgeon, that the Honour of this famous Saint ſhou'd be thus expos'd, and his Organ Pipes turn'd into Bagpipes. It muſt be remember'd that during the whole Courſe of the War, there was no Cathedral Town but what bore its Teſtimony againſt the Defence of the Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the People, and thought Devaſtation and Blood a poor Sacrifice to Superſtition and arbitrary Power.

*A.D.*1642.

Godwin.

Parl. Chron. 227.

Sir *William Waller* having garriſon'd *Wincheſter*, proceeded to *Chicheſter*, and took it.

Sir Will. Waller.

Chiche-ſter.

We left the Marquis of *Hertford* at *Shireburn*, where he was beſieg'd by the Earl of *Bedford*, whoſe Troops being moſtly Train'd-Bands, ſoon grew weary of the Length of the Siege, and return'd to their Homes. The Earl with the Remainder remov'd to *Yeoville* expecting Supplies; but the Marquis being reinforc'd with 100 Horſe and 200 Foot ſent him by Mr. *Rogers* High-Sheriff of *Dorſet*, order'd Major *Bampfield* with a Detachment of 400 Horſe and 200 Foot, to fall upon the Earl of *Bedford*'s Rear. Theſe advanc'd to *Babel-Hill* within a Mile of *Yeoville*, where, tho' with great Diſadvantage of Ground, they were attack'd by the Parliament Forces, and put to Flight: Major *Bampfield* was taken Priſoner, Captain *Huſſey* kill'd; but the Execution was not very great, the Royaliſts making the beſt Uſe of their own Heels and their Horſes. In this Action Captain *Ayſcough*, Captain *Balfour*, and Captain *Thomſon*, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on the Parliament's Side. The Marquis of *Hertford* receiving Information that the Lord *Brook* was advancing to join the Earl of *Bedford*, and renew the Siege of *Shireburn*, and being diſhearten'd at *Bampfield*'s Defeat, he quitted the Caſtle and eſcap'd to *Minehead* in Diſguiſe, together with the Lord *Pawlet*; from whence the Marquis paſs'd over into *Wales*, leaving behind him the Earl of *Bath*, Sir *Henry Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Sydenham*, Sir *Francis Dodington*, Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and other Gentlemen, who were taken Priſoners by the Earl of *Bedford*'s Forces, and ſent to *London*. A ſmall Addition of Force wou'd then have ſecur'd the *Weſt* for the Parliament. Theſe Events happen'd before the Battel of *Edge-Hill*.

Marquis of Hert-ford.

Earl of Bedford.

Yeoville *Skirmiſh.*

In *Cornwall* the Lord *Mohun* was very active againſt the Parliament, having refus'd to attend the Houſe of Peers upon Summons. The Earl of *Bath* had done the ſame, and the Lord *Capel* gave Power to the Marquis of *Hertford* to receive all his Rents in the *Weſtern* Parts of *England*, which were very conſiderable at and about *Wrinton* in *Somerſetſhire*, for maintaining the War againſt the Parliament, which he had deſerted. The City of *Exeter* was garriſon'd by the Citizens, and twenty-five Pieces of Ordnance mounted on the Walls. The Earl of *Bedford* while he was ſuperior in Force to the Royaliſts, kept *Dorſet*, *Devon*, and *Somerſet* pretty well in Awe, but for want of due Supplies he cou'd not ſuppreſs the oppoſite Party, who eſpecially in *Cornwal* and *Devon* picqu'd themſelves on Cavalier Notions of Loyalty, and center'd Religion in Forms and Ceremonies, without being at much Pains to know more, or know better than their Vicars or Tutors taught them; ſo they took hold of the firſt

Cornwall.

Devon.

Opportunity

Opportunity to deliver themſelves from their Deliverers, to reject the Authority and Protection of the Parliament, and give themſelves up abſolutely to the abſolute Power of the King, ſupported by the moſt bloody and ravenous Part of his Majeſty's Army under *Goring* and *Greenvile*.

North. In the *North* the Parliamentarians could not make Head againſt the Cavaliers. The Earl of *Cumberland* commanded there for his Majeſty, before the Earl of *Newcaſtle* had form'd his Army, and had proclaim'd the following Gentlemen Traitors for not joining with him: The Yorkſhire *Gentlemen proclaimed* Traytors. Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Sir *Edward Loftus*, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, Sir *Henry Forbes*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *Richard Darby*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Sir *Henry Anderſon*, Sir *John Savile*, Sir *Edward Rodes*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Thomas Remington*, Sir *Thomas Norcliffe*, *John Hotham*, Eſq; *Thomas Hatcher*, Eſq; *William Liſter*, Eſq; *John Legard*, Eſq; *John Dodſworth*, Eſq; *John Waſtel*, Eſq; *John Perce*, Eſq; *William White*, Eſq; *Thomas Robinſon*, Eſq; *John Robinſon*, Eſq; *Arthur Beckwith*, Eſq; *Thomas Stockdale*, Eſq; and ſeveral others; which the Parliament reſenting, did the ſame by the Earl of *Cumberland* and his Array Men. The Lord *Fairfax* being ſenſible that when the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Newcaſtle* had joined Forces, the Parliament's would not be a Match for them in *Yorkſhire*, concluded a Neutrality for that Province with Mr. *Bellaſis* the King's Commiſſioner; but the Parliament diſſolved that Agreement, as not being made with their Conſent; and the Lord *Fairfax*, his Son, and their Adherents, made a very gallant Defence againſt the Earls of *Newcaſtle* and *Cumberland*, who had an Army almoſt as great as the King's, till the *Scots* came to their Aſſiſtance, and drove the Cavaliers out of the

Cawood. *North*. Capt. *Hotham* took *Cawood* Caſtle from Archbiſhop *Williams*, who fled to the King, notwithſtanding he had been ſo ill uſed by him; and his Uſage was not much better afterwards. Sir *Hugh Cholmley* and Sir *Matthew Bointon* joining Forces, fell upon Col. *Slingsby* at *Gisborough*, routed his Party of 600 Horſe and Foot, and took himſelf and 140 of

Howley. his Men Priſoners. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſeiz'd the Lord *Savile*'s ſtrong Houſe at *Howley*, and found in it 500 Men, with Store of Arms and Ammunition. Sir *William Savile* and Major *Beaumont* made their Eſcape before the Houſe was taken.

Tadcaſter. Mr. Archdeacon, with his wonted Sincerity, aſſures us, the Earl of *Newcaſtle drove the Lord Fairfax and his Lieutenant-General, Capt.* Hotham, *out of* Tadcaſter; which little Action has alſo its Share of Falſity, and I will repeat what the Lord *Fairfax* ſaid of it, to confirm the Reader in his Judgment of the Reverend Author's Fair Hiſtory, when he

Fairf. Mem. writes of the Cavaliers. "I ſent to Capt. *Hotham* to bring up the Forces to *Wetherby*, "which being done, and the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s "Army come in Sight, we drew our Men into "the innermoſt Part of our Quarters, where "we had raiſed ſome Breaſt-Works for our "Musketeers, and there the Fight began about "Eleven a Clock, and ſo continued a ſharp "Diſpute till about Nine a Clock in the E-"vening the 10th of *December*, in which Time "there was at leaſt 40000 Musket-Shot diſ-"charged on both Sides, and great Numbers "of Cannon-Shot. The Enemy had once Part "of the Town, beaten our Men, and plac'd "ſome of their Companies in two or three "Houſes, which did much indanger us. But "in the End our Men with great Courage for-"ced them out again, recovered and burnt "the Houſes, kill'd many of the Enemies "that were there placed, and in Concluſion the "Enemy retired, leaving very many of their "Men dead, and very great Numbers wound-"ed." The Reader may depend upon it that all his Relations of Fights, Skirmiſhes, and Sieges are of a Piece with this.

The Lord *Strange*, ſoon after Earl of *Derby*, Lanca began the War in *Lancaſhire*, by the Murder ſhire. of one *Richard Percival*, a Dealer in Linnen about *Mancheſter*, which Town he beſieged Manche- with an Army of 3000 Foot, and 200 Dragoons, ſter. moſt of them *Lancaſhire* Papiſts. He had with him three Pieces of Ordnance, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Salford*, parted from *Mancheſter* only by the River: But the Townſmen, with the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Holland* of *Denton*, Capt. *Booth*, Son to Sir *George Booth*, Capt. *Ratcliffe*, Mr. *Aſhton* of *Middleton*, Capt. *Bradſhaw*, Mr. *Egerton* of *Shaw*, Mr. *Erid*, and their Tenants, defended the Place, defenceleſs as it was for Want of Walls, againſt the Lords *Strange*, *Molineux*, Col. *Evers*, Sir *Edward* Earl of *Fitton*, Mr. *Leigh*, and their little Army, who Derby. were obliged to retire, after ſeveral inſolent Summons and Aſſaults. The Earl of *Derby*, Parl. then Lord *Strange*, was impeached for the Mur- Chron. 174. der of *Percival*, and would have ſuffer'd if the Parliament could have come at him, as they did afterwards. 'Tis ſaid his joining with the Papiſts againſt the Proteſtants ſhorten'd his Father's Days, who died while his Son was before *Mancheſter*.

The Reader will obſerve that it is impoſſible to purſue the Thread of this Hiſtory in due Order of Time; There being Action in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, and the Parliament ſitting at the ſame Time at *London*, it would confound Civil and Military Matters, and one Action with another too much to obſerve a Chronological Succeſſion of Things. Moſt of the Civil Part conſiſts in Declarations, Letters, Meſſages, and Anſwers, which have been mention'd in their proper Place.

About a Month before the Battle at *Edgehill* the Lords and Commons paſs'd an Ordinance againſt *Stage-Plays*, *Interludes*, &c. as expreſſing *Laſcivious Mirth and Levity*; in which they have ſince exceeded all Bounds of Virtue and Good Manners, and have not only met with Encouragement, but the Actors and Managers of them have been favoured and careſs'd, as if they had not in all Ages and all Nations been look'd upon and treated as profligate and ſcandalous.

The Univerſity of *Oxford*, when the Lord *Say* and his Men were there, apprehending that his Lordſhip would have done what *Whitlocke* adviſed, and what he in Prudence ought to have done, wrote a long Letter to the Earl of *Pembroke*, their Chancellor, elected upon *Laud*'s Impeachment, to hinder a Garriſon being left there, or Soldiers ſuffered to come amongſt them; which they knew they had deſerved from the Parliament for harbouring Delinquents, and refuſing to ſend them to *London* upon Summons, as Sir *John Biron* and others. The Lord *Pembroke*, in his Anſwer, writes thus: *If you had deſired my Aſſiſtance, I ſhould willingly have contributed my beſt Endeavours for your Safety and Protection; but your own unadviſed Counſels and Actions have reduced you to the Straits you are now in, and in Diſcretion you might have foreſeen, that the admitting of Cavaliers, and taking up Arms, could not but make the Univerſity a notorious Mark of Oppoſition againſt the Parliament, and therefore to* Lord Pembroke's Letter to Oxford Univ.

be oppoſed by it. If you had contain'd your ſelves within the decent modeſt Bounds of an Univerſity, you might juſtly have challeng'd me if I had not perform'd the Duty of a Chancellor. I am ſorry you have brought theſe Troubles upon your ſelves, &c. The chief Man in taking up Arms was Dr. *Robert Pink*, Warden of *New College*, and Deputy to the Chancellor, but diſplac'd by him for this and other Offences. The King's coming here was Matter of great Joy; This learned Militia have not a little valued themſelves upon it in eloquent Addreſſes, and other Diſcourſes; whoſe Eloquence has not however kept them from Oblivion.

Ireland. 'Twas impoſſible for the Parliament to do as much for the Relief of *Ireland* as was neceſſary, and as they would gladly have done, had they not been diverted by the Care of their own Preſervation: But they did what they could, and were as forward to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in that Kingdom as the King was backward. Several Regiments had been tranſported to *Ireland*, and had given a great Check to the Rebels. Stores of Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of warlike Proviſions, were ſent thither from Time to Time, and in greater Plenty than Men or Money, tho' they had both in greater Proportion than the Danger the Parliament were in at home could well bear. How his Majeſty behav'd appears by a Letter from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, complaining of the Delay he met with at Court, *then at York*, which retarded his going into that Kingdom, and particularly as follows. "The King being

Earl of Leiceſter's Letter to Earl of Northumberland about it.

"informed that there were certain *Draught* "*Horſes* provided for *Ireland*, ſaid, *I muſt* "*needs have them for my own Uſe.* I did "humbly beſeech him not to take them away "from his own Service in *Ireland*, for which "they were bought, and beſides what I ſaid "my ſelf, I made Means by others to ſave the "Horſes, ſo that I heard no more of it for ſome "Time: But then his Majeſty ſaid again; *I* "*muſt needs have thoſe Horſes, and would have* "*you ſend for them.* I repreſented that the "Parliament might take it very ill, in regard "the Horſes were bought with their Money, "and for the Service of *poor* Ireland. There"fore I did beſeech him not to take them, or "would ſecure me from being an Inſtrument "in what I conceived would much hurt his Af"fairs, and that I being truſted by the Parlia"ment, could not do it my ſelf, nor conſent "that any other ſhould do it, being a Breach "of Truſt. Notwithſtanding which, the King "ſent Mr. *Endimion Porter* and Sir *George Hay* "to me ſeveral Times to the like Purpoſe; but "I return'd the ſame Anſwer, adding, *I could* "*not do it, and be an honeſt Man.* However, "his Majeſty gave one *Errington*, who ſerv'd "me, a Warrant to fetch the Horſes. *Erring*"*ton* told me of it, I forbad him, and told him, "*if he did it, he muſt not expect to have any* "*thing more to do with me*; adding, *I doubt*"*ed not the Parliament would hang him for* "*ſtealing the Horſes. Errington* ſaid, his Ma"jeſty had *commanded him upon his Allegiance* "*to execute the Warrant.*" Accordingly he went away without the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Conſent or Knowledge, and ſeiz'd the Horſes at *Cheſter*. In theſe Letters, that is, the Earl of *Pembroke*'s to the *Oxford* Men, and this of the Earl of *Leiceſter* to the Earl of *Northumberland*, there is the honeſt Face of Truth. In every Letter, Speech, or any the like thing, in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, there is *Waſh* and *Paint*, and Fact bury'd or hidden under a Heap of Words with ſo much Formality and Affectation, that if what is ſaid had been true, the Manner of ſaying it muſt be nauſeous and tireſome to Perſons who have ever ſo little Knowledge of right Thinking and Speaking.

Pardon. Three Days after the Battle of *Edgehill*, the King, to prepare the Citizens of *London* for his Reception when he could make his Way thither, ſent his Pardon to that City and *Weſtminſter*, excepting Alderman *Fulke* and Capt. *Manwaring*, and all thoſe Perſons whom he had before excepted. But I do not find that thoſe who were not excepted had any more Benefit, or took more Notice of it than thoſe that were. Another ſuch Pardon was offer'd to *Kent*, excepting Sir *Michael Liveſay* and *Thomas Blount*, Eſq; and ſome other general Exceptions, and it had the like Succeſs.

An Aſſeſſment. At the latter End of *November*, the Lords and Commons publiſhed an Ordinance for aſſeſſing all ſuch as had not contributed towards raiſing Horſe and Arms, the Aſſeſſors to be appointed by *Iſaac Penington*, Eſq; Lord-Mayor of *London*, Sir *John Wollaſton* Alderman, Alderman *Towſe*, Alderman *Warner*, Alderman *Andrews*, Alderman *Chambers*, Alderman *Fulke*, Sir *Thomas Soame* Alderman, and the Money paid to Sir *John Wollaſton*, Alderman *Towſe*, Alderman *Warner*, and Alderman *Andrews*. Againſt which Ordinance, his Majeſty publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein Care is taken to tell all thoſe who wonder'd at it, for 'tis exceſſive long and verboſe, that the *Anabaptiſts* and *Diſſenters* joining *with vicious and debauch'd Perſons of deſperate Fortunes, had turn'd out godly, pious, and painful Divines, and put in ſchiſmatical, illiterate, and ſcandalous Preachers, who fill'd the Pulpits and Churches with Blaſphemy.* The Strength of the Argument and the Beauty of the Style ſeem to be Mr. *Hyde*'s. The Penman of theſe Papers ſhews very little Art, but what there is, conſiſts chiefly in turning the Phraſes in the Parliament's Declarations, ſuch as *godly*, *pious*, *painful Divines*, on one Side, and illiterate ſcandalous Preachers on the other, againſt them. The Aſſeſſment was not a Penny the worſe for this Declaration. Another was put out by the King againſt the Parliament's Ordinance for the *Receipt of Cuſtoms*, and with the ſame Succeſs. But both Sides did hardly ever let any of the like Papers go unanſwer'd.

We have mentioned an Agreement made between the Gentlemen of *Yorkſhire* for a Neutrality in that County, the like was done in *Cheſhire*, the Lord *Kilmurry*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, for the King; Col. *Marbury*, and *Henry Maynwaring*, Eſq; for the Parliament, who diſſolved this Agreement, as they had done that in *Yorkſhire*.

Staffordſhire and *Warwickſhire* were empower'd by a particular Declaration of both Houſes of Parliament to aſſociate, and the following Commiſſioners were appointed to manage that Aſſociation.

For the County of *Warwick* and City of *Coventry*. *Warwickſhire.*

Sir *Peter Wentworth*, *William Pureſoy*, Eſq; *Godfrey Boſvile*, Eſq; *John Barker*, Eſq; *William Jeſſon*, Eſq; Mayor of *Coventry*, *John Hales*, Eſq; *Anthony Stoughton*, Eſq; *Thomas Boughton*, Eſq; *William Colemore*, Eſq; *George Abbot*, Eſq; *Thomas Baſnet*, Alderman.

For *Staffordſhire* and City of *Litchfield*. *Staffordſhire.*

Sir *Hugh Wroteſly*, Sir *Charles Egerton*, *Thomas Crompton*, Eſq; *Edward Maynwaring*, Eſq; *Thomas Parkes*, Eſq; *John Shrinſley*, Eſq; *Rowland Cotton*, Eſq; *Richard Floyer*, Eſq; *Richard*

Richard Bowyer, Eſq; *Gerard Shrinſley*, Eſq; *Edward Leigh*, Eſq; *Richard Broughton*, Eſq; *Matthew Moreton*, Eſq; *Richard Payot*, Eſq; *George Parker*, Eſq; *Humphrey Wicley*, Eſq; *Walter Groſvenor*, Eſq; *Francis Collier*, Eſq; *Ralph Rudyard*, Eſq; Mr. *Edward Broughton*, Mr. *John Birch*, Mr. *Philip Jackſon*, Mr. *Henry Stone*, Mr. *John Swinefield*, Mr. *John Bourne*, Mr. *Richard Baxter*.

A. D. 1643. *Subſcription.*

In the Beginning of the following Year, the Parliament publiſh'd a Declaration, ſhewing the Neceſſity of a preſent *Subſcription* for Money and Plate for further Supply of the Army, wherein they urge the very great Danger the Nation is in from the *many Thouſands of profeſs'd Papiſts bearing Arms againſt the Parliament, which Papiſts have plunder'd, robb'd, pillag'd, and murder'd many of his Majeſty's good Proteſtant Subjects, and their Armies encreaſe by the Acceſſion of many* Popiſh Commanders *from Foreign Parts, arriving with Arms at* Newcaſtle, *where it is notoriouſly known the Earl does lay very great Impoſitions upon all Coal-Ships for* London. Much Money and Plate were brought in upon this Declaration, by which the *Publick Faith* was engag'd to pay it with 8 *per Cent.* Intereſt.

London *petition to the King.*

The Citizens of *London* ſent a Petition to the King at *Oxford*, deſiring his Majeſty, as the two Houſes had done, to return to his Parliament *with his Royal, not martial Attendance*; to which were added great Profeſſions of Loyalty. This Petition was deliver'd by Sir *George Clarke*, Sir *George Garret*, Aldermen, Mr. *Bateman*, Mr. *Peter Jones*, Mr. *Rhemes*, Mr. *Henly*, Commoners: To which his Majeſty return'd an Anſwer, that could have no other Effect than to exaſperate thoſe Minds, which before were only four'd a little. He told the Citizens, *He look'd on them as Perſons groaning under the ſame Burthens, and aw'd by the ſame Perſons who begot the late Tumults, and the ſame Army which gave Battle to him; That he cannot be ſafe at* London, *while the* LAWS OF THE LAND ('tis almoſt in every Paragraph) *are ſo notoriouſly trampled under Foot; That Contributions have been rais'd there for the maintaining of an Army, who have given him Battle with a Deſign to murder him and his Children; That he can have no Hope while Alderman* Pennington, *their pretended Lord-Mayor*, Ven, Fowke *and* Manwaring, *commit ſuch Outrages as to receive the Money the Citizens brought them.* He then offer'd them Pardon, if they would deſert the Parliament, and ſolemnly declare, *they will defend the* KNOWN LAWS OF THE LAND. *But if they ſhould contribute Money, ſuffer Men to be rais'd, or pay Tonnage and Poundage, every ſuch Perſon muſt expect the ſevereſt Puniſhment the* LAW *can inflict; and his Majeſty will ſeize upon any Part of his Eſtate within his Power for the Support of his own Army, rais'd for the Defence of the* LAW, *ſince he has given Aſſiſtance to the Rebels, which by the* KNOWN LAWS, *&c. And he hopes they will join with him in Defence of the* LAW. This terrible Anſwer being written down, was ſo grateful to the Council at *Oxford*, that they adviſed the King to ſend a Meſſenger, Mr. *Heron*, to *London*, on purpoſe to ſee it delivered, for fear the Aldermen and Common-Council Men, who came to preſent the Petition, might ſink the Anſwer, or leave out ſome of the *Beaux Endroits*, the beautiful Places of it. It is eaſy to ſee that the Air of it proceeded from ſome vain Hope of the Succeſs of a Plot to betray the City to the Cavalier-Army, the very Thought of which makes my Blood ſhudder, conſidering what a Crew the *Goring*'s, the *Wilmot*'s, the *Greenvill*'s, the *Lunsford*'s, the *Digby*'s, had with them. The Parliament being inform'd of *Heron*'s coming, appointed a Committee of both Houſes to be preſent when the Anſwer was deliver'd to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, by *Heron* himſelf, for no Body elſe would venture or deign to read it. After the reading it, the Earl of *Mancheſter* complain'd of the *wounding Aſſertions in it caſt upon Perſons of ſuch eminent Affection in their City.* His Lordſhip ſaid the Parliament *own'd themſelves equally intereſted, and would ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes.* Then Mr *Pym* made particular Replies to the ſeveral Parts of the King's Anſwer, and at the End of every Period of his Speech the Acclamations were ſo loud, that he was often ſilenc'd. He clos'd it thus: *Worthy Citizens*, you *ſee what the Parliament will do for your* Lord-Mayor *and you.* Upon which they cry'd out, *We will live and die with them, we will live and die with them.* Thus had *Henry Heron*, Eſq; his Majeſty's Meſſenger, a very fine Opportunity to inform himſelf of the Reaſon his Majeſty had to call the governing Part of the City a *Faction* only, and the Well-affected to the Parliament a *pack'd Crew of* Browniſts, *&c.* one of whom, according to the Evidence of Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, *hop'd ſhortly to waſh his Hands in the King's Blood; but that Miniſter of Juſtice, the* Lord-Mayor, *refus'd to iſſue a Warrant againſt him*; which, if it had been true, deſerv'd to have been remember'd to his Infamy; but as it is invented, the Infamy ſticks to the Inventor.

King's Anſwer.

Read, and a Committee preſent.

We muſt not forget that on the 16th of *January* the Houſe of Commons made an Order, probably on *Heron*'s coming to *London*, *That if any Agent or Servant to any Perſon that bears Arms againſt the Parliament, ſhall preſume to come to* Weſtminſter, *or reſide about* London, *he ſhall forthwith be apprehended as a Spy, and proceeded againſt accordingly.* They alſo inhibited the *Oxford* Carriers from travelling, and all other Means of conveying any kind of Proviſion from *London* to *Oxford*, or elſewhere to the King's Army, which is rail'd at as very barbarous; as if in Time of War to diſtreſs an Enemy every Way was not cuſtomary, and according to Law Martial.

Order about Spies and Carriers.

Nothing ſeems to me more ſtrange in the Progreſs of this Hiſtory, than the publiſhing of ſo many *Proclamations* and *Declarations* at *Oxford*, none of which had ever any Effect but in the King's own Quarters. His Majeſty now ſent a Letter to the Sheriffs and City of *London*, which declar'd, that the Lord-Mayor was no Lord-Mayor, and requir'd the Citizens to take *hold* of him, *Ven*, *Fulke* and *Maynwaring*; which was too hard a Piece of Service to be perform'd at that Time, eſpecially after the Parliament had forbidden the reading of that Letter: In which the King mentions one *Browne*, a Woodmonger, as a mutinous Fellow, fit alſo to be laid *hold on*; whom I alſo mention, becauſe he is the very ſame Perſon whom this King's Son made a *Knight* and *Baronet*, and who was moſt buſy in hanging the Members of this Parliament after the Reſtoration.

Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s Zeal for the King's Service increaſing in Proportion to his Hatred to the Parliament, who had ſent him to the Tower for ſome licentious Speech in their Houſe; he, who had been a noted *Puritan*, got a Company together in *Cornwall* to diſturb the Peace of the *Weſt*. With theſe he march'd into *Devonſhire*, where his Followers *robb'd, plunder'd, ſpoil'd and*

Sir R. Hopton.

Comm. War. p. 25.

Ruſhw. *p.* 123. *and pillag'd ſeveral Towns*, ſo the Parliament ſay, *and committed divers Rapes and Murders.* They add, *And foraſmuch as that now Ruin and Deſtruction is threaten'd, not only by that helliſh and accurſed Crew, but alſo by the* Welch *and other Forces in the County of* Somerſet, *&c. They therefore appointed all Subſcriptions and Contributions*, which were to be rais'd in that County, to be there expended for the Defence of it, and not ſent to *London*, and made the following Gentlemen Commiſſioners for the Lieutenancy and Aſſeſſments: Earl of *Stamford*, Sir *John Horner*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Sir *George Farwell*, *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Hugh Rogers*, Eſq; *John Aſh*, Eſq; *Henry Sandford*, Eſq; *Richard Cole*, Eſq; *John Pyne*, Eſq; *John Fraunces*, Eſq; *John Hippeſley*, Eſq; *John Harrington*, Eſq; *William Strode*, Eſq; *Henry Henley*, Eſq; *James Aſh*, Eſq; *William Seaborn*, Eſq; *William Long*, Eſq; *John Preſton*, Eſq; *Chriſtopher Walker*, Eſq; *John Pike*, Eſq; *Thomas Hippeſley*, Eſq;. I mention the Gentlemen's Names, to ſhew how impartial the Earl of *Clarendon* is, where he ſays, *all the Gentlemen of* Somerſetſhire, of eminent Quality and Fortune, were on the King's Side, except Sir *John Horner* and Mr. *Popham*. But tho' the Parliament had ſo well provided for the Tranquillity of this large and populous County, they had too many Enemies in it to preſerve it from Waſte; and the Cavaliers under *Goring* and *Greenville*, from *Cornwall* and *Devon*, made ſuch terrible Irruptions into it, that they are to this Day the Subject of Diſcourſe and Abhorrence.

Somerſetſhire *Lieutenancy.*

Epiſcopacy *aboliſhed.*

When Archdeacon *Echard* comes to the paſſing of the Bill for aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, the Falſities are, that the much greater Majority of the Members of the Houſe of Commons who voted for the Bill, were really againſt the Bill, and that there were but five Lords for it, which is left to the Faith of the Reader. One of thoſe five Lords, the Lord Viſcount *Say and Sele*, made a notable Speech in the Houſe of Peers, too long to be incerted intire, but Part of it may help us a little in our Conjecture why that auguſt Aſſembly gave their Aſſent to the Bill: *Their proper Excellency is* Spiritual, *the Denial of the World, with the Pomps and Preferments and Enjoyments thereof; this they ſhould teach and practiſe: But when they, contrary thereunto, ſeek after worldly Excellency, like the great Men of the World, and to rule and domineer as they do, contrary to our Saviour's Precept*, Vos autem non ſic: *But it ſhall not be ſo amongſt you; inſtead of Honour and Eſteem, they have brought upon themſelves, in the Hearts of other People, that Contempt and Odium which they now lie under; and that juſtly and neceſſarily, becauſe the World ſeeth that they prefer a worldly Excellency, and run after it, and contend for it, before their own; which being ſpiritual, is far more* excellent; *and which being* proper *to the Miniſtry, is that alone which will put a Value and Eſteem upon them that are of the Calling.* Is it not prodigious, that the Hiſtorian, who is himſelf of the Spiritual Calling, ſhould be as inſenſible of all theſe Sentiments, as if they were not Chriſtian and Spiritual? How elſe could he be in a Rapture when Dr. *Juxon* rode in Triumph through the City of *London* with the Lord High Treaſurer's White Staff in his Hand; and doubtleſs he was as well pleas'd when Dr. *Robinſon* was breaking the Grand Alliance as Ambaſſador at *Utrecht*. The Lord *Say* proceeds; *As theſe Things hurt themſelves in their Conſciences and Credit, ſo have they, and if they be continued ſtill, will make them hurtful to others. The Reaſon is, becauſe they break out of their own Orb, and move irregularly: There is a Curſe upon their leaving of their own Place.* What follows is an Allegory, which, if it had a Place in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, would have been extoll'd for its Beauty, Magnificence and Truth. *The heavenly Bodies, while they keep within their own Spheres, give Light and Comfort to the World; but if they ſhould break out, and fall from their regular and proper Motions, they would ſet the World on Fire: So have theſe done; while they kept themſelves to the Work of the Miniſtry alone, and gave themſelves to Prayer and the Miniſtry of the Word, according to the Examples of the Apoſtles, the World receiv'd the greateſt Benefits by them, they were the Light and Life thereof; but when their Ambition caſt them down, like Stars from Heaven to Earth, and they grew to be advanced above their Brethren, I do appeal to all who have been verſed in the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Stories, or modern Hiſtories, whether they have not been the* Common Incendiaries *of the Chriſtian World, never ceaſing from Contention one with another about the Precedency of their Sees and Churches, excommunicating one another, drawing Princes to be Parties with them, and thereby caſting them into bloody Wars. Their Ambition and intermeddling with ſecular Affairs, hath been the Occaſion of ſhedding more Chriſtian Blood than any thing elſe in the Chriſtian World: And this no Man can deny that is vers'd in Hiſtory.* The Reverend Hiſtorian muſt by his Character be vers'd in Hiſtory, and he has himſelf compil'd an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, without one Syllable that is in the leaſt like this, and conſequently it muſt be miraculouſly ſincere and impartial. Another Hiſtorian, contrary to his Repreſentation of the Matter, tells us in his homely Way, *Biſhops were voted down Root and Branch*, Nullo Contradicente, *for which there were Bonefires and Ringing of Bells all over the City of* London.

Lord Say's *Speech.*

Parl. Chron. *p.* 150.

About the latter End of *January* a Party of Cavaliers made an Attempt on the Parliament's Quarters at *Henly*, where Major-General *Skippon*'s Regiment of Foot, and another Regiment were juſt enter'd, after a long fatiguing March, and were diſpers'd in ſeveral Places for the Convenience of Reſt and Refreſhment. It was Nine a Clock at Night before the Soldiers were quartered, and about Two in the Morning the Enemy from *Reading*, conſiſting of about 1000 Horſe, came furiouſly upon them, crying out, *The Town is ours, The Town is ours.* But as they rode along the Lane towards the Town, Capt. *Samuel Turner*, who commanded the Guard, order'd a Canon which was planted againſt it to be fir'd: 'Twas charg'd with Musket-Ball, and did great Execution; yet the Enemy's Horſe puſh'd forward, till hearing ſome of the Parliament's Soldiers cry out very loud, *Fire the Reſt of the Ordnance*, they were put into a *Terrible Fright*, and *Flight too*, as Capt. *Turner* phraſes it, in a Letter to his Brother. He adds, *I believe they were ſo bit, they will ſcarce brag of their Victory, which they are ſo apt to do.* A Truth Mr. *Echard* might eaſily have obſerv'd, with as much Pleaſure as I have done, the Royaliſts, in every Relation, boaſting they were Victorious, and by taking their Words for it, he has turn'd the Gravity of Hiſtory into Merriment.

Skirmiſh at Henly.

Leeds *taken by Sir* T. Fairfax.

About the ſame Time Sir *Thomas Fairfax* made himſelf Maſter of the large Town of *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*, where Sir *William Saville* commanded with a Garriſon of 1500 Foot, and 500 Horſe and Dragoons. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*

A. D. 1643. had about nine Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, 1000 Musketeers, and 3000 Club-men: So well affected was the *Yorkſhire* Peaſantry to this gallant Officer and his Cauſe. Sir *Thomas* ſent a written Summons to Sir *William Savile* to ſurrender the Place to the Parliament; Sir *William* anſwered, *En Cavalier*; he never took Notice of *ſuch frivolous Tickets*. Sir *Thomas* had with him Sir *William Fairfax*, Sir *Henry Fowlis*, Capt. *Mildmay*, and other Perſons of Diſtinction. He order'd Sir *William Fairfax* to begin the Aſſault, which was done ſo vigorouſly, and Sir *William* was ſo well ſeconded by Sir *Henry Fowlis*, Sir *Thomas Norcliffe*, Capt. *Forbes*, Capt. *Briggs*, Capt. *Frankland*, and other brave Officers, who ſet an Example to the Soldiers, that they drove the Enemy before them, and enter'd the Town Sword in Hand with the Loſs but of 40 Men on both Sides, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* reſtraining the Soldiers from Slaughter and Pillage. He took 500 Priſoners, many Arms, ſome Cannon, and much Ammunition. Sir *William Savile*, and other Cavalier-Commanders, fled ſoon after the Fight began by ſecret Ways towards *Pontefract*, and their Men ſtole away by Degrees as faſt as they could. *Savile* was very near being drown'd as he croſs'd the River, and Major *Beaumont* was drown'd. This Succeſs ſo terrify'd the Enemy that they immediately abandon'd *Wakefield*, *Shirburne*, and *Pontefract*: But the Garriſons that were there ſtrengthen'd the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army, which he drew into *York*, either to ſave that City or to prepare for the Queen's coming with all Sorts of Supplies from *Holland*, her Standard being ſent before by *Goring*. What a fine Army that Earl's was is ſeen by a Deſcription of it in a Letter from the Lord *Fairfax* to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. *The Strength of the Enemy will be found to conſiſt much of Papiſts, and Popiſhly affected*, which in Fact was the main Strength of the Royal Army, *the Earl of* Newcaſtle *granting Commiſſions for raiſing Men to* Papiſts *for the moſt Part*. I ſend herewith the Names of twelve Recuſants, to whom he has of late granted Commiſſions: Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *Philip Hungate*, Sir *Walter Vavaſor*, Mr. *Robert Trapps*, Mr. *Waterſon*, Mr. *Stephenſon*, Mr. *Andes*, Mr. *Bretton*, Mr. *Twenge*, Capt. *Sare*, Mr. *Tindal*, Capt. *Granger*. *Which Courſes have ſo advanced Popery, that in* York, *where many Recuſants are ſettled*, Maſs *is ordinarily ſaid in every Street, and ſuch Affronts offered to the Proteſtants and their Miniſtry, as few do reſort to Church*, &c. Yet how full are the Royal Declarations of *Fighting for the True Proteſtant Religion*. *Echard* has given us the Character of this noble Earl after the Lord *Clarendon*, which is as happy as the reſt of the Characters as to Likeneſs and Nature. *He lov'd Monarchy, as it was the Foundation of his own Greatneſs; the Church, as it maintain'd the Splendor and Security of the Crown*. Is not this exquiſite Nonſenſe? How does the Church maintain the Splendor of the Crown? And what does the *Engliſh* Tongue mean by the *Crown*, but the Sovereign Power limited by the Laws as in the Conſtitution of *England*? The Splendor of that Power is maintain'd by maintaining the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of the People, which is the Glory of the Prerogative; and how has the Church done that ever ſince Archbiſhop *Laud* was at the Head of it? He ſays further *the Earl lov'd Religion, as it inforc'd Order and Obedience* to arbitrary Power, Superſtition, and the *Laudæan* Hierarchy; for at that Time he could mean nothing elſe by the Church. There is one Thing in the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Character which is true, and on that Score deſerves particular Obſervation; he had a *Tincture of a Romantick Spirit*, which he acquir'd by his Study of Poetry; for there were ſome Years ago ſeveral Plays of his extant, if they may be call'd Plays, without one Word of Wit or good Senſe, and hardly equal to his Wife's, who alſo printed a Folio or two of Plays and Poems. The Earl of *Clarendon* ſays he underſtood Horſemanſhip, but if he could ride no better than he could write he would have made but an ordinary Hero for a Romance. So remarkable was that romantick Air of his, that his Declarations were drawn in the Style of the *Knight of the Oracle*, and I doubt not the Lord *Clarendon* lik'd them not the worſe for that, his own being very puffy and much ſwoln. The Lord *Fairfax* in one of his Anſwers, takes Notice of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s *Knight-Errantry*, without *following the Rules of an* Amadis de Gaul, *or the* Knight of the Sun, *which the Language of the Declaration ſeems to affect*, &c. Mr. Archdeacon ſpeaks alſo of his Amours with the Muſes, with whom the Earl was in Love almoſt to Diſtraction; but the Nymphs were unmerciful, and never granted him one Favour, unleſs it was in beſtowing upon him an illegitimate Son of theirs, Sir *William Davenant*, to be Lieutenant-General of his Ordnance. As I have not Patience enough to enter far into *Clarendon* and *Echard*'s Characters, I hope this Digreſſion will be excus'd.

A. D. 1643.

More Papiſts in the King's Army.

Earl of Newcaſtle's *Character.*

After the Treaty of *Colnbrook* had been broken by the treacherous Action at *Brentford*, the Parliament did not think of another till ſome Weeks after, when their earneſt Deſire to ſee Peace reſtor'd to this diſtracted Kingdom, put them upon a ſecond Attempt for a Treaty, and Propoſitions were prepar'd to be offer'd to the King at *Oxford*, where before their Commiſſioners arriv'd, the King held a Council of War about the Beginning of *February*, by whom that grand Affair was debated, Peace or War. The noble Earl of *Briſtol*, Father of the noble Lord *Digby*, made a Speech, wherein there is a very handſome Panegyrick upon *Slavery* to encourage the Continuance of the *Civil War*. *In* Spain, *where the long Time as I reſided there as Ambaſſador, afforded me Privilege to be well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, in no Age or Record can ſcarcely be found mention of inteſtine or Civil Wars, till theſe very Years, when all the World labours with Diſſentions*. This is falſe in Fact, the Reaſon is, becauſe *they are truly Subjects, and their Sovereign truly a Sovereign*. The Earl of *Dorſet*, who had been long enough in the Court at *Oxford* to be weary of ſuch Counſels, anſwer'd the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Speech about *Spain*; *That is, as I underſtand it, the* Subjects *are ſcarcely remov'd a Degree beyond* Slaves, *nor the* Sovereign *from a* Tyrant. His Lordſhip ſaid ſomething alſo which is ſo generous and reaſonable, that I have often wonder'd it did never enter into the Heads and Hearts of thoſe evil Counſellors whom the Parliament had declar'd Delinquents, and to ſave whoſe hated Lives, they baſely ſuffer'd their Royal Maſter to loſe his own; for if they had been given up to Juſtice, the Cauſe of the preſent War, all Conteſt had been over before a Drop of Blood had been ſpilt; but Mr. *Edward Hyde*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, &c. inſiſted upon it eternally, that he could not give them up to Puniſhment, without a Diminution of his *Abſolute Power*, which they always imag'd to him as the very Apple of the Crown's Eye. See what the Earl of *Dorſet*, who ſuffer'd as much as any Man in the King's Cauſe, ſaid upon it: *The Parliament only declares againſt* Delinquents, *ſuch as they conjecture had miſcounſelled his Majeſty, and been the Authors of theſe Tu-*

Second Treaty at Oxford.

Earl of Briſtol *for* War.

Earl of Dorſet *for* Peace.

A. D. 1643.

mults in the Common Wealth; *but this Declaration of theirs, except ſuch Claims can be prov'd againſt them, is of no Validity; the Parliament will do nothing unjuſtly.* There is no Meaning at all in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, if he does not every where mean, that the Parliament would do nothing juſtly. Here is the Evidence of the Earl of *Dorſet* againſt the falſe Repreſentations in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, and more authentick cannot, I think, be expected. Again; The Parliament *will not condemn the* Innocent, *and certainly* innocent *Men need not fear to appear before any Judges whatſoever. He who ſhall for any Cauſe prefer his private Good before the publick* Utility, *is but an ill Son of the Common Wealth.* Generous Sentiments! There is not one ſo juſt and ſo rational in all that voluminous Hiſtory. If the Lord *Clarendon* and the other Delinquents had been capable of them, how ſoon might an End have been put to the Miſeries of the Kingdom, and Peace and Proſperity have taken Place of Devaſtation and War.

In the Beginning of *February* the King's Forces got the moſt conſiderable Victory which they could yet reaſonably boaſt of. We have mention'd the Marquis of *Hertford*'s paſſing over from *Minehead* to *Wales*, where he rais'd Forces and march'd with them to *Worceſter*, from thence to *Burford*, and from thence he went to *Oxford* to deſire that *Cirenceſter* might be reduc'd, not only to enlarge his Quarters, but to facilitate his raiſing Contributions in *Glouceſterſhire* and *Wiltſhire*. *Cirenceſter* in the Beginning of the Troubles was ſecur'd by the *Militia* and Townſmen, who roſe againſt the Lord *Chandos*, who after he deſerted the Parliament, would have poſſeſs'd it for the King; but he was glad enough to eſcape without his Coach, which the Townſmen broke to Pieces. It was then garriſon'd for the Parliament, and the Earl of *Stamford*'s Regiment, with about 1000 Militia, defended it againſt the Marquis of *Hertford*. But Prince *Rupert* coming to the Marquis's Aſſiſtance with 4000 Horſe and Foot, they both made an Army of near 7000 Men; and the Prince making a vigorous Attack, firſt on the *Barcon*, and then on the Town, carry'd it on that Side, while the Earl of *Caernarvon* made an unſucceſsful Aſſault on the other, till Prince *Rupert*'s Troops attack'd the Parliament's in the Rear, as the Earl of *Caernarvon* did in the Front, and ſo became Maſters of the Place, which was plunder'd and waſted in ſo horrible a manner, that *Echard* himſelf is aſham'd of it, and owns it was *juſtly made uſe of to improve the Character of Pride and Cruelty on the King's Side:* So ſcandalous, that the Reader could not have had Patience with it, had not ſufficient Revenge been taken before the End of the War. Prince *Rupert* took 1100 Priſoners, who, according to that fair Writer *Whitlocke*, were led in much Triumph to *Oxford*, where the King and Lords look'd on them, and too many ſmil'd at their Miſery, being ty'd together with Cords almoſt naked, beaten and driven along like Dogs. Among them were two Miniſters, and ſeveral Officers of good Account, as alſo a proper handſome young Man, of a very white Skin, where it could be ſeen for the Blood of his Wounds; he not being able to go, was ſet naked upon the bare Back of a Horſe, his Wounds gaping, and his Body all over bloody. The Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* was ſtruck with ſo much Horror at the Report of this Cruelty, which the King ſaw without the leaſt Emotion, that he tells us the Story at large: *Yet the young Man ſate upright upon the Horſe with an undaunted Courage and Countenance, and when near the King, who did not expreſs any Compaſſion for him, a brawling Woman cry'd out to him,* Ah you traiterly Rogue, you are well enough ſerv'd. *He, with a ſcornful Look towards her, anſwer'd,* You baſe Whore, *and inſtantly drop'd off dead from the Horſe* in Sight of his Majeſty, whoſe Preſence increaſes the Horror one conceives at the Image of this worſe than *Cannibal* Cruelty. But indeed ſuch Barbarities had been practis'd in the Star-Chamber Court, &c. in Time of Peace, that it is no Miracle to find the like barbarous Acts continu'd by the like Agents in Time of War. His Majeſty was at laſt ſo ſenſible of Prince *Rupert*'s Cruelties, that he wrote a Letter to him to give a Check to them but not with ſo good Effect as was then wiſh'd for.

Cirenceſter taken by Rupſhw.

Prince Rupert, and ſack'd.

Cavalier-Cruelty.

An inſolent Triumph at Oxford.

The Parliament, in a juſt Senſe of the Calamities of the Nation, which were owing to their Sins, publiſh'd an Ordinance exhorting all his Majeſty's Subjects to the Duty of Repentance, as the only Remedy for theſe Calamities; but *in Truth*, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, *their Devotion was a Libel on the King and the Church.* By *Libel* there, is meant a *Lye*, a Thing infamouſly falſe, *to the Detriment of* Church *and* King. Are the wicked Prophanations of the Lord's Day by Sports and Gamings, formerly encourag'd by Authority, a *Lye* or a *Libel*, they being the Words of the Ordinance? Is the conniving at, and almoſt tolerating Idolatry, a *Libel*? Is the high Contempt of God's holy Ordinances a *Libel*? Are the Multitudes of Papiſts and their Abetters in Arms, a *Lye* or a *Libel*? Are all Sorts of Uncleanneſs, Luxury, and Exceſs in Eating and Drinking, Vanity, Pride, and Prodigality in Apparel, Envy, Contention, and unnatural Diviſion, Oppreſſion, Fraud, and Violence, a *Libel*? But *Repentance* being a *Puritan* Word, muſt needs give Offence to ſuch as ſet their Hearts intirely upon *Abſolution*.

The Earl of *Stamford* having with a little too much Precipitation made an Irruption into *Cornwall*, where Sir *Ralph Hopton* had been a long Time making up an Army, was obliged to retire into *Devonſhire*, and gave *Hopton* an Opportunity to fall upon *Ruthen*, Governor of *Plymouth*, at *Leskard*, where the Earl of *Stamford* was to have joined him. But theſe two Bodies being divided, were eaſily put to Flight one after the other. *Ruthen* made his Eſcape by Sea to *Plymouth*, and *Stamford* retir'd firſt to *Taviſtock*, and thence to *Exeter*. The moſt remarkable Thing in Mr. *Echard*'s Hiſtory of this War, is, that Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s *Men went to Prayers* before the Skirmiſh at *Leskard*. Both Sides had got ſo little in this Diſpute, that they grew alike weary of it, and agreed upon a Ceſſation of Arms in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, leaving the Strong Holds ſtill in Poſſeſſion of the Parliament.

Sir R. Hopton *routs the Parliamentarians at* Leskard.

About the ſame Time, the Beginning of *February*, Sir *William Brereton*, with a Party of 150 Men, defeated Sir *Thomas Aſton*, who had with him 400 Cavaliers near *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, and Sir *John Seaton*, with a ſtrong Party of the Parliament's Forces, aſſaulted and took the Town of *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, where he made 200 Officers and Soldiers Priſoners, among whom were ſeveral Papiſts of Note, as Mr. *Anderton* of *Clayton*, Major *Purvey*, who had been in the *Iriſh* Rebellion, Dr. *Weſtby* a Phyſician. Sir *Gilbert Houghton* fled to *Wiggan*, and Mr. *Townly* of *Townly*, a Name that has hardly been out of any *Popiſh* Rebellion ſince the Reformation, got off with much Difficulty. His Wife Mrs. *Townly*, the Lady *Houghton*, and the Lady *Girlington*, were ſecur'd for the Malignity of their Husbands. Mr. *Adam Morte*, Mayor of

Sir William Brereton *routs the Royaliſts in* Cheſhire.

Preſton *taken by the Parliament's Forces.*

2 *Preſton*,

A. D. 1643. *Preſton*, was kill'd in the Aſſault, ſo zealous for the Cauſe, that he was wont to ſwear, *He would fire the Town, and his own Houſe firſt, before he would give it up.* From hence Major *Birch* was ſent to *Lancaſter*, which was immediately ſurrender'd to him.

The Lord *Brooke* having clear'd *Warwickſhire* of all Oppoſition, enter'd *Staffordſhire*, of which County he was alſo Lord-Lieutenant; but underſtanding the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, with about 300 Men was at *Litchfield*, he intended firſt to diſlodge them, and march'd thither with about 1200 Men. He arriv'd before the Town on the 1ſt of *March*, and after ſome hot but ſhort Service he drove the Lord *Cheſterfield* into the Cloſe, a Place which by the Strength of the Walls and otherwiſe was much more defenſible. While his Soldiers were giving the Aſſault, and particularly at St. *Chad's* Church adjoining to the Cloſe, the Lord *Brooke* being withdrawn into a Houſe to give Directions, as he was looking out at the Window for that Purpoſe a Musket Ball ſtruck him near the Left Eye, of which he immediately dy'd. His Soldiers inſtead of being diſcourag'd, were animated by Revenge, and Sir *John Gell* bravely ſupply'd his Place. They aſſaulted the Cloſe ſo vigorouſly, that they got to the Wall, which they were preparing to blow up, and continue the Storm, when the Cavaliers cry'd out for *Quarter*, which was granted, and the Place yielded, with Store of Arms, Money, &c. Here the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, his Son, and ſeveral other Perſons of Condition were taken Priſoners; and here too the Zeal of the Cathedral Men met with the ſame Reward as at *Chicheſter*. But the Parliament's Forces had ſcarce been a Month in Poſſeſſion of the Town and Cloſe, before Prince *Rupert* gave them a Viſit. He had juſt taken *Birmingham*, near which was a ſmart Encounter between ſome of the Horſe from *Birmingham* and a Party of the King's, in which the Earl of *Denbigh* was mortally wounded, and ſoon after dy'd. The Prince having joined his Troops with the Earl of *Northampton*'s and Col. *Haſtings*, advanc'd to *Litchfield*, and before the City was put into a good Poſture of Defence, he attack'd and enter'd it. The Cloſe held out a Fortnight after, and then the Prince having by a Mine blown up Part of the Wall, the Parliament's Soldier's ſubmitted upon Terms, and were allow'd to march out with Bag and Baggage under a Convoy to *Coventry*. The Falſity in *Echard*'s Account of the Lord *Brooke*'s Expedition againſt *Litchfield* is, that he enter'd it without any *Reſiſtance*. *Ruſhworth* tells us there was ſome hot Service; and the poor Reflections of the Lord *Brooke*'s hearing a Sermon at *Coventry* before he march'd to *Litchfield*, are not much mended by Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Obſervations, which turn the Musket Ball into a Judgment: It being ſhot by a Clergyman's Son, and upon St. *Chad*'s Day, a precious Monk in the Reign of *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*, to whom that Cathedral has the Honour to be dedicated.

Ld. Brooke *kill'd.*

Litchfield *Cloſe taken.*

Litchfield *Cloſe retaken.*

Sir *John Gell* having recruited his Forces deſign'd to march towards *Stafford*, and Intimation was given to Sir *William Brereton* to draw that Way. The Earl of *Northampton*, Col. *Haſtings*, and other of the King's Commanders who lay at *Stafford*, being advertiſed of *Gell*'s Approach, march'd out to meet and give him Battle, which they did on the 19th of *March* upon *Hopton Heath*, by ſome call'd *Salt Heath*. The Earl charg'd with much Bravery, and was as bravely receiv'd, both Parties fighting with true *Engliſh* Courage: But after two or three Hours ſharp Engagement, the Parliamentarians growing weak, and ready to be utterly defeated, Sir *William Brereton* happen'd to come in to their Relief, with a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Dragoons, and falling furiouſly on the Rear of the King's Forces, while Sir *John Gell* with his reanimated Troops, ply'd their Front, cut off many of them, among whom the Earl of *Northampton* fighting valiantly was ſlain, and his Forces retreated into the Town of *Stafford*, *Gell* and *Brereton* keeping the Field. Thus does *Ruſhworth* tell the Story, and it appears by it that the Archdeacon's Account of it is falſe in almoſt every Line He ſays *Gell* and *Brereton* were join'd when *the Fight began*; whereas that Junction was when the Fight was almoſt ended; That *Gell*'s Forces were double in Number to the Earl's, *Gell* having but 1500 Horſe and Foot, and the Earl of *Northampton* had 1000 Horſe only. He ſays *Gell* was ſo *totally routed, that he had ſcarce a Horſe left in the Field*; whereas Sir *William Brereton* came to his Aſſiſtance before the Royaliſts could break his Horſe. He adds, Sir *Thomas Byron* charg'd *Gell*'s Foot with good Execution; and we are told, that *by the timely coming in of Sir* William Brereton, *'ere the Battle was ended, Sir* John Gell *obtain'd a glorious Victory, and drove his Enemies quite out of the Field.* The Reverend Hiſtorian affirms, *that the* Royaliſts *thought fit to forbear any further Action*, but what conſiſted in running away, *and had all the Enſigns of* Victory, except the King's Standard, and ſome other Enſigns carry'd off and kept by Sir *William Brereton*. *Echard* again; *A greater Victory would have been an unequal Recompence for the Loſs of the Earl*, of whoſe Party were ſlain but 25 Men. The *Chronicle* tells us, *at leaſt* 140 *of the Cavaliers were kill'd*, and among them Mr. *Spencer Lucy*, Mr. *Ferdinando Stanhop*, Capt. *Baggot*, and other Gentlemen. But what is falſer ſtill than all the reſt, is where he ſays above 200 of the Parliamentarians were kill'd and wounded. The *Chronicle* tells us, *the* Victory *was obtain'd* with the Loſs only of 8 or 10 Parliamentarians. I have inſtanc'd the many Falſities in the Archdeacon's Relation of this Fight to ſave my ſelf the Trouble of doing the like again on the like Occaſions, for moſt of his and the Lord *Clarendon*'s Accounts of Actions are of this Kind, and they erect Trophies of Victory for the Cavaliers in the very Fields where they were ſhamefully beaten. He would not let us know that about the Earl of *Northampton*'s Neck, and in his Poeket, were found a *Crucifix* and an *Agnus Dei*, as was teſtify'd by two Witneſſes *vivâ voce* in Parliament, who were preſent when thoſe Popiſh Trinkets were found about him. Neither would he inform us of the Recompence this Lord's Son met with for his Father's Services, and that the King gave away from him the *Rangerſhip* of a Foreſt which his Father held; and when *Endimion Porter* minded his Majeſty of the Earl of *Northampton*'s loſing his Life for him, and preſs'd him to give it to the young Earl, the King reply'd, *Hath the Earl done more than became him to die for his King?* No doubt it is the higheſt Honour when the King is fighting in the Defence of his Country.

A. D. 1643.

Earl of Northampton *ſlain.*

Parl. Chron. *p.* 288.

Ib.

Ib. *p.* 16.

Reybold.

Hopton *Heath Fight.*

There is ſomething Merry enough in what follows of the Reverend Author's grave Hiſtory: The Lord *Herbert*, a bigotted Papiſt, *having all* South Wales *committed to his Care, at his own Charge, and other Catholick Friends, raiſed a little Army of* 1500 *Foot, and* 500 *Horſe, with which he advanced, and ſet down before* Glouceſter. The King did the ſame ſoon after, with an Army of 2000 Men, and with not much better Succeſs. Sir *William Waller* came ſuddenly

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denly on the Lord *Herbert*'s Army of *Welch* Men, at ſight of whom, according to *Echard*, they threw down their Arms without giving or receiving a Blow, and cry'd Quarter. *Waller* took 1300 Foot, and 8 Troops of Horſe, upon which the Hiſtorian makes this very wiſe Reflection. *If the Money which was laid out upon the* Welch *Forces had been employed to the Kings beſt Advantage, it might have put an End to the War next Summer.* How better could it have been employ'd than in raiſing Forces! Unleſs the two Houſes of Parliament, their General the Earl of *Eſſex* and his Army could have been brib'd with it. There would then have been no more War in *England*, but what was carry'd on by *Practors* and *Paritors*. He could not tell this pitiful Story without ſome Falſities. *Ruſhworth* informs us, There were ſo many Blows given and taken, that 500 *Welch* Men were ſlain on the Spot. The Lord *Herbert* was not then at *Oxford*, but in the Battle, and with Difficulty made his Eſcape thither. Sir *William Waller* a Week before this had taken *Malmsbury*, where Colonel *Lunsford*'s Brother was Governor. *Waller* was beaten off at the firſt Attack, but at the ſecond the Garriſon deſired Parley and yielded upon Quarter.

Sir William Waller *routs the Lord* Herbert.

p. 163.

Malmsbury *taken by him.*

Yorkſhire.

We muſt now look into the Affairs of the *North*, where the King's had a good Aſpect. Though his Majeſty had not many profitable Employments to diſpoſe of at preſent, yet he had at preſent Honours and Titles, which had a mighty Influence on the Vanity of the Country Gentry; Sir *Ralph Hopton* was created Lord *Hopton* of *Stratton* in *Cornwall*; and doubtleſs Sir *Hugh Cholmley* had the ſame Honour in View, when he deſerted his Country which he had ſo zealouſly ſerv'd, and deliver'd up *Scarborough* Caſtle to the Royaliſts. He remain'd uncorrupted till the Queen landed in *Yorkſhire*, and after that 'twas obſerved two Trumpets came upon one Day to *Scarborough* from Colonel *Goring* and Sir *Francis Mackworth*, Commanders for the King, under Pretence of exchanging Priſoners, Sir *Hugh* from that Time often magnify'd the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Forces, and undervalued the Earl of *Eſſex*'s and Lord *Fairfax*'s. He complain'd that the Parliament *ſlighted him*, and from Diſguſt fell into Treaſon, and betrayed the Town and Caſtle committed to his Charge. The ſame Diſguſt had had the ſame Effect in *Devonſhire*, where Sir *George Chudleigh*, who had ſerv'd the Parliament very ſucceſsfully, revolted to the King. But *Echard* will have it, that the Wound in theſe Gentlemens Conſciences, made by their taking Arms in Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, the Rights and Liberties of the People, caus'd them to apply the beſt Remedy to it, which was to turn to the other Side, and fight for Arbitrary Power, Superſtition, and a *Laudæan* Hierarchy, which they had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed.

Sir Hugh Cholmley *deſerts to the King.*

The Queen lands at Burlington.

About the Middle of *February* the Queen landed at *Burlington* Key in *Yorkſhire*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* having drawn his Army that Way for her Safeguard. Four of the Parliament's Ships were at the Mouth of *Newcaſtle* Harbour, whoſe Captains having Notice of her Arrival weigh'd Anchor, and came before *Burlington*, where they ſhot at the ſmall Veſſels that were landing the Military Stores. Some of the Bullets reach'd into the Town near the Houſe where her Majeſty lay for her Repoſe, ſo that ſhe was forc'd to remove thence to a more ſecure Lodging behind a Hill. *Echard* avers, The Ships ſhot directly at the Queen's Houſe; and that her Lodging behind the Hill was a Ditch. He adds, the Parliament Ships would not have deſiſted, *but for ſome Threats from the* Dutch *Admiral*, which is falſe, and fooliſh to a Prodigy, for the *Dutch* had not a Power equal to the Parliament's; and it is not likely that the Admiral of two or three Ships would have dar'd to inſult the Commadore of a Squadron of the Parliament's, eſpecially when the States had juſt before ſtopp'd one of the Ammunition Veſſels, which the Queen was to have brought with her. As ſoon as the Lord *Fairfax* heard of her Majeſty's Arrival he ſent Sir *William Fairfax* with a Letter to her, offering to be her Guard, but ſhe refus'd his Offer, and put her ſelf under the Protection of the Marquiſs of *Newcaſtle*.

A. D. 1643.

During theſe military Actions, the Treaty of Peace was renew'd at *Oxford*. The Parliament's Commiſſioners were the Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Wenman*, Lord *Dungarvon*, *William Pierrepont*, Eſq; Sir *William Armine*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *William Litton*, *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; *Edmund Waller*, Eſq; *Richard Winwood*, Eſq; But I do not find that all theſe Commiſſioners acted. The Parliament appointed Mr. *John Ruſhworth*, Mr. *Michael Welden*, Mr. *John Corbet* of *Grays Inn*, and Mr. *James Standiſh* to attend the Commiſſioners as Meſſengers, and the King order'd Paſſes for them. I do not ſee any of the Commiſſioners Names in this Negotiation, which was carried on by writing, but the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *William Armine*, Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and Mr. *Whitlocke*. Others of them might be there, as particularly, Mr. *Waller* was, for when his Majeſty gave them Audience firſt in *Chriſt Church* Garden, and they had the Honour to kiſs his Hand in turn, according to their Quality, Mr. *Waller* being the laſt, the King ſaid to him, *Though you are the laſt, yet you are not the worſt, nor the leaſt in my Favour.* Mr. *Whitlocke* obſerves, "The Diſcovery of a Plot then "in hand at *London*, to betray the Parlia- "ment, wherein Mr. *Waller* was engaged with "*Challoner*, *Tompkins*, and others, did ma- "niſeſt the King's Courtſhip to Mr. *Waller* to "be for that Service." After the Commiſſioners had kiſs'd the Prince's Hand, as well as the King's, the Earl of *Northumberland* read the Propoſitions to his Majeſty with a ſober, ſtout Carriage, and being interrupted by the King, he ſaid ſmartly, *Your Majeſty will give me Leave to proceed, the King anſwer'd*, I, I, and ſo the Earl read them all through. The Propoſitions were *to disband his Army, and return to the Parliament, to leave Delinquents to Trial, and Papiſts to be diſarm'd, to paſs a Bill for aboliſhing Biſhops, and ſuch other Bills as ſhould be preſented for Reformation, Recuſants to abjure Papacy, to remove malignant Counſellors, to ſettle the Militia as the Parliament deſir'd, to prefer to Offices ſuch as the Parliament ſhould name, to take in all that were put out of the Commiſſions of Peace; a Bill to vindicate the Lord* Kimbolton *and the Five Members, and to enter into an Alliance for the Recovery of the* Palatinate. The Intereſt of the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Royal Family, were never forgotten by this Proteſtant Parliament: As if they foreſaw that the Security of our moſt Holy Religion, and the Rights, Properties, and Privileges of their Succeſſors and Poſterity, would one Day depend intirely on the Protection of that illuſtrious Houſe; and thoſe good Sentiments have ever ſince inſpir'd all true *Engliſh* Men with the ſame Zeal and Affection, and will, we hope, inſpire them as long as this

Treaty at Oxford.

Parliament for the preſent Proteſtant Succeſſion.

A. D. 1643. Nation has a Name. Other Propoſitions were for a *general Pardon, with ſome few Exceptions*, Newcaſtle, Digby, *&c. Members of Parliament to be reſtor'd to their Offices, and to have their Loſſes repair'd.* The King anſwer'd with Propoſitions of his own. The firſt of which made void whatever the Parliament had, or ſhould ask of him. *To have his Magazines, Towns, Ships, Forts, and all his Revenues, immediately reſtor'd to him; to recall what was done againſt* LAW, *and the King's Right*; always ſuppoſing, that whatever the Parliament did in defence of their and the People's Rights, Properties, and Liberties, was againſt LAW, and that whatever the King had done or ſhould do was his Right. *All Power claim'd by Order of Parliament to be diſclaimed.* His *Majeſty will conſent to the Execution of all Laws concerning Popery*, provided there be *a Bill for preſerving the* Common Prayer. The Commiſſioners were by their Inſtructions ty'd down to treat with the King himſelf, who had commonly with him Prince *Rupert*, the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Banks*, and ſeveral Lords of the Council. The Commiſſioners often debated Matters till Midnight, and upon one of the moſt material Points preſs'd his Majeſty ſo home with good Reaſons and Arguments, that he ſaid he was *ſatisfy'd*, and promis'd to give them his Anſwer in writing according to their Deſire the next Morning: Upon which the Commiſſioners went to their Lodgings, full of joyful Hopes to receive the promis'd Anſwer the next Morning, which being given, would have conduc'd to a happy Iſſue of the Treaty. *They had his Majeſty's Word for it*, ſays *Whitlocke*. But inſtead of that Anſwer then, he gave them a Paper quite contrary to what had been concluded, and very much tending to the Breach of the Treaty. The Commiſſioners humbly expoſtulated it with his Majeſty, *preſſing him, upon his Royal Word*, and the ill Conſequences which they fear'd would follow upon his new Paper. But he told them, *he had alter'd his Mind, and that the Paper he now gave them was his Anſwer.* And to their great Grief they could obtain no other. Some of his own Friends, of whom the Commiſſioners inquir'd touching this Paſſage, inform'd them, That after they were gone from the King, and that his Counſel were alſo gone away, ſome of his Bed-Chamber, and they went higher, hearing from him what Anſwer he had promis'd, and doubting that it would tend to ſuch an Iſſue of the Treaty as they did not wiſh, they being rather for the Continuance of the War, never left preſſing, and perſwading his Majeſty till they prevail'd with him to change his former Reſolutions, and to give Order for his Anſwer to be drawn as it was now deliver'd.

The Treaty had continu'd near ſix Weeks, when his Majeſty ſent this Meſſage to the Houſe on the 12th of *April*. That *as ſoon as he was ſatisfied in his firſt Propoſition*, which was every Thing, to diſarm the Parliament, and remain himſelf in Arms, for what elſe is his having all the Revenues of the Kingdom, the *Tower*, *Portſmouth*, *Hull*, and, in a Word, all the ſtrong Towns, Forts and Caſtles, put into his Hands, as he demanded. *As ſoon as the Members of both Houſes ſhould be reſtor'd*, and that his Majeſty and both Houſes might be *ſecured againſt tumultuous Aſſemblies, which he conceiv'd could not otherwiſe be done than by adjourning the Parliament to ſome Place twenty Miles from* London, his Majeſty would conſent to *diſband his Army, and return to the Parliament.* This Meſſage being intimated to the Commiſſioners, they diſſwaded the ſending of it as that which, they fear'd, would break off the Treaty, it being very improbable, that the Houſes would adjourn, and leave the City of *London*, their beſt Friends, and Strength, and put a Diſcontent upon them. Yet was the King prevail'd with to ſend it, and the two Houſes upon Receipt of it immediately recall'd their Commiſſioners, *April* the 15th. as the ſmalleſt Politician in the ſmalleſt College at *Oxford* could not but have foreſeen. *Whitlocke* has not told us, what it was that gave his Majeſty *Satisfaction*, nor whether the material Point was the *Militia*, or the *Biſhops Bill*, probably it was the latter, and is ſunk by the Earl of *Angleſey*, who publiſh'd his *Memorials*, that nothing might appear in Defence of that Bill, which carry'd with it ſo much Conviction as to ſatisfy the King, whoſe Inflexibility, and the Influence his Queen and evil Counſellors had over him are here moſt apparent. *A. D.* 1643.

Some Weeks before this Treaty broke up, the Earl of *Loudun*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Mr. *Henderſon*, one of the chief Members of the Aſſembly of the *Kirk*, came to *Oxford*. The Earl of *Loudun* came to offer the Mediation of the *Conſervators of the Peace in* Scotland, for compoſing the Differences between the King and the Parliament. Mr. *Henderſon* brought a Petition, which the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* find Wit enough to make merry with for theſe Terms in it, The Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*. The Work *of the Lord. Unity of Religion.* The Lord of *Heaven and Earth. Abuſe of the Goſpel. Idolatry, Superſtition. Day of Viſitation*, &c. There is not the leaſt Appearance of Wit in either of their Hiſtories, unleſs they catch at ſuch Religious Phraſes, which having been long profan'd by Ridicule, are perfect Jeſts with them. Let us now ſee what our *Scots* Brethren ſay for themſelves, "Our great Grief "and Apprehenſion of Danger is not a little in- "creas'd, partly by the Inſolence and Preſump- "tion of Papiſts, and others diſaffected to the "Reformation of Religion, who though for "Number and Power they be not conſiderable "amongſt us, yet through the Succeſs of the "*popiſh* Army in *Ireland*, and the Hopes they "conceive of the Prevailing of the *popiſh* Ar- "mies, and *Prelatical Faction* in *England*, they "have of late taken Spirit, and begun to ſpeak "big Words againſt the Proteſtant Religion." They then complain of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army in their Neighbourhood full of *Papiſts*, Officers and Soldiers, *as infamous for their Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt Princes and Rulers, as for their known Idolatry and ſpiritual Tyranny.* This, and the like Paſſages, are repreſented as Farce by thoſe two Hiſtorians, who did not enough conſider their Talents and their Subject, when they affected to be witty on what would ſo little bear it, had they had more Wit to ſpare. The King's Anſwer to the Complaint about Papiſts gives one full Satisfaction, as to his good Intentions with reſpect to the other Parts of the Petition, for in Excuſe of his arming that idolatrous Race, his Majeſty ſays, the Parliament had arm'd more *Papiſts* than he, and that 20 or 30 Papiſts had been found in a Troop or Company of their Army when taken Priſoners; nay, ſome of them ſuch Papiſts, that he had himſelf refus'd to employ them, which I think is ſufficient to ſhew us, of what Spirit, and what Truth the *Oxford* Anſwers, Declarations, and Meſſages were. The Lord *Loudun*'s Offer of a Mediation was refus'd, and ſo was his Requeſt, that there might be a Parliament in *Scotland*. And Mr. *Henderſon* could get no better

Scots *Commiſſioners at* Oxford.

A. D. 1643. Answer than the Propoſition of a Synod *regularly choſen according to the* LAWS, by which was meant a *Convocation*, and what that means in the Caſe of *Reformation* needs not to be further explain'd here. The King was ſo far from permitting the *Scots* Commiſſioners to go to *London*, that they were told they would be murder'd on the Way if they attempted to go thither without his Licence. One may eaſily imagine what will be the Iſſue of diſmiſſing theſe Gentlemen in this Manner, and that when they came home their Principals would enter upon other Meaſures for their Preſervation, ſince their Application to the King had been ſo ineffectual. The *Oxford* People were ſo afraid of their applying to the Parliament, that, as we have ſaid, they were threaten'd to be aſſaſſinated if they went that Way.

Ech. 565.

Reading *taken by the Earl of* Eſſex.

There being ſo little Hope left of an Accommodation, the Two Houſes order'd their General to beſiege *Reading*, to ſtreighten the Garriſon of *Oxford*, and prepare the Way for the Reduction of that City, from whence frequent Inroads were made into the adjacent Counties, as particularly that of the Earl of *Cleveland*, Lord *Chandos*, Lord *Crawford*, Sir *John Biron*, and others, to the Number of 1200, who pillag'd, plunder'd and waſted the County of *Buckingham*, as by a Letter which Sir *John Wittewrong* and Sir *Thomas Tyrrel* wrote to Col. *Hampden* and Col. *Goodwyn*, to be communicated to the Parliament, dated the 16th of *May*. "They mur-
" der all who make any Reſiſtance: One Wo-
" man big with Child, who could make no Re-
" ſiſtance, they cut in Pieces: What Houſhold-
" Goods they cannot carry off, they deſtroy:
" They ſweep the Paſtures of Cattle; and that
" no Cruelty might be left unexercis'd, they
" have this Day fir'd a Village call'd *Swam-*
" *burne* in ſeven Places, and guarded the Fire
" ſo carefully, with all their Forces divided into
" ſeveral Parts, that no Neighbour durſt venture
" to come to quench it." The Earl of *Eſſex* came before *Reading* two Days after the Parliament had recall'd their Commiſſioners from *Oxford*. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army conſiſted of 15000 Foot and 3000 Horſe; and Sir *Arthur Aſton*, the Popiſh Governor, who afterwards join'd the Rebels in *Ireland*, had a Garriſon of 3000 Men well provided for a Siege. The Lord General ſent a Summons to the Governor, who return'd an haughty Anſwer, and the Artillery began to play on the great Fort upon *Caverſham* Hill, where the Beſiegers continu'd to make their Approaches, and a Shot of theirs beating down a Stack of Chimneys, one of the Bricks fell upon the Governor's Head, which wounded him ſo much, that he was diſabled, and kept his Chamber. His Succeſſor, Col. *Fielding*, wanting Powder, as it was ſaid, hung out a Flag of Truce. While the Treaty was depending, the King in Perſon, with Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, &c. having drawn together a conſiderable Body, advanc'd from *Wallingford* towards *Reading* to raiſe the Siege. But the Lord *Roberts* and Col. *Berkeley*'s Regiments, which were poſted at *Caverſham* Bridge, ſtop'd the Paſſage of the Royal Army, and compell'd them to retire with Loſs: Yet in the Time of this Skirmiſh they at another Place got an Opportunity to convey over the River into the Town a Quantity of Powder. However the Treaty went on, being in a manner concluded before, and *Fielding* alledg'd he could not in Honour recede from it; ſo the Articles were ſign'd *April* the 27th, *to ſurrender the Town, to have free Paſſage to* Oxford, *to deliver up the Earl of* Eſſex's *Deſerters*; and accordingly the next Day the Garriſon march'd out. But, ſays *Ruſhworth*, "one
" of their Waggons was pillag'd by *Eſſex*'s Men,
" and ſome of them had their Hats and Swords
" taken away or exchang'd; General *Eſſex*
" was much offended, and in Perſon beat and
" ſlaſh'd the Soldiers for ſuch their violating the
" Articles." Here was one Waggon plunder'd, and ſome Hats chang'd, but under Pretext of making Repriſals for this one ſolitary Waggon and a few old Hats, the Cavaliers ſack'd the City of *Briſtol* when it was afterwards taken by Prince *Rupert*. *Echard* in Defiance of Truth aſſures us, moſt of the *Waggons were* plunder'd, *the Soldiers not only abus'd, but many of them diſarm'd.* He ſays not a Word of the Occaſion of it, as in *Ruſhworth*: *The Garriſon were themſelves in Fault, there being one Waggon diſcover'd which had* 140 *Muskets in it, directly contrary to the Articles of Surrender, and this exaſperated the Parliament Soldiers*, who were alſo put out of Humour by being reſtrain'd from plundering the Town, which they were in Expectation of had they carry'd it by Storm. The King was much incens'd at *Fielding* for yielding up the Place, and he was condemn'd to loſe his Head by a Council of War, but obtain'd a Reprieve. His Majeſty by Proclamation broke that Article of the Treaty of Surrender, which oblig'd the Governor to deliver up Deſerters; and Mr. Archdeacon gives a moſt pleaſant Reaſon for it: The Soldiers out of Conſcience had left the Parliament's *Godly Army* to ſerve in the King's *more Godly one*, and the poor conſcientious Men ought not to have been put out of the King's Protection. Thus he tells us in the ſame Page, that Major General *Chudleigh* out of *Conſcience* deſerted the Earl of *Stamford*'s Army, and join'd himſelf with that pious Gentleman Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and the other religious Gentry of *Cornwall*. I am ſenſible that this Gaiety is not within the Decorum of Hiſtory, but really the grave Aſſertions in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and Mr. *Echard*'s, which are the very Reverſe of Fact and Reaſon, provoke Mirth, and would make even a *Thucydides* merry. *Chudleigh* had been taken Priſoner by Deſign, as *Ruſhworth* informs us, at the Battle of *Stratton* in *Cornwall* by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who had there beaten the Earl of *Stamford* much better than the Earl had beaten him before at *Oakhampton*; and while he was a Priſoner proper Means were us'd to work upon his Conſcience, the ſame doubtleſs as were practis'd upon Sir *Alexander Carew*, the two *Hothams*, and others; Promiſes of Honours and Offices, which in all Times have carry'd with them Conviction in Minds capable of Temptation and Perfidy.

A. D. 1643.

Ruſhw. 266.

Queen.

We are now to return to the *North*, where we left the Queen and her little Army, of which ſhe declar'd her ſelf General, and march'd thence to join the King, having with her 3000 Foot and about 2000 Horſe and Dragoons, with 6 Pieces of Cannon. The King met her at *Edgehill* in the Beginning of *July*, and ſhe carry'd off ſo many Men with her, that the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s Army when divided was not ſo formidable as it had been in the *Northern* Parts. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* attack'd thoſe at *Wakefield*, being 3000 Foot and 400 Horſe, and gain'd a compleat Victory, which *Echard* takes no Notice of. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, as himſelf tells the Story, with 1200 Foot and about 800 Horſe, advanc'd to *Stanley*, where they beat up the Enemy's Quarters, and took about 20 Troopers and Dragoons Priſoners. About Four a Clock in the Morning, *May* the 21ſt, *Fairfax*'s Soldiers came before *Wakefield*, and beat the Enemy's Horſe into the Town. His Foot with unſpeakable Courage drove the Cavalier Foot after them, and aſ-

Sir Tho. Fairfax's *victory at* Wakefield.

ſaulted

A. D. 1643.

faulted the Town in two Places, *Wrengate* and *Norgate*. The Diſpute laſted an Hour and an half, and *Fairfax*'s Men having taken a Cannon and turn'd it upon the Enemy, Paſſage was open'd to them into the Town at *Norgate*, and almoſt at the ſame Time at *Wrengate*. Sir *Thomas* with the Horſe clear'd the Street where General *Goring* was taken Priſoner by Lieutenant *Alured*, Brother to Capt. *Alured* a Member of Parliament; yet three Troops of Horſe ſtood in the Market-Place, as alſo Col. *Lambton*'s Regiment of Foot, which had but juſt enter'd the Town. Sir *Thomas* ſent a Trumpet to them with Offer of Quarter upon laying down their Arms, which they refuſing with Scorn, Major General *Gifford* a Parliament Officer fir'd a Piece of their own Ordnance upon them, and the Horſe falling in at the ſame Time, the Cavaliers were beaten out of the Town, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* became intirely Maſter of it. Here were taken about 40 Officers, the Chief of them General *Goring*, Sir *Thomas Bland*, Lieutenant-Colonel *St. George*, Lieutenant-General *Macmoyler*, Major *Carnaby*, Capt. *Legard*, Capt. *Lambton*, Capt. *Benſon*, 27 Colours of Foot, 3 Cornets of Horſe, and 1500 common Soldiers, a great Number of Arms and Store of Ammunition. There were not above 7 Men kill'd on the Parliament Side, and the Number of Priſoners being almoſt equal to their Forces, Sir *Thomas* put them into Places that were more tenable than *Wakefield*.

The two Hothams *Traytors.*

We have ſpoken of the Deſertion of Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, and are now to mention that of Sir *John Hotham* and his Son Capt. *Hotham*. Sir *John* had been tamper'd with by the Lord *Digby*, who lay conceal'd in *Hull* with his Privity; but he withſtood the firſt Temptation, tho' it ſufficiently prepar'd him for another. The elder *Hotham* had had frequent Differences with the Lord *Fairfax*, the Parliament's General, in *Yorkſhire*, to whom he was unwilling to ſubmit, expecting that Command himſelf, by overvaluing his taking Poſſeſſion of *Hull*. The Parliament, who were pleas'd with the Lord *Fairfax*'s Conduct, hearing of *Hotham*'s Behaviour towards him, had Thoughts of putting another Governor into *Hull* unleſs he made the Lord *Fairfax* more eaſy, which Sir *John* ſuſpecting, reſolv'd to keep his Government by betraying his Truſt, and declaring for the King. The Parliament had Spies about him, and Warning enough of his and his Son's intended Treaſon; ſo they order'd Sir *John Meldrum* to apprehend Capt. *Hotham*, who was ſeiz'd and ſent Priſoner to *Nottingham* Caſtle, but made his Eſcape. Sir *Matthew Boynton*, a very honeſt worthy Gentleman, Brother-in-law to Sir *John Hotham*, had Inſtruction to have an Eye upon him and his Son too, and to endeavour to preſerve the Town if he perceiv'd it in Danger. In the Interim the Mayor of *Hull* receiv'd Information of a Plot to betray it, which he preſently communicated to Sir *Matthew Boynton* and ſome of the Aldermen, and it was reſolv'd to arm the moſt zealous of the Townſmen for the Preſervation of the Peace: Accordingly 1500 Men were in a few Hours got in Readineſs, and with ſo much Privacy, that they ſeiz'd on the Commanders of the Main Guard, particularly Capt. *Hotham*, before any Notice was taken of them. They then ſeiz'd on the Magazine, the Ordnance, on the Walls, the Guards at the Gate, the three Block-houſes, and the Caſtle. Thus in an Hour's Time they ſecured the whole Town without one Drop of Blood. Sir *John Hotham* got out of his Houſe, and meeting a Man riding into the Town, made him alight, mounted his Horſe, and rode thro' *Beverly* Gate, the Guard having had no Order to ſtop him; but being purſu'd, he quitted the Road and turn'd down to a Ferry, intending to have paſs'd over into *Holderneſs*. He there miſs'd the Boat, and was forc'd to ride on to *Beverley*, whither Sir *Matthew Boynton*'s Man was now got before him with a Letter to his Son Col. *Boynton*, acquainting him with the Plot, and Order to apprehend him, which he did, taking hold of his Horſe's Bridle as he enter'd the Town., and obliging him to alight. He ſent him to *Hull*, from whence he was ſoon after convey'd to *London* by Sea together with his Son, and both impriſon'd in the Tower. The Parliament were very well pleas'd with the good Service done on this Occaſion, and publiſh'd a Declaration to indemnify *Thomas Raikes*, Eſq; Mayor of *Hull*, Sir *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *William St. Quintin*, Sir *Richard Darley*, Sir *John Bourcher*, Sir *William Alliſon*, *Lancelot Roper* Alderman, *Nicholas Denman* Alderman, *John Barnard* Alderman, *William Pople* Alderman, *John Penroſe*, Gent. and *Robert Johnſon* Clerk, for what they had done in *that acceptable Service to the King and Parliament*.

A. D. 1643.

I do not repeat all the King's Meſſages, they being moſt of them pretty long, and drawn as if they were intended not to have any Effect at this, upon News of the Victory at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, wherein his Majeſty gave the Parliament *an Account of the Strength of his Army, and the Plenty of his Ammunition*, as ſure Tokens of his Inclinations to Peace, *and requires them, as they will anſwer to God, himſelf, and the World, that they would remember* by whoſe Authority, *and to what End they met in that Council.* Was it not very eaſy to anſwer, that *they ſate there then by their own Authority*, it being not in his Power to diſſolve them but by their own Conſent, and that their End was to prevent for the future the Injuſtice and Oppreſſion of the Adminiſtration for 16 Years paſt, to ſecure their own Privileges, and the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the People, Spiritual and Temporal, which had been ſo often invaded and violated. This, ſays *Echard*, put the Parliament in a *Fury*. *Their Clergy blew their Trumpets louder than ever, if that could be poſſible.* If there was not a Sort of *Witchery* in the Caſe, theſe People would not ſo often touch upon Things which are ſo eaſily turn'd againſt them, nothing being better known than that the Sermons of *Sibthorp*, *Pocklington*, *Beal*, *Montague*, *Maynwaring*, for arbitrary Power, Superſtition, and Perſecution, were the real Cauſe of the Calamities which enſued. Had he never read this Speech in Parliament: " My Lords, it is a Saying of *Gregory* " the Great, *that when Antichriſt comes*, Præ- " paratus eſt exercitus Sacerdotum, *there is an* " *Army of Prieſts to receive him.* This is fulfill'd " in our Time, for certainly this Army of Prieſts " doth many Ways advance the Deſign and Plot " of Popery for the Subverſion of our LAWS " and Government. Our LAWS and *Popery* " cannot ſtand together, but either Popery muſt " overthrow our LAWS, or our LAWS muſt " overthrow Popery. But to overthrow our " LAWS, the PRIESTS muſt overthrow *Parliaments*, and to overthrow *Parliaments*, they " muſt overthrow *Property*; they muſt bring " the Subjects Goods to be arbitrarily diſpos'd " of, that ſo there may be no Need of Parlia- " ments. This hath been done by Dr. *Maynwaring*, Dr. *Beal*, &c,

Rushw. 220. *Clergy.*

Among other unprecedented Things at which the Archdeacon holds up his Hands, is the Impeachment of the Queen. He had forgot what he had ſaid before, that this King's Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham* had told her, *there*

Queen.

have

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have been Queens of England *who have loſt their Heads.* He informs us, *This Action is without Precedent, and extreamly ſurprized the World,* which is not true. The World talkt of ſuch a Thing a Year before, and the Commons made a ſolemn Declaration againſt it. But ſince that, in the Words of *Ruſhworth*, "She had been "very induſtrious, whilſt in *Holland*, to furniſh "the King with Arms, Ammunition and Mo-"ney, and being now at the Head of a conſider-"able Army at *York*, ready to march *South-"ward*, the Houſe of Commons reſolv'd to im-"peach her Majeſty of *High Treaſon*, and Mr. "*Pym* was ſent up to the Lords on that Meſſage.

Queen impeach'd.

"Accordingly he did impeach her, promiſing in "the Name of the Commons to bring in parti-"cular Articles." The *Queen*, in a Letter to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, writes him, *The Houſe of Commons hath declared me Traytor, and carry'd up their Charge againſt me to the Lords. This I aſſure you is true, but I know not yet what the Lords have done upon it, God forgive them for their* Rebellion. They have no other Word amongſt them, when the Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the Defence of them, are in queſtion. To ſpeak the Truth of them is to *aſperſe*, to oppoſe their Oppreſſion and Violence to *rebel*. The Queen's harbouring of Prieſts, employing Papiſts, ill counſelling the King, and her unpopular Conduct, had been long a general Complaint, which ſhe depending perhaps on foreign Support too much, ſlighted, and upon her being impeach'd the People ſhew'd their Reſentment, by inſulting her Chapel, driving away the Jeſuits and Friers, breaking the Organs, throwing down the Altars, and pulling down the Croſs in the Burying Place. *If theſe Marks of their Hatred were too outragious,* ſays *Larrey*, *her ſecret Practices gave Occaſion to the Outrage.* What we read in another Author takes off ſomething of the Surprize Mr. *Echard* put us into at her Impeachment.

H. I. L. 187.

"The whole Source of the King's deplorable "End, ſprung only from his Marriage with a "Daughter of *France*, who though reſiding in "another Kingdom, yet ſtill retain'd warm Af-"fections for her own *popiſh* Country, prefer-"ring the Counſels which came with her from "thence to the Repoſe and Tranquility of her "Royal Husband and his Kingdom, ſo blindly "bigotted was ſhe to her own Ways of Worſhip, "that all her Thoughts were bent upon eſta-"bliſhing her *idolatrous* Religion here, and ad-"vancing only thoſe who profeſt it, which was "abſolutely contrary to the LAWS OF THE "LAND." *Echard* has often ſpoken of her as a Bleſſing to this Nation, and as ſuch there was a Form of Thankſgiving Prayer made for her by

Prayer for the Queen.

the *Oxford* Doctors: *Oh moſt merciful God, we render thee all Praiſe and Thanks, for that thou haſt been pleaſed to extend thy Hand of Deliverance unto the* Perſon *of our gracious* Queen, *That thou haſt made her an Inſtrument of ſo much* Good *to this Kingdom, and brought her ſafely hither*; Lord, *make the King and his People daily more and more happy in her, that as by thine eſpecial Favour ſhe is already become the Mother of ſo many hopeful Princes, ſo ſhe may be daily fruitful in the Addition of more Bleſſings to us, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* If every Word of this is not Blaſphemy, in the Mouth of a Proteſtant, ſenſible of the Idolatry of her Religion, and her *ſecret Practices* to eſtabliſh it, we are then to be taught what the Meaning of the Word is, and what the Nature of the Sin.

About the ſame Time that the Earl of *Eſſex* took *Reading*, Sir *William Waller* having routed and diſpers'd the *Welch* Forces, march'd from *Glouceſter* to *Hereford* with 3000 Horſe and Foot, and ſome Artillery. Coming before that City he ſummon'd it, but receiving a ſlight Anſwer from the Governor, Colonel *Herbert Price*, he order'd the Cannon to fire upon the Gates, through one of which a Ball pierc'd and kill'd a Lieutenant within it with ſome Men. This ſo frighted the Cavaliers, that moſt of the Garriſon abandon'd the City at another of the Gates, and the reſt yielded upon Quarter. Here were taken the Lord *Scudamore* and his Son, Colonel *Herbert Price*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Lieutenant Colonel *Coningsby*, Mr. *Coningsby*, Sir *Walter Pye*, Sir *William Crofts*, Sir *Samuel Awbry*, Major *Dalton*, Dr. *Rogers*, Dr. *Godwyn*, Dr. *Evans*, and ſeveral others, who were ſent to *Glouceſter*.

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Sir William Waller *takes* Hereford.

Briſtol had ſupply'd Sir *William Waller* with part of his Forces, and while he was ranging thus in *Glouceſterſhire* and *Herefordſhire*, a Plot was form'd to betray that City to Prince *Rupert*. The chief Plotter was one Mr. *Robert Yeomans*, a Merchant, who *Echard* tells us, was a *Man of great Reputation*, and had been High Sheriff the Year before. As I have by me a Manuſcript Hiſtory of that City, which I may hereafter publiſh, I have acquainted my ſelf much better with the Affairs of it than it can be ſuppos'd he has done. *Yeomans* was indeed the youngeſt Sheriff in the Mayoralty of Mr. *John Locke*, Merchant, and far from being a Perſon of diſtinguiſh'd Reputation. *George Bowcher* his Fellow Plotter, was drawn in by him, as were Mr. *William Yeomans*, Mr. *Edward Dakers*, Mr. *Arundel*, Mr. *Teague*, *Thomas Barret*, Cutler, *John Nickens*, Trunk-Maker, *Ephraim Goody*, Goldſmith, Mr. *Millard*, *John Collins*, Mr. *Brent*, *Robert Blackborough*, Captain *Cole*, Mr. *John Throupe*, one *Cowly* a Quack, *Green* an Attorney, *John Peſtor*, *Thomas Stephens*, *Matthew Stephens*, *Nathaniel Street*, Tiler, *Henry Ruſſel*, and others. On *Monday* the 7th of *March* in the Night, Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Lord *Digby*, with 4000 Horſe and 2000 Foot, were to advance to *Durdam Down*, half a Mile from the City on *Glouceſter* ſide, and the Conſpirators engag'd to ſieze *Froom* Gate under St. *Michael*'s Hill and *Newgate* for their Entrance. *Blackborough*, one of the Plotters, liv'd near *Froom* Gate, and was to give Paſſage to the King's Forces through his Garden. Notice was to be given the Conſpirators, by tolling a Bell at St. *Nicholas*, St. *John*, and St. *Michael* Churches. The Bell at St. *Nicholas* was a Token to thoſe that were to attack the main Guard near the Croſs and *Tolſey*. The Bell at St. *John*'s was Notice to thoſe that were to ſieze *Froom* Gate, and the Bell at St. *Michael*'s was a Token to Prince *Rupert*'s Men without the City on *Glouceſter* ſide, to act all together. The Conſpirator's were to be diſtinguiſh'd by white Tape in their Hats. According to Agreement about 50 of them met arm'd at Mr. *Yeoman*'s Houſe, expecting to be join'd by a Multitude of Butchers from the *Shambles* near St. *Nicholas*'s Gate and other Raſcality at the *High Croſs*, at the upper End of *High Street*, fronting that Gate. They were there to ſieze the main Guard, and poſt a ſtrong Body at St *Nicholas* Gate to hinder Aſſiſtance from that part of the City which is on the other Side of the Bridge, in *Somerſetſhire*. *Robert Yeomans*, who was to be a Colonel in the King's Service, undertook to move with this Part as ſoon as St. *Nicholas*'s Bell toll'd. *Bowcher* was to head the Party that was to ſieze *Froom* Gate, at the Telling of St. *John*'s Bell, in which he was to be aſſiſted by the Seamen

Plot at Briſtol.

A. D. 1643. from St. *Auſtin*'s Back. Then was the Bell at St. *Michael*'s on the Hill to toll, and the Royaliſts immediately to draw down to *Froom* Gate and *Blackborough*'s Garden, while others of the Conſpirators broke open the Houſe of *Humphrey Hooke*, Eſq; Mayor of the City, murder'd him and his Family, and ſeizing the Keys of the City Gates, open'd them to their Confederates. Parl. Chron. 278. Thoſe Citizens who had not the *white Tape* Mark, and certain other Marks, were to be maſſacred and plunder'd. It was not above an Hour or two before this Conſpiracy was to be executed, when a poor Man came to the Guard at the *Bridge* foot, and ſaid, he ſaw ſome Men go into *Yeomans*'s Houſe at 12 a Clock at Night. *Yeomans* being a ſuſpected Perſon, a Party of Horſe and Foot was ſent to inveſt his Houſe, where they forc'd Entrance, and found the Men in Arms, whom they preſently apprehended and carry'd to the Caſtle. *Bowcher* being alſo a ſuſpected Perſon his Houſe was ſearch'd at the ſame Time, and a like Company found there in Arms. Both *Yeomans* and *Bowcher* had increas'd the Suſpicion againſt them, by their not hanging out Lights, as Colonel *Fiennes* the Governor had commanded the Citizens to do. Prince *Rupert* advanc'd according to the Scheme projected, but hearing no Tokens, and apprehending the Plot was diſcover'd, he quitted *Durdham Down*, where he had waited 3 or 4 Hours for them, and drew as near as *Brandon Hill* with ſome Horſe, but after a Shot or two of Cannon from the City Works he retir'd. In *Yeoman*'s Houſe was found this Writing, *All Inhabitants of the* Bridge, High-ſtreet *and* Corn-ſtreet, *keep within your Doors upon Peril of your Lives. All other Inhabitants of this City who ſtand for the King, let them forthwith appear at the* High Croſs *with ſuch Arms as they have, and follow their Leaders.* The Parliament having Information *of the Diſcovery of the Plot*, and Seizure of the Plotters, order'd *Clement Walker*, Eſq; Advocate to the Council of War, Colonel *Fiennes*, *William White*, Eſq; *Richard Cole*, Eſq; &c. to exhibit Articles of High Treaſon againſt them, and proceed by Law Martial. The Court ſat at the Lady *Rogers*'s Houſe. The Fact was very plainly prov'd upon them, and *Robert Yeomans* and *George Bowcher* were condemn'd to be hang'd before the *main Guard*, which Sentence was executed the 30th of *May*, notwithſtanding the impotent Menaces of the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General, to hang up Mr. *George*, Mr. *Stephens*, and Captain *Huntly*, Priſoners taken at *Cirenceſter*, if thoſe two Conſpirators ſuffer'd. But Colonel *Fiennes* and Mr. *Walker* ſent them Anſwer, that they would in ſuch caſe execute Sir *Walter Pye*, Sir *William Crofts*, and Colonel *Coningsby*, *who were taken in* open REBELLION, and actual War againſt the King and Kingdom. His Majeſty himſelf wrote a Letter to the Mayor, the two Sheriffs of *Briſtol*, *William Colſton*, Eſq; and *Henry Creſwick*, Eſq; wherein he told them, that the hanging of *Yeomans* and *Bowcher* would call *down the juſt Vengeance of God, and bring perpetual Infamy on the City, he therefore will'd and commanded them to raiſe all the Power and Strength of the City to reſcue them.* There is no End of Wonderment at theſe Letters, for could any one ſuppoſe that the Mayor of *Briſtol*, a *Puritan*, would enter into a War with the Governor *Fiennes*, a Presbyterian, to attempt a Thing that could end in nothing but Slaughter or the p. 259. Gallows. *Warwick*, for they are alike, ſays *Dakers*, was hang'd too, but it is a Falſity. Parl. Chron. 283. There was a Day of *Thankſgiving* kept for this Diſcovery at *Briſtol*; the Parliament alſo order'd Thankſgivings for it; and what is very extraordinary, the King too order'd Thankſgivings at *Oxford* for Prince *Rupert*'s Deliverance from this Conſpiracy, which it was ſaid there was a mock one contriv'd by *Fiennes* to draw that Prince and his Cavaliers into a Snare, and then under Colour of receiving them cut them to pieces. *A. D.* 1643.

Another Plot broke out the very Day that *Yeomans* and *Bowcher* were hang'd at *Briſtol*, to betray the City of *London* to her avow'd Enemies, the Cavaliers. Mr. *Waller*, one of the fineſt Genius's of his Age for Poetry but an ordinary one for Politicks, was at the Head of this Conſpiracy; his Brother-in-Law Mr. *Tompkins*, Clerk of the Queen's Council, Mr. *Challoner* a wealthy Tradeſman in *Cornhill*, Mr. *Blinkhorn* of *Covent Garden*, and others, enter'd into the Plot, after having taken an Oath of Secrecy, *to ſeize the King's Children, to ſecure ſeveral Members of both Houſes of Parliament*, particularly the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Colonel *Hampden*, Colonel *Strode*, as alſo the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *John Woolaſton*, and the *Committee of Militia*, under pretence of bringing them to a legal Trial. To *ſeize upon the Outworks* which had been rais'd from St. *James*'s to *Hide Park* Corner, *Piccadilly*, St. *Giles*'s, *Pancraſs*, *Grays Inn* Lane, *Holloway* Road, *Newington* and *Hoxton*. *To ſeize the Magazines, Gates, and other important Places of the City*, the *Tower*, and *let in the King's Army*, whoſe Luſt was ſo ſtrong after the Plunder, *to reſiſt and obſtruct all Payments of Parliament*. Mr. *Waller* being brought acquainted with Mr. *Challoner* by Mr. *Tompkins*, propos'd to him, *to make a Party in the City of the Moderate Men to ſtand in the Gap between King and Parliament, and bring them to a Reconciliation, without which* Party *there was no Hopes to unite them.* Challoner *ſaid*, Sir, *If I could aſſure you of three* Parts *of* London, *none of them ſhould ſtir unleſs we had the Countenance of the Lords and Commons.* Mr. *Waller* reply'd, *You ſhall have to countenance this Buſineſs the whole Houſe of Peers, except three or four, and divers of the Houſe of Commons.* Mr. *Waller* was the Mouth of thoſe Peers and Commoners. He told *Challoner* what Converſation he had, or pretended he had with thoſe Lords and Commons, and *Challoner* told *Blinkhorn*, *Abbot*, *Luntloe*, *King*, and other Citizens. Among all the Falſities in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, and the Archdeacon's Hiſtory, there is none that has ſo good Proof againſt it as this, *That the* Plot *was only* to petition for a Peace, *Tompkins* and *Challoner* at the Gallows confeſſing it was a treaſonable Deſign. *Tompkins* ſaid his Suffering *was juſt*; and *Challoner*, *I confeſs I now die juſtly.* The Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* will not allow that theſe poor Gentlemen, who were juſt going to be hang'd for this *fooliſh Buſineſs*, as *Tompkins* call'd it, ſpoke the Truth. *I can ſee no real Cauſe*, ſays the Lord *Clarendon* very gravely, but thoſe who dy'd for it, own'd themſelves there was a real Cauſe, and that they dy'd juſtly. The like Aſſertion is not in any Hiſtory, or other Writing in being, and it is a great Comfort to have his Lordſhip's fine Characters confirm'd by ſo fine a Remark. The firſt Diſcovery of the Plot was made by Mr. *Roe*, Servant to Mr. *Tompkins*, who having over-heard ſome of the Conſultations, imparted the Subſtance of them to Mr. *Pym*, who acquainting the Parliament with it, a Committee, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Mr. *St. John*, and Mr. *Glyn*, were appointed to inquire into the Conſpiracy, which they trac'd Waller's Plot.

A. D. 1643. several Days and Nights to find out the Conſpirators, and when the Matter was ripe, the Two Houſes had a Conference upon it, and a Declaration of it was drawn up by their Order, to be printed and read in all Churches and Chapels. In *Tompkins*'s Cellar was found a Commiſſion from the King under the Great Seal of *England*, to Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, Sir *George Stroud*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner* Recorder of *London*, Sir *George Binion*, *Richard Edes*, Eſq; *Marmaduke Roydon*, Eſq; *Thomas Brown*, Eſq; *Peter Paggen*, *Charles Jennings*, Sir *Edward Charlton*, *Robert Abbot*, *Andrew King*, *William White*, *Stephen Bolton*, *Robert Alden*, *Edmund Foſter*, and *Thomas Blinkhorn*, of *London*, Gentlemen, *to raiſe Forces, Horſe and Foot, to arm, muſter, conduct, order, lead and govern, to raiſe Money for the clothing, arming, furniſhing and paying them, to ſlay and to deſtroy* the Friends to the Parliament, *I ſee no real Cauſe*, ſays Lord *Clarendon*, and I do not know many Sayings of his better grounded. This Commiſſion was brought from *Oxford* by the Lady *Aubigney*, and one may by that ſee what good Uſe the Ladies made of the Parliament's Civilities towards them. *Haſel* one of the King's Meſſengers, went to and fro between *London* and *Oxford* with Accounts of the Conſpirators Proceedings, and the King's Approval of them. One of his Inſtructions was, that they ſhould ſettle at *Oxford*, *Qua forma Regiminis*, what Sort of Government ſhould be ſet up when the Parliament was deſtroy'd, which is ſomething more than a *Petition for Peace*, mention'd by the Earl of *Clarendon* as the Sum of this Deſign. Mr. *Alexander Hampden* was another Agent, and probably he had ſuffer'd as well as *Challoner* and *Tompkins*, had not his Sickneſs prevented his Trial. The Conſpirators *Tompkins*, *Challoner*, *Blinkhorn*, *Abbot*, &c. were try'd by a Council of War in *Guildhall*, where were preſent in Court 22 Colonels of the City and the Lord General's Army, the Earl of *Mancheſter* Preſident. The Evidence and the Confeſſion of the Priſoners gave full Satisfaction as to their Guilt, ſo theſe four receiv'd Sentence of Death, *Abbot* and *Blinkhorn* were repriev'd, but *Tompkins* was executed over againſt *Fetter-lane* End in *Holborn* near his own Houſe, and Mr. *Challoner* over againſt the *Royal Exchange*, both dying very penitent, and ſenſible of their Wickedneſs in ingaging in this curſed Conſpiracy; tho' their Wickedneſs in plotting is not ſo great, conſidering their Penitence, as that of the Hiſtorian, who with equal Impenitence and Falſhood turns this Plot upon the Parliament, as if it had been a Contrivance of theirs to bring a Scandal on the King, who indeed was deeply concern'd in it, as appears by the abovemention'd Commiſſion to *ſlay and deſtroy* the Parliament and all their Friends and Adherents. A French Popiſh Hiſtorian, who however is more modeſt than either the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* or the Archdeacon, ſays, *The particular Inclinations his Majeſty always had to ſave the Blood of his Subjects, his earneſt Deſire to ſtop the Effuſion of it on ſo many Occaſions, and his great Tenderneſs to his poor People, ſhews ſufficiently that he had no manner of Knowledge of ſuch a Deſign, to* kill *and* deſtroy, tho' he had granted a Commiſſion for it under his Broad Seal. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays there is nothing in the World *clearer than that the Commiſſion had no Relation to* Tompkins, tho' it was found in his Cellar; and he ſaid at the Gallows he was glad it was diſcover'd, for it might have occaſion'd very ill Conſequences, and *Challoner* own'd at his Death he *knew of it*, as in *Ruſhworth* 326, 327. What Conſciences muſt theſe Men have, and what Heads, to affirm Things to be falſe, the Truth of which was ſo eaſily prov'd? Mr. Archdeacon aping the Lord *Clarendon*, I cannot ſay right or wrong, for it is always wrong, tells us, *The Parliament* ſubtlely join'd *Sir* Nicholas Criſp's *Commiſſion and* Waller's *Projects together, and* enviouſly *moulded them into one Plot.* What occaſion was there for ſubtlely joining and moulding a Thing that was *moulded* and *join'd* to their Hands? *Echard* goes on very ſagely and gravely, *Plots are the dark Parts of Hiſtory, Plants of quick Growth with ſmall Roots and Branches, almoſt inviſible in their Cauſes, but viſible in their Effects.* Theſe very formal and impertinent Reflections are not however his own, for the Strength of his Genius does not ſeem to exert it ſelf in Reflecting. Was the Broad Seal an inviſible Part? Was a Commiſſion to raiſe Men and Money, Horſe and Arms, to ſeize Magazines, and kill and maſſacre, a ſmall Branch? It is not worth Animadverſion, for one cannot tell which is moſt predominant here, the Falſhood or the Nonſenſe. This Plot has no Darkneſs in it, 'tis confeſs'd, tho Cauſes were as viſible as the King's impatient Deſire to be Maſter of the City could make it, and the Effects were to guard againſt the like Treaſon for the future, by a new ſolemn *Engagement* or *Covenant* to be enter'd into by all the good People of *England*. The Preamble to it was, *Since there has been a Popiſh Deſign to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion, and a Popiſh Army to ſupport that Deſign, and a treacherous and horrid Plot lately diſcover'd*, &c. *I* A. B. *will not conſent to lay down Arms ſo long as Papiſts, now in open War againſt the* Parliament, *be protected againſt Juſtice.* The Reverend Hiſtorian declares here that the Preamble was void of Truth, and thus gives the Lie to the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons; yet ſome ſqueamiſh People have thought I have offended againſt Decency, when I have charg'd him and the Lord *Clarendon* with ſaying Things void of Truth: Tho' it is monſtrous to think I may not take the ſame Liberty with Hiſtorians who write falſly, as they both take with the moſt auguſt Senate in the World in Arms for the Defence of their own and the People's Religion, Rights, Privileges and Liberties. If the Papiſts had no Deſign to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion, if there was no Plot to ſeize the City and diſperſe the Parliament, then the Preamble was *void of Truth*, and on that Iſſue I leave it. The chief Plotter, Mr. *Waller*, appeal'd from the Council of War to the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, and being brought to the Bar, made one of the moſt eloquent and moving Speeches that is in our or any other Language, ancient or modern. He begins with a Confeſſion of that Crime which the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* deny with incredible Reſolution; for can one believe that two Men ſhould know more of a Matter than the Man who is to die for it, and yet confeſſes it. His Speech began thus; *I acknowledge it a great Mercy of God, and a great Favour from you, that I am once more ſuffer'd to behold this Honourable Aſſembly. I mean not to make uſe of it to ſay any thing in my own Defence by Juſtification or Denial of what I have done; I have already confeſs'd enough to make me appear worthy not only to be put out of this Houſe, but out of the World too.* The Lord *Clarendon* has it over and over again, *I can ſee no real Cauſe* which the Criminal who expects Sentence of Death to paſs upon him, did ſee and own that he ſaw. I am not ſurpriz'd at *Echard*'s repeating ſuch prodigious Paſſages, for had the Extravagance of that Parti-

A. D. 1643.

Ruſhw. 324.

Chron. 358.

Ruſhw. 324.

Salmonet. 423.

Mr. Waller.

A. D. 1643. Partiality been greater, and the Falſhood of it been ſtill more notorious and ſelf-evident, he would have run away with it as with an ineſtimable Treaſure coming out of ſuch a Storehouſe as the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, where we alſo read, and in the Archdeacon's Hiſtory too, that Mr. *Waller* brib'd the Miniſters of the Goſpel who came to pray with him, to ſpeak a good Word for him to the Houſe of Commons, which will not bear Remark. He clos'd his Speech thus; *Sir, not to trouble you any longer, if I die, I ſhall die praying for you; if I live I ſhall live ſerving of you, and render you back the Uſe and Employment of all thoſe Days you ſhall add to my Life.* By this pathetick Speech and other Artifices, ſays *Echard* as falſly as ever Man ſaid any thing, *he prevail'd not to be try'd by a Council of War*, p. 571. *Ruſhworth*, p. 330. The Houſe of Commons proceeded to expel him, *ſo being* LEFT TO THE COUNCIL OF WAR, *he was condemn'd to die.* Should a Man with ſuch a Falſity in his Mouth accuſe very religious and pious Divines of *Vile Sayings*, of *taking great Sums for their Prayers*, of *Hypocriſy* and *Bribery*. But ſo it is, and the Inſenſibility with which he repeated ſuch Stuff after the moſt partial and profligate Writers, will doubtleſs render all Reproof ineffectual. Mr. *Waller* had a Reprieve from the Lord General *Eſſex*, and *after about a Year's Impriſonment, paying a Fine of* 10000 *Pounds*, which, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, the *Parliament wanted*, he was diſcharg'd and travell'd into *France*. Is not the Hiſtorian's Reflection there on the Parliament's Poverty very diſcreet and courtly, conſidering what a flowing Treaſury his Majeſty had at *Oxford*? There are ſeveral Parts of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* as merry as this, and one cannot help laughing, as much as it is below the Dignity of Hiſtory, *Larrey* having read what the Earl ſaid of *kneading* and *joining*, which *Echard* calls moulding and joining two Plots together, thought it very ridiculous. " 'Tis of little Im-
" portance whether *Criſp*'s Commiſſion was a Se-
" quel of *Waller*'s Conſpiracy, as *Ruſhworth*
" writes, or a ſeparate Enterprize from either,
" as the Lord *Clarendon* affirms, tho' it ſeems
" not at all to agree with the Commiſſion's be-
" ing found in *Tompkins*'s Cellar." Mr. *Waller* was forc'd to ſell an Eſtate of 1000 Pounds a Year
Dr. Birch. to clear off this Fine and Charges. Dr. *Birch*, who marry'd his Daughter, in a *Manuſcript* Account of his Life, ſaid, " He conferr'd with ſome
" Loyal Citizens and others about recovering the
" City into the King's Intereſt, in which he was
" betray'd by his Siſter *Price* and her Presbyte-
" rian Chaplain Mr. *Good*, who *ſtole* ſome of his
" Papers; and if he had not ſtrangely dream'd
" the Night before he was ſeiz'd that his Siſter
" betray'd him, and thereupon burnt the reſt of
" his Papers by the Fire left in his Chimney, he
" had certainly loſt his Life for it." Now to get a *Petition*, as the Lord *Clarendon* poſitively aſſerts the Deſign was, is no hanging Matter. This ſmall Scrip of Hiſtory by Dr. *Birch*, ſhews us what Sort of Hiſtorians our moſt famous Doctors make: He tells us the Presbyterian Miniſter was a *Thief*, and builds his Story on a Dream. Mr. *Echard* cannot but be pleas'd to ſee his own Manner of Writing confirm'd by that of Dr. *Birch*.

Waller accus'd the Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Conway* of being privy to the Deſign, and they were impriſon'd for ſome Time; but it not being clearly prov'd they were diſcharg'd.

His Majeſty publiſh'd a Proclamation at *Oxford*, *June* 20. forbidding all Perſons to obey the Orders of the Two Houſes. We muſt note that theſe Proclamations had no Currency any where but in the King's own Quarters; but the Penman Sir *Edward Hyde* was extremely enamour'd with his florid Stile, and took infinite Pleaſure in writing Proclamations and Declarations with a Fluency of Words, which paſs'd off as they were, like ſo much Air. Sir *Philip Warwick* informs us that Mr. *Hobbes* thought his Verboſeneſs and Flouriſhes did more Hurt than Good. I had taken Notice of this Vice in his Language before I knew that it was the Opinion of *Warwick* and *Hobbes*. In this Proclamation was an Offer of a general Pardon, with ſome Exceptions in it; as, *Robert* Earl of *Eſſex*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Manchеſter*, *William* Lord *Say* and *Sele*, Sir *Francis Popham*, Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Sir *Henry Ludlow*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Eſq; *John Pym*, Eſq; *William Strode*, Eſq; *Henry Martin*, Eſq; Alderman *Pennington*, Capt. *Ven*; neither of whom, as I can find in Hiſtory, ſhew'd any Diſpoſition to be at the Charge of the Broad Seal for a Pardon, tho' his Majeſty threaten'd to proceed againſt them as guilty of *High Treaſon* by the KNOWN LAWS OF THE LAND, which are twenty Times mention'd in this Proclamation, and have been a thouſand Times broken in this Reign by upper and lower Officers.

A. D. 1643.

Clarendon's Stile.

P. 197.

Exceptions to the King's Pardon.

About a Month before, a Proclamation was publiſh'd at *Oxford* in Favour of the Clergy, wherein it is ſaid that ſeveral Miniſters have been ſequeſter'd for *preaching the Word of God according to its Purity*, of which Hundreds of Inſtances might be taken out of the Regiſters of *Laud*, *Wren*, and other ſuch Prelates, for *not teaching Sedition*, for *not fomenting this unnatural War*, for *not ſowing Sedition again*, for *not acting contrary to the Word of God*, &c. Wherefore the King forbids any one to take their Places, or touch their Tithes. Where the Cavaliers were Maſters, no Body was ſuffer'd to take any thing from them but themſelves; but where the *Parliamentarians*, this Proclamation did them no more good than *Goring*'s Bleſſing would have done. Before we enter further upon the Military Actions of this Year, we muſt remember the Civil, and we find the Parliament proceeding with great Calmneſs and Wiſdom in the Latter, and with as much Diligence and Vigour in the Former, as the Circumſtances of the Times would permit.

They paſs'd an Ordinance about the Beginning of *April* for *ſequeſtring the Eſtates of all notorious Delinquents*, and another for the *ſpeedy raiſing and levying of Money throughout the whole Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *for the Relief of the* Common-Wealth, *and the Taxing ſuch as have not at all contributed or lent Money, or not according to their Eſtates and Abilities.* The Preamble to this Ordinance having ſet forth the Miſeries the Nation endured by the Army the King had rais'd to make War againſt his Parliament, and the Ruin that would be inevitable, unleſs the Army rais'd by the Parliament was ſupported, it is further ſaid, " which ſaid Army cannot be maintain'd
" without great Sums of Money, yet for raiſing
" ſuch Sums, by Reaſon of his Majeſty's with-
" drawing himſelf from the Advice of the Par-
" liament, there can be no Act paſſed with his
" Majeſty's Aſſent, albeit there is great Juſtice
" that the ſaid Money ſhould be rais'd; Be it
" therefore ordain'd by the Lords and Commons,
" that all thoſe who have not contributed, &c. as
" in the Title, ſhall be aſſeſs'd;" and Commiſſioners

A. D. 1643. fioners were appointed to aſſeſs and levy this Tax, which being, I think, the firſt of the Kind, I ſhall inſert their Names.

Commiſſioners of the Land Aſſeſſment all over England.

Commiſſioners for the General Contribution *Tax all over* England *and* Wales, *in the Year* 1643. *rais'd by Parliament.*

COMMISSIONERS.

County of *Bedford.*

Sir *John Burgoyne*, Bart. Sir *Thomas Alſton*, Knight and Bart. Sir *Roger Burgoyne*, Bart. Sir *Oliver Luke*, Knt. Sir *Samuel Luke*, Knt. *William Duncomb*, Eſq; *Humphry Monox*, Eſq; *Thomas Rolte*, Eſq; *Thomas Sadler*, Eſq; *Edward Osborn*, Eſq; *Samuel Bourne*, Eſq; *James Beverly*, Eſq; *Robert Stanton*, Eſq; *John Vaux*, Eſq; *Humphry Fiſh*, Eſq; *John Neale*, Eſq; *Oliver Butler*, Eſq; Dr. *Baniſter*, and the Mayor of *Bedford* for the Time being.

County of *Berks.*

Sir *Francis Knollis*, ſen. Sir *Francis Pile*, Sir *Francis Knollis*, jun. *Peregrine Hobby*, Eſq; *Roger Knight*, Eſq; *Henry Powle*, Eſq; *Thomas Fettiplace*, Eſq;

Town of *Reading.*

Sir *Francis Knollis*, ſen. Sir *Francis Knollis*, jun. the Mayor, *Henry Martin*, Eſq; *Tanfield Vachel*, Eſq;

County of *Bucks.*

Sir *Richard Ingoldsby*, Sir *Peter Temple*, Bart. Sir *Thomas Sanders*, *Henry Bulſtrode*, Eſq; *Thomas Tyrel*, Eſq; *Richard Greenvill*, Eſq; *Anthony Ratcliff*, Eſq; Sir *William Andrews*, *Thomas Weſtall*, Eſq; *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; *John Hampden*, Eſq; *Arthur Goodwyn*, Eſq; *Richard Winwood*, Eſq;

County of *Cambridge.*

Sir *John Cutts*, Sir *Dudley North*, Sir *Thomas Martin*, Sir *Miles Sands*, *Thomas Becket*, Eſq; *Walter Clopton*, Eſq; *Robert Caſtle*, Eſq; *Thomas Bendiſh*, Eſq; *John Wellbore*, Eſq; *Robert Clerk*, Eſq; *Michael Dalton*, Eſq; *Dudley North*, Eſq; *Francis Ruſſel*, Eſq; *Thomas Parker*, Eſq; *John Hubbard*, Eſq; *Thomas Caſtle*, Eſq; *George Clapthorne*, Eſq; *Thomas Thompſon*, Eſq; *John Towers*, Eſq; *Edward Leeds*, Eſq; *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; *William Fiſher*, Eſq; *William Marſh*, Eſq; *Hummerſton Marſh*, Eſq; Captain *Symonds.*

Town and Univerſity of *Cambridge.*

The Mayor, *Talbot Pepys*, Eſq; Recorder, *John Sherwood*, *Samuel Spaulden*, *Thomas French*, *Robert Robſon*, Gent.

County of *Cheſter.*

Sir *George Booth*, Knight and Bart. Sir *William Brereton*, Bart. *Thomas Stanley*, Eſq; *Henry Maynwaring*, Eſq; *Henry Brooke*, Eſq; *John Bradſhaw*, Eſq; *Robert Duckenfield*, Eſq; *Henry Vernon*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; *William Marbury*, Eſq;

County of *Cornwall.*

Sir *Richard Carew*, Bart. *Francis Buller*, Eſq; *Alexander Carew*, Eſq; *John Trefuſis*, Eſq; *John St. Awbin*, Eſq; *Richard Eriſey*, Eſq; *John Moyle*, Eſq; *Francis Godolphin*, Eſq; *Thomas Thewen*, Eſq; *John Carter*, Eſq; *Thomas Arundel*, Eſq;

County of *Cumberland.*

Sir *George Dalſton*, *William Lawſon*, Eſq; *William Briſcoe*, Eſq; *Thomas Lamplugh*, Eſq; *Richard Barwis*, Eſq;

County of *Devon.*

Sir *Peter Prideaux*, Sir *George Chudleigh*, Sir *John Poole*, Sir *John Northcot*, Baronets, Sir *Edmund Fowell*, Sir *Samuel Rolle*, Sir *Shilſton Calmady*, Sir *Nicholas Martyn*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Bart. Sir *John Davy*, Bart. *Robert Savery*, Eſq; *Henry Walrond*, Eſq; *John Worthy*, Eſq; *Hugh Forteſcue*, Eſq; *Arthur Upton*, Eſq; *George Trobridge*, Eſq; *A. D.* 1643.

City of *Exeter.*

Chriſtopher Clarke, Eſq; Mayor, Alderman *Sanders*, Alderman *Creſſing*, Alderman *Bennes*, Alderman *White*, Alderman *Hakewill*, *James Gould*, Eſq; Sheriff.

County of *Dorſet.*

Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *Walter Earl*, *John Browne*, Eſq; *John Fitz James*, Eſq; *Thomas Tregonwell*, Eſq; *John Bingham*, Eſq; *John Trenchard*, Eſq; *Dennis Bond*, Eſq; *Thomas Ceely*, Eſq; *John Henley*, Eſq; *William Sydenham*, jun. Eſq; *Richard Roſe*, Eſq; *John Faunham*, Eſq; *Richard Rodriffe*, Eſq;

County of *Durham.*

George Lilbourne, Eſq; *Richard Lilbourne*, Eſq; *John Blakiſton*, Eſq; *John Brokenbury*, Eſq; *Henry Warmooth*, Eſq; *Thomas Mitford*, Eſq; *Robert Hutton*, Eſq; *Thomas Shadforth*, Eſq; *Francis Wren*, Eſq; *Henry Draper*, Eſq;

County of *Eſſex.*

Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *Martin Lumley*, Sir *Richard Everard*, Sir *William Hicks*, Sir *Henry Holcroft*, Sir *William Row*, Sir *Thomas Honeywood*, Sir *William Martin*, Sir *John Barrington*, Sir *William Maſham*, *Harbottle Grimſton*, Eſq; *Thomas Middleton*, Eſq; *John Wright*, Eſq; *Richard Harlackenden*, Eſq; *John Sayer*, Eſq; *John Burket*, Eſq; *Anthony Luther*, Eſq; *Dean Tyndall*, Eſq; *James Hearn*, Eſq; *William Goldingham*, Eſq; *John Atwood*, Eſq; *John Sorrell*, Eſq; Mr. *Raymond*, Capt. *Thomas.*

Town of *Colcheſter.*

The Mayor, *Henry Barrington*, Eſq;

County of *Glouceſter* and City.

Nathaniel Fiennes, Eſq; Sir *Robert Cooke*, *Nathaniel Stephens*, Eſq; *John George*, Eſq; *Edward Stephens*, Eſq; *Thomas Parry*, Eſq;

County of *Hertford.*

Charles Lord Viſcount *Cranbourne*, *Robert Cecil*, Eſq; Sir *John Gerrard*, Bart. Sir *Thomas Dacres*, Sir *John Wittewrong*, *Richard Jennings*, Eſq; *Ralph Freeman*, Eſq; *William Leman*, Eſq; *Adam Waſhington*, Eſq; Sir *John Read*, Bart. *Norton Gravely*, Eſq; *William Prieſtly*, Eſq; *John Heydon*, Eſq; *Alexander Wild*, Eſq; *Richard Porter*, Eſq; Dr. *King.*

Town of St. *Albans.*

The Mayor, *Charles* Lord Viſcount *Cranbourne*, &c. as before, *John Robotham*, Eſq; *Ralph Pemberton*, Eſq;

County of *Hereford.*

Sir *Robert Harley*, Knight of the *Bath*, *Walter Kerle*, Eſq; *Richard Hobſon*, Eſq; *John Brocket*, Eſq; —— *Vaughan*, Eſq;

County of *Huntington.*

Sir *Thomas Cotton*, Sir *John Hewett*, Baronets, *Onſlow Winch*, Eſq; *Tyrrel Joſcelyne*, Eſq; *Thomas Templer*, Eſq; *John Caſtle*, Eſq; *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; *Abraham Burwell*, Eſq; *Edward Montague*, Eſq;

County of *Kent.*

Sir *Anthony Welden*, Sir *Thomas Walſingham*, Sir *Edward Boyſe*, Sir *John Sidley*, Sir *Humphry Tufton*, Sir *Baſil Dixwell*, Sir *Edward Scot*, Sir *Henry Hayman*, Knights and Baronets, Sir *Edward Patrick*, Sir *Norton Knatchbull*, Sir *Thomas Peyton*, Sir *Francis Barnham*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *Edward Hales*, Sir *George Sonds*, Sir *John Honeywood*, Sir *William Brock*, Sir *Michael Liveſay*, Sir *Robert Honeywood*, Sir *Peter Godfrey*, *Mark Dixwell*, Eſq; *Robert Scot*, Eſq; *Thomas Sillyard*, Eſq;

A. D. 1643.

Eſq; *John Boys*, ſen. Eſq; *Auguſtine Skinner*, Eſq; *Richard Lee*, Eſq; *Thomas Blunt*, Eſq; *Richard Browne*, Eſq; *William James*, Eſq;

City of *Rocheſter*.

The Mayor for the Time being, *Richard Lee*, Eſq;

City of *Canterbury*.

The Mayor, Sir *William Maſter*, Sir *William Man*, *Thomas Curthope*, Eſq; Alderman *Savine*.

County of *Lancaſter*.

Sir *Ralph Aſhton*, Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Baronets, *Ralph Aſhton*, Eſq; *Richard Shuttleworth*, Eſq; *Alexander Rigby*, Eſq; *John Bradſhaw*, Eſq; *George Dodding*, Eſq; *John Moote*, Eſq; *Richard Holland*, Eſq; *Edward Butterworth*, Eſq; *Peter Egerton*, Eſq; *Nicholas Cunliff*, Eſq; *Thomas Fell*, Eſq;

County of *Leiceſter*.

Henry Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Thomas* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Bart. Sir *Edward Hartop*, Sir *Thomas Hartop*, *William Hewitt*, Eſq; *John Bembridge*, Eſq; *Peter Temple*, Eſq; *George Aſhby*, Eſq; *William Roberts*, Eſq; *Richard Bent*, Eſq; *Arthur Staveley*, Eſq; *William Danvers*, Eſq; *John Goodwyn*, Eſq;

Town of *Leiceſter*.

The Mayor, Alderman *Stanley*.

County of *Lincoln*, *Lindſey*.

Sir *John Wray*, Sir *Edward Aſcough*, Sir *Samuel Owfield*, *John Wray*, Eſq; *Willoughby Hickman*, Eſq; *Edmund Hitchcot*, Eſq; *Edmund Anderſon*, Eſq; *Edward Roſiter*, Eſq; —— *Maſſingbeard*, Eſq; *John Broxholm*, Eſq;

Keſteven.

Sir *William Armine*, Sir *Hammond Whichcot*, Sir *John Brownlow*, Sir *Thomas Trollop*, *Thomas Grantham*, Eſq; *Thomas Liſter*, Eſq; *John Archer*, Eſq;

City of *Lincoln*.

The Mayor, *Thomas Grantham*, Eſq; *John Broxholm*, Eſq; *Robert Moorcroft*, Eſq; *William Watſon*, Eſq; Alderman *Dawſon*.

County of *Middleſex*.

Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *John Franklyn*, Sir *Edward Barkham*, Sir *John Hippeſly*, Sir *William Roberts*, Sir —— *Springall*, *Lawrence Whitaker*, Eſq; *Thomas Wilcox*, Eſq; *John Morris*, Eſq; *Richard Dunton*, Eſq;

For the County of *Norfolk*, and City of *Norwich*.

Sir *Thomas Woodhouſe*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Sir *John Hobart*, Sir *Miles Hobart*, Sir *Thomas Huggen*, Sir *Edmund Mountford*, Sir *Richard Berney*, Sir *Iſaac Aſhly*, Sir *John Palgrave*, Sir *Thomas Gawdy*, Sir *Thomas Guybon*, Sir *Edward Barkham*, Sir *Edward Aſhly*, *John Coke*, Eſq; *John Spelman*, Eſq; *Philip Bedingfield*, Eſq; *John Walpole*, Eſq; *Robert Jermy*, Eſq; *John Guybon*, Eſq; *Thomas Windham*, Eſq; *Francis Jermy*, Eſq; *Samuel Smith*, Eſq; *Robert Wood*, Eſq; *Gregory Gawſell*, Eſq; *John Haughton*, Eſq; *Thomas Weld*, Eſq; *Martyn Bedley*, Eſq; *Thomas Sotherton*, Eſq; *William Heveningham*, Eſq; *William Cook*, Eſq; *Robert Rich*, Eſq; *Brigg Fountain*, Eſq; *Thomas Ruſſell*, Eſq; *Robert Wilton*, Eſq; *Robert Sheppard*, Eſq; *Philip Calthorp*, Eſq;

County of *Northampton*.

Sir *Rowland St. John*, Sir *John Norwich*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Richard Samuel*, *John Crew*, Eſq; *John Barnard*, Eſq; *Edward Harbey*, Eſq; *John Sawyer*, Eſq; *Edward Farmer*, Eſq; *John Norton*, Eſq; *John Claypole*, Eſq; Sir *John Dryden*, *Richard Knightley*, Eſq;

Town of *Northampton*.

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The Mayor, Alderman *Martin*, Alderman *Fiſher*.

County of *Northumberland*.

Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *John Delaval*, *Thomas Middleton*, Eſq; *William Shaſtoe*, Eſq; *Michael Welden*, Eſq; *Henry Ogle*, Eſq;

Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*.

Henry Warmooth, Eſq; *Ralph Gray*, Eſq; *Henry Lawſon*, Eſq; *John Blackſton*, Eſq;

Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*.

John Sliegh, Mayor, Sir *Robert Jackſon*, *Ralph Salkeld*, Eſq;

County of *Nottingham*.

Francis Pierepoint, Eſq; Sir *Francis Thornhaugh*, *Francis Thornhaugh*, Eſq; Sir *Francis Molineux*, *Joſeph Widmerpole*, Eſq; *Robert Reynes*, Eſq; *Gilbert Millington*, Eſq; *Thomas Hutchinſon*, Eſq; *Charles White*, Eſq; *Henry Ireton*, Eſq;

Town of *Nottingham*.

The Mayor, *Millington Plumtree*, Doctor of Phyſick, *Francis Chadwick*, Eſq; *John James*, Alderman, *John Gregory*, Gent.

County of *Rutland*.

Sir *Edward Harrington*, *Every Armyne*, Eſq; *John Osborn*, Eſq; *Robert Horſeman*, ſen. Eſq; *Chriſtopher Browne*, Eſq; *Robert Horſeman*, jun. Eſq; *Thomas Wayte*, Eſq;

County of *Suffolk*.

Sir *Nathaniel Barnardiſton*, Sir *Thomas Barnardiſton*, Sir *William Spring*, Sir *Roger North*, Sir *Edward Bacon*, Sir *Butts Bacon*, Sir *Robert Brook*, Sir *William Soame*, Sir *Edward Duke*, *William Heveningham*, Eſq; *Nathaniel Bacon*, Eſq; *Nicholas Bacon*, Eſq; *Henry North*, Eſq; *Robert Brewſter*, Eſq; *Francis Bacon*, Eſq; *Theophilus Vaughan* of *Becles*, Eſq; *William Cage*, Eſq; *John Gurdon*, Eſq; *Edmond Harvey*, Eſq; *John Baſſe*, Eſq; *Brampton Gurdon*, Eſq; *Wiſeman Bokenham*, Eſq; *Iſaac Apleton*, Eſq; *Robert Reynolds*, Eſq; *Thomas Cole*, Eſq; *Richard Pepys*, Eſq; *Nathaniel Bacon* of *Ipſwich*, Eſq; *John Clinch*, ſen. Eſq; *John Clinch* of *Culphere*, Eſq; *Nicholas Rivet* of *Dringſton*, Eſq; *Gibſon Lucas*, Eſq; *Thomas Chapman*, Eſq; the Aldermen of St. *Edmunds Bury*, *Thomas Johnſon* of *Aldborough*, Gent. the Bailiffs of that Town.

Town of St. *Edmunds Bury*.

Mr. *Samuel Moody*, Mr. *Thomas Cole*, Mr. *Chaplyn*.

Town of *Ipſwich*.

The Bailiffs, *John Sickleman*, Gent. *Richard Puplet*, Gent. *John Aldy*, Gent.

County of *Surrey*.

Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *William Elliot*, Sir *Robert Parkhurſt*, Sir *Ambroſe Browne*, Sir *Anthony Vincent*, Sir *John Dingley*, Sir *Matthew Brand*, Sir *Thomas Grimes*, Sir *John Greſham*, Sir *John Lenthall*, Sir *John Maynard*, *Nicholas Stoughton*, Eſq; *George Evelyn* of *Wootton*, Eſq; *Henry Weſton*, Eſq; *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; *Francis Drake*, Eſq; *Thomas Sands*, Eſq; *George Myn*, Eſq; *William Mauſchampe*, Eſq; *Edward Biſh*, ſen. Eſq; *Edward Biſh*, jun. Eſq; *Edward Bagſhaw*, Eſq; *John White*, Eſq; *Robert Goodwin*, Eſq; *John Turner*, Eſq; *Edmund Sanders*, Eſq; *Herman Atwood*, Eſq; Sir *John Howland*, *George Goodwyn*, Eſq; Mr. *Vaughan*, Mr. *Cornelius Cooke*, Gent.

County of *Suſſex*.

Sir *Thomas Pelham*, Sir *Thomas Eversfield*, Sir *William Goring*, Sir *Thomas Parker*, Sir *William Colepeper*, Sir *John Chapman*, *Anthony Starke*, Eſq; *Herbert Morley*, Eſq; *Thomas*

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Whitfield, Eſq; *Henry Goring*, Eſq; *Nicholas Gildrege*, Eſq; *George Churcher*, Eſq; *Edward Goring*, Eſq; *Thomas Aynſcomb*, Eſq; *William Thomas*, Eſq; *William Mariot*, Eſq; *William Hay*, Eſq; *Thomas Jeffery*, Eſq; *Henry Bridger*, Eſq; *Herbert Board*, Eſq; *Henry Peck*, Eſq; *John Board*, Eſq; *Francis Sellwyn*, Eſq; *Anthony Fowle*, Eſq; *Laurence Aſhburnham*, Eſq; *William Cawley*, Eſq; *Thomas Middleton*, Eſq; *William Michelbourne*, Eſq; *Peter Farnedon*, Eſq; *John Busbridge*, Eſq; *Robert Spence*, Eſq; *Stephen Humphrey*, Eſq; *Thomas Shirley*, Eſq; *Henry Shelley*, Eſq; *John Alford*, Eſq; *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; *Thomas Collins*, Eſq; *Edward Higgons*, Eſq; *John Baker*, Eſq; *Herbert Hay*, Eſq; *Ralph Cooper*, Gent. *Hall Ravenſcroft*, Gent. *Edward Apſley*, Gent. *John Downes*, Gent. *William Carolp*, Gent. *George Oglander*, Gent. *George Simpſon*, Gent. *James Bachelor*, Gent.

County of *Somerſet*.

Sir *John Horner*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Sir *George Farewell*, *Chriſtopher Walker*, Eſq; *William Strode*, Eſq; *Richard Cole*, Eſq; *John Harrington*, Eſq; *John Hippeſley*, Eſq; *William Long*, Eſq; *John Preſton*, Eſq; *Henry Henley*, Eſq; *Henry Sandford*, Eſq; *John Pyne*, Eſq; *James Aſh*, Eſq; *Roger Hill*, Eſq; *George Searl*, Eſq; *Jaſper Chaplin*, Eſq; *William Capel*, Eſq; *William Bull*, Eſq; *Robert Harbin*, Eſq; *John Hunt*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Hugh Rogers*, Eſq; *Clement Walker*, Eſq; *Robert Blake*, Eſq;

City of *Briſtol*.

Richard Allworth, Eſq; Mayor, *Joſeph Jackſon*, Eſq; *Hugh Brown*, Eſq; Sheriffs, *Richard Hallworthy*, Alderman, *Luke Hodges*, *Henry Gibbs*, Aldermen.

County of *Southampton*.

Sir *Thomas Jervoyſe*, Sir *William Waller*, —— *Withers*, Eſq; *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; *Richard Whitehead*, Eſq; *John Doddington*, Eſq; *John Liſle*, Eſq; *John Fielder*, Eſq; *John Button*, Eſq; *George Withers*, Eſq; —— *Baynard*, Eſq;

Iſle of *Wight*.

Sir *Henry Worſeley*, Sir *Henry Lee*, Sir *John Lee*, *Thomas Kerne*, Eſq; *John Liſle*, Eſq; *John Bulkeley*, Eſq; *John Buller*, Eſq;

County of *Salop*.

Sir *John Corbet*, *William Pierpoint*, Eſq; *Thomas Mytton*, Eſq; *Richard Moore*, Eſq; *Walter Barker*, Eſq; *Thomas Nicholls*, Eſq; *Robert Corbet*, Eſq; of *Stamerden*, *Humphrey Mackworth*, Eſq; *Andrew Lloyd*, Eſq; of *Aſton*, *Lancelot Lee*, Eſq;

County of *Stafford*.

Sir *Richard Sceffington*, *Richard Pyot*, Eſq; *Michael Biddulph*, Eſq; *Edward Maynwaring*, Eſq; *John Birch*, Eſq; *Matt Morton*, Eſq; *Philip Rudyard*, Eſq; *Michael Low*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Wroteſley*, Sir *Edward Littleton*, Baronets, *Edward Leigh*, Eſq;

City of *Litchfield*.

Bailiffs and Sheriffs for the Time being, *Richard Brafgate*, Eſq; *Richard Baxter*, Eſq; *Thomas Burns*, Gent. *Michael Noble*, Eſq;

County of *Warwick* and City of *Coventry*.

Sir *Peter Wentworth*, *John Hales*, Eſq; *Anthony Staughton*, Eſq; *William Colemore*, Eſq; *Sam. Purefoy*, Eſq; *Thomas Boughton*, Eſq; *William Jeſſon*, Eſq; *Thomas Willoughby*, Eſq; *Godfrey Boſwell*, Eſq; *John Barker*, Eſq; *William Purefoy*, Eſq; *George Abbot*, Eſq; *Thomas Baſnet*, Eſq;

County of *Wilts*.

Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Edward Bainton*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *Nevil Poole*, *Thomas Moore*, Eſq; *Edward Bainton*, Eſq; *Edward Tucker*, Eſq; *Edward Goddard*, Eſq; *Edward Aſh*, Eſq; *Alexander Thiſtlewhaite*, Eſq; *Edward Poole*, Eſq; *Robert Jenner*, Eſq;

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County of *Weſtmoreland*.

Sir *Henry Bellingham*, Knt. and Bart. *Richard Branthwaite*, Eſq; *George Gilpin*, Eſq; *Edward Wilſon*, Eſq; *Nicholas Fiſher*, Eſq; *Thomas Sleddal*, Eſq; *Rowland Dawſon*, Eſq; *Allen Bellingham*, Eſq; *Roger Bateman*, Eſq; *Robert Philipſon*, Eſq; *Gervaſe Benſon*, Eſq;

County of *Worceſter*.

Serjeant *Wilde*, *Humphrey Salway*, Eſq; *Edward Dingley*, Eſq; *Edward Pytt*, Eſq; *Thomas Greves*, Eſq; *William Jefferyes*, Eſq; *Ambroſe Elton*, Eſq; Serjeant *Creſwell*.

County of *York*.

Eaſt Riding.

Sir *John Hotham*, Knt. and Bart. Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Strickland*, Sir *Thomas Rymmington*, *John Hotham*, Eſq; *Richard Rymmington*, Eſq; *John Aiſlabie*, Eſq; *Henry Darley*, Eſq; *Richard Darley*, Eſq; *John Alured*, Eſq;

North Riding.

Sir *William Sheffield*, Sir *Henry Fowles*, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, *Brian Stapleton*, Eſq; *Henry Anderſon*, Eſq; *Henry Darley*, Eſq; *John Waſtall*, Eſq; *Chriſtopher Perchley*, Eſq; *George Trotter*, Eſq; *Matthew Smelt*, Eſq; *John Legard* of *Malton*, Eſq; *Francis Laſſels*, Eſq; *Jeffery Gale*, Eſq; *John Dent*, Eſq; *Thomas Robinſon*, Eſq; *Francis Bointon*, Eſq;

Weſt Riding.

Ferdinando Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *William Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, *Charles Fairfax*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *William Liſter*, Sir *Arthur Ingram*, Sir *Edward Rodes*, Sir *Jervas Cutler*, Sir *John Savill*, *Henry Ardington*, Eſq; *George Marwood*, Eſq; Sir *John Reresby*, *John Farrer*, Eſq; *Thomas Maleverer*, Eſq; *William White*, Eſq; *John Robinſon*, Eſq; *Thomas Stockdale*, Eſq; *Thomas Weſtby*, Eſq; *Thomas Boſſevile*, Eſq; *John Bright*, Eſq; *Godfrey Boſſevile*, Eſq;

City of *York*.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Alderman *Hodſon*, Alderman *Hutchinſon*, Alderman *Vaux*.

Town of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*.

Sir *John Hotham*, *John Hotham*, Eſq; *Thomas Raikes* Mayor, *Lancelot Roper*, Gent. *John Barnard*, Gent. *Joſhua Hall*, Gent. *Nicholas Denman*, Gent. *William Popple*, Gent.

The County of *Oxford* is omitted, the King's Forces being in Poſſeſſion of it. As this is the firſt Precedent of appointing Commiſſioners of Taxes in every County, as is done lately for the Land-Tax, at leaſt it is the firſt that comes ſo near to the late Practice; and this being the moſt compleat Liſt extant, for all others are imperfect, I doubt not it will be acceptable to the Reader; and the Poſterity of thoſe Gentlemen who have preſerv'd true Proteſtant and *Engliſh* Principles in their Names and Families, will be pleas'd with ſo honourable a Succeſſion. As for thoſe who have degenerated, and there will be ſome found in ſeveral Counties, it is to be hop'd that the Goodneſs of the Cauſe, and the Example of their Anceſtors, will wean them from Bigottry and Faction, and make them as good *Engliſhmen* and as good Proteſtants as their Fathers were before them.

All this while was the War carrying on in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom by Skirmiſhes, Surpriſes, Rencounters, without much Damage to either

A. D. 1643. either Side, tho' it muſt be confeſs'd that what Advantage there was fell moſtly to the King's Share in this Year's Diſpute. The Garriſon of *Oxford* made frequent Sallies even within a Mile of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s head Quarters, which were about *Thame*. Prince *Rupert* cut off a Regiment or two at *Poſtcomb* and *Chinnor*. He alſo fell upon a Body of *Parliamentarians* in *Chalgrave* Field, *Buckinghamſhire*, where a warm Action commenc'd, and ended in the Rout of the latter, who were betray'd by Col. *Hurry* a Deſerter. In this Engagement Major *Gunter* was ſhot dead, and Col. *Hampden* mortally wounded; Capt. *Sheffield* and many Officers and Soldiers were taken Priſoners. Some adviſed Mr. *Hampden* not to go upon that Party, he having no Order for it; but, ſays *Whitlocke*, his Courage did put him forward. He adds, *He was a Gentleman of the moſt ancient Extraction in the County of* Bucks, Hampden *of* Hampden; *his Fortune large, his natural Abilities great, his Affection to publick Liberty and Applauſe in his Country, expos'd him to many Difficulties and Troubles, as in the Buſineſs of the* Ship-Money *and the* Loan; *and now in Parliament, where he was a moſt active and leading Member. He ſpoke rationally and ſubtlely, and often propos'd Doubts more than he reſolv'd. He was well belov'd in his Country, where he had a great Intereſt, as alſo in the Houſe of Commons.* He dy'd of his Wounds a Week after the Engagement, about the 24th of *June*, and was lamented by every good Man in the Nation. His Character is univerſally acknowledg'd to be the brighteſt and pureſt of any Man's then living. Mr. *Whitlock* was his Neighbour and Friend, as good a Judge of Men as was then in *England*, and as well able to ſpeak in their Praiſe or Diſpraiſe; yet we ſee in how few Words, with what Simplicity and Sincerity he leaves this ſhining Character to Poſterity. If it will not ſhine of it ſelf, it ſhall have no Ornament of Words or Fancy from him; and if the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Pictures had been drawn with the ſame Integrity and Diſcretion, we had loſt above half of them in Number and Value. I ſhall ſpeak of them more at large elſewhere, and could prove very eaſily, that there is not one of them juſt, either in Beauty or Blemiſh. That all Likeneſs is loſt in a barren Superfluity of Words, and the Workings of a prejudiced Imagination, even where one may ſuppoſe the Drawing was his own. But that there has been more Dawbing in ſome Places, and more Dirt in others, put on by his Editors, is now inconteſtable. In the Character of this great and excellent Man, which we could wiſh had eſcap'd his Drawings, or the Drawings of thoſe clumſy Painters into whoſe Hands his Work fell, there is ſomething ſo very falſe and baſe, that ſuch Coin could only come from a College Mint. *In a Word, what was ſaid of* Cinna *might well be apply'd to* Hampden, *he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perſwade, and a Hand to execute any Miſchief:* His Death therefore *ſeem'd to be a great Deliverance to the Nation.* There are not Words to expreſs the Infamy of this Slander and Impoſture, nor the unparallell'd Wickedneſs of thoſe Doctors, who foiſted ſo horrid a Reflection into that Character. The Perſon who did it was Mr. *Edmund Smith* of *Oxford*, Author of *Phædra* and *Hippolitus*, a Tragedy, who at his Death confeſs'd to the Gentleman in whoſe Houſe he dy'd, that among a great Number of Alterations and Additions which he himſelf made in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, by Order of Dr. *Aldrich*, Dr. *Atterbury*, and Dr. *Smalridge*, ſucceſſive Deans of *Chriſt-Church*, this very Saying of *Cinna*, apply'd to Mr. *Hampden*, was one; and when he read it to one of thoſe Doctors, he clap'd him on the Back, and cry'd with an Aſſeveration, *It will do.* The Confeſſion Mr. *Smith* made, and the Remorſe he expreſs'd for being concern'd in this Impoſture, were his laſt Words. Probably before this Hiſtory is publiſh'd that Gentleman, or my ſelf by his Permiſſion, may have ſet this whole Matter in a clear Light, and the World will then ſee what a fair Way they were in to be impos'd on, perhaps for ever, if ſo worthy a Gentleman had not detected the Fraud. That the Ground-work of the Characters and Hiſtory was the Lord *Clarendon*'s, is not to be doubted, from the Abundance of Words and Wantonneſs of Fancy; but that thoſe Additions and Alterations were made to flatter or abuſe Perſons and Things to keep Life in a languiſhing Cauſe, is now well known, and will be made appear. This Digreſſion muſt ſerve for all that might be ſaid here upon this Subject.

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Chalgrave Field.

Mr. Hampden *kill'd.*

Clar. *Characters falſe.*

Clar. *Hiſtory alter'd.*

We have mention'd the *Covenant* fram'd on the Diſcovery of *Waller*'s Plot, which was order'd to be tender'd by the Miniſters of Pariſhes to their Pariſhioners. One *Grimes*, Parſon of *Ightam* in *Kent* not only refus'd to take it himſelf, according to Order, but alſo to tender it to his Congregation. The Parliament being inform'd of it, ſent a Party of Horſe to bring him to *London:* But the Parſon was prepar'd to receive them, and having gotten a Rabble together with Halberts, Swords and Staves, pretended to ſtand out againſt the Troopers, who ſoon diſpers'd them, ſeiz'd *Grimes*, and carry'd him off. But the Mob aſſembled again as ſoon as the Party was gone, and rais'd a downright *Rebellion* againſt the Parliament, being encreas'd to 2000, and having got Fire-Arms amongſt them. Againſt theſe Col. *Richard Brown* was order'd to march with 600 Horſe and Dragoons, and 1200 Foot. He came up with them at *Tunbridge*, and they fir'd upon his Men, kill'd an Officer and ſeven Soldiers; upon which Col. *Brown* commanded his Forces to attack them, and their ſudden Flight prevented a great Slaughter; 200 were taken Priſoners, and the Town was plunder'd for harbouring and encouraging them. The Parliament had offer'd them Pardon if they would lay down their Arms, and to redreſs whatever Grievances they complain'd of, but they contemptuouſly refus'd it; and being routed, the Two Houſes paſs'd an Ordinance in *Auguſt*, impowering Commiſſioners to ſeize the Horſes and Arms, the Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels of theſe Rebels, and their Abettors; which Commiſſioners were Sir *Henry Vane* ſen. Sir *Anthony Welden*, Sir *John Sidley*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Sir *Henry Hayman*, Sir *Edward Boyſe*, Sir *William Springall*, Sir *Edward Maſter*, Sir *Peter Wroth*, Sir *John Roberts*, Sir *Thomas Walſingham*, *Thomas Selyard*, Eſq; *Auguſtine Skinner*, Eſq; *Thomas Blunt*, Eſq; *Thomas Franklyn*, Eſq; *John Boyſe*, Eſq; *Richard Lee*, Eſq; Mr. *Nutt*, Mr. *Browne*, Mr. *Boyſe*.

Tumult in Kent.

A Rebellion in Kent.

About the Time of the Diſcovery of the Plots to betray *London*, *Briſtol*, and *Hull* to the Cavaliers, there was a Conſpiracy to deliver up the City of *Lincoln* by Major *Purefoy* and his Brother, who were in the Parliament's Service there. Two thouſand of the Forces which the Queen had left at *Newark* in her Paſſage to *Oxford*, were to advance to the Gates, which the two *Purefoys* had engaged to open to them, and for that Purpoſe had admitted a ſmall Party of the Enemy, diſguis'd like Market-men, whom they conceal'd in the Dean's Houſe. The Mayor of *Hull* got Intimation of the Plot, and communicated it to the Governor of *Lincoln*, who ſeiz'd the

A Plot at Lincoln.

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the two *Purefoys*. However, the diſguis'd Cavaliers ſally'd out of the Dean's Houſe into the Town, and endeavour'd to ſeize the Magazine and maſter the main Guard till one Cannon only was fir'd upon them, which kill'd ſeveral of them, and the reſt threw down their Arms. The Forces from *Newark* hearing the Plot was diſcover'd made their Retreat. Not long after the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons took *Gainsborough*, and made the Earl of *Kingſton*, Sir *Jervaſe Scroop*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen and Officers Priſoners, together with 250 common Soldiers. He found Treaſure in the Earl's Houſe, which held out a whole Day after the Town was taken. The Lord *Willoughby* underſtanding the King's Forces were gathering from *Newark* and other Places to recover *Gainsborough*, ſent away the Earl of *Kingſton* in a Pinnace to *Hull*, which a Party of Royaliſts on the *Trent* ſide ſpying they diſcharg'd their Muskets at her, and kill'd the Earl of *Kingſton* and his Man *Savil* in the Cabbin. The Pinnace got clear and paſt on to *Hull*. Colonel *Cromwel* hearing that the Lord *Willoughby* had taken *Gainsborough*, drew that way to reinforce him, and in his March met with Colonel *Cavendiſh* with a Party of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army, which he entirely defeated, and ſlew the Colonel. He gives this Account of the Action himſelf in a Letter dated *July* 31.

Gainsborough *taken for the Parliament.*

Earl of Kingſton *kill'd.*

Col. Cromwel *routs Col.* Cavendiſh.

" I march'd after the taking of *Burleigh* to " *Grantham*, and was join'd by the *Lincolneers* " at *North Scarles*, 10 Miles from *Gainsborough*. About a Mile and half from the Town " we met the Forlorn of the Enemy, who drove " a Troop of our Dragoons back to their main " Body. We advanc'd and came to the Bottom " of a ſteep Hill, which we could not well get " up but by ſome Tracts, and the Body of the " Enemy endeavour'd to hinder us, but we prevail'd and gain'd the Top of it. This was " done by the *Lincolneers*, who had the Van-" Guard. A great Body of the Enemy's Horſe " fac'd us there, at about a Muſket Shot diſtance, and a good Reſerve of a full Regiment " of Horſe behind it. We did what we could to " put our Men in good Order, and the Enemy " advanced towards us to prevent it and take us " at a Diſadvantage, but in ſuch Order as we " were we charg'd their great Body, I having " the right Wing: We came up Horſe to Horſe, " where we diſputed a pretty while with our " Swords and Piſtols, all keeping cloſe Order ſo " that one could not break the other. At laſt " the Enemy ſhrinking a little our Men ſoon " perceiv'd it, preſt in upon them and routed " their whole Body, ſome flying on one ſide " and others on the other of the Enemy's Re-" ſerve. Our Men purſu'd them with good " Execution about 6 Miles. I perceiving the " Reſerve ſtill unbroken kept back my Major " *Whaley* from the Purſuit, and with my own " Troop and two Troops more of my Regiment " we got into a Body. In this Reſerve was Ge-" neral *Cavendiſh*, who one while fac'd me, " another while fac'd four of the *Lincoln* Troops, " which were all of ours that engag'd the Re-" ſerve, the reſt being in Purſuit of thoſe who " fled. General *Cavendiſh* charg'd the *Lin-" colneers* and routed them. Immediately I " fell on his Rear with my three Troops, which " did ſo aſtoniſh him that he gave over the " Chaſe, and would have deliver'd himſelf " from me, but I preſſing on forc'd him down " a Hill, and below it drove the General and " ſome of his Soldiers into a *Quagmire*, where " my Captain Lieutenant ſlew him with a " Thruſt under his ſhort Ribs. The reſt " of the Body was wholly routed, not one " Man ſtaying on the Place." I have repeated *Cromwel*'s own Words, to ſhew the unparallel'd Falſities in *Echard*'s Account of this gallant Action. Colonel *Bury* had given Colonel *Cavendiſh* Quarter, and he was ſlain in cold Blood, throwing the Blood running from his Wounds in his Enemies Faces, like the *Cannibal* in *Montaigne*. Neither *Echard* nor his Original, knew that this had more of the *Mamaluke* and the *Tartar* in it than the Hero.

A. D. 1643.

This Victory was more than over-ballanc'd on the King's Side, by the Defeat of the Lord *Fairfax* on *Atherton* Moor, where he was engaged by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who was much Superior to him in Number. He had 500 Men kill'd. Many Priſoners and Pieces of Ordnance were taken by the Royaliſts. The Lord *Fairfax* with his ſhatter'd Forces retreated to *Bradford*, and thence to *Leeds*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* purſuing him. At *Leeds* his Lordſhip heard of *Hotham*'s Conſpiracy to betray *Hull*, he repair'd thither, and in his Paſſage was ſtopt at *Selby* by a Party of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s Army, whom Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Son held in Play, while his Father and his Attendants paſt the River. In this Skirmiſh Sir *Thomas* was ſhot in his Arm, and though he loſt much Blood he kept a Horſeback 20 Hours after; his Lady, who would accompany him, was taken in the Rout at *Atherton* riding behind Mr. *William Hill* an Officer, and his Daughter, not above 5 Years old, ſhe who was afterwards Dutcheſs of *Buckingham*, was alſo in the Retreat with him, riding in his Maid's Lap. Sir *Thomas* paſt the *Trent* and went to *Barton*, but had not been there a Quarter of an Hour before the Enemy came up with him. However, he made a ſhift to get a Ship-board under the Security of the Fire from the Ships Ordnance, and croſſing the *Humber* arriv'd at *Hull*, whether the Earl of *Newcaſtle* ſent his Lady in his own Coach with a Guard of Horſe, which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſays himſelf, *Gain'd him more Reputation than he could have got by detaining a Lady Priſoner.*

Lord Fairfax *routed.*

Sir Tho. Fairfax's *Lady and Daughter.*

Memorial, p. 58.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* being thus Maſter of the Field came before *Gainsborough* with 6000 Horſe and Foot, and having batter'd the Town with his Artillery, the Lord *Willoughby* ſurrender'd it on Terms to march with Bag and Baggage to *Lincoln*, whether the Earl of *Newcaſtle* follow'd him, had the Gates open'd to him, and plac'd a Garriſon there for the King.

Gainsborough *retaken, and* Lincoln *by the Earl of* Newcaſtle.

The Lord *Fairfax* was made Governor of *Hull*, and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* came before it with an Army of 16000 Horſe and Foot, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had got together about 1500 Foot and 700 Horſe, with which he was poſted at *Beverley*, while the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was in *Lincolnſhire*, and with that little Body he was ſo troubleſome to the Garriſon and Neighbourhood of *York*, that the Enemy ſent for the Earl of *Newcaſtle* to return into *Yorkſhire*, though his Orders were to take in *Boſton*, from thence to enter the aſſociated Counties, to march through *Eſſex* to *London*, and block it up on that Side, while the King, who was Superior to *Eſſex* in Number, advanced, and did the ſame on *Middleſex* ſide. But *Newcaſtle* return'd to *York* and commenc'd the Siege of *Hull*, into which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had thrown himſelf upon his Approach towards *Beverley*, though with ſome Difficulty. The Lord *Newcaſtle* laid down at a great Diſtance from *Hull*, the Sluices being let down, and the Country drown'd. Yet upon a Bank which was the Highway he approach'd ſo near as to ſhoot Cannon-ſhot at random into the Town, and for the moſt part hot Bullets, but by the Diligence and Care of the Governor, who caus'd

A. D. 1643. every Inhabitant to watch his own Houſe the Danger was prevented. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Horſe being uſeleſs in the Town he was ſent over with them into *Lincolnſhire*, to join the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Forces, and was receiv'd at his Landing by Major General *Cromwel*. Sir *John Henderſon* had got together a little Army of near 6000 Men, drawn out of the Garriſons of *Newark*, *Gainsborough*, *Lincoln*, moſt of them Cavalry. The Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Troops were fuller though not ſo many in Number, and he led them on ſinging of *Pſalms*. Quarter Maſter General *Vermuyden* had the Forlorn, with 5 Troops of Horſe, and Colonel *Cromwel* the Van, ſeconded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. The Royaliſts Word was *Newcaſtle*, the Parliamentarians *Truth* and *Peace*, and they engaged near *Horn Caſtle* in *Lincolnſhire* the 19th of *October*. *Vermeyden* and the Dragoons gave the firſt Charge, and then Major General *Cromwel* charg'd with the Horſe, having received the firſt Fire from the Enemy's Dragoons. They gave him a ſecond Salutation within half Piſtol Shot. His Horſe was kill'd and fell down upon him, and as he roſe he was knock'd down again by the Gentleman who charg'd him, ſuppos'd to be Sir *Ingram Hopton*, but he got up and recover'd a poor Horſe in a Soldier's Hand and ſo mounted again. The Van of the Royaliſts Horſe being beaten back upon their Foot put them into Diſorder, and *Mancheſter*'s Troops taking that Advantage fell in upon them and put them to flight, leaving their Dragoons who were now on foot behind them. Thus being totally routed *Mancheſter*'s Men had the Purſuit, and did Execution upon them for ſeveral Miles. The Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Foot did not come up till after the Horſe had done the Buſineſs. The Number of the Royaliſts ſlain were about 1500, among whom were Sir *Ingram Hopton*, Sir *George Bolles*, Lieutenant Colonel *Markham*, and other Officers. On the Parliament Side very few were kill'd, and none of Note. The Royaliſts had no Time to rally, being purſu'd as far as *Lincoln*. Neither were they ſuffer'd to reſt there, the Earl of *Mancheſter* following them thither the next Day, and finding them at work in fortifying the *Cloſe* he ſummon'd them to ſurrender, which they refuſing, he attack'd them gallantly with Horſe and Foot and carry'd the Place by Storm with very little Loſs. He found there 2500 Arms, 30 Colours, and 3 Pieces of Cannon; and theſe Succeſſes ſo ſoon one after another, gave a Check to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, as he is now to be call'd, whoſe Army was more terrible by the Noiſe they made than by their Actions. A few Days before this Victory the Earl of *Mancheſter* ſeiz'd the Town of *Old Lynne*, and planting Ordnance there much annoy'd the new Town: He made two Approaches, one by the *Cauſeway* that leads to the *South*, the other to the *Eaſt* Gate. The Beſieged ſally'd upon him and fir'd two Houſes in *Gawood*, intending to deſtroy the whole Town that he might not have Quarters there, but that Party was beaten back and the reſt of the Houſes preſerv'd. The Beſiegers ſummon'd in Pioneers from the Neighbourhood, and by Degrees brought their Approaches within half Musket ſhot, and had begun a Battery near that End of the Town next the Sea, reſolving to ſtorm it by Land and by Water, Boats and Ladders being provided for that purpoſe, which the Beſieged perceiving, they ſent to deſire a Parley, and a Treaty was agreed on, to be manag'd by eight Perſons of a Side: For the Earl of *Mancheſter* were Sir *John Palgrave*, Colonel *Ruſſell*, Colonel *Walton*, Mr. *Philip Calthorp*, Mr. *John Pickering*, Mr. *Gregory Goſſet*, Mr. *John Spelman*, and Mr. *William Good*. For the Town were Sir *Hammond L'Eſtrange*, Sir *Richard Hovil*, Mr. *Clinch*, Mr. *Dereham*, Mr. *Pallet*, Recorder, Mr. *Hudſon*, the *Mayor* elect, Mr. *Leek*, and Mr. *Kirby*. The Terms were ſoon concluded. They were honourable, and honourably obſerv'd. His Lordſhip took Poſſeſſion of the Place the ſame Night, and detach'd 500 Men to reinforce the Garriſon of *Hull*. But Care not having been taken in the Articles of *Lynne* to provide for Reparation of Damages to ſuch well affected Perſons in the Town as had been damnify'd by the *Cavaliers*, the Parliament impower'd Colonel *Walton*, who was made Governor of *Lynne* to examine into thoſe Damages and appoint Reparation accordingly.

A. D. 1643.

Horn Caſtle *Fight.*

Lynne *taken.*

We left the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* in a vain Enterprize againſt *Hull*; he lay near a Month about the Place without making any conſiderable Approach, and the Lord *Fairfax* the Governor having receiv'd a Reinforcement, made a Sally out of the Town on the Marquis's Trenches, the very ſame Day that Sir *John Henderſon* was routed at *Newcaſtle*. The Lord *Newcaſtle* drew out moſt Part of his Army to relieve them, but the Lord *Fairfax*'s Men charg'd them ſo reſolutely that they poſſeſt themſelves of his Cannon, and purſuing their Advantages put the Enemy to a total Rout, upon which he rais'd the Siege and return'd again to *York*. Theſe are the Actions of which the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, *Few Days paſt without Blows between* Newcaſtle *and* Fairfax, *in which the Parliament Forces had uſually the worſt*. And to ſhew his Impartiality further, he ſays not a Syllable of the Rout at *Horn Caſtle*, nor of the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s being driven from before *Hull*, which Mr. Archdeacon phraſes very finically, *The Lord* Newcaſtle *thought it neceſſary to withdraw*. Thus it is through both of their Hiſtories, the Cavaliers are always charging firſt. If the *Parliamentarians* are worſted they *run*, if the *Royaliſts* they *withdraw*, which is extreamly puerile, and by no means the Mark of Talents proper for Hiſtory.

Marquis of Newcaſtle *driven away from before* Hull.

The Succeſs of the Parliaments Forces in *Yorkſhire* and *Lincolnſhire*, was abundantly made up to the King by the taking of the moſt important Place in *England*, the City of *London* only excepted, for Prince *Rupert* with an Army of 20000 Horſe and Foot coming before *Briſtol*, and the Summons being refus'd, laid Siege to it, and the next Day gave a fierce Aſſault, but was beaten off. He continu'd his Attacks with great Reſolution, and was as reſolutedly reſiſted, till Colonel *Waſhington* gain'd the Outworks, and made a Breach in the Walls, which Captain *Langrige* was to have ſecur'd with his Troop of Horſe, but there was ſome Failure in that Service, and Colonel *Fiennes* the Governor ſubmitted to a Parley, which brought on a Treaty that was ſoon concluded, and the City ſurrender'd on Articles, *The Officers to march out with full Arms, Horſes, Bag and Baggage, the Foot Soldiers without their Arms, the Troopers with their Horſes and Swords, the Parliaments Friends in the City to have free Liberty, with their Wives, Families, Goods, Bag and Baggage, to depart the Town with the Governor and Forces, all the Citizens to be ſecur'd from Plundering and all other Violence.* Not one of which Articles was kept, but all of them broken in the moſt outragious and ſcandalous Manner, Colonel *Fiennes* was try'd and condemn'd by a Council of War, but afterwards repriev'd, and ſerv'd no more in the Army. Prince *Rupert* came before the City on the Eve of St. *James*, the great

Briſtol taken by Prince Rupert.

A. D. 1643. Fair Day, and had it ſurrender'd the 27th of *July*.

Some Days before this Sir *William Waller* had beaten up the Cavalier Quarters at *Wells*, and diſpers'd Sir *James Hamilton*'s Regiment, which ſo provok'd the Royaliſts, that they gather'd what Forces they had in thoſe Parts together in a Body and reſolv'd to drive Sir *William* out of *Bath*. He order'd Major *Dowel* with 300 Horſe and Foot to ſecure the Paſs at *Ford* Bridge, but he was beaten off, 10 of his Men kill'd, and two Hammer Pieces taken. On the 4th of *July* *Waller* drew out his Forces upon *Landſdown* expecting the Enemy, who advanc'd the next Day. Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Colonel *Carr*, Major *Dowel* and Captain *Butler*, charg'd them with 400 Horſe, but were gallantly receiv'd, and forc'd to retreat, though in good Order, till they were relieved by Colonel *Burghill*, between whom and the Royaliſts the Fight was maintain'd for two Hours, and then the Parliaments Foot growing weary a Supply was ſent, which conſiſting of new rais'd Men preſently gave ground, and Colonel *Burghill* was ſhot through his right Arm. The King's Party charg'd up very furiouſly, which prov'd to the Advantage of the Parliament's, for now both Armies being on the Plain, and *Waller* exceeding the Cavaliers in Horſe as much as they exceeded him in Foot, had the better Opportunity of fighting. The Battle grew hot on both Sides, and continu'd ſo many Hours till Night parted them, each ſide pretending to the Honour of a Victory, which *Echard*, after his uſual Way, puts out of all Doubt; and if we will not allow him ſuch Victories his Hiſtory will be the moſt barren of Triumphs of any that ever was written. There's a Trophy erected on *Landſdown*, a Mile from *Bath*, in Honour of that brave Gentleman Sir *Bevil Greenvile* of *Cornwal*, who was ſlain in this Fight, and thoſe of his Poſterity who have been ennobled have taken their Title of *Viſcount* or *Baron* from this *Landſdown*, in Remembrance of the Glory their Anceſtor acquir'd here. On the King's Side were alſo kill'd Lieutenant Colonel *Ward*, and Major *Lower*. On the Parliament's Side Major *Straughan* a *Scots* Gentleman, a Lieutenant and two Cornets. The Number of the Slain is ſo variouſly reported that there is no fixing it. *Waller* thought himſelf ſo much a Victor, that having refreſh'd his Men a Day or two at *Bath*, he follow'd the King's Forces to the *Devizes*, where Sir *Ralph Hopton* ſhut himſelf up with the Foot, no great Sign that he was Victorious at *Landſdown*, while Prince *Maurice* and the Marquis of *Hertford* carry'd away moſt of the Horſe to *Oxford*. *Waller* made an Aſſault upon the Town, and Sir *Ralph* deſir'd a Parley and Ceſſation for two Hours, but Sir *William Waller*'s Terms not being accepted of, both Sides again took to their Arms, and *Waller* was preparing for a general Aſſault when he heard that the Lord *Wilmot* and the Earl of *Carnarvon* with 2000 Horſe, were advanc'd within 2 or 3 Miles of the *Devizes*, upon which, inſtead of keeping his Ground, which was advantagious againſt Cavalry, he ſuddenly drew off *July* 13th, without Drum or Trumpet to *Roundway Down*, where his Horſe, raſhly led on by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, gallop'd up Hill, leaving the Foot to be attack'd by Sir *Ralph Hopton*. *Haſlerigge* charg'd the Cavaliers in a diſorderly Manner, and was conſequently put to a diſorderly Retreat, yet with the Help of their Reſerve his Troops rally'd and ſtood a ſecond Charge, but were then totally routed. *Wallers*'s Foot made a better Reſiſtance, but the Lord *Wilmot*'s Horſe coming upon them they were intirely defeated, flung down their Arms and fled. The King's Forces took 4 Pieces of Cannon, abundance of Arms, and many Priſoners, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Strode*, and other Commanders, eſcap'd to *Briſtol*, 25 Miles off, where they could not ſtay long, for that City was ſurrender'd a Fortnight after. *Waller* repair'd to *London*, and notwithſtanding this Diſaſter, owing chiefly to ill Conduct, he was highly carreſs'd, and Means concerted to raiſe him another Army.

Landſdown *Fight.*

Round-way Down *Fight.*

A. D. 1643. Waller *routed.*

In this Confuſion of Affairs Civil and Military, 'tis impoſſible to obſerve the due Order of Things and Times. While the one Party is making War with Succeſs in the North of *England*, the other does the like in the Weſt. Four or five Towns are beſieging at once by both Sides; the Parliament are buſy'd in Debates and Counſels at *Weſtminſter*, the ſame are the King and Court at *Oxford*, we are therefore compell'd to *antedate* and *poſtpone* Events, as it ſerves beſt to clear Matters in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom where they happen'd. The Parliament's Affairs are repreſented by *Clarendon*, *Warwick*, *Echard*, and that Sort of Writers, as in a deſperate Condition, though they themſelves were far from any ſuch Apprehenſions, and knowing that the *Scots* were preparing to march an Army to their Aſſiſtance, the Confidence of the *Cavaliers* was more ridiculous than terrible to them, which Confidence they did not only mix with their Mirth over their Cups, but with their Devotion, and thank'd God for Victories they either never obtained, or had at the ſame time Loſſes which over ballanc'd them.

Earl of Eſſex *writes to the Parl. about Peace.*

The Parliament Army under the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſuffer'd much by Sickneſs, which had leſſen'd their Number, and Deſertion had not a little thin'd the Companies and Regiments, the Soldiers being diſguſted that they were reſtrain'd from plundering *Reading*, and had not received the 12 Shillings a Man they were promis'd in lieu of it. Their uſual Pay alſo did not come ſo regularly as at firſt, which putting them into an ill Humour, one may be ſure their General was not in a good one. He wrote a Letter to the Parliament from *Great Brickhill*, wherein he propos'd to ſend to his Majeſty *to have Peace*, and mention'd ſome of the Terms which *Echard* conceals, *To bring the chief Delinquents to trial for having brought all this Miſchief to both Kingdoms, to have Religion, Laws and Liberties ſettl'd*, &c. Terms which every Man in his Wits would have fallen in with. And in ſuch Caſe the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* muſt have been brought to Trial, being always excepted in the Parliament's Indemnities as a chief Delinquent, and he has endeavour'd to take his Revenge of them in his Hiſtory. In caſe the King wou'd not comply with this, the Lord General deſir'd he might be mov'd to name a Day and Place for a Battle to decide the Matter at once, and put an End *to the Cries of the poor People which are infinite.* The Parliament return'd for Anſwer, "The "King by his laſt Proclamation, *publiſh'd in the* "*Height of Exultation for the taking of* Briſtol, "had caſt them out of his Protection, and there- "by made them uncapable to treat till that "Proclamation be recall'd. And that by their "late *Covenant* they were bound never to lay "down Arms ſo long as Papiſts, now in open "War againſt them, ſhall by Force be protect- "ed from Parliamentary Juſtice." They aſſur'd him of ſpeedy Recruits both of Men and Money, which they perform'd, and in about a Month's Time he muſter'd an Army of 15000 Men on *Hounſlow* Heath.

The

A. D. 1643. The Lords and Commons taking into Conſideration the Inconveniences which attended the Want of a *Great Seal*, paſs'd an *Ordinance* for making a new one, *the Lord* Littleton *having, contrary to the Truſt repos'd in him and the Duty of his Place, ſecretly and perfidiouſly convey'd it away.* The Commiſſioners appointed for keeping of this new Seal, were *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbroke*, *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *John Wylde*, Eſq; Serjeant at Law, whom the Earl of *Clarendon* calls *infamous*, *Samuel Brown*, Eſq; and *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq;

Great Seal.

Book of Sports. The Parliament had ſome Time before paſs'd an *Ordinance* for burning the Book of *Sports* by the Hangman, and all Perſons who had thoſe impious Books, which injoin'd the Profanation of the Lord's Day, were order'd to bring them in to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, *that they may be burned accordingly.*

Printing. The Licentiouſneſs of Pamphlets requir'd the Wiſdom and Authority of the Parliament to reſtrain it. One *Saltmarſh*, a Miniſter, had ſaid in a Book of his, *That all Means ſhould be uſed to keep the King and People from a ſudden Union: If the King would not grant their Demands, he ſhould be ſet aſide, and the Crown put upon another Head.* Exceptions being taken againſt this in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Henry Martin* ſaid, *I ſee no Reaſon to condemn Mr.* Saltmarſh; *it is better one Family ſhould be deſtroy'd than many.* Sir *Nevil Pool* mov'd that Mr. *Martin* might explain himſelf, and he boldly anſwer'd, *I mean the King and his Children.* Upon which ſome Members upbraided him with his Amours, and ſeveral ſpoke ſharply againſt him, ſo he was committed to the Tower, but ſoon after releas'd, and re-admitted to his Seat in Parliament. However an Ordinance paſs'd to reſtrain the Licence of the Preſs, by which the following Licenſers were appointed in the ſeveral Faculties.

Saltmarſh and Martin againſt the King.

For Books of *Divinity*.

Licenſers of the Preſs. Mr. *Thomas Gataker*, Mr. *John Downham*, Mr. *Callibut Downing*, Dr. *Thomas Temple*, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. ——— *Carter* of *Yorkſhire*, Mr. *Charles Herle*, Mr. *James Cranford*, Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*, Mr. ——— *Batchelor*, Mr. *John Ellis* jun.

For *Law* Books.

Sir *John Bramſton*, Mr. Serjeant *Rolls*, Mr. Serjeant *Pheſant*, Mr. Serjeant *Fermine*.

For *Phyſick* and *Surgery*.

The Preſident and Cenſors of the *College* of *Phyſicians*.

For Civil and Canon *Law*.

Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, or any three Doctors of the Civil *Law*.

For *Heraldry*.

One of the three *Heralds* at *Arms*.

For *Philoſophy*, *Hiſtory*, *Poetry*, *Morality* and *Arts*.

Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, Mr. *Langley* Schoolmaſter of *Paul's*, Mr. *Farnaby*.

Aſſembly of Divines. An Ordinance paſs'd the 12th of *June*, *for calling an* Aſſembly *of Learned and Godly Divines, and others, to be conſulted with by the Parliament for the ſettling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of* England, *and for the vindicating and clearing of the ſaid Church from falſe Aſperſions and Interpretations.* This Synod conſiſted of Lay-Members as well as Clergy, as will be ſeen by the following Liſt of ſome of both: *Algernoon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William* Earl of *Bedford*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *James* Lord Viſcount *Say and Sele*, *Edward* Lord *Conway*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Edward* Lord *Howard* of *Eſcreek*, Sir *Henry Vane* ſen. Sir *Beniamin Rudyard*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *Henry Vane* jun. Sir *John Clotworthy*, *John Selden*, Eſq; *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; *John Maynard*, Eſq; *William Wheeler*, Eſq; *Walter Young*, Eſq; *Humphrey Salwey*, Eſq; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; *Francis Rous*, Eſq; *John White*, Eſq; *John Glyn*, Eſq; *John Pym*, Eſq;

A. D. 1643.

Here are the greateſt Names in *England*, Lords and Commons; now let us ſee what Divines there were: Dr. *William Twiſſe*, Dr. *Thomas Wincop*, Dr. *Richard Love*, Dr. *Brocket Smith*, Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſs*, Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, Dr. *Callibut Downing*, Dr. *Edmund Stanton*, Dr. *Thomas Temple*, Dr. *William Spurſtow*, Dr. *William Gouge*, Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, Dr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, Dr. *Francis Cheyney*, Dr. *Humphrey Chambers*, Dr *Joſhua Hoyle*, Dr. *Peter Smith*, Dr. *John Arrowſmith*, Dr. *John Lightfoot*, Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, Dr. *John Conant*, Dr. *Chriſtopher Paſhley*, *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. *Herbert Palmer*, B. D. *Thomas Whitaker*, B. D. *Oliver Bowles*, B. D. *Robert Harris*, B. D. *Henry Hall*, B. D. *Thomas Hill*, B. D. *George Walker*, B. D. *William Mew*, B. D. *Thomas Valentine*, B. D. *Robert Croſs*, B. D. *Thomas Gataker*, B. D. Ruſhw. p. 338.

I mention no more of the 120 Divines, for theſe eminent Names will be ſufficient to prove that human Nature is not capable of a greater Frailty than this Aſperſion of the Earl of *Clarendon's*: *Some of them were* INFAMOUS *in their Lives and Converſations, and moſt of them of very* MEAN PARTS, *if not of ſcandalous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than of Malice to the Church.* An Author capable of ſaying that, one may modeſtly ſay, is incapable of writing a true Hiſtory. Dr. *Calamy* reflects upon it very juſtly: "This is a very heavy "Charge upon ſuch a Body of Men as they were. "Tho' my Lord *Clarendon* was undoubtedly a "very great Man, yet this Cenſure won't recom-"mend his Hiſtory to Poſterity, who will be "hard put to it to find Men of more exemplary "Piety, and more eminent Miniſterial Abilities "among their Progenitors in any Age, than thoſe "were whom he endeavours at any rate to ex-"poſe. Who can give Credit to him as an Hi-"ſtorian, who ſhall repreſent ſuch Men as Dr. "*Twiſſe*, Biſhop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Arrowſmith*, "Dr. *Tuckney*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Gataker*, &c. "as Men of *ſcandalous Ignorance*," I am glad this groundleſs Reflection, ſo defil'd with Scandal, drop'd from the Pen of the Hiſtorian, it being a ſtrong Confirmation of the Liberty he took in the abuſive Part of his Characters in other Places, and having given Mr. *Echard* himſelf an Opportunity to own he is aſham'd of it, *the Lord* Clarendon *perhaps is too ſevere.* Every one of the Aſſembly-Men had four Shillings a Day allow'd for their Subſiſtence in *London*. When they met firſt *July* 1. Dr. *Twiſſe* preach'd the Sermon, and was choſen *Prolocutor*. He was look'd upon as a Divine the moſt able in Controverſy of any of his Time. Mr *Roborough* and Mr. *Adoniram Byfield* were appointed *Scribes* and *Notaries*, and the good Succeſs of the *Synod* was pray'd for by the City Miniſters. Their Place of Meeting was the *Jeruſalem Chamber*

A. D. 1643.

Chamber in the *Deans Lodgings*, *Weſtminſter*, and one of their firſt publick Acts was a Petition to both Houſes for a *Faſt*, to which the Parliament conſented, and Mr. *Bowles* and Mr. *Newcomen* preach'd before them. The King publiſh'd a Proclamation to countermand their Meeting, which had no other Effect, than to keep out Dr. *Holdſworth*, Dr. *Hammond*, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Biſhop *Brownrigg*, Biſhop *Weſtfield*, Biſhop *Prideaux*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Hacket*, all excellent Men, and their Abſence was a great Loſs to the Aſſembly. Thoſe who ſat did not anſwer the general Expectation of the People. Dr. *Calamy* tells us, "They met with many "Difficulties. They were not only embarraſs'd "by the Diſſenting Brethren, but by the learn-"ed Mr. *Selden*, who often employed his un-"common Learning rather to perplex than clear "Matters that came before them." At which Mr. Archdeacon rejoices extreamly. After the *Faſt* was ſolemniz'd the *Synod* wrote Letters to the *Reform'd* Churches abroad, wherein ſpeaking of their Deſire for a *farther Reformation* in *England*, and the War that was rais'd to prevent it; they ſay, *We doubt not but the ſaid Reports of the Miſeries under which the Church and Kingdom of* England *do bleed, and wherewith we are all ready to be ſwallow'd up, the Cup which the Righteous Lord hath given us to drink, is long ſince come to your Ears, and it is probable that the ſame Inſtruments of* Satan *and* Antichriſt *have endeavoured by their Emiſſaries to preſent us as Black as may be amongſt your ſelves, who by Falſhood and Lies endeavour every where to put fair Gloſſes upon their own bloody Deſign.* The Hiſtory of the Rebellion is an intire Collection of thoſe Gloſſes. *And to reproach our Struglings after a more* thorough Reformation *of Religion in the Church of* England, *according to the Word of God, and our juſt Defence of our Lives, Liberties and Religion, againſt their own cruel and unjuſt Violences.* Again, *How great a Hand this treacherous and bloody Generation amongſt us have long had in the Miſeries of other* Reform'd *Churches, in the Deſtruction of the* Palatinate, *and in the Betraying and Loſs of* Rochelle; *and how by ſeeming Overtures of Embaſſies and Treaties for their Relief, they have fomented, combin'd and increas'd their Calamities, is ſo well known by you all, and miſerably felt by ſome of your ſelves, that we need not ſpeak any Thing of them; and we ſuppoſe their inveterate Hatred againſt you all is ſufficiently manifeſted, in that Multitudes of them have refus'd to acknowledge any of you for Churches of Chriſt, becauſe you are not* Prelatical, *and thereby, as they conceive, want a lawful Vocation of Miniſters*, &c. The Lord *Clarendon* particularly refus'd to acknowledge the *French* Proteſtants to be a *Church*, and was one of the Counſellors who diſſwaded King *Charles* the Second from going to the Reform'd Church at *Charenton* when he was in *France*. Theſe Letters were addreſs'd to *The Reverend and Learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the Province of* Zealand, *our much honoured Brethren.* The ſame to thoſe of *Holland, Eaſt Holland, Guelderland, Overyſſel, Utrecht, Frieſland* and *Groningen. To the Reverend and Learned Paſtors and Elders of the Church in the City and Republick of* Geneva, *our much honoured Brethren.* The ſame to the Churches of *Bern, Zurich, Baſil, Schaffhauſen. To the Reverend and Learned Paſtors and Elders of the Church at* Paris, *our much honoured Brethren. To the Reverend and Learned Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of* Heſſen, *our much honoured Brethren.* The ſame to thoſe of *Anhalt.* And laſtly, *To the Reverend and Learned Paſtors and Elders of the Churches of* Hanaw, *our moſt honoured Brethren.* In theſe populous and potent Republicks and Principalities, there may by a modeſt Computation be about ſeven Millions of Souls. The *Presbyterians* of *Bohemia*, *Tranſylvania*, *Poland*, *Sileſia*, and *Auſtria*, and other Proteſtant Principalities and Cities of *Germany* were not written to. And the whole Body of the Presbyterians in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, which at that Time was the Generality of the *Britiſh* Nation, or at leaſt was pretended ſo to be, even according to *Echard*, are not number'd. All theſe Nations in Mr. Archdeacon's Opinion, are *Schiſmatical*, and only thoſe of the Church of *England*, who thought and ſaid as *Laud* did, *Orthodox*, though they were not one in Twenty of thoſe Bodies of People. He tells us further, the King publiſh'd a Collection of ſeven Petitions to the Parliament, ſign'd by 482 Lords and Knights, 1740 Eſquires and Gentry, *all of Note*, 631 Doctors and Divines, *I wonder they were not* 6000, and no leſs than 44599 Freeholders of *Name* and *Note*, for the Preſervation of *Biſhops* and the *Common Prayer.* This is extreamly diverting, for the Falſity of it ſtands in the Front. He owns there were but ſeven Petitions, and we will ſuppoſe they came from ſeven of the largeſt Counties in *England.* There muſt then be to every one of theſe Counties 70 Lords and Knights, 250 Eſquires and Gentlemen, and 6000 Freeholders, all Men of good Name and Note, and not one Presbyterian among them. I doubt not the Reader will remember this, I was drawn into the Digreſſion by the Simplicity of the Calculation.

Their Letter to the Reform'd Churches.

Reform'd Churches.

After ſome Time of Sitting the Aſſembly of Divines preſented to the Parliament a *Confeſſion of Faith*, a larger and ſhorter *Catechiſm*, a *Directory* for the publick Worſhip, &c. of which ſome further mention will be made. The *Annotations* on the Bible aſcrib'd to this Synod are not their Work, but ſome of their Members aſſiſted in it, as Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and the very Learned *Gataker*, who, ſays Dr. *Calamy*, is exceeded by no Commentator antient or modern.

Aſſembly of Divines.

After the taking of *Briſtol*, and his Majeſty's other Succeſſes in the Weſt, there were two Things publiſh'd at *Oxford*, A Form of *Prayer* for a Thankſgiving, and a *Declaration* addreſs'd to all his *loving Subjects.* There was alſo a *Form of Prayer* for the Victory in the *North*, I ſuppoſe at *Atherton Moor*, without taking any Notice of the Routs at *Horncaſtle*, and near *Gainsborough*, of the Loſs of *Lincoln* and *Lynne*, and of the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s being driven off from *Hull.* Having ſpoken in their Form of Prayer of the *notable Victory over the* Rebels *in the North*, for they call Names in their Prayers, they ſay, *O Lord, though our Sins cry loud hear them not, but look to the* RIGHTEOUSNESS *of our* CAUSE, *ſee the Seamleſs* Coat *of thy Son torn, the Throne of thine* Anointed *trampled upon, thy Church invaded by Sacrilege, and thy People miſerably deceiv'd with Lies.* It is not to be repeated. *Paganiſm* has nothing ſo profane. *See it, O God, as ſee it thou doſt, and vindicate what thou ſeeſt upon the Heads of thoſe who lead theſe Wretches.* They call Names again, and the ſame Temper, the ſame Humility and Sincerity, are in all their Thankſgivings. The *Declaration*, if you can believe the Archdeacon, was *much magnify'd as a moſt gracious and undeniable Inſtance of his Majeſty's Clemency and Juſtice, wherein he expreſs'd*

King's Declaration and Form of Prayer.

A. D. 1643. *preſs'd himſelf an Indulgent Father to the moſt Diſobedient Children.* We ſhall ſee that preſently. *He is pleas'd to leave the World to judge, Whether thoſe Men who are profeſt Enemies to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, who perſecute the Learned, Orthodox Miniſters, who vilify the Common Prayer, can be good Proteſtants; and whether they ought to ſuffer their Country to be waſted and ruin'd by the Malice and Cunning of thoſe* State Impoſtors, *who under Pretence of Reformation would introduce whatever is Monſtrous and Unnatural both in Religion and Policy,* and therefore he requires *Money, Plate, Men, Arms and Horſe, which may eſtabliſh a firm Peace.* I have already hinted, that it is very eaſy to diſtinguiſh the Sophiſtry from the Argument in theſe Papers. Is any Thing more natural to Mankind than the Deſire of Liberty? Is any Thing more monſtrous than Tyranny and Idolatry? *As to Malice, Cunning, State Impoſtors,* and the like, they are Words to which no Ideas are annex'd, for we can have no Conception of the Malice of a Parliament, the Cunning of a Parliament, the Impoſture of a Parliament. One cannot ſuppoſe that theſe Papers were read any where, but in the King's Quarters, and where he could take the Money if it was not given him. The Archdeacon, who is the conſtant *Teller* in both Houſes of Parliament, aſſures us, there were but five Peers in the Upper Houſe who had any *Inclination to continue the War.* There was not one Lord nor Commoner at that Time, who was not for Peace on Terms of Security againſt future Oppreſſion. The Lords drew up Propoſitions which were very ſecure and good Grounds to treat upon, *To Disband both Armies, to ſettle Religion by a* Synod, *and the* Militia *by a Bill, to the Satisfaction of King and Parliament, to puniſh Delinquents, and paſs a general Pardon.* The Commons were not ſo forward to treat as the Lords. But *after a* VAST *Debate,* ſays Mr. Archdeacon, who is a fine Linguiſt, it was carry'd by 29 Votes. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, petition'd againſt the Treaty, and expreſt themſelves ſo zealouſly for a vigorous Proſecution of the War, that the Houſe of Commons were inſpir'd with the ſame Zeal, gave the City Thanks for their *Petition, Advice and Courage,* and rejected the Propoſitions. *The ſober Part of the City,* according to *Echard,* diſcover'd great Averſion to this Petition, and to prove it, he brings out his ſober People, the Wives of the moſt *ſubſtantial* Citizens gather'd together in a tumultuous Manner, and in the ſame Manner they ran to the Parliament Houſe, crying out in the Sobriety of their Spirits, *Peace, Peace.* A very good Word in its right Conſtruction; but when by *Peace* is only meant the Carrying on of wicked Deſigns without Oppoſition, it is the worſt one can make uſe of. On the Change of the Miniſtry in the Days of *Sacheverel* and *Harley,* the Cry was *Peace, Peace;* and what was the wicked Deſign, but to break the Grand Alliance, to reſtore the exorbitant Power of *France,* to bring in the Pretender, and introduce Popery and Slavery? And what did theſe ſober Women mean by bawling out *Peace, Peace,* at this Juncture, but to reſtore the King to the Exerciſe of that abſolute Power to which he laid Claim before the Parliament met, and which is ſtill meant by the LAW, the LAWS OF THE LAND, THE KNOWN LAWS, *&c.* in Proclamations, Declarations, Meſſages and Anſwers. Theſe ſober, ſubſtantial Gentlewomen cry'd out alſo, *Give us the* TRAYTORS *that we may tear them to Pieces. Give us that Dog* PYM. It is really true, the Reverend Hiſtorian does ſay, *They were of the* ſober *Party,* and the Wives of the moſt wealthy Citizens, but after the firing of ſome Powder, and a little Drubbing from the Soldiers, they grew ſtill ſoberer, and all that had Houſes to go to return'd home. Theſe Ladies made the greateſt Army that ever appear'd in the City on that Side, which Mr. Archdeacon has happily eſpous'd. A. D. 1643.

Though his Account of the Siege of *Glouceſter* is as frail as his other Accounts, yet there being ſome pleaſant Things in it they muſt not eſcape us, after we have told the Fact as it was. On the 10th of *Auguſt* his Majeſty having march'd from *Oxford* to *Briſtol* came back and fac'd *Glouceſter* with 6000 Horſe and Foot in *Tredworth* Field, about a Quarter of a Mile off the Town, and about 2000 more fac'd it in *Walham* within Cannon Shot, the Main of the Army not being yet come up. His Majeſty ſent two *Heralds* at Arms with a Summons, promiſing to pardon the Citizens and the Soldiers, if they would ſubmit, and threatning all Calamities and Miſeries if they would not. Colonel *Maſſey* the Governor, with the Conſent of the Mayor and Aldermen, return'd the following Anſwer: *Siege of* Glouceſter.

WE the Inhabitants, Magiſtrates, Officers and Soldiers, within this Garriſon of Glouceſter, *return our humble Anſwer, that we do keep this City according to our Oath and Allegiance to, and for the Uſe of his Majeſty and his Royal Poſterity, and do accordingly conceive our ſelves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majeſty, ſignify'd by both Houſes of Parliament, and are reſolv'd ſo by God's Help to keep this City accordingly.* Sign'd,

Conſtance Ferrer, Mayor,
John Brewſter,
William Lugge,
M. Singleton,
Tho. Hill,
Tho. Pury,
Edward Maſſy,
C. Ferrer,
Humphry Matthews,
Iſaac Dobſon,
Edward Gray,
Thomas Blainey,
Robert Backhouſe.

This Anſwer was ſent by Major *Pudſey* and one Citizen, who preſented it to the King, and he receiv'd it without expreſſing either Choler or Indignation, though he ſeem'd to wonder at their great Confidence, and from what Hope of Relief it ſhould proceed, uſing theſe Words before the Meſſengers, Waller *is extinct, and* Eſſex *cannot come.* But *Eſſex* did come, and *Waller* was ſo far from being extinct, that he extinguiſh'd the King's Army at *Alresford* in *Hampſhire* ſome Months after. The Pleaſantry of *Echard's* Story is this: There return'd two Citizens from the Town with *lean, pale and ugly Viſages, and in a Garb ſo ſtrange and unuſual that at once gave Mirth to the moſt ſevere Countenances.* A Flouriſh of the Lord *Clarendon's. And Sadneſs to the moſt chearful Hearts. Theſe without any Marks of Duty or good Manners, in a pert, ſhrill, fearleſs Tone,* ſaid, *They brought an Anſwer from the* godly *City of* Glouceſter. Which is falſe, the Word Godly being not once named in their Anſwer. Major *Pudſey* who brought it, behav'd very gallantly in this Siege, and ſhew'd it was much eaſier to lampoon him than to beat him. He proceeds, this *Indignity prompted Reſolutions of Revenge,* which no doubt the *Cavaliers* would have taken if they could. It was on the other Side reſolv'd by the Governor and Council of War, that the whole Suburbs of the City, which were a third Part of it, ſhould be demoliſh'd, and 241 Houſes were accordingly burnt, pull'd down, and utterly deſtroy'd, beſides Barns, Stables, Out-houſes,

A. D. 1643. in all to the Value of 26000 Pounds, which was done the Night before the Cavaliers began their Attacks. The King's head Quarters were at *Matſon* on the *Eaſt* Side of the Town. Col. *Maſſey* order'd the Cannon on the *Pen* at *Weſtgate* to fire on the Body of Horſe in *Walham*, and oblig'd them to retire with Loſs. Lieutenant-Colonel *Matthews*, Capt. *White*, Capt. *Blunt*. Capt, *Pury* the younger, and Capt. Lieutenant *Harcus*, made a Sally at the *North-gate*, fell upon a Party at *Watton*, and brought 10 Priſoners into the Town. Soon after Capt. *Nelmes* ſally'd out at the ſame Gate towards *Burnwood*, and did ſome Execution; which Sallies gave the Beſiegers to underſtand, that they were not like to get Poſſeſſion of the Town eaſily. As ſoon as the Army began their Intrenchments, the Townſwomen and Maids wrought all that Afternoon in the *Little Mead*, fetching in Turf for repairing the Works in Sight of the King's Horſe. The Beſieg'd, for Want of Men, but 1400 in all to guard the City it ſelf, were forc'd to quit their Out-Works, at the *Wine Yard* and Two Sconces in the Iſle of *Alney*. The Royaliſts cut off the Pipes that convey'd the Water from *Robin Hood's Hill* to the City Conduits, and diverted the Water which drove the *Corn-Mill*. The Citizens contented themſelves with Pump and *Severn* Water, and us'd Horſe-Mills for their Corn. Sir *William Vavaſor*, a bigotted Papiſt, lay with his *Welch* Forces on the *Weſt* Side, and intending to join with others coming from *Worceſter*, he drew to the *North* Side. On the *South* lay *Ruthen* Earl of *Brentford*, the King's General, ſhelter'd from the Shot of the Town by a Riſing Ground. On the *Eaſt* Side Sir *Jacob Aſhley* was quarter'd with a ſtrong Brigade, and was ſhot in the Arm in one of the firſt Skirmiſhes. Many of the King's Commanders were Officers of the greateſt Skill and Experience, and his Army was encreas'd by the Arrival of two Regiments out of *Ireland*, commanded by Col. *Myn* and Sir *William St. Leger*. Theſe Regiments had been rais'd by the Parliament for the War againſt the bloody *Iriſh* Rebels; but now his Majeſty recall'd the *Engliſh* Troops in that Service to employ them againſt his Proteſtant Subjects in *England*. The King's Officers and Engineers made their Approaches and plac'd their Batteries with as much Advantage as was poſſible; nor were the Beſieg'd behind-hand in Courage and Dexterity, as appear'd in their Defences and frequent Sallies, which kept the Cavaliers waking by continual Alarms, and waſted and weary'd them. On the 12th of *Auguſt* Capt. *Harcus* ſally'd out thro' a Door made for that Purpoſe in a Brick-Houſe adjoining to the Town-Wall, on the *South-Eaſt* Part, and making a Bridge of Ladders over the Mote, fell ſuddenly into the Beſiegers Trenches in *Gawdy Green*, beat them out, took ſome Priſoners and Arms, with ſeveral of their Tools, and retreated without Loſs. The ſame Day Capt. *Gray* with 150 Musketeers ſally'd over the Works upon the *Worceſter* Forces at *Kingſholm*, march'd up to their Main Guard and burnt it, kill'd Capt. *Rumney* and nine Soldiers, took five Priſoners and ſome Arms, and retreated without Loſs. The Beſiegers planted two great Culverins of between 15 and 16 Pound Ball at the *Eaſt* Side, batter'd the Town-Wall, and ſhot ſeveral Shells into the Town without doing any Execution. The Beſieg'd lin'd their Walls from the *South-gate* to the *Eaſt-gate*, and the biggeſt Mortar-Piece which the Beſiegers had, ſaid to be the biggeſt in *England*, broke at the firſt Diſcharge. On *Sunday Auguſt* the 13th they planted three Pieces of Ordnance on their Battery at *Gawdy Green*; the Ball 15, 18, and 23 Pounders, from whence they fir'd briskly all that and the next Day; but as faſt as any Breaches were made, they were repair'd with Wool-Sacks and Earth-Baskets. On *Tueſday* the 15th of *Auguſt*, upon Intelligence that the Enemy was drawing Ordnance to *Kingſholm*, the Governor ſent out 150 Musketeers under the Command of Capt. *Mallerie*, who kill'd ſome Men, took ſome Priſoners, and fir'd the Cavaliers Quarters at the *Margrets*. The ſame Day Capt. *Harcus*, a very brave Officer, was ſlain as he was too venturouſly looking to ſee what Execution a Granado had done which he had flung into the Enemy's Trenches. On the 16th of *Auguſt* Capt. *Criſp* ſally'd with 150 Musketeers at the *New Port*, fell on the Royaliſts in their Trenches, kill'd above 100 of them, wounded many, drove them out of their Works, took their Spades, Shovels and Arms, and retreated without Loſs. This Day the King left the Siege and went to *Oxford*. Ruſhw. The next Day ſeveral Granades were ſhot into the Town, ſome of which fell upon Houſes. One in the open Street near *South-gate*, but a Woman coming by with a Pail of Water, threw the Water upon it, and ſo extinguiſh'd the Fuſee, that it did not break, but was taken up whole, and weigh'd 60 Pound. *Auguſt* the 18th the Beſiegers having planted four Pieces of Ordnance againſt the *Acungate* and Sconces adjoining, a Party of 400 Men, under the Command of Major *Pudſey*, Capt. *Gray*, Capt. *Falkner*, and Capt. *Maſſy*, ſally'd at the *North-gate*, having one *Weaver*, a ſtout Fellow in Capt. *Pury* junior's Company, for their Guide. Major *Pudſey* ſent Lieutenant *Pincock* with about 50 Musketeers over the Works, to give the Enemy a divertive Alarm by advancing up towards the Cannon. In the mean Time the Major got behind their Cannon and Breaſt-works, fell upon their Main Guard, kill'd two Cannoneers, ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, took a Lieutenant Priſoner, nail'd their Cannon, and retreated with the Loſs of two Men. This is the Earl of *Clarendon's lean, pale, ugly viſag'd* Man, with a ſhril Voice and old-faſhion'd Clothes. Capt. *Baſſet* took Lieutenant *Tipper* Priſoner, and this Day his Majeſty return'd from *Oxford*, where he had been to make up ſome Differences which had happen'd there in his Abſence. *Saturday* the 19th of *Auguſt* the Beſiegers, beſides their 3 Pieces of Ordnance at *Gawdy Green*, having now planted three more on the *Eaſt* Side of the *Fryars Orchard* near *Rignal Stile*, within leſs than Piſtol-ſhot of the Town-Wall, and two more on another Battery near the *Euſt-gate*, began to batter moſt furiouſly on both Sides of the Corner of the Wall next *Rignal Stile*, making above 150 Great Shot upon it, and threw ſeveral Shells into the Town, which only kill'd one Man and a Maid. A Shell fell upon Mr. *Hartway's* Houſe, broke thro' his Chamber over the Kitchen, and a Piece of it fell into the Kitchen Chimney, where three Women were ſitting, but neither of them receiv'd any Hurt. A few Houſes were ſomewhat damag'd by the Granades. On the 20th of *Auguſt* one *Hatton* a Cannoneer deſerted the Garriſon, and went off to the Enemy, a thing which did not often happen. Two Sallies were made the ſame Day; one of 200 Men under Capt. *Stevenſon* and Capt. *Moore*, in which by Accident 40 Musketeers of the Garriſon fell in with three Times the Number of the King's Forces, ſlew ſeveral of them, took Lieutenant *Anderſon* and Lieutenant *Trapps* Priſoners, and drove them back to a ſtrong Body of their Forces, after which they made their Retreat with the Loſs of two or three Men only. The other Party that

A. D. 1643.

A. D. 1643. that ſally'd was commanded by Capt. *Blunt* and Capt. *White*, who paſs'd down *Severne* by Boat, and then march'd up to the Enemy's Quarters in *Severne-ſtreet*, beat them out of a Redoubt there, kill'd Major *Wells* who commanded the Guard, ſome Soldiers, and retreated with Loſs. Other Parties made Sallies the three following Days only to annoy the Enemy, without coming to any Engagement. On *Thurſday* the 24th of *Auguſt*, upon a Letter ſent into the Town that Mr. *Bell* of *Sanctburſt* and Mr. *Hill* of *Tewksbury*, both Lawyers, had ſomething of Importance to communicate, they were admitted within the Drawbridge at *North-gate*; their Buſineſs was to repreſent to the Town the great Strength that was againſt them, the Impoſſibility of Relief, the Miſeries the Country endur'd by Reaſon of their Obſtinacy, and therefore to perſwade them to yield while good Terms were to be had. The Governor and Magiſtrates ſhew'd they were Men of Temper and Diſcretion, in ſuffering theſe two officious Pettifoggers to harangue them thus, and not throwing them over the Walls to thoſe that ſent them. They gave them a ſhort Anſwer in the Negative, and they return'd like Fools as they came. The ſame Day the Beſiegers made ſeveral Shot with two Pieces of Ordnance newly planted at *Lanthony*. One Bullet, a 20 Pounder, came thro' a Chamber of the *Crown* Inn, carry'd away a Bolſter before it into a Window, and there ſlept in it. The Cavaliers alſo ſhot red hot Ball into the Town, but did little Damage. It rain'd this Day into their Trenches, which much annoy'd them. At Night the Beſieg'd diſcover'd a Fire upon *Wainload*'s Hill, which gave them Encouragement, they having appointed a Perſon whom they had ſent out in Time for that Purpoſe, to ſignify to them by making a Fire there, if he heard of any Relief coming. The Royaliſts obſerv'd it, and left the Country ſhould do ſo too, and their Soldiers be diſcourag'd, they gave out it was a Stratagem of their own to tempt the Beſieg'd into ſome Ambuſcades. On the 25th of *Auguſt* the Beſiegers, beſides many *Granades* and great Stones from their Mortar-Pieces, ſhot above 20 fiery red hot Iron Bullets from 18 to 22 Pound Weight, which in the Night appear'd in the Air like what we call *Shooting Stars*. The Beſieg'd put out Lights on the College Tower to give Notice abroad of their holding out, which extremely vext the Enemy, and they levell'd their Shot at the Tower to deſtroy them. Capt. *Pury*, who had the Care of ſetting up thoſe Lights, looking towards *Lanthony*, from whence the fiery Balls came, was in great Danger from their Shot, but he continu'd with his burning Links, and receiv'd no Hurt. On the 26th and 27th of *Auguſt* the Beſiegers wrought hard in filling up the City Moat with Faggots, making a Gallery over the Head of their Trench to ſave themſelves from the Fire of the Town. They ſhot at the Beſieg'd from this Work, but did them little or no Harm, The Beſiegers on the 28th of *Auguſt* ſunk a Mine under *Eaſt-gate*, and the Beſieg'd countermin'd till they came to Springs, when they left off, ſuppoſing the Enemy would be forc'd to do the like. The next Day they undermin'd at the *Eaſt* Side of *Fryars Orchard*, to plant a Piece of Ordnance at the Bottom of the City Wall, and batter the Flank of the Enemy's Gallery, which they did with good Effect. They had Intelligence that Night from *Warwick* that the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller* were advancing to relieve them. On the two laſt Days the Beſieg'd turn'd out their Cattle to graze in the *Little Mead*, guarded by ſome Musketeers, and took them in at Night. The Beſiegers attempted to take them away, but were repuls'd. While the intrepid *Maſſey*, Governor of *Glouceſter*, the valiant Mayor, Major *Ferrer*, the Magiſtrates, Officers, Soldiers and Townſmen, were thus reſolutely defending the City, againſt the fierce and fiery Aſſaults of the Cavaliers, the *Mace-Bearer* and other fit Inſtruments for ſuch a villainous Buſineſs conſpir'd to kill the Governor, the Mayor, Chief Officers and Magiſtrates, and betray the Town to the King, but the Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, and the Conſpirators hang'd. The very learned and worthy Mr. *Chillingworth* was prevail'd upon to aſſiſt at this Siege, for which he invented certain Engines after the manner of the Roman *Teſtudines cum Pluteis*, with which the Beſiegers intended to aſſault the City between the *South* and *Weſt* Gate: They ran upon Cart Wheels with a Blind of Planks Musket Proof, and Holes for four Musketeers to fire out at, plac'd upon the Axle Tree to defend the Musketeers, and thoſe who thruſt the Engine forwards, with a Bridge before it. The Wheels were to fall into the Ditch, and the End of the Bridge to reſt upon the Town's Breaſt Works. Thus were ſeveral compleat Bridges got ready to enter the City; but the Beſieg'd, to prevent it, intended to have made another Ditch out of their Works, ſo that the Wheels falling thereon, the Bridge would have fallen ſhort off the Breaſt Work into the *Weſt* Moat, whereby Mr. *Chillingworth*'s learned Deſign would have been entirely fruſtrated. It is great Pity to find the Name of ſo excellent a Perſon as Mr. *Chillingworth* among the Beſiegers of *Glouceſter*, not only on Account of his Vocation, which was to preach Piety, Purity and Peace, but on the Score of his Merit, his vaſt Learning and good Senſe, which were ſtrangely corrupted with falſe Notions of unlimited Obedience to unlimited Power. *Davenant* the Poet was alſo at this Siege, and receiv'd here the Honour of Knighthood, which if he deſerv'd no more for his Chivalry than he did for his Poetry, was a Dubbing thrown away. *Auguſt* the 30th the Garriſon kept a Faſt, and had two Sermons without any Diſturbance, only a Musket-Ball enter'd the Church, but did no Hurt. The next Day three Soldiers of Major *Ferrer*'s Company crept along the *Severn* Bank, gave the Enemy an Alarm, and held them in Play almoſt an Hour. The Truth is, never were there more inſolent Fellows than the Beſieged in *Glouceſter*. They ſeem'd to War in Sport, and to treat the Beſiegers with the utmoſt Contempt, tho' a Royal Army, commanded by the King in Perſon, ſurrounded them. On the 1ſt of *September* ſome of the Beſieg'd crept out at a Hole made in the Dungeon at the *Eaſt-gate*, and came ſoftly to the Mouth of the Enemy's Mine, where one *John Burnwood* took a Board aſide which cover'd it, and fir'd, and flung a Shell into the Mine among the Cavaliers, who run out of it, crying, *Arms*, *Arms*. *Burnwood* and his Companions ſhooting at them as they were running, four of them were kill'd, and the Men of *Glouceſter* return'd the ſame Way they came. The next Day, *September* 2, both Sides were very active, the Beſiegers playing hard upon the Wall and the *South Gate*, and the Beſieg'd firing as briskly into their Trenches. A Party of *Welch* Men came up as far as the *Town Ham*, where they plac'd themſelves in a Ditch, and very valiantly fir'd upon ſome Maids and Workmen, who were fetching Turf out of the *Little Mead*, but the Gun at the *Pen* ſoon frighted them away, though it muſt be ſaid for them, that no other Cavalier Soldiers came nearer the Town than thoſe *Welch* Men. The Springs not hindering the Mine at the *Eaſt Gate*, the Beſieg'd

renew'd

A. D. 1643. renew'd their Countermine, and as they were at Church, *Sunday*, *Sept.* 3d, they were inform'd the Beſiegers had planted ſtore of Cannon Baſkets at the *Eaſt Gate*, within leſs than half Musket Shot, and 'twas believ'd intended a Battery there upon the Springing of their Mine. The Miniſter diſmiſt the Congregation without a Sermon. They all fell to Work, Lining the Houſes over the *Eaſt Gate*, and making a ſtrong Breaſt-work croſs *Eaſt Gate Street*, but it was only a Cavalier Flouriſh. A Party of Horſe came almoſt within Musket Shot, but would not venture nearer. A Gun was fir'd among them from Captain *Pury* the Elder's Sconce, and a white Horſe was ſeen to drop, the reſt fled. This Afternoon a Paper was ſhot upon an Arrow into the City, on which was theſe Words written, *You are to underſtand that your God* Waller *hath forſaken you, and hath retired himſelf to the* Tower *of* London. Eſſex *is beaten like a Dog. Yield to the King's Mercy in Time, otherwiſe, if we enter per Force, no Quarter for ſuch obſtinate Traytors and Rogues.* This hiſtorical Billet has the ſame Spirit of Truth and Charity as their other Hiſtories have. One of the Townſmen return'd an Anſwer in honeſt, though bald Rhime.

Waller's *no God of ours, baſe Rogues, ye Lie,*
Our God ſurvives from all Eternity.

The Siege of Glouceſter *rais'd.* On *Monday*, *Sept.* 4th, the Beſieged obſerved two Fires on *Wainload Hill*, which they anſwer'd with Lights from the College Tower, blazing like ſo many Comets over the Royal Army, who began to diſcover their Intentions of raiſing the Siege. *September* the 5th was appointed for a publick Faſt in the Town, to be kept by ſuch as might be ſpar'd from Labour, and the Townſmen could now perceive the Beſiegers were marching off as faſt as they could. Their Carriages from *Lanthony* being drawn up *Tredworth* Field, and their Horſe and Foot marching after, their Rear Guard fir'd their Huts, and their Trenches were abandon'd. The Townſmen and Soldiers venturing out, burnt their Gallery and Cannon Baskets, and brought in Mr. *Chillingſworth*'s *Roman* Engines. Thus, after the King had lain 26 Days before the City of *Glouceſter* he drew off, and made Room for the Earl of *Eſſex* to enter, which he did the 8th of *September* with a ſtrong Body of the Parliament's Army, and was receiv'd with as much Joy as one can imagine fill'd the Minds of People deliver'd from a revengeful and cruel Enemy. I have been more particular in this Siege than I ſhall be in any other, for that it was carry'd on by his Majeſty in Perſon, and gave a Turn to his Affairs, which was not ſo ſoon expected by the Parliament, then in their loweſt Condition during the whole War. It is ſaid the Queen hurry'd him on to this Expedition, which had the Succeſs of her other Counſels. He loſt 1000 Men before this City. The Loſs on the Parliament's Side was inconſiderable, not above 50 kill'd and taken. The Lord General *Eſſex* began his March the 25th of *Auguſt* from *Colnbroke*, to relieve *Glouceſter*. Prince *Rupert*, with the greateſt Part of the King's Horſe drew off to oppoſe him. About *Biceſter* 400 of his Men fac'd a Part of the Parliament's Army and skirmiſh'd, but were ſoon driven away. Scarce a Day paſt but there were ſome ſuch Skirmiſhes, Prince *Rupert* very narrowly watching the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Motions to take Advantage of them. On the 4th of *September* a very ſmart Encounter happen'd near *Stow* in the *Wold*, where Prince *Rupert* attack'd him with 4000 Horſe, but could make nothing of it, and the News of his being repuls'd reach'd *Glouceſter*. On the 5th *Eſſex* advanc'd to *Presbury Hill*, where the Royal Army could ſee him, and they immediately began to make Way for him. He lay two Nights only in *Glouceſter*, and having furniſh'd it with all Neceſſaries he march'd to *Tewksbury*, near which he made a Bridge over the *Severne*, as if he deſign'd for *Worceſter*, and on a ſudden turn'd back upon *Cirenceſter*, where the Enemy had left two Regiments with moſt of their Stores, Ammunition and Proviſions, which were intended for an Army to be rais'd in *Kent* by Sir *Nicholas Criſp*, for which the Parſon of *Ightam* was preparing the Way by the Rebellion he began there, as is before mention'd. The Lord General enter'd *Cirenceſter* about one a Clock in the Morning, ſurpriz'd the two Regiments that were poſted there, drove Sir *Nicholas Criſp* and Colonel *Spencer* out of the Town, took 40 Loads of Proviſion, 6 Standards, 300 Soldiers, and 400 Horſes, but did not leave behind him thoſe Marks of Blood, Rapine and Deſtruction, which Prince *Rupert* left after he had taken the Place from the Parliament.

A. D. 1643. *Earl of* Eſſex *relieves* Glouceſter. *Takes* Cirenceſter.

There are abundance of fine Schemes in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, to ſcatter all the Parliament's Armies, break up the Parliament, and ſhut the Doors of the two Houſes. Mr. *Echard* repeats them very gravely, as if there really had been ſomething in them. Thus the Earl of *Newcaſtle* is to enter *Whitechapel*, while the King enters *Piccadilly*, and being join'd at the *Royal Exchange* to do what they would with the City of *London*, and IF this had been done the King would not have met with that Diſgrace before *Glouceſter*. Of ſuch Matter are their excellent Hiſtories made up. From *Cirenceſter* the Earl of *Eſſex* march'd to *Cricklade* and *Swinden*, and the Van of his Army being almoſt over *Awburn* Chace, between *Marlborough* and *Hungerford*, a ſtrong Body of the King's Horſe fell upon their Rear Guard and routed them, forcing them to retire in Diſorder to the main Body, where they were again drawn up in Order, but the King's Horſe once more advancing, put their Enemies again into Confuſion, till Sir *Philip Stapleton* came in with freſh Forces and ſtopt them in their Career. Both Sides behav'd in this Engagement with true *Engliſh* Valour, which could not have been worſe employed than in the Slaughter of *Engliſh* Men. On the King's Side was kill'd the Marquis *de Vieuville*, who contrary to the Law of Nations, drew his Sword againſt the Parliament, to whom he came in an Embaſſy with the Prince of *Harcourt*, Ambaſſador of *France*, to mediate a Peace between the King and the two Houſes. This Breach of the Law of Nations is highly commended by Mr. Archdeacon, at the Expence of two or three Falſities, for *he did not attend the Queen out of* Holland, *he was not taken Priſoner, he was not kill'd in cold Blood.* All which that Reverend Hiſtorian plainly aſſerts. Quite contrary to which, he came over with the Ambaſſador of *France*, he wounded Colonel *Kilſon* in the Fight, and purſuing him with too much Obſtinacy was himſelf kill'd by him. The Lord *Clarendon* does not ſay he was kill'd in cold Blood. And *Echard* takes it from *Salmonet* a *French* Papiſt, and *Orleans* a *French* Jeſuit. My Author is a *French* Man too, but the Archdeacon may object againſt his Authority becauſe he was a *Proteſtant*. I have met with another Account of the Death of *Vieuville*, differing a little from *Larrey*. *Here the Marquis of* Vieuville *was taken Priſoner, and had Quarter given him, but as he was marching away with the Officer that took him he ſuddenly drew out*

Awburn Chace *Engagement.*

Larrey, *p.* 165.

Parl. Chron. 415.

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A. D. 1643. *a pocket Piſtol and ſhot him, but the Wound not being mortal, the ſtout Officer inſtantly flew at him with his Poleax and clave his Head aſunder.* If this is killing in cold Blood the popiſh Hiſtorians and Mr. *Echard* are in the Right. There were Three other *French* Men, *all of the Ambaſſador's Train*, in this Engagement, *Chartre*, *Perſan* and *Beaveais*, and their Treachery was the Occaſion of the Ambaſſador's Negotiation proving Abortive, for the *Parliament* reſenting this Partiality would not hearken to his Propoſals, which was ſignify'd to him by the Earls of *Stamford* and *Salisbury*. He excus'd it as an imprudent Action, which could not be imputed to him, and for which the three Gentlemen living had been ſufficiently puniſh'd by the Death of one of their Companions. This gave no Satisfaction to the Parliament, and he was told in plain Terms, that they look'd upon him as no better than a Spy, and as one who deſign'd rather to foment the Troubles than appeaſe them.

Larrey. Hartcourt *the* French *Envoy.*

The Earl of *Eſſex* proceeding to *Hungerford*, carry'd with him the Corpſe of the Marquis *de Vieuville*, but order'd it to be deliver'd to thoſe the King ſent for it, paying 500 Pounds to his Soldiers. He there ſurpriz'd a Troop of the King's Horſe, and took up his Quarters in great Want of Proviſions. His Carriages not being come up, and the Country about him ſo ill affected, occaſion'd by the Neighbourhood to *Oxford*, that he could get nothing but by Compulſion. The whole Body of the King's Army had poſted themſelves off *Newbury*. On their right Hand they had the Advantage of the River *Kennet*, and on their left a Hill half a Mile from the Town, where they had planted their Ordnance, ſo that the Parliament's Forces had no Paſſage to them but what was expos'd to the Fire of their Cannon; however, the Earl of *Eſſex* finding his Soldiers were full of Mettle, and reſolv'd to force their Way, would not balk them, but led them on in Perſon, and firſt charg'd the Enemy with his own Regiment, as we are inform'd by *Whitlocke*, but the Reverend Hiſtorian directly contrary to this aſſures us, *The precipitate Courage of the King's young Officers compell'd him to fight*. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s Regiment, and the Lord *Roberts*'s Brigade of Horſe began the Battle about ſix a Clock in the Morning, *Sept.* 20th. It laſted with very hot Service till ten a Clock at Night. The Parliament's Forces beat the Enemy from all their Advantages, got the Hill from them, purſu'd them to *Newbury*, and out of the Town again, and though the King's Forces, eſpecially the Horſe, conſiſting moſtly of Gentlemen, made a gallant Reſiſtance, yet this Place being not proper for their Fight, they could not ſupport their Foot, who were every where beaten, and in the Night the King drew off his Ordnance and march'd away, leaving the Earl of *Eſſex* entirely Maſter of the Field of Battle, which he kept that Night and part of the next Day. When Night drew on the Enemy both Horſe and Foot ſtood in good Order on the farther Side of the Green where they fought, and the Earl of *Eſſex* expected another Engagement the next Day, but the King's Forces retreated by Night. The Parliament's had the Pillage of the Field. Both Parties perform'd with great Manhood and Animoſity, particularly the King's Horſe, who were however worſted. The Earls of *Carnarvon* and *Sunderland*, Colonel *Morgan* a Papiſt, who had rais'd a Regiment of Horſe, Lieutenant Colonel *Houghton*, Major *Ewre*, Major *Leak*, Captain *Conſtable*, Captain *Wolſole*, Captain *Clifton*, Captain *Singleton*, Captain *Whittingham*, Captain *Symcots*, Captain *Molineux*, the laſt Nine all *Papiſts*, were ſlain in the Fight. The Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, Secretary of State, in the Morning of the Day of Battle call'd for a clean Shirt, and daily ſhifting not being then the Mode, he was ask'd the Reaſon of it. He reply'd, *If I am kill'd in the Fight they ſhall not find my Body in foul Linnen.* Being diſſwaded by his *Friends not to go to the Battle*, as having no Call to it, his Office a *Civil* and not *Military* one, he ſaid to them, *I am weary of the Times, and believe I ſhall be out of it before Night.* As indeed he was, being ſlain in the Fight. *Whitlocke* cloſes this Story with a juſt and modeſt Character of this noble Lord, *His Death was much lamented by all that knew him or heard of him, being a Gentleman of great Parts, Ingenuity and Honour, Courteous and Juſt to All, and a paſſionate Promoter of all Endeavours of Peace between the King and Parliament.* *Echard* would have us take his Word for it, that the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Character of this Great and Good Man is written with the *Majeſty of an Hiſtorian.* You will ſee how both the Earl and he underſtood the Majeſty of Hiſtory, by theſe few Words of this very Character concerning the Lord *Falkland*'s Death; *Had there been no other Brand upon this* odious and accurſed *Civil War than that ſingle Loſs, it muſt be moſt* Infamous and Execrable. Can any Thing be more Majeſtick, *Odious*, *Accurſed*, *Infamous and Execrable*, in a Breath. It is moſt certain they neither of them knew better. Sometime before this Battle the King and Court being at *Oxford*, his Majeſty and his Attendants drew the *Sortes Virgilianas*. It was then a Cuſtom among the Learned, as it was among the Godly to dip for Texts of Scripture to be adapted to certain Purpoſes. The King's *Sors Virgiliana* was theſe Verſes of the IVth Book of *Virgil*'s *Æneis*.

A. D. 1643.

Newbury Fight.

Lord Falkland *kill'd.*

At Bello audacis populi vexatus & Armis,
Finibus extorris, complexu avulſus Juli,
Auxilium imploret, videatq; indigna ſuorum
Funera: Nec, cùm ſe ſub leges pacis iniqua
Tradiderit, regno, aut optatâ luce fruatur:
Sed cadit ante diem, mediaque inhumatus arena.

The King commanded Mr. *Cowley* to tranſlate them, but did not let him know the Reaſon of it, and he did it thus:

By a bold People's ſtubborn Arms oppreſt,
Forc'd to forſake the Land which he poſſeſt,
Torn from his deareſt Son, let him in vain
Beg Help, and ſee his Friends unjuſtly ſlain.
Let him to bold, unequal Terms ſubmit,
In hopes to ſave his Crown, and loſe both it
And Life at once. Untimely let him die,
And on an open Stage unbury'd lie.

MS. ante Warwick.

By *Dryden* more paraphraſtically, and more elegantly.

Yet let a Race untam'd, and haughty Foes,
His peaceful Entrance with dire Arms oppoſe,
Oppreſs'd with Numbers in th'unequal Field,
His Men diſcourag'd, and himſelf expell'd,
Let him for Succour ſue from Place to Place,
Torn from his Subjects and his Son's Embrace,
Firſt let him ſee his Friends in Battle ſlain,
And their untimely Fate lament in vain;
And when at length the cruel War ſhall ceaſe,
On hard Conditions may he buy his Peace.
Nor let him then enjoy ſupream Command,
But fall untimely by ſome hoſtile Hand,
And lie unbury'd on the barren Sand.

A. D. 1643.

It is ſaid King *Charles* ſeem'd concern'd at this Accident, and that the Lord *Falkland* obſerving it would likewiſe try his own Fortune in the ſame Manner, hoping he might fall upon ſome Paſſage that could have no Relation to his Caſe, and thereby divert the King's Thoughts from any Impreſſion the other might have made upon him. But the Place Lord *Falkland* ſtumbled upon, was yet more ſuited to his Deſtiny than the other had been to the King's, being the following Expreſſions of *Evander* upon the untimely Death of his Son *Pallas*, as *Dryden* tranſlates them:

O Pallas! *Thou haſt fail'd thy plighted Word,*
To fight with Caution, and not tempt the Sword.
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew
What Perils youthful Ardour would purſue.
That boiling Blood would carry thee too far,
Young as thou wert to Dangers, raw to War.
O curſt Eſſay of Arms! diſaſtrous Doom!
Prelude of bloody Field, and Fights to come.
Æneis XI.

The Loſs of Men was much greater on the King's ſide than on the Parliament's: 2000 Royaliſt were ſlain from the Time of *Eſſex*'s Removal from *Hungerford* to the End of *Newberry* Fight. The Earl of *Sunderland* was not far from the King's Perſon when he was kill'd; as was alſo Col. *Conſtable*, and a great Number of Officers. On the Parliament's ſide were ſlain 500. Col. *Tucker*, Lieutenant Colonel *White* of *Eſſex*'s Regiment, and a Captain of Horſe were the Chief. The City Auxiliaries were the hardeſt put to it, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this Battle: After which, *Eſſex* advanced towards *Reading* to refreſh his Men, and no Enemy appeared till he came to *Theale*, 4 Miles from the Town, where Col. *Harvie*, a *Scotchman*, fell upon his Rear with a Party of the King's Horſe, and a hot Skirmiſh enſued, in which 60 of *Harvie*'s Men were ſlain, about 8 of the Parliament's, and the reſt of that Party retreating, the Parliament Army marched on to *Reading*, without Interruption. When the Reader has gone through this Hiſtory, will he not be ſurpriz'd to hear *Echard* tell him the King had conſiderable Marks of Victory; and the Lord *Clarendon*, to fleer at the Parliament; *they made no Scruple to declare it a Victory* Sir *Philip Warwick*, who is by no means ſo florid, but every whit as faithful an Hiſtorian as the Earl of *Clarendon*, owns the King *was worſted*; but his owning it does not ſignify much. The Defeat was too ſhameful and viſible to be diſputed. The Lords and Commons ſent a Committee to their General at *Reading*, to complement him, and congratulate his great Succeſſes. It muſt be own'd, that from his marching to relieve *Glouceſter*, to his Arrival at *Reading*, not much above 20 Days, he had done Wonders, conſidering the Difficulties he had ſtruggled with. His Army conſiſted chiefly of *Militia*, and beſides was not ſo numerous as the King's, who were ſpirited with ſeveral late Succeſſes. However he had obliged the King to raiſe the Siege of *Glouceſter*. He had ſurpriz'd two Regiments, and a great Magazine at *Cirenceſter*. He had engaged the Royaliſts in ſeveral Actions, and in the laſt obtained a Victory over them: All which gave new Heart to the Parliament and their *Well Wiſhers*; and the Condition of their Affairs grew daily better. The Lord General, with the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Philip Stapleton* and other principal Officers coming to *London*, were received with great Marks of Honour and Eſteem. The Houſe of Commons, with their Speaker, went to *Eſſex* Houſe to complement the General on his happy Succeſs and ſafe Return, and cauſed their Acknowledgment of it to be enter'd into their Journal. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited upon him in their Scarlet Gowns, and paid their Complements to him as the *Protector and Defender of their Lives and Fortunes, their Wives and Children.* Before this Iſſue of the Campaign, People were much terrify'd at the News of the Cavaliers frequent Succeſſes, in the *Weſt* eſpecially, which the Royaliſts magnify'd beyond all Bounds of Modeſty and Truth. Some great Perſons were ſo weak as to deſert the Parliament, when their Preſence and Aſſiſtance were moſt wanted. The Earl of *Portland*, the Lord *Lovelace*, the Lord *Conway* were never much depended upon, and their Abſence was not much lamented; but the Earls of *Bedford*, *Clare* and *Holland* had expreſt great Zeal and Alacrity in the Cauſe which the two Houſes were engaged in; and when it was known that they were in *Oxford*, it ſtruck a Damp on the Minds of many good *Engliſhmen*, which however did not laſt long; for thoſe three Lords had then an Opportunity to ſee ſo much of the Conduct of the Court, that they were ſatisfy'd it was not mended by reſiding at *Oxford*, ſo they left the King's Party again and returned to the Parliament. It is pretended that the cold Reception they met with there was the Reaſon of their Return: But the Earl of *Holland* ſaid, *That after he heard of the Ceſſation with the bloody* Iriſh *Rebels, his Conſcience would not give him Leave to ſtay any longer with them at* Oxford.

Honours paid the Earl of Eſſex.

As the King apply'd himſelf to the *Papiſts* in *Ireland*, ſo did the Parliament to the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, who being our Brethren as Proteſtants, were very fit to be enter'd into Friendſhip with. The two Houſes had ſent the Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry Vane*, junior, Sir *William Armine*, Mr. *Darley* and Mr. *Hatcher*, with two Miniſters, Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Nye*, to *Edinburgh*, to treat with the *Scots* for *Aſſiſtance*. That Nation were themſelves alarm'd at the Strength of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s malignant Army in the *North*, and wanted only the Forms to enter *England* with a ſtronger Army, and aſſiſt the Lord *Fairfax*. The *Scots* inſiſted upon aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy* in this Kingdom, and that the *Solemn League and Covenant* ſhould be taken here: To which both Houſes agreed, and to advance 100,000 *l.* Sterling, for raiſing and maintaining 20,000 *Scots*, Horſe and Foot, to carry on the War, to ſecure the Religion, Laws, Rights and Liberties of both Nations, and bring *Delinquents* to Juſtice. The *Scots* were to have a Committee at *Weſtminſter* to act with a Committee of both Houſes with equal Authority as to the Management of the War. *Echard* is poſitive that they did not believe the Parliament would have ſwallowed the *Covenant*, be- *Covenant.*
cauſe *they knew that moſt of the Lords were againſt the Presbyterian Government*; whereas in Truth they did not, and could not know any ſuch Thing, for the Propoſal of taking it was no ſooner made to both Houſes than they both fell in with it more readily than with any other Ordinance which had yet paſt: And accordingly the *Lords* and *Commons*, and the *Aſſembly* of *Divines* took it with great Solemnity in St. *Margaret*'s Church *Weſtminſter*, on the 25th of *September*, a double Holy-day; by the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Return to *London*, and this *religious Exerciſe*, ſays Mr. Archdeacon with a Fleer, as he treats moſt Things that are really religious, and have not their very Eſſence in *Form* and *Ceremony*.

Here follow the Names of thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons who took the Covenant: *Taken by Parliament.*

Wil-

A. D. 1643. *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Speaker, Sir *Beauchamp St. John*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Walter Earl*, *James Cambel*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Cheek*, *Robert Nicholas*, Eſq; Sir *Ben. Rudyard*, Sir *Edward Maſters*, *John White*, Eſq; *Anthony Stapely*, Eſq; *Dennis Bond*, Eſq; *Lawrence Whitaker*, Eſq; *Michael Noble*, Eſq; *Peregrine Hoby*, Eſq; *Richard Barwis*, Eſq; *John Gurdon*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *Francis Knollis*, *John Pyne*, Eſq; *George Searl*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Vane*, ſen. Sir *Nevill Pool*, Sir *John Young*, Sir *Henry Herbert*, *Thomas Sandys*, Eſq; *William Jeſſon*, Eſq; *Philip* Lord *Herbert*, Sir *Thomas Barrington*, Sir *Martin Lumley*, *Francis Godolphin*, Eſq; Sir *John Trevor*, *Thomas Arundel*, Eſq; *Edward Stephens*, Eſq; Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *John Crew*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Baynton*, *William Cawley*, Eſq; *John Moyle*, Eſq; *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. *William Cage*, Eſq; *Richard Eriſey*, Eſq; *Philip* Lord *Liſle*, *William Heveningham*, Eſq; *Iſaac Pennington*, Eſq; *Richard Creſheld*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Pelham*, Sir *Thomas Parker*, *John Leigh*, Eſq; *John Harris*, Eſq; *Auguſtine Skinner*, Eſq; *John Venn*, Eſq; Sir *William Strickland*, *John Francklyn*, Eſq; *Robert Scawen*, Eſq; *Roger Hill*, Eſq; *Samuel Brown* Eſq; *John Button*, Eſq; *John Meyrich*, Eſq; Sir *Ambroſe Browne*, *Richard Wynn*, Eſq; *William Spurſtow*, Eſq; Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Roger North*, *Thomas Hodges*, Eſq; *John Maynard*, Eſq; *Samuel Vaſſal*, Eſq; Sir *Anthony Irby*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, *Charles Pym*, Eſq; *Edward Owner*, Eſq; *Charles* Lord *Cranbourne*, Sir *Dudley North*, *Benjamin Weſton*, Eſq; *John Nut*, Eſq; Sir *John Corbert*, Sir *Roger Burgoyne*, Sir *Peter Temple*, *Benjamin Valentine*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Walſingham*, Sir *Oliver Luke*, *William Alenſon*, Eſq; *Humphry Salway*, Eſq; *Richard More*, Eſq; *Thomas Fountayne*, Eſq; *William Ellis*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Ludlow*, *Henry Shelley*, Eſq; *Richard Shuttleworth*, Eſq; *George Gallop*, Eſq; *Robert Gallop*, Eſq; Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *Thomas Grantham*, Eſq; *William* Lord *Fitz Williams*, *Edmund Dunch*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Mildmay*, *Hugh Rogers*, Eſq; *Thomas Hatcher*, Eſq; Sir *John Wray*, Sir *Simonds D'Ewes*, *Anthony Bedingfield*, Eſq; *John Aſh*, Eſq; *William* Lord *Mounſon*, Sir *Martin Liſter*, *Robert Goodwyn*, Eſq; *Edward Thomas*, Eſq; *Henry Lucas*, Eſq; *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; *Philip Smith*, Eſq; *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *John Lowry*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Cholmley*, *William Pierpoint*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *John Broxholm*, Eſq; *John Jervoyce*, Eſq; *John Blakiſton*, Eſq; *Walter Long*, Eſq; *John Rolle*, Eſq; *Robert Jennor*, Eſq; *John Waddon*, Eſq; Sir *William Maſham*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; Sir *Edmund Fowell*, *Edward Aſh*, Eſq; *Thomas Pury*, Eſq; *Richard Whitehead*, Eſq; *Richard Jenyns*, Eſq; Sir *Humphry Tufton*, *Thomas Dacres*, Eſq; *John Downes*, Eſq; *John Goodwyn*, Eſq; Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, *Francis Buller*, Eſq; *Richard Harman*, Eſq; *George Buller*, Eſq; *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; *Richard Winwood*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Pye*, *Henry* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Richard Knightley*, Eſq; *John Pym*, Eſq; Sir *Chriſtopher Yelverton*, *Anthony Nichol*, Eſq; *Peter North*, Eſq; *Robert Reynolds*, Eſq; Sir *Nathaniel Barnardiſton*, Sir *Henry Hayman*, *William Purefoy*, Eſq; *Valentine Walton*, Eſq; *Michael Oldeſworth*, Eſq; *William Wheeler*, Eſq; *Hall Ravenſcroft*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, *Herbert Morley*, Eſq; *Thomas Lane*, Eſq; *Robert Cecil*, Eſq; *William Bell*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Soame*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, *Harbottle Grimſton*, Eſq; *Simon Snow*, Eſq; *John Naſh*, Eſq; *Ralph Aſhton*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Ayſcough*, *John Wylde*, Eſq; *John Trenchard*, Eſq; *Thomas Jervoyce*, Eſq; *Richard Browne*, Eſq; Sir *William Plaiters*, *Nathaniel Stephens*, Eſq; Sir *Gilbert Millington*, *John Hippeſley*, Eſq; *William Hay*, Eſq; Sir *Willaim Lewis*, *John Hervey*, Eſq; *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; Sir *Francis Popham*, *Alexander Bence*, Eſq; *John Glyn*, Eſq; *Thomas* Lord *Wenman*, *Edward Partherick*, Eſq; *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *Poynings More*, *Edward Montagu*, Eſq; *Richard Roſe*, Eſq; *Walter Young*, Eſq; *Edward Poole*, Eſq; Sir *John Dryden*, *Giles Green*, Eſq; *Edward Dowce*, Eſq; *Thomas Hoyle*, Eſq; *Zouch Tate*, Eſq; *Squire Bence*, Eſq; Sir *Richard Onſlow*, *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; *Henry Campian*, Eſq; *Edward Wingate*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Byſſe*, Sir *Norton Knatchbull*, *Francis Rous*, Eſq; *John Browne*, Eſq; *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Eſq; Sir *William Litton*, *William Strode*, Eſq; *Edward Exton*, Eſq; Sir *John Curſon*, *John Selden*, Eſq; Sir *John Coke*, *George Montague*, Eſq; *William Whittaker*, Eſq; *James Fiennes*, Eſq; *William Jephſon*, Eſq; *Thomas Eden*, Eſq; A. D. 1643.

Here are 222 Members, whom for Eſtate the Earl of *Clarendon* aſſures us the King's Troop of Guards could buy. The King himſelf in all his Declarations upbraids them with the Paucity of their Number; whereas, allowing for Sickneſs and Abſence, here is a very great Majority of the Houſe of Commons, excluding the Deſerters and other great Offenders who had been regularly expell'd. Theſe all took the Covenant, which, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, was *illegal*, *wicked*, and *full of Perjury*. And Mr. Archdeacon, who refines upon his Lordſhip, even in his Faults, adds, *It ſhed more Blood than* Henry VIII's *ſix bloody Articles*; *it ruin'd Families infinitely beyond them*; *it deſtroy'd the Patrimony of the Church*, *and murder'd the King*. I know very well the Reſpect that a Writer owes his Reader, and that he ought never to appear before him in Paſſion; but is it poſſible to write or read ſuch Traſh without Indignation? The *Presbyterian* Clergy, when the King was about to be try'd, proteſted againſt it, and urg'd the Obligation of this very Covenant, by which they were all ſworn to preſerve his Royal Perſon. Their Words are, *It is contrary to the* Solemn League *and* Covenant, *from which Engagement we know not any Power on Earth able to abſolve us*. We will now ſee what there was in this *Covenant*, which the King calls *ſeditious*, and the *Oxford* Men *damnable*, and which has been call'd more Names in Pulpits and Colleges than the Ribaldry of *Billinſgate* can furniſh one with.

The Preamble is the obligatory Part of the Oath, and it is then divided into ſix Articles.

The *Firſt* is, *That the* Covenanters *will ſincerely*, *really and conſtantly*, *through the Grace of God*, *endeavour to preſerve the Reformation of Religion in* England *and* Ireland *in Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline and Government*, *according to the Word of God*, *and the beſt Examples of the* Reform'd *Churches*.

This is what the Earl of *Clarendon* terms Wickedneſs and Perjury.

The *Second* Article is, *That they will in like manner*, *without Reſpect of Perſons*, *endeavour the Extirpation of* Popery, *of* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Chancellors, Commiſſaries, *and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on the* Hierarchy, *and of all* Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, Profaneneſs,

A. D. 1643. faneneſs, *and whatever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine and the Power of Godlineſs.* More Perjury and Wickedneſs, according to Lord *Clarendon.*

The *Third* Article is, *That they will with the ſame Zeal and Conſtancy endeavour with their Eſtates and Lives mutually to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, and to* preſerve *and* defend *the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority.* Here the Wickedneſs and Perjury are intolerable, for they are ſo impious as to explain what they mean by the King's Authority, *in the Preſervation and Defence of the True Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.* The Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. Archdeacon have not the leaſt Conception of any ſuch Authority; *that the World may bear Witneſſes with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs.* For the Power thoſe two Hiſtorians always intend is unjuſt and arbitrary.

The *Fourth* Article concerns one of thoſe Hiſtorians perſonally, *That they will endeavour to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries and evil Counſellers to condign Puniſhment.* The Parliament had declar'd Mr. *Edward Hyde* to be one of thoſe Malignants, and he could not therefore be much in Love with this Covenant, or think it any thing better than Perjury and Wickedneſs.

The *Fifth* Article is, *To preſerve the Peace between* England *and* Scotland, *and puniſh all that oppoſe it.*

The *Sixth* is a general Confirmation of all the reſt, *And that they will never yield to a deteſtable Neutrality, but continue conſtant to their Covenant to their Lives End.*

The King publiſh'd a Proclamation againſt taking the *Covenant*, but it was taken before that Proclamation came out by both Houſes of Parliament, the City of *London*, the Clergy, *&c.* And if they had not done it, one cannot ſuppoſe they would have been hinder'd by a Proclamation, which, like the Thunder of the *Vatican*, had of late loſt all Effect and Terror.

Soots. His Majeſty was very well inform'd of the Proceedings of the *Scots* towards aſſiſting the Parliament; and tho' he could not prevent the Meeting of the Eſtates at *Edinburgh*, yet when they were about raiſing an Army, he iſſu'd a Proclamation againſt it, and he might as ſoon have beaten the Army with a Proclamation as have hinder'd the raiſing it. He alſo permitted the Earl, whom he made Marquis of *Montroſe*, to invite the Marquis of *Antrim*, with 2000 *Iriſh* Rebels, into *Scotland*, and thoſe Papiſts under *Calkito*, Brother to *Antrim*, joining *Montroſe*, *reacted the Maſſacre of* Ireland, as the learned Lawyer informs us, *by murdering Men, Women and Children, and added to the Cruelty the burning their Houſes and Habitations.* Theſe Butchers were intended to make a Diverſion in that Kingdom as ſoon as the *Scots* Army enter'd *England*, and the King at the ſame Time drew off the beſt *Engliſh* Regiments from *Ireland*, as Sir *William S. Leger*'s, Sir *Michael Ernly*'s, Sir *Richard Fleetwood*'s, Col. *Myn*'s, Col. *Monk*'s, Col. *Warren*'s, by which Means the bloody-minded Rebels were left at Liberty to continue their horrid Butcherings, Burnings, Rapes and Robberies. We have mention'd the Care which the Parliament took of that Kingdom, by procuring Subſcriptions for vaſt Sums of Money for raiſing Forces to oppoſe thoſe Rebels, and relieve the Proteſtants; which Care of theirs had not the deſir'd Succeſs, by Reaſon of the Delays the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* met with in his Diſpatches from the Court, of which his Lordſhip complains in the Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*; and it might well be ſo, when the *Iriſh* Rebels had Agents at Court, and a Ceſſation of Arms with them was in Treaty ſoon after the King ſet up his Standard. His Majeſty refus'd to paſs the Act to inforce the Payment of the Subſcription-Money for the Service of *Ireland.* That Act was ſent to him by Sir *Robert King*, *William Jephſon*, Eſq; and *Arthur Hill*, Eſq;. The Pretext was, that the Money would be employ'd againſt him. But the true Reaſon was probably that it would be employ'd againſt the *Iriſh* Papiſts then in Rebellion, tho' he would not allow them to be call'd *Rebels*; inſomuch that when Sir *Edward Walker* gave him his Manuſcript Memoirs, wherever the Term *Rebels* was us'd, he ſtruck it out, and with his own Hand wrote *Iriſh*, as *A. Wood* informs us. Mr. *Jephſon* ſeeing the Lord *Dillon* and the Lord *Taaf*, two *Iriſh* Papiſts, in high Favour with the Court at *Oxford*, told the Lord *Falkland*, Husb. p. then Secretary of State, " There were two Lords 247. " about the King, who to his Majeſty's great " Diſhonour, and the great Diſcouragement of " his good Subjects, did make uſe of his Ma- " jeſty's Name to encourage the Rebels; that " he had ſeen two Letters ſent by the Lord *Dil-* " *lon* and the Lord *Taaf* to the Lord *Muskerry*, " the chief Man in the Rebellion of *Munſter*, in- " timating, that tho' it did not ſtand with the " Conveniency of his Majeſty's Affairs to give " him publick Countenance, yet the King was " well pleas'd with what he had done, and " would in Time give him Thanks for it; which " Letters were alſo ſeen by the Lord *Inchiqueen*, " General of the *Engliſh* Forces in *Munſter*, and " by his Secretary, who took Copies of them;" which Mr. *Jephſon* ſaid ſhould be forthcoming, and my Lord *Falkland* cry'd, *They deſerve to be hang'd.* But the Matter was no further inquir'd into. On the contrary, their Negotiations in Favour of their Fellow-Rebels went on ſucceſsfully, as will be ſeen in the Sequel. Before we proceed in the Affairs of *England*, we will take a tranſient View of the *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, from its Beginning to this Time.

Ireland. The firſt Town the Rebels undertook to beſiege was *Drogheda*, which was bravely defended by the Governor Sir *Henry Tichburn*, the Lord *Moore*, young Sir *John Borlace*, and other gallant Officers; and after the Garriſon had been reduc'd to eat Horſes, Dogs, and Cats, the Lord *Moore* making a Sally with 400 Horſe, fell upon Sir *Phelim Oneal*, General of the Rebels, and put him to Flight; which ſo diſcourag'd the *Iriſh*, that they rais'd the Siege; after which Sir *Henry Tichburn* and the Lord *Moore* recover'd *Dundalk.* Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Colonel of the firſt Regiment that was ſent from *England* againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, was kill'd before the Caſtle of *Carrickmain*, within four Miles of *Dublin*, as was alſo Major *Bor*; but their Men reveng'd their Death, ſtorm'd and enter'd the Caſtle, and put all the *Iriſh* to the Sword. In *April* 1642. the Marquis of *Ormond* march'd out of *Dublin* with 3000 Foot and 500 Horſe, moſt of them Troops ſent by the Parliament to the Aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants under Col. *Monk*, Sir *Michael Ernly*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and other good Officers. The Lord *Ormond* engag'd the Rebels at *Kilruſh*, and defeated them, tho' much above twice his Number, killing 700, among whom the Lord *Dunboyn*'s Brother and the Lord *Ikerin*'s Son were the Chief. Many Colonels and Captains fell on the Spot. In *May* *Life* Cromw. the Rebels held that great Council at *Kilkenny*, which *Leti* ſpeaks of and aſſerts that this Meeting

A. D. 1643. was with the King's Conſent. They took the Government of the Kingdom into their own Hands, as far as their Power extended, drawing up a Form of it, which was approv'd of by theſe Popiſh Biſhops; *Hugh* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, *David* Biſhop of *Oſſory*, *Emery* Biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Caſhels*, *Boetius* Biſhop of *Elphin*, *John* Biſhop of *Clonfert*, *Malachy* Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, *Patrick* Biſhop of *Waterford*, *Roch* Biſhop of *Kildare*, with ſome Deans, Abbots, Priors, and one Archdeacon *John Bowick*, who were all involv'd in the Rebellion and Maſſacre, and had the ſame Hands with which they abſolv'd and bleſs'd their Penitents, ſtain'd with the Blood of 200000 Innocents by Commiſſion, or Permiſſion; for the Pardon of which and all other Sins Pope *Urban* VIII. ſent them a Bull. The Delay of Relief to *Ireland* could not be avoided, by Reaſon of the Danger the Parliament was fallen into in *England*, which oblig'd them to provide for their own Defence in the firſt Place. If they could not defend themſelves, the Defence of the Proteſtants in *Ireland* muſt fall of courſe. They did however ſend them Supplies of Men, Money, Arms, and Ammunition, ſome of which Supplies were intercepted by the King's Forces, as particularly Arms and Clothes, which were ſeiz'd by them near *Coventry*. The Parliament in one of the Papers deliver'd by their Commiſſioners to the King's at *Uxbridge*, ſay, "Tho' the Com- "plaints from *Ireland*, and the great Extremi- "ties of the Proteſtants, have been procur'd and "increas'd by the *Popiſh* Party, yet earneſt En- "deavours have been us'd to lay the Blame and "Neglect therein upon the Two Houſes of Par- "liament, who have been ſo zealous for their Re- "lief, and whoſe only Care, under God, hath "been their Preſervation; and that in the Heat of "our miſerable Diſtractions, they have continu'd "their Supplies; and from their own great Want, "have not ſpar'd to afford our Brethren there "the Means of their Subſiſtence." Mr. *Robert Goodwin* and Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, two Members of the Houſe of Commons, were appointed to reſide at *Dublin*. With them went Colonel *Tucker* of *London*, afterwards kill'd at *Newbury* Fight. They carry'd over 20000 Pounds in Money, 300 Barrels of Powder, 10 Ton of Match, *&c.* The Lords Juſtices and Council receiv'd theſe Gentlemen with Reſpect, and they us'd their Endeavours to ſatisfy the Officers of the Army of the Care the Parliament took to make Proviſion of all Kinds for them. It is very obvious that the Reſidence of theſe two Deputies would be of good Uſe, not only to give the Two Houſes right Information of the State of Affairs in that Kingdom, but alſo to encourage the Officers and Soldiers by their Preſence. The King, who had other Service for the Army there, did not like this Deputation from the Parliament, and ſent Orders that the two Deputies ſhould not be admitted into the Council; ſo they return'd to *England*, and the Ceſſation with the *Maſſacrers* went on briskly.

Iriſh Biſhops in Rebellion.

The Marquis of *Ormond*, with 2500 Foot and 500 Horſe defeated an Army of the Rebels, 6000 Foot and 650 Horſe, in *Roſs*, kill'd 300, took Lieutenant-General *Cullens* and many Priſoners, with their Baggage and Ammunition; and ſoon after he receiv'd a Commiſſion from his Majeſty to treat *with our Subjects who have taken Arms againſt us, and to agree with them upon a* CESSATION. The rebellious Murderers are term'd Subjects, and ſpoken of with much Tenderneſs. The Lords and Commons, and the Proteſtant People of *England*, are *Rebels*, *Traytors*, and *Devils*, as far as the Malice and Inſolence of the *Oxford* Men could make them ſo. This pious Commiſſion was confirm'd a Week after by a ſecond Command, and follow'd with an Order to Sir *John Borlace* and Sir *Henry Tichburn*, Lords Juſtices, to agree to that *Ceſſation*, tho' contrary to the LAW OF THE LAND, THE KNOWN LAW OF THE LAND, *to all* LAWS *of Nature and Nations, Divine and Humane. His Majeſty*, ſays Mr. *Acherley*, *laid aſide his Promiſes*, to obſerve without Violation the LAWS paſſed in this Parliament, *for by the* Ceſſation *with the* REBELS *the Security of the Adventurers was to be enervated and defeated.* We have been often, and ſhall again and again be told he was fighting for the *Laws*, &c. There has not been, nor will be a Proclamation or Declaration but what is full of the LAWS, THE LAWS OF THE LAND, and the like Terms. The Council of *Kilkenny* appointed *Nicholas* Viſcount *Gormanſton*, *Donnogh* Viſcount *Muskerry*, Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Tirlogh Oneale*, Eſq; *Geoffry Brown*, Eſq; *Ever Mac Gennis*, Eſq; and *John Walſh*, Eſq; to treat with the Marquis of *Ormond*, who made no Scruple of entering into an Agreement with thoſe execrable Wretches, and concluded a Ceſſation the 15th of *December*, in the Articles of which thoſe deteſtable REBELS are ſtyl'd his Majeſty's *Good Subjects*. To make way for this wicked and infamous Treaty, Sir *William Parſons*, one of the Lords Juſtices, was turn'd out of his Place, as were alſo Sir *John Temple* Maſter of the Rolls, Sir *Adam Loftus* Under-Treaſurer of *Ireland*, and Sir *Robert Meredith* a Privy-Counſellor, for diſſwading the Ceſſation, as dangerous, ſcandalous and illegal. The Parliament of *England* publiſh'd a Declaration againſt it; the Proteſtants of *Ireland* oppoſed it with all the Vigour they were capable of; yet with the moſt confounding Confidence it is ſaid, the *Ceſſation* with the *Maſſacrers* was made for no other End than to ſave thoſe Proteſtants from Deſtruction; whereas in Truth it was made for no other End than to bring over the Forces the Parliament had rais'd and ſent to *Ireland* againſt the REBELS, and employ them againſt the Lords and Commons of *England*. This Deſign was ſo barefac'd, that it impos'd upon no Body, and only made the People ſhake their Heads in Pity of ſuch Counſels, which tending to the greateſt Evil, pretended to the greateſt Good. The Parliament ſay in their *Declaration*, "The Wants of the Army "were often repreſented and complain'd of, "whereby with much *Craft* a Ground was pre- "paring for the Pretext, wherewith they would "cover the Counſels of this Ceſſation, as if no- "thing had drawn it on but the extreme Wants "of their Armies; whereas it is evident that "the Reports of a Treaty have been in a great "Part the Cauſe of their Wants, for thereby the "*Adventurers* were diſhearten'd. Contributions "were ſtopp'd, and by the Admittance to Court "of the Negotiators of this Ceſſation, their "wicked Counſels have had that Influence as to "procure the Interceptions of much Proviſions "which were ſent for *Ireland*; and others com- "ing from thence with Commodities to exchange "for Victuals, have been taken not only by "*Dunkirkers*, having his Majeſty's Warrant, but "alſo by *Engliſh* Ships commanded by Sir *John* "*Pennington* under his Majeſty: The Parlia- "ment's Meſſengers, with Ordinances for Loans "and Contributions, have been taken and im- "priſon'd, their Money ſeiz'd, and not a Penny "either Contribution or Loan hath been ſuffer'd "to be ſent in for *Ireland* from thoſe Counties "which were under the Power of the King's "Army,

Ceſſation with the Iriſh Maſſacrers.

Ceſſation with the REBELS.

A. D. 1643. " Army, while in the mean time the Houſes of " Parliament were ſtill procuring no contemptible " Aid and Relief for the diſtreſs'd Proteſtants in " that Kingdom." The Earl of *Clarendon* ſays, and *Echard* vouches for him that he is in the right, the *Ceſſation was pious and juſt*, and it is ſelf-evident that there is no Act of Injuſtice and Impiety to compare with it in all Story, the Blood of 200000 innocent Men, Women, and Children being ſacrific'd to it, and the Murderers were diſmiſs'd with Impunity.

Before this accurſt Treaty was concluded, *St. Leger*'s and *Myn*'s Regiments, already mention'd, were ſhipp'd for *England*, and landed at *Briſtol*, where the Lord *Hopton* receiv'd them under his Command, which, according to *Acherley*, *proves that* Ormond *knew the* REBELS *would be obedient to the King's Inclinations*. The other Regiments were ſent to *Cheſter*, and receiv'd and commanded by the Lord *Byron*. Before and after theſe came over, ſeveral *Iriſh* Rebels, Officers and Soldiers, as Lord *Muskerry*, *Callagan o Callegan*, and others, who were welcome to the Court at *Oxford*, in which City *Ludlow* ſaw ſome of them when he was there a Priſoner; and he informs us, *they were ſent by the Papiſts in Rebellion to treat with the King about aſſiſting him againſt the Parliament.*

Scots. The Committee of Eſtates in *Scotland* having ſummon'd all the Lords of the Council to take the *Covenant*, Duke *Hamilton* and ſome more refus'd it, for which their Goods were order'd to be ſeiz'd, their Rents to be gather'd, and their Perſons to be apprehended. The Duke and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick* went to *Oxford*, where *Montroſe* had been before-hand, and reprenſented their temporiſing with the Covenanters as Treachery. The Deſign of the *Hamiltonians*, ſince they could not hinder the raiſing an Army for the Parliament, was to have as many Lords as would take Service in it be choſen from among the King's Friends, that when they were in *England* they might aſſume the Umpirage between both Parties, and join againſt that which would not conſent to an Accommodation. Theſe Counſels were condemn'd by *Montroſe* and the rigid Royaliſts as fraudulent; and the Queen hating *Hamilton*, ſo prepoſſeſs'd the King againſt him, that his Majeſty was deaf to his Reaſons. I know it will be thought to be taken from the ſcandalous Chronicle, but I have it from good and great Authority, that the Queen's Hatred to *Hamilton* was occaſion'd by his being a little too *M. S.* curious, and having made ſome ſuch Diſcovery as 'tis ſaid coſt *Ovid* a perpetual Baniſhment; that *Hamilton* had profeſs'd Gallantry at Court, where *Jermin* was preferr'd, and his Jealouſy making him very watchful, he ſaw what may be better imagin'd than expreſs'd. I know the Ground we walk on is ſlippery, and therefore leave it, tho' I do not want Supporters if I had Hamiltons a mind to go further. Neither of the *Hamiltons* were admitted to the King's Preſence. They were both impriſon'd as ſoon as they arriv'd, and ſeverely us'd. The Reſentment of the Court was puſh'd ſo far, that it was talk'd of trying them for their Lives. *Lanerick*'s great Crime was the putting the King's Signet, of which he had the keeping as Secretary of State, to a Proclamation for a General Rendezvous of the Army that was to march into *England*. Thoſe Writers, *M. S.* as *Echard* and others of that Stamp, who ſpeak of Duke *Hamilton*'s Correſpondence with the *Kirk* Men, had never Opportunities of informing themſelves of the Truth in doubtful Matters, or they might have known that the Duke was authoriz'd by King *Charles* I. to favour the *Covenanters* that he might find out their Deſigns, and he was now ſo treated, according to *Echard*, not for looking upon a Lady and her Lover, but for *looking upon the Covenanters, and ſometimes ſitting with them.* What he or his Originals ſpin ſo finely, as to the Duke's myſterious Conduct, is only one of thoſe Viſions with which their Heads are ſometimes giddy. *Hamilton* had been bred under a Mother, Lady *Ann Cuningham*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glencairn*, who was a zealous Presbyterian and Covenanter, and his Heart doubtleſs hung that Way, but his Ambition, and the Glory of being a Favourite, kept him from engaging further than conſiſted with the Character of a Courtier, and that was enough to render him ſuſpected, and Suſpicion enough to cauſe his Confinement, when the Court were ſo afraid of the *Scots*. The Marquis of *Montroſe*, and thoſe who came from *Scotland*, knew ſo much of his countenancing the Covenanters in Raiſing the Army intended for *England*, that it was reſolved to try him for High Treaſon. The Queen puſh'd on this Trial, and made ſo ſure of the Duke and the Earl of *Lanerick*'s being found guilty, that when ſhe heard the latter had made his Eſcape, ſhe ſaid, *Abercorn has miſt a Duke-* Burnet. *dom.* The Lord *Abercorn* was a Papiſt, and next the two Brothers in Succeſſion to that Title. The Duke muſt have been try'd as Earl of *Cambridge*, and the Court found the Majority of their own Lords would not convict him, ſo they ſent him Priſoner to *Pendennis*, and afterwards to *St. Michael*'s Mount in *Cornwall*, where he remain'd till that Place was ſurrender'd to the Parliament's Forces three Years after, and two Years after that he commanded an Army againſt the Parliament. The Matter of the Trial was puſh'd ſo far, that a Warrant was actually ſign'd by the King, and underſign'd by the King himſelf as a Secretary of State, for executing both Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother the Earl of *Lanerick*, which the Lords procur'd, and to have them try'd at a diſtance from *Oxford*, that if they were condemn'd Sentence might be executed before they could get a Pardon; for the Lords doubted not if they were pardoned they would have the King's Ear again, and then their Judges would have been infallibly ruin'd. The Lord *Berkeley* of *Stratton* ſhew'd Biſhop *Burnet* the original Warrant.

In the beginning of the Winter Prince *Mau-* Exeter *taken for the King.* *rice* came before *Exeter* with an Army, and laid Siege to it. The Earl of *Stamford* was in the City, but not with a ſufficient Strength to defend it a long Time. The Citizens, like the Inhabitants of other Cathedral Towns, being Enemies to thoſe who declar'd for the Proteſtant Religion, the Rights and Liberties of the People, and for bringing Delinquents to Juſtice. The Lord *Stamford* in the Articles of Surrender, committed a great Weakneſs and Error, by ſtipulating for a *Pardon* for himſelf, Sir *George Chudleigh*, Sir *John Bampfield*, Sir *John Northcot*, Sir *Samuel Roberts*, Sir *Nicholas Martin*, &c. Theſe Gentlemen could not be overſtock'd with Wiſdom, if they had been ſo long venturing their Lives and Fortunes in a Cauſe which they thought needed a *Pardon*. The Parliament was much diſguſted at it, and there was a Diſcourſe of Calling the Earl to an Account for that Article, and his whole Conduct in their Service, but nothing came of it.

The King having ſucceeded ſo ill in the Siege Digby's *Plot againſt* Glouceſter. of *Glouceſter*, an Attempt was made to get the City by Treaſon ſince it could not be got by Arms. The Lord *Digby* employ'd one *Stamford*, a Friend to Captain *Backhouſe*, who commanded a Company in *Glouceſter*, to enter into a Negotiation for betraying the Town. *Backhouſe* was offer'd 5000 Pounds, and actually received 200 Pounds. Several Letters paſt between

A. D. 1643. tween him and *Stamford*, which were all communicated to the Governor Colonel *Maſſey* by *Backhouſe*. A Cavalier Party of Horſe and Foot advanc'd as far as *Laſſington* Hill, in Expectation of hearing from *Backhouſe* that he was ready to admit them into the Place, but no News coming they miſtruſted *Backhouſe* had diſcover'd the Plot and retreated to *Newent*.

Col. Skippon *takes* Grafton. Major General *Skippon* with about 1000 Foot, a Party of Horſe, and four Pieces of Ordnance march'd from *Newport Pagnel* to *Grafton Regis*, where the King's Forces had a ſtrong Garriſon in a Houſe of the Lady *Crane*'s. After three Days Siege the Governor Sir *John Digby* deſir'd a Parley, and agreed to ſurrender. The Garriſon were all made Priſoners, and among them Sir *John Digby*, Major *Brookband*, Captain *Clarke*, Captain *Longfield*, Captain *Butler*, 80 Troopers, 100 Foot, three Miniſters, and ſeveral Gentlemen that came thither Voluntiers. Major *Brookband* having formerly deſerted the Parliament's Service was try'd by a Council of War, condemn'd, and ſhot to Death about *Chriſtmas*.

Sir Alexander Carew's *Deſign to betray* Plymouth. The Parliament having received Information of a Correſpondence between Sir *Alexander Carew*, Governor of *Plymouth*, and Sir *John Berkley*, who commanded under Prince *Maurice* in *Exeter*, had taken Order for apprehending him, but the Soldiers of *Plymouth* Garriſon having Intimation of the Governor's Treachery ſeiz'd him, and ſent him up to *London* in *September*; when Colonel *James Woodlace* was appointed to command there in Chief: He embark'd at *Portſmouth*, together with Colonel *Gould* and 600 Soldiers to reinforce that Garriſon, and he had not been many Days at *Plymouth* before he ſurpriz'd the Royaliſts Guards at *Howe*, took Captain *Slowly*, an Enſign, and 52 Soldiers. The Garriſon had for ſome Time been blockt up by the Royaliſts, who took a Fort called *Mount Stamford* upon Articles. The Town was much ſtreighten'd and terrify'd by it. However, the Garriſon and Townſmen were ſo faithful to the Parliament that they all took an Oath to defend the Place to the utmoſt Extremity. The Gentlemen of the King's Party who lay before the Town ſent a Summons; which was ſign'd by *John Digby*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Peter Killegrew*, *John Wagſtaff*, *Jonathan Trelawny*, *R. Prideaux*, *John Arundel*, *Thomas Monk*, *William Arundel*, *John Downing*, *Thomas Stukely*; with Offers of Pardon, and Security for Perſons and Eſtates, if the Mayor and Governor would ſurrender, but they return'd no Anſwer, and the Royaliſts continu'd the Siege, which was commanded by Prince *Maurice*, whoſe Forces took the Town Guard at *Lazy Point*, and in it 6 Pieces of Ordnance. There happen'd other Skirmiſhes, as that at *Lypſon Work* and *Lare Point*, in which 100 Cavaliers were driven into the Mud, and moſt of them either taken, ſtifled or drowned, though not without conſiderable Loſs to the Beſieg'd. The Batteries of the Beſiegers were ſo counterbatter'd from the Works that their Men could not ſtand to their Guns, and did little Execution, ſo that after a tedious, fruitleſs Siege, Prince *Maurice* was forc'd to abandon it. The Prince had taken *Lyme* and *Dartmouth* by the ſame Means as he hop'd to take *Plymouth*, the Treachery of thoſe that had the Keeping of them.

Mr. Pym's *Death and Character.* The greateſt Loſs the Parliament met with this Year, was by the Death of that great Senator and Patriot *John Pym*, Eſq; who for his eminent Qualities, Wiſdom, Courage, Learning, Zeal and Conſtancy, deſerv'd every Man's good Word. He had the Spirit of *Cato*, and the Eloquence of *Tully*. *Curtius* lov'd not his Country, nor *Brutus* Liberty better than Mr. *Pym*: He wore himſelf out in the Cauſe of both, and carry'd to his Grave, the Reſpect, Love and Eſteem of every good *Engliſh* Man, and good Proteſtant; yet the Picture the Earl of *Clarendon* has drawn of him is more ugly and deform'd than that of *Cerberus*. To crown it, he affirms Mr. *Pym* dy'd of the *Lowſy Diſeaſe*, which is well known to be as falſe as that he did die is true. *Whitlocke* tells us, *The Multitude of Buſineſs and Cares ſo broke his Spirits, that it brought his Death.* *Ruſhworth* ſpeaks of it thus, *Whereas it is reported he died of that loathſome Diſeaſe, the ſame was not true, and for publick Satisfaction herein his Corpſe was expos'd to the View of many Hundreds.* *Ludlow* ſays the ſame. And *Echard* owns, that the Abuſe on his Memory is not true, but the Lord *Clarendon* is poſitive in that falſe Abuſe againſt them all. A. D. 1643. Clarendon *wrong*.

We have mentioned the Ordinance for raiſing the general Contribution this Year, and there paſt another Ordinance for ſequeſtring the Eſtates of Delinquents, as were all who were then in Arms againſt the Parliament, againſt which the King, as uſual, publiſh'd a *Proclamation*, which had no more Effect than his *offer of Pardon* to the REBELS, now in Arms under the Earl of *Eſſex*, or any other Proclamations. There was one againſt the *Oppreſſion of the Clergy*, which was intended to prevent the Proceedings of the Committee for ejecting *ſcandalous Miniſters*; but they went on, and ſo did the Parliament notwithſtanding another Proclamation not to obey their *Votes, Orders and Ordinances*. This Proclamation had alſo an offer of Pardon in it, with the Exceptions already mention'd. Another Proclamation was publiſh'd at *Oxford*, forbidding People to trade with *London*, which had as much Effect as if it had forbidden them to eat and drink. *Powerful Proclamations.*

It is neceſſary for both Writer and Reader to diveſt themſelves of all Paſſions, and to write and read with the moſt determin'd Serenity of Mind, or 'tis impoſſible not to be ruffled at the following Incident, the moſt ſurprizing and terrifying they ever met with; though the bare telling it has theſe Effects, yet one cannot paſs it over without ſome Remark.

His Majeſty being ready to receive the Sacrament from the Hands of the Lord Archbiſhop *Uſher*, at *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, riſing up from his Knees, and beckoning to the Archbiſhop for a ſhort Forbearance, ſaid,

My Lord,

I eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, *who may declare to the World the Reſolution I do now make. I have to the utmoſt of my Power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver. And may I ſo receive Comfort by the bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the Eſtabliſhment of the true Reformed* Proteſtant *Religion, as it ſtood in its Beauty in the happy Days of Queen* Elizabeth, *without any Connivance at Popery. I bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions I have ſtill liberty to communicate, and may this* Sacrament *be my* DAMNATION *if my Heart does not joyn with my Lips in this Proteſtation:* King's Proteſtation before the Sacrament

And the very next Day was Peace given to the bloody *Iriſh* REBELS by the *Ceſſation* then agreed on at *Oxford*. See his Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Dec.* 15, 1644. ſpeaking of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, gives my Lord *Muskerry* and *Plunket my particular Thanks. Their Nation in general, and this in particular, ſhall have Comfort in it. And to ſhew that this is more than Words, I do hereby promiſe them, that the penal* MS. Fr.

Laws

A. D. 1643.

Laws and Statutes ſhall not be put in Execution; and if they aſſiſt me, &c. *I will conſent to the Repeal of them by a Law*; inſtead of *conniving*, this is Encouraging with a Witneſs. In another Letter of the 9th of *January* following he calls the *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, the *firſt War*, and the *Civil War* in *England* the *Rebellion*. In another of the 27th of *February*, 1644. he will conſent *to the preſent taking away of the* Penal Laws *againſt* Papiſts.

Ruſhworth, 978, 979.

I thought to have remark'd on this aſtoniſhing Incident, but it will not bear it: There's the Fact; and the Reflection upon it is but too plain.

Judge Barkley *fin'd.*

In *September* this Year, that buſy Medler in the Ship Money Grievance, Judge *Berkley*, was fin'd 20,000 Pounds, to be incapacitated for Places and Honours, and impriſon'd in the *Tower* during Pleaſure. An Ordinance paſſed about the ſame Time for ſeizing the King and Queen's and Princes Revenues, and for appointing a Committee to raiſe Money for the Defence and Preſervation of the County of *Northampton*. Sir *John Dryden*, Sir *Chriſtopher Yelverton*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Rowland St. John*, Sir *Edward Nichols*, Sir *John Norwich*, Sir *Humphry Orme*, Sir *Richard Samwell*, Sir *Samuel Danvers*, *Edward Montagu*, Eſq; *William Fitz Williams*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; *John Cartwright*, Eſq; *Zouch Tate*, Eſq; *Richard Knightly*, Eſq; *John Blencoe*, Eſq; *Edward Farmer*, Eſq; *Edward Hanbury*, Eſq; *John Claypool*, Eſq; *Robert Mildmay*, Eſq; *Edward Bagſhaw*, Eſq; *Richard Knightley* of *Fawſley*, Eſq; *Edward Shuckburgh*, Eſq; *John Norton*, Eſq; *Richard Samwell*, Eſq; *John Barnard*, Eſq; *Edward Harbey*, Eſq; *Edward Only*, Eſq; *Philip Holman*, Eſq; *John Wirley*, Eſq; *William Liſle*, Eſq; *Thomas Elmes*, Eſq; *Francis Quarles*, Eſq;

Northamtonſhire *Committee.*

King's Commiſſioners for Nottingham *and* Lincolnſhire.

As ſeveral Counties aſſociated for the Parliament, and had their Committees to manage the Affairs there: So did the King appoint Commiſſioners in thoſe Counties where his Power prevailed, as theſe for *Nottinghamſhire* and *Lincolnſhire*, out of which had been ſqueez'd 200000 Pounds by them, in little more than a Year. Lord *Chaworth*, *J. Cobham*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *Edward Huſſey*, Sir *Robert Markham*, Sir *William Thorold*, *Charles Huſſey*, Eſq; *Ger. Nevile*, Eſq; *Anthony Eyre*, Eſq; *Roger Cooper*, Eſq; *Thomas Holden*, Eſq; *Hugh Cartwright*, Eſq; *Robert Tredwey*, Eſq; *John Burrell*, Eſq; *Edmund Thorold*, Eſq; *Thomas Harrington*, Eſq; *Chr. Berisforde*, Eſq; We have obſerv'd how his Majeſty valu'd himſelf on the Number and Weight of the Gentry. The Reader will better judge of it by comparing the Committee of the ſingle County of *Northampton* with the Commiſſioners of the two Counties of *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*.

Ruſhw. 306.

Brook *and* Riley's *Plot.*

About the latter End of the Year there was diſcover'd a chimerical Deſign carry'd on by Sir *Baſil Brook*, Treaſurer for the Papiſts. One *Read*, an Officer among the *Iriſh* Rebels, taken Priſoner at *Dublin*, ſent to *England* and impriſon'd in the *King's Bench*, *Thomas Vilet*, a Goldſmith, his Fellow Priſoner, and *Theophilus Riley*, Scout Maſter General of the City Militia, by whoſe help *Reed* and *Vilet* got their Liberty by Exchange. The Deſign was to procure a Treaty between the King and the City, excluſive of the Parliament, the Preliminaries *to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, pay the publick Debts, and a general Pardon on both ſides. Digby*, that eternal Contriver of fruitleſs Conſpiracies, manag'd this. *Vilet*, the broken Goldſmith, got to *Oxford*, and confer'd with the King; and when he return'd to *London*, diſcloſing the Matter to Sir *David Watkins*, the latter diſcover'd it to the Parliament, who order'd *Brook* and *Riley* to be committed cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower*, of which *Iſaac Penington*, Eſq; Lord Mayor, was appointed Governor, and *Vilet* to ſome other Priſon.

A. D. 1643.

I chuſe to begin the Year according to the common Computation, at the the firſt of *January*, for that it is not only more Hiſtorical, but is better known than the Computation from the 25th of *March*, which is more peculiar to *Law* and *Traffick*.

1644.

The *Scots* had all Things in Readineſs to enter *England* with the New Year. Their Army conſiſted of 18000 Foot, 3000 Horſe, and 600 Dragoons, commanded by

Scots *Army.*

The Earl of *Leven*, General.
John Bayley, Lieutenant General.
David Leſley, Major General of the Horſe.
Sir *Alexander Hamilton*, General of the Artillery.

Colonels of Foot.

Earl of *Caſſils*, *William Steuart*, Earl of *Lindſay*, Sir *Patrick Hepburne*, Lord *Cowper*, Earl of *Loudon*, Lord *Maitland*, Sir *David Home*, Lord *Levingſton*, Earl of *Buccleugh*, *James Rae*, Earl of *Dumfernlyn*, Sir *Alexander Hamilton*, Lord *Gask*, Earl of *Lothian*, *Douglas* of *Kelhead*, Lord *Dunhope*, Maſter of *Yeſter*, Earl Marſhal, *Arthur Eykin*, Lord *Sinclar*.

Colonels of Horſe.

His Excellency the Earl of *Leven*, Major General *David Leſley*, Earl of *Eglinton*, Lord *Kirkhubright*, Earl of *Dalhouſy*, Lord *Balcarras*, *Michael Welden*, Lord *Gordon*, Marquiſs of *Argyle*.

Dragoons.

Colonel *Freiſer*.

Among the inferior Officers were ſeveral Perſons of Quality, as Sir *George Douglas*, Sir *John Browne*, Sir *Robert Adaire*, &c. The Army began their March in the Middle of *January*, when the Snow was Knee deep. The General was attended by *Committees* of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Parliaments, and enter'd *England* the 19th of *January*, when the Committees wrote a Letter to Sir *Thomas Glenham*, Col. *Gray*, and the reſt of the Commanders and Gentlemen of the County of *Northumberland*, inviting them to concur with them in the Defence of the *true reformed Religion*, which was in danger by a Popiſh and Prelatical *Faction*. Sir *Thomas Glenham*, in his Anſwer declared, *If they meant the Common Prayer, and the nine and thirty Articles* by the *true reform'd Religion, he and his Friends were ready to defend them with their Blood.* How illuminated their Zeal was. *Otherwiſe they would not ſuffer themſelves to be made Slaves without Oppoſition.*

Newcaſtle *ſummon'd.*

On the 3d of *February* General *Leven* came before *Newcaſtle*, into which Place the Marquis of that Name had thrown himſelf; and the Committees ſent the Marquis of *Argyle*, and Sir *William Armine*, with a Summons to the Mayor and Aldermen, who anſwer'd, *That the King's Governor being there, the Power was in him; but if he was not, they would venture their Lives and Fortunes for the King's Honour*, to which they ſet their Names. *John Morley*, Mayor, *Nicholas Cole*, *Thomas Lyddel*, *Lionel Maddiſon*, *Alexander Daviſon*, *Mark Milbank*, *Francis Bowes*, *Francis Anderſon*, *Henry Maddiſon*, *Ralph Cock*, *Leonard Carr*, *Robert Shaftoe*, *Cuthbert Car*, *Ralph Grey*, *John Emerſon*, Dr. *Rowcaſtle*, *Charles Clarke*.

The *Scots* were not willing to waſte their Time before this Town: So they paſt the *Tyne* at

A. D. 1644. at *Ovingham*, *Bydwell*, and *Altringham*. From thence they march'd to the *Darwent*, and paſt that River at *Ebcheſter*. *March* the Second they paſt the River *Weare* near *Lumley* Caſtle, and on the Fourth enter'd *Sunderland*. The Marquis of *Newcaſtle* being join'd by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Colonel *Fenwick*, and others, made up an Army of 14000 Horſe and Foot, with which he ſecur'd *Durham*. The *Scots* took *South Shields*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bellantine*, of the General's Regiment, ſurpriz'd a Troop of the Marquiſſes Horſe at *Cheſter* on the *Street*, near which Place *Newcaſtle* drew up his Army, and the *Scots* did the like on a Hill towards the Sea: Both Armies fac'd each other, and there happen'd ſome Skirmiſhes with alternate Succeſs. The Marquis return'd to *Durham*, and the *Scots* march'd to *Quarendon* Hill within two Miles of it, where we muſt leave them awhile to ſee what paſſes at *Oxford* and *Weſtminſter*.

The Mongrel Parliament at Oxford. The King ſummon'd the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, as well thoſe who had been expell'd for Miſdemeanors as thoſe who out of Cowardice or Bigotry, had deſerted their Duty at *Weſtminſter* to meet him at *Oxford*, the 22d of *January*, to ſhew, as he ſaid in his Proclamation, how far the major Part of both Houſes were from approving of the Proceedings of the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter*, and in Order to this, there was a Meeting of 118 Members of the Houſe of Commons at *Oxford*, who were to let the World ſee they were the major Vote to 222, then aſſembled in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel. The Lords at *Oxford* ſent a Letter to the *Conſervators of the Peace in* Scotland to proteſt againſt the *Invitation* made by the Parliament of *England* for the *Scots* Army to come to their Aſſiſtance, and the *Conſervators of the Peace* ſent them the ſolemn League and Covenant for an Anſwer.

The Names of the Lords and Commons aſſembled at Oxford, *called by King* Charles *the Firſt, his* Mongrel Parliament.

Peers.

Prince *Charles*, Duke of *York*, Duke of *Cumberland*, Lord *Littleton*, C. S. Lord *Cottington*, L. H. T. Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Leiceſter*, Earl of *Carliſle*, Earl of *Briſtol*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, Earl of *Cleveland*, Earl *Rivers*, Earl of *Dover*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Earl of *Kingſton*, Earl of *Newport*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord Viſcount *Conway*, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Mowbray*, Lord *Went-worth*, Lord *Cromwel*, Lord *Rich*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *Chandos*, Lord *Howard* of Charlton, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Savile*, Lord *Mohun*, Lord *Dunſmore*, Lord *Piercy*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Wilmot*, Lord *Hatton*, Lord *Jermin*, Lord *Carrington*.

Commoners.

John Fettiplace, Eſq; Sir *Alexander Denton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Francis Gamul*, Eſq; *John Harris*, Eſq; *Joſ. Jane*, Eſq; *Richard Edgecomb*, Eſq; *Jonathan Raſhleigh*, Eſq; *George Fane*, Eſq; *Peter Edgecomb*, Eſq; *William Glanville*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Holburn*, Sir *Ralph Sydenham*, *Francis Godolphin*, Eſq; *George Parry*, L. L. D. *Ambroſe Manaton*, Eſq; *Richard Vivian*, Eſq; *John Polewheele*, Eſq; Sir *John Arundel*, Eſq; *Thomas Lower*, Eſq; *Edw. Hyde*, Eſq; *Will. Alleſtree*, Eſq; Sir *George Stonehouſe*, *Edward Seymour*, Eſq; *Peter Saint Hill*, Eſq; Sir *William Poole*, *Roger Matthew*, Eſq; *Richard Arundel*, Eſq; *Robert Walker*, Eſq; *Henry Killegrew*, Eſq; *John Dutton*, Eſq; *Henry Brett*, Eſq; *William Chadwell*, Eſq; Sir *Theobald George*, Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, *Humf. Coningsby*, Eſq; *Richard Seaborn*, Eſq; *Arthur* Lord *Ranelagh*, *Thomas Tompkins*, Eſq; Sir *Sampſon Evers*, Sir *John Colepepyr*, Sir *John Meux*, *Matthew Davis*, Eſq; *Thomas Jermin*, Eſq; *John Taylor*, Eſq; *Thomas Hanham*, Eſq; *Edward Phillips*, Eſq; *John Digby*, Eſq; *Chriſtopher Kirton*, Eſq; *Edward Lewknor*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Alford*, Sir *James Thynne*, *Andrew Porter*, Eſq; *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; *John Bodville*, Eſq; *William Morgan*, Eſq; *William Thomas*, Eſq; *John Moſtyn*, Eſq; *Thomas Cooke*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Crooke*, *Herbert Price*, Eſq; *John Whiſler*, Eſq; *Giles Strangways*, Eſq; Sir *John Strangways*, Sir *Thomas Heln*, Sir *George Rappier*, *Samuel Turner*, M. D. *William Conſtantine*, Eſq; Sir *John Harriſon*, *Jeffery Palmer*, Eſq; *Thomas Fanſhaw*, Eſq; Sir *Roger Palmer*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, *William Watkins*, Eſq; *John Smith*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Bludder*, Sir *Edward Littleton*, Sir *Harvey Baggot*, Sir *Richard Leviſon*, Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Richard Lee*, Sir *Thomas Whitmore*, Sir *Edward Acton*, *Richard Weſton*, Eſq; *C. Baldwyn*, Eſq; *R. Goodwyn*, Eſq; *Thomas Howard*, Eſq; *Thomas Littleton*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Howard*, Sir *Francis Cornwallis*, *William Baſſett*, Eſq; Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Edward Rodney*, *John White*, Eſq; *John Aſhburnham*, Eſq; *William Smith*, Eſq; *Thomas Leeds*, Eſq; *Robert Hyde*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Griffin*, Sir *Walter Smith*, *Henry Bellaſis*, Eſq; Sir *George Went-worth*, *William Malory*, Eſq; *Richard Alburgh*, Eſq; *John Salisbury*, Eſq; *William Herbert*, Eſq; *William Price*, Eſq; Sir *John Price*, Sir *Richard Herbert*, *Charles Price*, Eſq; *Philip Warwick*, Eſq;

I do not mention the other Members who were abſent in Service or with Leave, becauſe there were Members of the Houſe of Commons in the ſame Circumſtances on the Parliament ſide, and had all thoſe other Members been at *Oxford*, thoſe at *Weſtminſter* would have been a very great Majority. Some of the *Oxford* Members, as *Digby*, *Jermyn*, *Piercy*, lay under Impeachments of High Treaſon; very many of them had been regularly expell'd for Delinquency, or for Deſertion, or for being Monopolizers; and having no Seat in the other Senate, were glad to ſit in a *Mongrel* One. Had they been all together, they were but 175, and there were at *Weſtminſter*, as by our laſt Tale, 222; yet *Echard*, an admirable Teller, aſſures us the 175 were ſuperior in Number to the 222. *It exceeded the other in Number*. This Aſſembly conſiſting of upper and lower Houſes, had, with great Formality, their two Speakers; the Lord *Littleton* for the Lords, and Serjeant *Evers* for the Commons. The firſt Work they went upon, was to write a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, to conjure him to procure a Treaty. But he excus'd himſelf, for that they had made no Addreſs to the two Houſes, whoſe Privileges he and his Army were reſolv'd to maintain at the Expence of their Blood. He alſo ſent them the ſolemn League and Covenant. They then got the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General, to write a Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, for a ſafe Conduct for two Gentlemen, whom the King would ſend to the Parliament concerning a Treaty. *Eſſex* anſwer'd, *That when his Majeſty deſir'd a ſafe Conduct, he would ſhew his Willingneſs to further any Way that Happineſs which honeſt Men pray'd for*; upon which, the King ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes, with a Preamble that was ſure to render it ineffectual.

A. D. 1644.

fectual, *by the Advice of the Lords and Commons of* Parliament *aſſembled at* Oxford, propoſing a Treaty; but the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* took Exceptions at his Majeſty's putting thoſe Deſerters, Delinquents, Monopolizers, and expell'd Men, on an equal Foot with themſelves; and if the *Oxford* Counſellers really intended Peace by this Step towards it, their Wiſdom did not appear much in ſtarting this Difficulty, which they could not but know, with a moderate Knowledge of Things, would never be gotten over. For the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* would as ſoon have treated with a Convocation as with the Aſſembly at *Oxford*, whoſe main Buſineſs was to raiſe Money if they could, tho' every Penny that was taken by Virtue of any Act of theirs was a downright Robbery. They endeavour'd to ſoften it by terming their Act a Letter, to which their two Speakers ſet their Hands. It was directed to ſuch Perſons as they thought were able and willing to lend a certain Sum mention'd in that Letter. They began with themſelves, and wrote Letters to one another, by which a conſiderable Sum of Money was collected, and 'tis certain the King had not without it been able to take the Field the next Campaign. They alſo laid an Exciſe upon Wine, Beer, Ale, Cyder, Perry, Grocery, Drugs, *&c.* as the Parliament had done by an Ordinance; which Exciſe was high enough, as

Exciſe.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For every Pound of Tobacco *not of the* Engliſh *Plantations*	00	02	00
For every Pound of Tobacco *of the* Engliſh *Plantations*	00	00	04
For every Ton of Wine *imported*	05	00	00
For all Strong Waters *every Gallon*	00	00	08
For every Barrel of Ale *at the Brewers*	00	02	00
For every Barrel of Ale *home-brew'd*	00	01	00
For every Hogſhead of Cyder *or* Perry *for Sale*	00	02	00
For every Hogſhead of Cyder *or* Perry *for Private Uſe*	00	01	00
Grocery, Drugs, Mercery, Wrought Silks, Linnen, Haberdaſhery, Upholſtry, Paper, Skins, Glaſſes, *and* Earthen Ware, *for every Twenty Shillings Value*	00	01	00
Raw Silks, *for every Twenty Shillings Value*	00	00	06
Silks *in the Gum*	00	00	09
Soap *imported, for every Twenty Shillings Value*	00	01	06
Soap *made in* England, *the beſt, for every Firkin*	00	00	10
——*Second Sort*	00	00	09
——*Worſt Sort*	00	00	08
All Foreign Salt, Salt *for* Fiſh *excepted, for every Gallon*	00	00	01
All Britiſh Salt, Salt *for* Fiſh *excepted, for every Gallon*	00	00	00½
Beefs, Muttons, Veals, Porks, Lambs, *and other Butcher's Meat, for every Twenty Shillings Value*	00	01	00
Every Rabbet	00	00	00½
Pigeons, *for every Dozen*	00	00	01

Commiſſioners of the Exciſe.

John Towſe, Eſq; Alderman *of London*, *Thomas Foot*, Eſq; Alderman of *London*, *John Kendricke*, Eſq; Alderman of *London*, *Thomas Cullum*, Eſq; Alderman of *London*, *Simon Edmonds* of *London*, Eſq; *John Lamot* of *London*, Eſq; *Edward Claxton* of *London*, Eſq; *John Langham*, Eſq; one of the Sheriffs of the City of *London*.

Auditors of the Exciſe

Thomas Falconbridge, Eſq; *William Bond*, Eſq;

A. D. 1644.

I have not ſeen the *Oxford* Exciſe Act, but I ſuppoſe it to be very much like this, which the Cavaliers had exclaim'd againſt as a Burthen that in a Year or two would break all the Backs in *England*. The *Mongrel* Parliament voted alſo, that the *Scots* and all who aſſiſted them were TRAYTORS. They had got two Names amongſt them, REBELS and TRAYTORS, and they made the moſt they could of them. Tho' the King could not get them to vote that the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament at *Weſtminſter* were no Parliament, which he earneſtly preſs'd them to do; yet he got theſe Votes out of them, and the Reader will eaſily judge of what Uſe they were to him; That the Lords and Commons *who conſented to the raiſing an Army under the Command of the Earl of* Eſſex, *are guilty of* High Treaſon; That *the* Lords *and* Commons *who conſented to the making of a new* Great Seal *are guilty of* High Treaſon; That *the* Lords *and* Commons *who invited in the* Scots *are guilty of* High Treaſon; That *the* Lords *and* Commons *ought to be proceeded againſt as* TRAYTORS, *and hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd*; and, That *all his Majeſty's Offers of Peace had been refus'd by them.* The Two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* publiſh'd a Declaration, ſhewing why they could not accept of the Overtures made from *Oxford* for a Treaty, wherein they ſay, "As it hath always been and "ever ſhall be our earneſt and faithful Endea- "vours to put an End to the Troubles and dan- "gerous Diſtempers of this Kingdom, by a hap- "py and well-grounded Peace; ſo is it our ſet- "tled Reſolution, in Diſcharge of the Truſt re- "poſed in us, never to purchaſe it with the Loſs "and Ruin of our Religion and Liberty, having "before our Eyes the ſad Spectacle of that wo- "ful Kingdom of *Ireland*, which, after the ſpil- "ling of ſo much innocent Blood in Defence of "the *Proteſtant Religion*, is under the falſe "Gloſs of *Peace*, ſubjected and brought under "the Power of Popery and Superſtition; and "thoſe BLOODY REBELS having effected "their Ends in that Kingdom, are brought over "hither to bring us under the ſame Yoke, *&c.*

Iriſh *Rebels come into* England.

Some of thoſe *bloody Rebels* came from *Ireland* with Forces under *Monk*, who had engag'd in the Parliament Service againſt them, had now betray'd his Truſt, and brought over thoſe very Men he had commanded for the Parliament to fight againſt them. But we ſhall find that he betray'd every Power that employ'd him, except *Cromwell*. *Monk* made a Shew at firſt of being ſenſible of the Treachery of his quitting the Parliament's Service, and bringing over their own Soldiers to deſtroy them. The Marquis of *Ormond* was jealous of him, and put him in Priſon, but it was all Affectation. A ſhort Confinement conquer'd all his Scruples, and he with other *Engliſh* Officers, and 3 or 4000 Soldiers, landed at *Cheſter*, and join'd the Lord *Byron*'s Army before *Nantwich*, which it had ſtorm'd in five ſeveral Places, but was beaten off with the Loſs of Lieutenant-Colonel *Bolton* and Captain *Sandford*, the Bully of *Byron*'s Army, who ſent a Summons to the Townſmen, threatning Man, Woman and Child with Wounds and Death, Sword and Fire. The gallant Defence of the Town gave Sir *Thomas Fairfax* an Opportunity to come up to its Releaſe. On the 21ſt of *January* Sir *Thomas* began his March from *Manchеſter* with 2500 Foot and 1400 Horſe. The Enemy's Forces were about 3000 Foot and 1800 Horſe. *Fairfax*'s Troops met a Party of theirs on *Delamere* Foreſt, and took 30 Priſoners. About ſix Miles further 200 of them maintain'd a Paſs, which Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Men, commanded

Monk *deſerts the Service againſt the* Iriſh *Rebels.*

Siege of Nantwyche *rais'd by Sir* T. Fairfax.

A. D. 1644. manded by Col. *Morgan*, forc'd. As he was marching between *Acton* and *Nantwyche*, the Cavaliers paſs'd the River and fell upon his Rear, where were Col. *Holland*'s and Col. *Booth*'s Regiments, while another Body of the Enemy charg'd them in Front, and were oppos'd by Sir *William Brereton* and Col. *Aſhton*, who with Col. *Lambert* and Major *Copley* did very good Service. The Beſieg'd at the ſame Time made a Sally with 800 Men: The Horſe under Sir *William Fairfax* was expos'd to great Danger to encourage the Foot, tho' the Lanes were ſo narrow they could afford little Help. The Fight was very ſmart for above two Hours, and then the Royaliſts gave Ground. The Parliament's Forces drove their Foes to *Acton* Church, where they were *caught as in a Trap*, as Sir *Thomas Fairfax* wrote the Earl of *Eſſex*, and yielded themſelves Priſoners, with all their chief Officers, Arms, Colours, and Ammunition. Their Horſe retreated in better Order towards *Cheſter* without much Loſs. Of the Parliament's Forces not above 50 were ſlain; of the King's above 200; and the following Liſt of Priſoners was ſent to the Lord-General *Eſſex*: Major-General *Gibſon*, Sir *Michael Ernley*, Sir *Richard Fleetwood*, Col. *Monk*, Col. *Warren*, Sir *Francis Butler* Lieutenant-Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel *Gibbs* an *Iriſh* REBEL, Major *Hammond*, 14 Captains, 20 Lieutenants, 26 Enſigns, 2 Cornets, 2 Muſter-Maſters, Sir *Ralph Done*, Mr. *Sherlocke* Chaplain to a Regiment, 41 Serjeants, 40 Drums, 4 Cannoneers, 22 Colours, 1500 Common Soldiers, 6 Pieces of Ordnance, whereof 5 Braſs, 20 Carriages, and ſeveral Waggons; 120 Women that follow'd the Camp, of whom many had long Knives, with which they were ſaid to have done Miſchief. Col. *Monk* and Col. *Warren* were ſent to *Hull*, and from thence to *London*, where they were impriſon'd in the *Tower*. *Monk* ſome Time after engag'd with the Parliament again, and after with *Cromwell* againſt them, and after that with the Parliament again, and after that with the King's Son againſt them, and had all this Treachery with as little Capacity as ever Man had who pretended to be a General and an Admiral.

Lord Byron *routed.*

Monk.

More Iriſh *Rebels in* England.

Some of the Forces ſent from *Ireland*, with *Iriſh* Rebels among them, landed in the *Weſt*, and were order'd to reduce *Warder* Caſtle in *Wiltſhire*, where Major, afterwards General *Ludlow* commanded; but the Majority of theſe Forces had not forgot their Religion and their Country ſo ſhamefully as thoſe under *Monk* and others; for underſtanding that the Governor was a *Proteſtant*, and that his Government was to fall into the Hands of a *Papiſt* if the Caſtle was taken, they refus'd to be employ'd againſt it.

Warder *Caſtle.*

Langhorn *Governor of* Pembroke

Col. *Rowland Langhorn*, who was Governor of *Pembroke* for the Parliament, was very much ſtreighten'd by the Garriſons which the Earl of *Carberry*, his Majeſty's Lieutenant in that Part of *South Wales*, had put into *Tenby* and *Haverford Weſt*; but upon the Arrival of Capt. *Swanley* with a Squadron of Ships and Supplies of Ammunition, *Langhorn* taking with him 200 Seamen, ſally'd out of *Pembroke*, and took *Stackpool* Houſe, belonging to Mr. *Lort*, and garriſon'd it for the King. Some Days after he march'd to *Treffloin*, another garriſon'd Houſe, which he took, and in it about 40 Horſe and 150 Foot. He then paſs'd over to *Rouſe* Side, and attack'd the Fort at the *Pill*, in which he was aſſiſted by Capt. *Swanley*, upon the firing of whoſe Guns the Garriſon cry'd out *Quarter*. Here were taken Mr. *John Barlow* Maſter of the Ordnance, 5 Captains, 24 Pieces of Cannon, and 300 Common Soldiers. The Cloſe of this Expedition was merry, for Sir *Henry Vaughan*, who lay with 300 Horſe and Foot at *Haverford Weſt*, had order'd a ſtrict Watch for Intelligence if the Enemy approach'd nearer; and one *Wheeler* a Grazier having a Drove of Cattle feeding on the Hills, they happen'd in the Evening to graze ſomewhat nearer the Town, upon which the *Strict Watch* cry'd out *The Roundheads are coming*, and Sir *Henry Vaughan* and his Party immediately quitted the Town, leaving behind him 10 Pieces of Ordnance and Store of Proviſions, which Col. *Langhorn* took Poſſeſſion of, and a few Days after attack'd *Tenby*, which was bravely defended by Commiſſary *Gwyn*; but a great Part of the Town being beaten down by *Langhorn*'s Battery, he ſtorm'd and took it, putting very few to the Sword; an Inſtance of Generoſity not to be met with on the Part of the Royaliſts in the whole Courſe of this unnatural War. Col. *David Gwyn*, High Sheriff of the County of *Pembroke*, and about 300 Soldiers, were made Priſoners, their Arms taken, and ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance. With the Reduction of this Town and *Carew* Caſtle, all *Pembrokeſhire* fell under the Command of the Parliament.

A. D. 1644.

Sir Henry Vaughan *and the Drove of Cattle.*

Colonel *Haſtings* in *Leiceſterſhire* carry'd on the War for the King with great Safety and Glory, for hearing that about 200 Miniſters, Church Wardens, and other Officers of that County, were repairing to *Leiceſter* to take the *Covenant*, he lay in wait for them about *Ditton* and *Lutterworth*, took near 100 of them, and carry'd them Priſoners to *Hinckley*, which the Garriſon of *Leiceſter* hearing of, a Party of them march'd away immediately, fell upon *Haſtings*'s Quarters in the Night, routed his Soldiers, reſcu'd all the Miniſters and their Companions, took 50 of the Cavaliers, 150 Horſes, with ſome Arms and Ammunition. About the ſame Time, the latter end of *March*, there was an Action at *Newark* which was much for the King's Advantage. The Commiſſioners for *Nottinghamſhire* and *Lincolnſhire* before mention'd, ſent a Remonſtrance to *Oxford* of the Diſtreſs and Danger they and that Town were in, unleſs Relief was ſpeedily ſent them, who being Perſons of Condition, their Memorial had ſo much Weight as to procure Aſſiſtance under Prince *Rupert*, who came unexpectedly upon the Parliament's Forces before that Town, commanded by Sir *John Meldrum*, who had no Time to prepare to receive him, yet Colonel *Roſiter*, Major *Lilburne*, Captain *Bethel* and Captain *Hunt*, gallantly charg'd and routed the Prince's right Wing, led on by himſelf; others of *Meldrum*'s Troops did not play their Parts ſo well, 500 of them deſerted the great Fort before they were aſſaulted, ſecur'd their Arms, and went away to *Lincoln*. Prince *Rupert* had double the Number of *Meldrum*'s Men, and the latter could ill ſpare ſo great a Deſertion; by which Means his Highneſs became Maſter of that Fort, and of the Iſland, where he entrench'd himſelf, and cut off all Proviſions from coming to *Meldrum*, who had *Newark* Garriſon at his Back, and Prince *Rupert*'s Army in Front. In this Extremity the brave *Scot* deſir'd a Parley, and Commiſſioners were appointed to treat on both ſides. For the Prince, Sir *Richard Crane*, and Sir *William Neal*: For *Meldrum*, Sir *Michael Hubbard*, and Sir *John Palgrave*, who agreed that all Cannon, Arms, and Ammunition, ſhould be deliver'd up, the Soldiers to march away *with Swords, Colours and Drums*; *the Officers and their Servants with Arms, Bag and Baggage*; but, contrary to the Articles, their Colours, Swords and Pikes were taken away, which is not worth

Col. Haſtings *for the King takes ſeveral Miniſters, &c.*

Prince Rupert *routs Sir* John Meldrum *near* Newark.

His Succeſſes.

taking

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taking Notice of: For thoſe who were fighting to enſlave their Country Men, could not ſcruple to plunder them. The Parliament loſt here 3000 Muskets, a great Quantity of Piſtols, 11 Braſs Guns, and two Mortar Pieces. In this little Victory there are two or three Falſities, as Mr. Archdeacon tells it. *The Prince's Number was inferior to the Enemy's.* *Ruſhworth* ſays, He had an Army of 7000 Men, and *Meldrum* not half that Number at the Time of raiſing the Siege. *Meldrum*'s Men had *Leave to lay down their Arms.* The Officers and Servants had all their Arms. The Soldiers their Swords, Pikes, Colours and Drums. This Action, as great as it was, is much magnify'd by *Echard*, who ſeems to put it in Ballance with the two Victories obtain'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, at *Nantwyche* and *Selby*, where Sir *John Meldrum* ſoon after reveng'd the Affront he met with at *Newark*.

Sir Thomas Fairfax *defeats Col.* Bellaſis *at* Selby.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having ſpent ſome Days before *Latham* Houſe in *Lancaſhire*, defended by the Counteſs of *Derby*, left Sir *William Fairfax*, Colonel *Aſhton* and Colonel *Rigby*, to carry on the Siege, and himſelf return'd to *Yorkſhire* to obſerve Colonel *John Bellaſis*, afterwards Lord *Bellaſis*, whom the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* had left to command in and about *York*, while himſelf attended the Motions of the *Scots*. After the Junction of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Troops with thoſe under the Lord *Fairfax* his Father, and ſome Forces brought him by Sir *John Meldrum*, they march'd to *Selby*, where they were inform'd Colonel *Bellaſis* lay with 1500 Horſe and 2000 Foot. The two *Fairfax*'s had about the ſame Strength. Their forlorn Hope beat a Party of *Bellaſis*'s Horſe, and follow'd them into *Selby*, and the next Day, *April* the 11th, the Lord *Fairfax* drew out his Army, and attack'd the Town in three Places, himſelf led one Diviſion, Sir *John Meldrum* a ſecond, about a Fortnight after his Retreat from *Newark*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Needham* the third, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with the Horſe being ready to ſupport the Foot. The Cavaliers made a reſolute Defence for two Hours. At length the Lord *Fairfax*'s Troops beat them from the Line, but could not advance further, becauſe of the Horſe within. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* got a Barricado open which let in his Horſe betwixt the Houſes and the River. Here he was encounter'd by the Enemy's Cavalry, who after one Charge fled over a Bridge of Boats to *York*, but another Party of Horſe came and charg'd Sir *Thomas*'s Men again, himſelf was overthrown, being ſingle, a little before his Men, who preſently reliev'd him, and forc'd the Enemy back. Colonel *Bellaſis* was wounded and taken, and the Parliament's Foot entring now on all ſides, the Enemy was entirely defeated. As many as could do it ſav'd themſelves by flight, ſome towards *Cawood*, ſome towards *Pontefract*, and the reſt towards *York*. The Lord *Fairfax*'s Troops purſu'd them every way, and that Lord ſent the Parliament the following Liſt of the Officers taken Priſoners; Colonel *John Bellaſis*, Sir *John Ramſden*, Colonel; Sir *Thomas Strickland*, Lieutenant Colonel *Tyndal*, Lieutenant Colonel *Forbes*, Major *Hasketh*, Major *Wentworth*, Major *Sadlington*, Major *Rogers*, Captain *Horſefield*, Captain *Beverſham*, Captain *Waſhington*, Captain *Grimſton*, Captain *Cholmley*, Captain *Scudamore*, Captain *Williamſon*, Captain *Merrit*, Captain *Turner*, Captain *Skelton*, Captain *Briggs*, Captain *Waterhouſe*, Captain *Kirk*, Captain *Hardcaſtle*, Captain *Liſter*, Captain *Nevil*, Captain *Covers*, Captain Lieutenant *Salvyne*, Captain Lieutenant *Covers*; *Elias Walker*, Maſter of the Magazine, *Richard Ludlow*, Provoſt Marſhal. Serjeants, Trumpets, Drums, four Braſs Ordnance, ſeven Barrels of Powder, 16 Bundles of Match, 2000 Arms, 1600 common Soldiers, many Ships and Boats in the River, all their Bag and Baggage. This Victory was a terrible Blow to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, who before was not ſtrong enough to make Head againſt the *Scots*, and being now apprehenſive that he might be ſhut up between the *Scots* Army, within two Miles of him, and the *Fairfax*'s, he made haſte into *York*. The Earl of *Leven* fell on his Rear, kill'd ſeveral, and took 80 Priſoners. The Marquis arriv'd at *York* a Week after the Rout at *Selby*, and the next Day the *Fairfax*'s join'd the Earl of *Leven* at *Tadcaſter*. But the Marquis having near 5000 Horſe with him, the two Armies when join'd were not ſufficient to inveſt the City of *York* on all Sides, and they durſt not divide themſelves, the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s Horſe being ready to attack that part of them which ſhould be weakeſt on a Diviſion; Thus they were obliged to ſend for the Earl of *Mancheſter* and Lieutenant General *Cromwel* out of the aſſociated Counties. The Earl of *Mancheſter* in his March Northward took *Lincoln* by Storm, and in it Sir *Francis Fane* the Governor, Sir *Charles Dallifon*, Colonel *Middlemore*, Colonel *Bandes*, two Lieutenant Colonels, two Majors, 20 Captains, 700 private Soldiers, 100 Horſe, all their Arms and Ammunition, eight Pieces of Ordnance, with the Loſs only of eight Men. On the King's Side about 50 were kill'd, and the reſt crying out *Quarter* it was given them. Another generous Example, which was never given nor taken on the Part of the Enemy, whoſe Swords had never been drawn, had they been ſenſible of Principles truly generous, the Chief of which is, the Love of one's Country. The Earl of *Mancheſter* laid a Bridge of Boats over the River near *Gainsborough*, to hold Communication with the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Leven*, whom he join'd before *York* the 3d of *June*. The City being now inveſted, a Battery was rais'd near *Walingate* to play upon the Caſtle. On the 6th of *June* the Beſieg'd fir'd moſt Part of the Suburbs, and the Beſiegers endeavouring to quench the Fire a hot Skirmiſh enſu'd, but the latter ſucceeded not in it. There were daily ſuch Skirmiſhes between the Parties on both Sides. The Royaliſts were animated with Hopes of Relief, and the Parliament's Forces with Hopes of putting an End to the War in the *North*, if they could reduce *York* the Capital.

A. D. 1644.

Scots. *Marquis of* Newcaſtle.

Lincoln *taken by Storm.*

E. of Manchester *joins the* Scots *and the* Fairfax's. York *beſieg'd.*

Fairf. *Mem.*

Prince *Rupert* after raiſing the Siege of *Newark* march'd into *Shropſhire* and took *Longford* Houſe, thence he came to *Stopworth* in *Cheſhire*, where the Parliament had a Garriſon, which he alſo reduc'd, and took ſome Hundreds of Priſoners, with their Arms and Ammunition. This Succeſs made the Beſiegers at *Latham* Houſe quit their Enterprize, and Prince *Rupert* with an Army of 10000 Men appear'd before *Bolton*, which Place he attack'd with his wonted Fury, and was repuls'd, but at a ſecond Attack a Party of his Horſe entring the Town at a Place call'd the *private Akers*, which Paſſage is ſuppos'd to have been betray'd to them, every one within the Town began to ſhift for himſelf, and the Prince's Troops ruſh'd in on all Quarters. By what follows out of *Ruſhworth* the Reader will ſee in what Manner the Cavaliers made War in Defence of the LAWS OF THE LAND, THE KNOWN LAWS OF THE LAND, &c. "They put about 1200 to the Sword, purſuing their Victory not only in the Town, but "ſome Miles round, in Out-houſes, Fields, "Highways and Woods, killing, deſtroying and "ſpoiling almoſt all they met, denying Quar-

Prince Rupert's *Motions.*

Takes Bolton.

The Maſſacre there.

A. D. 1644.

" ter, and uſing other Violences, beſides totally " plundering the Town, and ſlaying four Mini- " ſters." This Maſſacre and Robbery were ſo infamous, that the Party who before was hated only, was now abhorr'd, and the Falſity with which Mr. Archdeacon excuſes this *Butchery* adds to the Guilt of it. *The Garriſon had hang'd up one of the Prince's Captains.* Mr. *Ruſhworth* inquir'd into this Matter, and ſays, *As I find not this Captain's Name any where mention'd, ſo the other Party wholly deny'd that Part of the Story.* Colonel *Rigby*, a Member of Parliament, who commanded in *Bolton*, eſcap'd with ſome ſcatter'd Forces to *Bradford* in *Yorkſhire*.

And Leverpool.

Prince *Rupert* advanc'd to *Leverpool*, where Colonel *Moore* was Governor, who finding it was not tenable againſt ſo great a Force, drew off his beſt Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition, and at laſt moſt Part of his Soldiers, and richeſt Goods in the Town, and ſafely conveyed them Aboard the Ships in the *Poole*, after which Prince *Rupert*'s Men enter'd the Place, and being diſappointed of Plunder reveng'd themſelves upon the Inhabitants, and thoſe Soldiers who were left behind, whom they butcher'd. As the Prince march'd to *Blackburn* he was skirmiſh'd with by Colonel *Shuttleworth*, but his Power was too great for ſuch Oppoſition. His Army being increas'd to near 20000, with which he advanc'd to the Relief of the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, who in the mean Time had amus'd the Parliament's Generals with a Treaty to ſurrender *York* upon Articles, till he had Advice of his Highneſs's Approach with ſo powerful an Army.

More Cruelty.

Commiſſioners were appointed on both Sides; for the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* were, the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *Richard Hutton*, Sir *Thomas Mottam*, and Sir *Robert Strickland*. For General *Leſley* were appointed, the Earl of *Lindſey*, and the Lord *Humbee*. For the Lord *Fairfax*, were Sir *William Fairfax*, and Colonel *White*. For the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Colonel *Ruſſel*, and Colonel *Hammond*. A Ceſſation of Arms was agreed upon, and the Place of Treaty a Tent between two Forts. The Marquis's Commiſſioners would not accept of the Conditions offer'd by the Beſiegers, but behav'd with great Haughtineſs, and the Treaty was broken off. On the 16th of *June* Major General *Crawford* ſprung a Mine in the Earl of *Leven*'s Attack, by which a Tower belonging to the Manor near *Botham Bar* was blown up, and in the Fall of it many Town's Men and Women kill'd; 200 *Scots* enter'd at the Breach and took the Manor, but the Garriſon taking the Alarm their Forces flock'd thither from all Parts and ſurrounded the *Scots*, who fought reſolutely as long as their Powder laſted, but were moſt of them kill'd or taken. There were only a few light Skirmiſhes afterwards, and on the firſt of *July* the three Generals drew off their Armies to meet and give Battle to Prince *Rupert* before his Conjunction with the Marquis and the Garriſon of *York*. *Warwick*, whoſe Invention is not ſo good as the Earl of *Clarendon*'s, though his Will is, aſſures us they drew off, not with an Intention to fight him, but out of Fear, and to quit the Siege.

Battle of MARSTON *Moor.*

The Earls of *Mancheſter* and *Leven*, and the Lord *Fairfax*, march'd to *Heſſam Moor*, commonly call'd *Marſton Moor*, and drew up in Battalia, expecting the Prince would have made that his Way to *York*, but his Highneſs, intent on the Relief of the City, caus'd only a Party of his Horſe to face the Enemy on the *Moor*, near a Bridge, where they might at Pleaſure ſecure their Retreat, and in the mean Time himſelf, with about 200 Horſe march'd to *York* on the other Side of the River, but his Foot and Ordnance quarter'd that Night in the Foreſt of *Gortrey*, within five Miles of the City. The Parliamentarians finding themſelves diſappointed, and that the Prince had relieved *York* without fighting, quarter'd that Night at *Long Marſton* and the adjacent Towns, a great part of their Horſe ſtaying on the *Moor*. The next Day they reſolv'd to march to *Tadcaſter*, *Cawood*, and *Selby*, partly to poſſeſs the River, and thereby hinder him from furniſhing *York* with Proviſions out of the *Eaſt Riding*, and partly to obſtruct his March *Southwards*; his Highneſs having ſcarce any other Way left, the Earl of *Denbigh*, and the *Lancaſhire* Forces being advancing from the *Weſt*, whence he came.

A. D. 1644.

Accordingly on the 2d of *July*, the Parliament's Foot and Artillery were commanded to march towards *Tadcaſter*, the *Scots* in the Van, but before they were arriv'd within a Mile of that Town notice was given them, that the Prince with the Van of his Army was come upon *Marſton Moor*, and preſs'd cloſe upon their Rear as if his Reſolution was to draw on a Battle, upon which the Foot and Carriages were order'd back with all ſpeed. The Prince had poſſeſs'd himſelf of ſo much of the *Moor*, and advanc'd ſo near them, that they had not Room enough to draw up there, but were forc'd to do it in a large Field of *Rye*, which being a riſing Ground the Prince ſent a Party to hinder them of that Advantage, but they were beaten back, and the Corn Field poſſeſt by the Parliamentarians, whoſe Pioneers made way to get Ground whereon to extend the Wings of their Army, placing their right Wing juſt by *Marſton* Town ſide, the Town on their right Hand, fronting on the Eaſt, and as their Foot and Horſe came up form'd their Battalia and left Wing, endeavouring to gain as much of the left Point as they could; thus their Army at laſt fronted to the *Moor*, from *Marſton* to *Topwith*, a Mile and half in length. The Prince having part of his Foot behind *Owſe*, was as late as they before he had fully drawn up, but about three a Clock both Armies were pretty well form'd. When the Forces had join'd him out of *York* he had about 14000 Foot and 9000 Horſe, and 25 Pieces of Ordnance, himſelf led the right Wing, conſiſting of 100 Troops, in all 5000 Men; the left Wing of the Royaliſts was led by Sir *Charles Lucas* and Colonel *Hurry*, who had deſerted the Parliament's Service; their main Body was left to the Command of General *Goring*, Major General *Porter*, and Major General *Tellier*. The Marquis of *Newcaſtle* had no general Command, and it is certain he was againſt Fighting, as well as diſguſted at the Prince's coming, and Carriage towards him. He was of Opinion, not to give Battle till Colonel *Clavering* came up with 3000 Foot, which he expected every Day out of the *North*, but his Highneſs declar'd he had a Letter from the King, commanding him to fight the Enemy, and he would not miſs that Opportunity.

The Parliament's three Armies had been ſo diminiſh'd by Detachments into *Lancaſhire*, and other Counties, that when join'd they exceeded not the Prince's in Number, being about 24000 Men Horſe and Foot. The two Armies made near 50000 Men, and the Armies in the Weſt, the Midland Counties, the Forces in the Garriſons, and other Places, were at this Time computed to amount on both Sides to above 100000 Men. The right Wing of the Parliament's Horſe conſiſting of 80 Troops, was commanded

A. D. 1644. by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, being his own, and part of the *Scots* Horſe; their Body was under the Command of the Earl of *Leven* and the Lord *Fairfax*, and their left Wing, conſiſting of about 70 Troops, was commanded by the Earl of *Mancheſter* and his Lieutenant General *Cromwel*. The Prince's Army extending farther in Front than the Parliament's, a Party of *Scottiſh* Dragoons were poſted there under the Command of Colonel *Frizel*. The Field Word given by the Prince was, *God and the King*; that of the Parliament's Army, *God with us*. The Connonading laſted two Hours without conſiderable Execution. About five a Clock there was a general Silence, each Side expecting who ſhould begin the Charge, there being a ſmall Ditch and a Bank between the two Armies, though their Wings were within Piſtol Shot. They continu'd ſo long in this Poſture that it was thought there would have been no Action that Night; but about ſeven a Clock the Parliament's Generals reſolv'd to fall on, and the Signal being given, the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Foot, and the *Scots* of the main Body advanc'd in a running March, ſoon made their way over the Ditch and Bank and gave a ſmart Charge. Prince *Rupert* with his Diviſion of Horſe advanc'd againſt that Diviſion of the Enemy where *Cromwel* was in Perſon, and put him hard to it, his Highneſs having with him his beſt Men, who charg'd *Cromwel*'s both in Flank and Rear, and ſtood at Swords Point a pretty while hacking one another, but at laſt *Cromwel* broke through, and at the ſame Time the reſt of his Horſe of that Wing, and Major General *Leſley*'s Regiments, which behav'd very well, had wholly broken all that right Wing of the Prince's, and were in Chaſe of them beyond their left Wing. Thus we ſee that it was not his Highneſs's too great Intrepidity and Precipitation here which loſt the Victory, as at *Edge-hill* and *Naſeby*. The Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Foot on the right Hand of them went on by their Side almoſt as faſt as they, diſperſing and cutting down the Prince's Foot. The Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s Regiment of *White Coats* were almoſt wholly cut in pieces; they ſcorn'd to fly, and were ſlain in Rank and File. The reſt of that part of the Prince's Army which eſcap'd killing or being taken fled in Confuſion towards *York*.

Ruſhw. 634.

But the Prince's left Wing under Colonel *Hurry* had better Succeſs, he did as much to the Parliament's Right, for though Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with 5 or 6 Troops charg'd through them, and went to their own left Wing, the reſt of his Forces were defeated; and the Lord *Fairfax*'s Brigade being furiouſly attack'd, and at the ſame Time diſorder'd by ſome of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s new rais'd Regiments, who wheel'd about, and being hotly purſu'd flying back upon them, and upon the Reſerve of the *Scottiſh* Foot, broke them wholly, and trod many of them under Foot. Thus their right Wing, and part of their main Body were routed, and fled out of the Field ſeveral Miles towards *Tadcaſter* and *Cawood*, giving out that all was loſt. The Royaliſts were purſuing, and juſt ready to ſeize all the Carriages, when *Cromwel* with his Horſe, and *Mancheſter*'s Foot, came back from the Chace, and finding their Friends had in the mean Time been worſted, he advanc'd in good Order to a ſecond Charge with all the Prince's Horſe and Foot that had thus diſorder'd their right Wing and main Battle. The Royaliſts ſeeing them approach gave over the Purſuit, and prepar'd to receive them, both Sides not being a little ſurpriz'd to find they muſt fight the Battle over again, for a Victory which they each thought they had already gain'd; however, the Royaliſts march'd with great Reſolution down the *Corn Field*, the Face of the Fight being exactly chang'd, for now the King's Forces ſtood on the ſame Ground, and with the ſame Front which the Parliament's right Wing had before; and the Parliament's Forces on the ſame Ground, and with the ſame Front which the King's had before. The Fight being renew'd grew deſperate, but in fine, after the utmoſt Efforts of Strength and Courage on either Side, Victory wholly inclined to that of the Parliament, who before Night had clear'd the Field, and not only recover'd their Ordnance and Carriages, which were in ſo much Danger, but took all the Prince's Train of Artillery, and follow'd the Chaſe with great Slaughter within a Mile of *York*, into which City Prince *Rupert* got by the Goodneſs of his Horſe. Of the King's Forces above 4000 were ſlain, and 1500 taken Priſoners, among whom were Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major General *Porter*, Major General *Tillier*, Mr. *Goring*, Son to the Lord *Goring*, Colonel *Ewre*, Son to the Lord *Ewre*, Mr. *Edward Talbot*, Brother to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Major *Vavaſor*, the three latter Papiſts, and 100 other Officers, 10000 Arms, 100 Colours, and all their Bag and Baggage. Some of the Colours were ſent up to the Parliament by Captain *Stewart*, and among them were ſeveral with notable Devices and Motto's. I ſhall only mention one of them, to ſhew the good Will, good Senſe, and good Manners of the Cavaliers. *In the middle of it was a* Lion Couchant, *and behind him a* Maſtiff *ſeeming to ſnatch at him; and in a* Label *from his Mouth was written* KIMBOLTON, *at his Feet little* Beagles, *and before their Mouths* PYM, PYM, PYM, *and out of the* Lion's *Mouth a* Label with theſe Words, *Quo uſque tandem abutere patientia noſtra.* There was alſo taken the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*'s Cabinet of Papers, where were found ſeveral Letters from Sir *John Hotham*, with the Marquis's Commiſſion of General, impowering him to raiſe Men and Money, and to make Knights. Of the Parliamentarians not above 300 were ſlain. This glorious Victory was owing chiefly to the Valour and Conduct of Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, who was wounded in the Neck, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in the Face, Major *Fairfax*, of his own Regiment, received 30 Wounds, of which he died at *York*, and Sir *Thomas*'s Brother, Mr. *Charles Fairfax*, being mortally wounded, died, and was bury'd at *Marſton*, *Ætat.* 23. Captain *Micklewhaite*, a very brave and honeſt Gentleman, was ſlain; as alſo a Lieutenant Colonel, whoſe Name is not remember'd, and a few other Officers. The very next Morning after the Battle the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* took a Reſolution to leave the Kingdom, as if he was afraid of that Liberty for which his Country Men were fighting. Having taken his Leave of Prince *Rupert* he was conducted by a Troop of Dragoons to *Scarborough*, where he embark'd aboard a Ship bound for *Hamburgh*, together with his two Sons, *Charles* Lord Viſcount *Mansfield*, *Henry* Lord *Cavendiſh*, Lord *Falconbridge*, Lord *Widdrington*, Earl of *Elthyne*, Earl of *Carnwath*, Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* his Brother, Dr. *Bramhall*, Biſhop of *Londonderry*, Sir *William Carnaby*, General *King*, Colonel *Baſſet*, Sir *William Vavaſor*, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Francis Mackworth*, Colonel *Moxon*, and about 80 other Perſons, who doubted not but that Battle was deciſive, and would put an End to the War, but the Earl of *Eſſex*'s ill Succeſs in *Cornwall* continu'd it a Year longer, though the King's Condition grew every where worſe, and the Continuance of it only made more Sacrifices

A. D. 1644.

Cavaliers *routed.*

Fairf. Mem. *p.* 89.

Marquis of Newcaſtle, *and other Lords, leave* England.

A. D. 1644. to Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny. Almoſt all the Accounts given of this Battle by the Earl of *Clarendon*, and the Writers on that Side are wrong, and a ſure Proof of it is, that they all differ from one another, and therefore cannot be right. The Earl of *Clarendon*, who is always foremoſt on thoſe Occaſions, ſays, the *Scots* General the Earl of *Leven*, ran away ſo far from the Place of Battle, that he was taken hold of by a *Conſtable* as if he had been a Vagabond. *Orleans* aſſures us, *Prince* Rupert, *according to his uſual Cuſtom, purſu'd thoſe that fled too far*, whereas Prince *Rupert*'s Wing was the firſt part of the Royaliſt's Army that was routed and fled. *Echard* ſays, his Highneſs gave the Command of the right Wing to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, whereas he had no Command at all, but engag'd in the Battle as a Voluntier, if the Marquis's Wife, who wrote his Life, knew any Thing of the Matter, for ſhe tells us, His Friends advis'd him not to *engage, the Command being taken from him.* *Salmonet* ſays, *He had no Command in the Army*, and that after the Defeat Prince *Rupert* took away his Commiſſion. He is falſe as to the latter, for *Newcaſtle* refus'd to ſerve in *England*, and his Commiſſion was found in his Cabinet, and the Battle was actually begun before he came into the Field. *Sanderſon* affirms the Parliament Army *had all the Choice of the Ground*; and we have ſeen that they were ſo far from having ſuch Choice that they had no Ground at all till the Pioneers made it for them; but there is a Letter in *Ruſhworth*, written by a Gentleman Soldier on the ſame Side ſtill, which ſhews us what Sort of Accounts the Cavaliers gave of their *Battles*; 'tis from one Serjeant *Francis*, to his Father in *Somerſetſhire*.

Fol. 46.

Dear Father,

Ruſhw. p. 685. *THESE are to ſignify unto you certain Occurrences here: Prince* Rupert *hath utterly defeated the bonny* Scots *and* REBELS, *that beſieged* York; *taken General* Leſhley, *and that* ARCH-REBEL *Sir* Thomas Fairfax *Priſoners*; *ſlain the Earl of* Manchester, *and taken* 48 *Pieces of Ordnance, and* 10000 *Arms, and not left them ſo much as a blue Bonnet. Time will not give me leave to ſend you the Particulars; but it is certify'd by an Expreſs, and under his Highneſs Prince* Rupert's *own Hand, and therefore you may credit it and make it known.*

Yours, *&c.*

As wild as this Relation is, it is very common for their beſt Hiſtory Writers to aſſert Things on no better Authority, as I have prov'd and could further prove out of *Clarendon* and *Echard*.

Prince *Rupert* left Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Governor of *York*, and went to *Burrough Bridge*, where he rally'd his ſcatter'd Forces, join'd Col. *Clavering*, and thence march'd into *Lancaſhire*.

York *ſurrender'd.* The Parliament Army return'd to the Siege of *York*, *July* the 4th, and after having lain 11 Days before it, Sir *Thomas Glemham* ſurrender'd the City upon Articles. Then the Earl of *Leven* march'd with the *Scots* Army to *Newcaſtle*, which he took by Storm; and therein the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Maxwell*, and Dr. *Wiſhart*, a Divine, who had been as reſolute as any one in Defence of the Town againſt the Parliament.

Earl of Manchester. The Lord *Fairfax* was made Governor of *York*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter* return'd to the aſſociated Counties, where he was commanded to recruit his Army. He ſent Lieut. Colonel *Lilburn* to take in *Tickhill Caſtle*, and Major General *Crawford* to reduce *Sheffield Caſtle*: Both which ſurrender'd on moderate Articles. *Fretchville* Houſe and *Bolſover Caſtle* follow'd their Example, as did alſo *Wingfield* Manor, and *Welbeck* Houſe, belonging to the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*. *A. D.* 1644.

Having taken a View of the War in the *North*, where the Diſpute is pretty well over, we muſt do the like by that in the *South* and *Weſt*.

Early in the Year the Earl of *Forth* and the Lord *Hopton*, with an Army of 13 or 14000 Men enter'd *Hampſhire*, with a Deſign to break the Strength of the *Southern* Aſſociation: This Army was met *March* the 29th, on *Cheriton Down*, near *Allresford*, by that of the Parliament, conſiſting of about 10000 Men under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, General, Sir *William Balfour*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, and Major General *Browne*. The Field Word of both Armies happen'd to be at firſt, the ſame, *God with Us*; which by ſome Accident being made known to *Waller*, he chang'd it on his Side to *Jeſus help Us*. *Hopton*'s Forces for a while ſeem'd to have the better of it, but were afterwards totally routed. The Lord *John Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and Colonel *Sandys* were kill'd in the Fight, as were Sir *John Smith*, who recover'd the King's Standard at *Edgehill*, Colonel *Richard Manning*, Lieutenant Colonel *Scot*, Captain *Rookwood*, all Papiſts; Colonel *Appleyard*, Sir *Edward Stawell*, and Sir *Henry Bard*, lately come out of *Ireland*, were taken Priſoners; his Regiment and another newly come from that Kingdom were the firſt that ran away. The other Foot Regiments ſtood ſtoutly to it on both Sides, and came up to puſh of Pike. The *London* Regiments drove the Enemy from the Hedges, which they had lin'd with Musketeers, and gain'd the Paſſage to a Wood, which ſtood the Parliament's Forces in great ſtead. The Royaliſts were ſoon after put to an entire Rout, ſcarce ten of them being left together. Their General *Forth*, and the Lord *Hopton* fled to *Baſing*, Part of their Ordnance, their Arms, Bag and Baggage were left to the Parliament, 500 of them were ſlain in the Battle, and many more in the Purſuit, on the Parliament's Side about 100 were ſlain, Colonel *Dalbier* wounded, and Colonel *Thompſon*'s Leg ſhot off. Amidſt the Rejoicings at *Oxford* for the raiſing the Siege of *Newark*, came Advice of this ſignal Defeat given the King's Forces, under his Captain General, which damp'd their Joy, and *their glad Hearts became exceeding ſorrowful*. *Waller* coming to *Wincheſter* had the Gates open'd to him: Sir *William Balfour* took *Andover*; and receiving Notice that the Lady *Hopton* was about *Newbury*, he ſent out a Party, who ſurpriz'd her, with two Coaches and 12 Horſes, and near 200 Perſons in Company. The Lady was diſmiſt, and ſent to *Oxford*, with her own Plate, Jewels and Baggage, but the reſt were made Prize.

Cheriton Down Fight in Hampſhire.

Royaliſts routed.

Waller takes Wincheſter, and Lady Hopton.

On the 19th of *April* a Common Hall was holden in the City of *London*, to whom repair'd a Committee of both Houſes of Parliament, to ſtir up the City to contribute towards a ſpeedy recruiting the Armies. The Earl of *Warwick* ſaid, *As you have been very forward and active in this Cauſe of God, and the publick Liberty, ſo you will not be wanting now in drawing your ſelves into the Field, with all our Armies, to defend God's Cauſe and the publick Liberty.* The Cauſe againſt that of God and the publick Liberty, is that which has the Bleſſing of Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, and the Panegyricks of the Earl of *Clarendon*. Sir *Henry Vane* told them, *Their Troops had behav'd themſelves with ſo much Gallantry, that the Enemy apprehends no Forces like unto thoſe that were out of this City, being*

City of London. A Committee there.

A. D. 1644

ing Perſons, who for Religion, for Faithfulneſs to the Cauſe, and for Publickneſs of Spirit to the Parliament, have ever ſhewn themſelves as firm and as forward as any whatſoever. The Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord General, ſaid, *You have been inform'd of the Victory which God hath given Sir* William Balfour *and Sir* William Waller. He put Sir *William Balfour* firſt, though Sir *William Waller* was General of that Army, and this is the beſt Proof we have of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Jealouſy of *Waller*'s Greatneſs, and that Diſagreement between them, which ſometime after occaſion'd the dividing of their Forces, which expos'd the Earl of *Eſſex* to the Danger and Diſgrace he met with in *Cornwall*. He concluded, *Whatſoever Forces you are pleas'd to draw out, I ſhall venture my Life with them, and be ready to give a quick End to this Cauſe.* The Earl of *Pembroke* ended his Speech thus, *I doubt not but your Care, and your Love, and your Fidelity, will make that Iſſue that will quit the Kingdom of all thoſe* VILLAINS *who have been the Cauſe of ſo much Effuſion of Blood.* Theſe very Men, ſo term'd by his Lordſhip, are in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, the Pious, the Noble, the Warlike and Wiſe, to a Man.

Eſſex *jealous of* Waller.

Col. *Hollis* ſaid, *The Parliament depend upon your Affections, and deſire you to offer your ſelves as one Man; for it is to no Purpoſe to go by little and little; it is but as a little Water thrown on the Fire, that does but enrage and will not quench it.* The Recorder *Glyn* was the laſt who ſpoke; and all their Speeches had ſuch an Effect, that there were no leſs than 8400 Auxiliaries rais'd, half of which was ſent to *Waller*, and the other half join'd the Lord General's Army, which was ſpeedily recruited and rendezvouz'd at *Beconsfield*, from whence he march'd to *Wickham* the 14th of *May*, where we muſt leave him ſome Time to take a little Notice of what is done at *London*, where Archbiſhop *Laud* had been brought to his Trial, which we ſhall abridge after *Pryn*'s Account of it.

Archbiſhop Laud's *Trial.*

This Trial commenc'd the 12th of *March*, when the Archbiſhop was brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, where he kneel'd down, and was commanded to riſe by the Lord *Grey* of *Werke*, Speaker of that moſt Honourable Houſe, and then Mr. Serjeant *Wylde*, by Way of Introduction, related the Heads of his Offences. "If "all the Oppreſſions, all the pernicious Practices "and Machinations which have been in each "Time to ruinate our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Li*"*berties*, were loſt, I think here they might be "found and drawn out again to the Life. His "Faults are ſo wilful, ſo univerſal, ſo deſtruc"tive to the Laws of God and Man, ſo com"prehenſive of all the Evils and Miſeries which "now we ſuffer, the Sin would be upon our "own Heads if we ſhould not call for Ju"ſtice, *&c.*" The *Serjeant* proceeds, "How "*Churchmen* in all Ages, as hath been obſerved, "ſhould come to be the archeſt Seedſmen of "Miſchief, and principal Actors in all the great "Diſtractions and Alterations that have happen'd, "is a Deſtiny that may ſeem ſtrange. But the "Reaſon is, *ex bono Theologo malus Medicus.* "Their intermeddling with temporal Things, "and Matters heterogenial to their Calling, "wherein God is pleas'd to ſmite them with "Blindneſs, and to infatuate their Counſels, "whereof a perfect Pattern we have in this "great Prelate, who, by abuſing his Profeſſion, "and making the Buſineſs of State the cuſtomary "Subject of all his Endeavours, became the "Author of all the illegal and tyrannical Pro"ceedings in the *Star-Chamber* and *High Com*"*miſſion Court* and other Courts, of all the In"novations in Doctrine and Diſcipline, of the "ſuppreſſing of godly Miniſters and Preaching, "of the advancing of others who were the Pro"moters of Popery and Arbitrary Power, and in"deed of all the Concuſſions and Diſtractions in "Church and State, whereby Religion hath been "juſtled out, Laws and Parliaments trodden "down under Contempt, *&c.*" When the Serjeant had done, the Archbiſhop deſir'd Leave to ſpeak, and it being granted, he made a long premeditated Oration, which he had written in his Hand, of which nothing is more remarkable than this; *I do here challenge whatſoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be ſaid againſt me in Point of my Religion.* What was ſaid againſt him, is by the Parliament in the firſt Article, *That he hath* traiterouſly *endeavour'd to ſubvert God's True Religion by Law eſtabliſh'd in this Realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up Popiſh Superſtition*, which was prov'd upon him by Sir *Nathaniel Brent* Vicar-General to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, and Dr. *Featly* Houſhold Chaplain to that great Prelate, by whoſe Evidence it appear'd, that no Chapel in *Rome* could be more idolatrous than his at *Lambeth*, nor more full of offenſive Pictures and Images, taken from the Images and Pictures in the Maſs-Book. The like Idolatry and Superſtition were introduc'd by him in the King's Chapel, as was teſtify'd by Sir *Henry Mildmay*. His cauſing the Communion-Table to be remov'd to the *Eaſt* End of the Church, to be rail'd in and plac'd on an Aſcent for *Adoration*, was another Evidence of his Idolatry. But he deny'd, when Sir *Nathaniel Brent* made Oath to it that he had ever given Directions to him about it; Upon which Sir *Nathaniel* ſaid, *My Lords, on the Oath I have taken, I receiv'd expreſs Command from the Archbiſhop himſelf to remove and rail in Communion-Tables in his Metropolitical Viſitation.* The Archbiſhop reply'd, *I proteſt I never gave him any, and I wonder Sir* Nathaniel *dares be ſo bold as to aſſert it upon Oath, ſince I can prove he formerly deny'd it.* To this Sir *Nathaniel* anſwer'd, *My Lords, ſince the Archbiſhop ſo confidently denies that he ever gave me any ſuch Directions, I ſhall humbly deſire that this Letter of his, ſent to me while I was viſiting at* Maidſtone, *may be read, for it will ſoon end the Controverſy.* The Letter was as follows.

A. D. 1644.

Sir,

I *Require you to command* the Communion Table *to be placed at the Eaſt or upper End of the Church, and there rail'd in; and that the Communicants there ſhall come up to the Rails to receive the bleſſed Sacrament; and the like you are requir'd to do in all Churches.*

W. CANT.

This Letter being read, ſays my Author, *much daunted and diſcredited the Archbiſhop in the Opinion of all the Auditors, he having nothing to reply but that he had forgotten it.*

The impious Book of Sports on the Lord's Day was his own Work. Sir *Nathaniel Brent* prov'd that he gave him ſpecial Charge to ſuſpend Mr. *Culmer*, Mr. *Players*, Mr. *Hieron*, three eminent Miniſters in *Kent*, for not reading the ſaid wicked Book. Mr. *Wilſon*, another Miniſter, being conven'd before the Archbiſhop himſelf, and ask'd by him, Whether he had publickly read the Book of Sports in his Church? Upon his ſaying, *No*, the Archbiſhop ſaid, *I ſuſpend you for ever from your Office and Benefice till you read it.*

Another

A. D. 1644.

Another Instance of his Endeavours to introduce Popery, was his prosecuting Mr. *Henry Gellibrand* and his Servant *William Beale*, in the *High Commission Court*, for publishing an *Almanack*, in which the Names of the Popish Saints were left out, and some holy Martyrs put in their Place, according to Mr. *Fox*'s Calendar. Mr. *Gellibrand* was Professor of the Mathematicks at *Gresham* College, and his Man *Beale* learn'd enough under him to compose an yearly *Almanack* for the *Stationer*'s Company. *Laud* was then Bishop of *London*, and he carry'd on the Prosecution with great Violence; but Archbishop *Abbot* and the general Vote of the Commissioners acquitted *Gellibrand*; upon which the Bishop stood up in a Fury, and told the Court, *The Queen her self sent for him, and specially complain'd to him against this Almanack, which gave great Offence to those of her Religion, and desir'd him to prosecute the Author of it, and suppress the Book; and therefore he hop'd he should not pass unpunish'd in that Court.* However the Court acquitted him, and the Bishop in a great Rage said to *Gellibrand*, *Sir, you have made a Faction in this Court, for which you ought to be punish'd; and know that you are not yet discharg'd hence; I will sit upon your Skirts*, (a very common Menace with him) *for I hear you keep Conventicles at* Gresham College *after your Lectures there.* Accordingly he gave Order for a second Prosecution against him in the *High Commission Court*, which so affected that pious and learned Professor, that it threw him into a Fever, of which he dy'd. Here *Laud* frankly confesses he was an Agent for the Queen and her Papists, and it was too notorious to be controverted by Men of Integrity and Modesty.

One Dr. *Pocklington*, a Creature of his, publish'd a Book call'd *Altare Christianum*, wherein that Author stil'd those Popish Legendary Saints, left out by Mr. *Fox* in his Calendar, *Holy Martyrs and Confessors of Jesus Christ*, and reviles Mr. *Fox*'s Protestant Martyrs as *Traytors*, *Murderers*, *Rebels*, *Hereticks*; which godly Book was found curiously bound and gilt in the Archbishop's Closet, being an acceptable Present from his Friend *Pocklington*.

His causing *Auricular Confession* to be preach'd up, with *Pennance* and *Absolution*, after the *Romish* manner, was too easily prov'd upon him to admit of the least Doubt, especially in the Case of Mr. *Adams* of *Cambridge*, who made a Sermon on Purpose to restore the *Popish* Confession and Absolution, in which he was oppos'd by those eminent Divines Dr. *Ward*, Dr. *Brownrigge*, Dr. *Love*, Dr. *Beachcroft*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Bambridge*, and encourag'd and supported by Dr. *Cosins*, Dr. *Sterne*, Dr. *Collins*, Dr. *Smith*, Dr. *Cumber*, Dr. *Lany*, Dr. *Martin*, Dr. *Eden*. But the major Vote was against *Adams*, and he was order'd to recant; which he was so far from submitting to, that he maintain'd *Auricular Confession* in his Act Questions. Thus we see how furiously they were driving towards *Rome*.

That the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was approv'd by *Laud*, appears by a Speech of his in the Star-Chamber. *Purgatory*, *Processions*, *Oblations*, *Monkery*, *Prayers to the Virgin* Mary, *Ave's*, *Celibacy of Priests*, *Consecrations*, *Tapers*, *Candlesticks*, *Bowings*, *Altars*, and the like, were fix'd upon him by a Cloud of Witnesses; as was his Hatred to the *Reform'd* Churches abroad and their Brethren in *England*, which appear'd to the Scandal of the Christian Church, in his opposing Contributions for the Maintenance of the exil'd Ministers, driven out of the Palatinate by the *Spaniards*. The Queen of *Bohemia* had sent one Mr. *Ruly* into *England* to promote that charitable Deed, and he procur'd a Patent by the Favour of the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* and Secretary *Cooke*; but when he carry'd it to *Lambeth* for the Archbishop's Licence to have it printed, *Laud* refus'd it, because it was said in the Patent, that the Charity was for Persons of the *same Religion*, which he would not allow, and complain'd of it to the King, who sent for the Lord-Keeper *Coventry* and Secretary *Cooke*, and they acquainted his Majesty, that the *Patent was made Verbatim according to former Precedents, and it was now pass'd the Seal, and could not be alter'd.* The King reply'd, *It must be alter'd, for the Archbishop will have it so, and another must be drawn according to his Mind*; which was done, and these Words left out, *This Extremity is fallen upon them for their Sincerity and Constancy in the True Religion, which we together with them do profess, and which we are all bound in Conscience to maintain to the utmost of our Powers.* *Laud* would not allow that we are all bound in Conscience to maintain the *Reform'd* Religion abroad, or indeed that it was the *True Religion*, for he struck out the Word *True*. To this he made a very weak Defence, and urg'd his Reason for leaving out those Words, *because by the Religion of the* Palatines *the* Pope *was declar'd to be Antichrist, which had never been determin'd by any* Council, whereas it was prov'd that the Synod of *Gap* in *France*, *A. D.* 1603. the Synod or Convocation of *Ireland*, *A. D.* 1615. the Synod and Parliament of *England* in the Act for the Subsidy of the Clergy, 3 *Jac.* define the Pope to be Antichrist. Most of his Defences are turn'd against him as directly as this, and there is no need of enlarging on the *Second* Branch of the Parliament's Charge touching his *Endeavours to reconcile the Church of* England *to the Church of* Rome, the *First* Branch including the *Second*; for by *taiterously endeavouring to subvert the Protestant Religion*, he of course endeavour'd to re-establish *Popery*.

As to State-Matters, the Charge against him was, *That he hath traiterously endeavour'd to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary Power*; which grand Article was spread into several Branches.

His traiterous Endeavours to subvert God's True Religion by Law establish'd.

His Usurpation of a Papal Power in Derogation of his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and the Subjects Liberties.

His traiterous Endeavour to subvert the Rights of Parliament.

The first Part of the Evidence was manag'd by *John Maynard*, Esq; *March* 13th, 16th, 18th, and 28th: The Forenoons for the Evidence: The Afternoons for the Archbishop's Answers, and Mr. *Maynard*'s Replies. The Second Part of the Evidence was manag'd by *Robert Nicholas*, Esq; which took up *April* 16th, *May* 4th and 16th. The third Part concerning Religion, was manag'd by *John Wylde*, Esq; Serjeant at Law, *May* 20, 27. *June* 6, 11, 17, 20 and 27th. and *July* 20 and 24th. The fourth and last Part of the Evidence was manag'd by Mr. *Nicholas* the 29th of *July*, and concluded the same Day.

The Archbishop had three Council allow'd him, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Herne*, and Mr. *Hale*, and after all the Evidence was given, and the Answers and Replies severally made, the Archbishop desir'd he might make a general Recapitulation of his whole Defence before the Lords, which accordingly he perform'd on the 2d of *September*.

A. D. 1644. To which *Samuel Browne*, Eſq; reply'd, and on the 11th of *September* ſumm'd up the principal Parts of the Evidence againſt him at the Lords Bar, anſwering the Archbiſhop's *Allegations* and *Defences*. This *Browne* was that eminent Lawyer afterwards Sir *Samuel Browne*, made a Judge of the Common Pleas by King *Charles* the Second, of whom *Ruſhworth* ſays, *he invalidated all the Archbiſhop's Defences and Allegations*. Now ſee how modeſt Mr. *Echard* repreſents it; *The Innocence of this Prelate, and the Malice of his Enemies, are hardly to be match'd in any Account of primitive Perſecution*. Prynne *tamper'd with the Witneſſes*. The Earl of *Cork*, Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Captain *Mildmay*, *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; Dr. *Featly*, were ſome of the Witneſſes with whom *Echard* tells us Mr. *Prynne* tamper'd; and then to ſhew he is as wiſe as modeſt, he adds, *The Archbiſhop reckon'd it a particular Hardſhip, that a Man doubly ſtigmatiz'd*, for which the Archbiſhop is now going to receive his Reward, *ſhould be truſted with the Witneſſes and the Evidence againſt him*. All the World knew that this imperious Prelate had ſpirited up the bloody Proſecution againſt Mr. *Prynne*, who was innocent in the Judgment of the whole Kingdom, except the corrupt Part of the Clergy and their Diſciples, and the Voice of his Country ſo far declar'd him innocent, as to return him a Member in all the ſucceeding Parliaments which were regularly choſen, and truſted him with every Thing that was dear to *Engliſh* Men. I take no Notice of the reſt of the Archbiſhop's Trial and Condemnation, as 'tis reported by Mr. Archdeacon, becauſe 'tis one continued Miſrepreſentation, and ſhall have recourſe to *Ruſhworth*, whoſe Sincerity has not yet been queſtion'd.

The Archbiſhop pray'd the Lords, that his Counſel might be heard in point of Law, and their Lordſhips conſented to it. The Managers for the Houſe of Commons deſir'd they might firſt have Notice, What Matter of Law the Archbiſhop's Counſel would inſiſt upon, which was, *Whether in all, or any of the Articles charg'd againſt him, there was any Treaſon contain'd*. Which was argu'd at the Lords Bar by *John Herne*, Eſq; as the Mouth of his Counſel, and reply'd unto by the Managers, *October* 11th.

The Commons finding their Proceedings, in Caſe of the Archbiſhop, met with new Difficulties daily in the Lords Houſe, and it having hung too long already, order'd an Ordinance to attaint him of *High Treaſon* upon the Evidence given againſt him. In purſuance of this Ordinance he was brought to their Bar, where Mr. *Browne* in his Preſence repeated that Evidence. In anſwer to which the Archbiſhop made a Speech of ſome Hours in length, which ſo little ſatisfy'd the Houſe, that they the ſame Day, *Nov.* the 11th, paſt the Ordinance for his Attainder with but one diſſenting Vote. They ſent it up to the Lords, and their Lordſhips voted that the Archbiſhop was guilty of the Charge as to *Matters of Fact*. They *voted*, that he had *traiterouſly* endeavour'd to ſubvert the Religion, Laws, Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom. That he had uſurp'd an arbitrary, tyrannical Power, in Derogation of that of the Sovereign, and they wanted only to be ſatisfy'd, whether all this was Treaſon. It was not indeed within the Statute of 25 *Edward* III. which determines the Government in the Perſon of the King, and all Treaſon within that Statute is only againſt his Perſon. But is it not within common Senſe to know that he who would deſtroy the Conſtitution, the Religion, Laws, Rights and Liberties of the People, is a *Traytor* in the worſt Interpretation of the Word. The Commons appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons to ſatisfy the Lords therein, which were communicated at a Conference *Jan.* the 2d. by Mr. Serjeant *Wylde*, Mr. *Browne*, and Mr. *Nicholas*. But the wiſe *Warwick* aſſures us, they were all *frivolous*, and whoever has read his admirable Memoirs cannot but know how well able he was to diſtinguiſh between the *Frivolous* and the *Important*. On the 4th of *Jan.* the Lords paſt the Ordinance, by which the Archbiſhop was to ſuffer Death, as in Caſes of *High Treaſon*, to be *drawn, hang'd* and *quarter'd*. Mr. Archdeacon, who does really believe that the Poſterity of thoſe Lords would be aſham'd of what their Fathers had done againſt this Prelate, prints the Names of ſix of them, in which I ſhall imitate him, with a quite different Intention, *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolingbroke*, Lord *North*, Lord *Grey* of *Werke*.

A. D. 1644.

The Archbiſhop condemn'd to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd.

The Lords, at a Conference with the Commons, inform'd them of a Letter and a Petition from the Archbiſhop, and a Pardon granted him by the King, which was drawn up at *Oxford* by Sir *Edward Hyde*, who, ſome ſay, drew up the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. This was like the reſt of the ſage Counſels at *Oxford*. What Heads muſt they have, who could think that a Piece of Paper would keep the Archbiſhop's Head upon his Shoulders after the Pains the two Houſes of Parliament had been at to condemn him. Thus as every one elſe believ'd it would be, 'twas over-rul'd and rejected. The Archbiſhop then petition'd, that if he muſt die, he might have Dr. *Sterne*, Dr. *Heywood*, Dr. *Martin*, three of his Chaplains, who, as it appears by his Trial, had been the principal Inſtruments of his Tyranny and Superſtition, to *adminiſter Comfort to his Soul*; and that he might not be Hang'd but be Beheaded, which the Commons agreed to but not without great Difficulty. The Parliament recommended two Divines, Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Palmer*, to him, on this melancholy Occaſion; but as he never allow'd the Presbyterian Miniſters to be of the Chriſtian Religion in his Life-time, ſo he would not be pray'd for by them at his Death. He was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill* the 10th of *January*, where he made a Sermon on that Text, *Let us run with Patience*, &c. wherein he endeavour'd to clear himſelf of the Charge againſt him, of a Deſign to introduce Popery. *I have always*, ſays he, *liv'd in the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law*. He would have ſatisfy'd all that heard him, had he ſaid, *I die in the true Proteſtant Reform'd Religion as it is now ſettled in* Chriſtendom, *according to the Word of God, the Practice of the Apoſtles, and the primitive Church of Chriſt*. He did not forget the Churches *Patrimony* in his laſt Prayer. Which ſhews us what deep Impreſſion worldly Wealth had made on his Mind, ſo deep, that the Terrors of Death could not efface it. What Biſhop *Burnet* writes of him, gives one further Reaſon to believe he was far from being ſo heavenly minded as the Lord *Clarendon*, and his Shadow, Mr. Archdeacon, repreſent him. " He was a hot, indiſcreet " Man, eagerly purſuing ſome Matters that were " either inconſiderable or miſchievous, as the " Altar, the *Walloon* Churches, Book of Sports; " his Severity in the Star-Chamber and the High " Commiſſion Courts, was ſuch a viſible Ble- " miſh, that nothing but the Manner of his " Death could have rais'd his Character. His " *Diary* ſhews him to be an abject Fawner on " the Duke of *Buckingham*, and a ſuperſtitious " Re-

But is Beheaded.

A. D. 1644. " Regarder of *Dreams*. His Defence of himſelf, written with ſo much Care, is a very " weak Performance. Echard *cries it up as a* " *wonderful Piece*. He intended in that to make " an *Appeal* to the World. In moſt Particulars " he excuſes himſelf by this, That he was but " One of Many, who either in *Council*, *Star-* " *Chamber*, or *High Commiſſion*, voted illegal " Things.

Before I had ſeen Biſhop *Burnet*'s Character of him, I could not but have Pity for ſo miſerable an Excuſe, when there was not a Man who ever heard of him, but knew he was the Contriver, Proſecutor, and Finiſher, of the illegal and inhumane Sentences in thoſe tyrannical Courts. The Biſhop of *Sarum* again,

" Now though this was true, that he was but " one, yet a chief Miniſter, in high Favour, de- " termines ſo much, that they are little better " than Machines acted by him. On other Occa- " ſions he ſays, the Things were prov'd by one " Witneſs only. Now how ſtrong ſoever this " Defence may be in Law, it is of no Force in " an Appeal to the World, for if a Thing is true, " it is no matter how full, or how defective the " Proof is. The Thing that gave me the ſtrong- " eſt Prejudice againſt him in that Book is, that " after he had ſeen the ill Effects of his violent " Counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and " ſo long at leiſure to reflect on what had paſt in " the Hurry of Paſſion, in the Exaltation of his " Proſperity; he does not in any one Part of " that great Work acknowledge his own Errors, " nor mix in it any wiſe or pious Reflections on " the ill Uſage he met with, or the unhappy " Steps he had made.

In *April* this Year the Parliament remitted 66000 Pounds to the Forces in one Province of *Ireland* that ſtood out againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, notwithſtanding the *Ceſſation* which his Majeſty had made with them, for the Preſervation of thoſe Proteſtants whom thoſe Rebels had not yet maſſacred.

Whitl. Eleff. Palat. His Serene Highneſs the Prince Elector *Palatine* wrote a Letter to the Parliament, *Of the great Want he and his Mother were in, their Stipend from* England *being ſtopp'd. He bemoan'd the Courſes which his Brothers Prince* RUPERT *and Prince* MAURICE *took in fighting againſt them, and rejoiced to hear of the Covenant.* For as the Royal Houſe of *Bohemia* always poſſeſs'd the Affections of the good People of *England*, who always made their Succeſſion to the Crown the Subject of their moſt zealous and devout Prayers, ſo have thoſe good People been ever in the beſt Wiſhes of that princely Family, the Conduct of Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* for a few Years only excepted.

Dutch Ambaſſadors. Some Weeks before this, Ambaſſadors from the *States General* of the *United Provinces* to the Parliament arriv'd at *London*, and were honourably receiv'd by the two Houſes and the City. They brought with them Letters from the Divines in thoſe Provinces to the *Aſſembly* at *Weſtminſter*, expreſſing their Satisfaction in the Parliament's and their Proceedings with reſpect to the *Covenant*, and deſiring there might be a Union of the Nations. Mr. *Strickland*, the Parliament's Miniſter at the *Hague*, having diſcover'd certain *Engliſh* Merchants, *Webſter*, *Bainham*, *Manning*, *Ford*, *Yard*, who had been aſſiſting in borrowing Money for the Queen on the Jewels, and buying Arms and Ammunition, they were voted Incendiaries and Enemies to the State. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors had a publick Audience in the Houſe of Lords, and afterwards in the Houſe of Commons, where Chairs were ſet for them. They firſt were carry'd into the Inner Court of Wards, prepar'd for them as a *Withdrawing Room*; from thence they were conducted by the Serjeant at Arms with his Mace, and two Members of the Houſe were ſent to accompany them: When they came into the Parliament Houſe, the Speaker and all the Members ſtood up in their Places uncover'd, and the Ambaſſadors ſaluted them as they paſt by them. Then they ſate down in their Chairs, and the Members ſat down alſo. When the Ambaſſadors were cover'd the Speaker and the Houſe alſo cover'd. The former made a ſhort Speech of their Maſter's Affection to theſe Kingdoms, and their Deſire to mediate an Accord between the King and his Parliament. After their Speech was ended they return'd with the ſame Ceremonies as at their coming thither. During the Time of their being in the Houſe, there lay upon the Table in their View 48 Colours taken from the King's Forces at the Battle of *Marſton Moor*. The *French* Ambaſſador, Prince *Harcourt*, had no Negotiation with them, on Account of his refuſing to make his Addreſſes in the regular Stile and Manner.

A. D. 1644.

Before we follow the Parliament's Army into the *Weſt*, we muſt take a View of the King's Affairs, which were not in a very flouriſhing Condition. The *Mungrel* Parliament at *Oxford* were gone home. The *Scots* and the Parliament's Forces had ſhut up the Marquis of *Newcaſtle* in *York*, before *Marſton More* Fight: The Lord *Hopton* had been routed at *Allresford*, and the King had no conſiderable Body in the Field, but that under Prince *Maurice*, before *Lyme*. The King therefore draws his Troops out of his Garriſons to form an Army for himſelf; and the Queen being very near her Time left *Oxford*, *April* the 17th, to be deliver'd with more Quiet and Safety at *Exeter*. Queen leaves Oxford.

The Parliament had an Army of 10000 Horſe and Foot under Sir *William Waller*, about *Farnham*, and another of near the ſame Force at *Reading*, under the Earl of *Eſſex*, who took Poſſeſſion of *Abington*; and Sir *Samuel Luke*, Governor of *Newport Pagnel*, whom *Butler* abus'd by the Name of *Hudibras*, detach'd Captain *Temple* with a Party of Horſe, to obſerve the Motions of the Lord *Hopton* in his March from *Abington* to *Worceſter*. *Temple* was order'd not to engage, but being too forward, he fell upon three Troops of *Hopton*'s Horſe at *Iſlip*, took 50 of them, a Captain and 17 Troopers, with ſome good Booty; but he was queſtion'd for not obeying Orders, and his good Service could ſcarce ſave him.

Had there been a right Underſtanding between *Eſſex* and *Waller*, there had now been an End put to the War, and they might have taken *Oxford* with the King in it, he having no Army to relieve him. But their Jealouſy of each other hinder'd their joining heartily in the ſame Service. *Waller*'s Inſtructions were to reduce the *Weſt*, and *Eſſex* wanted that Commiſſion himſelf, by the Perſwaſion of the Lord *Robarts*, who aſſur'd him that upon his Appearance in *Cornwall*, the Royaliſts would throw down their Arms. But the Parliament order'd the two Generals to join their Armies, and beſiege *Oxford*, if the King was there; if not, to purſue him where-ever he was, and diſperſe his Forces, which were in no Condition to oppoſe them, what they were lay about *Woodſtock*, *Kidlington*, *Bladon*, *Wolvercot*. The Lord General *Eſſex* gain'd the Paſs at *Ainſlow Bridge*, and *Waller* that at *Newbridge*, the former with the Loſs of Captain *Dean*. Lieutenant Colonel *Cunningham* having one Arm ſhot off, held up the other and cry'd out, *I have one yet left to fight for the Parliament.* Eſſex near Oxford.

A. D. 1644.

King leaves Oxford.

The King left *Oxford* the 3d of *June*, about 9 a-Clock at Night, and the next Morning muſter'd his Army at *North Lye*, about 3000 Foot and 4000 Horſe. From *North Lye* he march'd to *Bourton on the Water*, where he and the Prince lodg'd at Dr. *Temple*'s, one of the Prince's Chaplains. From thence he march'd to *Eveſham*, and thence to *Worceſter*. *Eſſex*, upon Intelligence of the King's Departure, march'd to *Chipping Norton*; and *Waller* advanc'd to *Stow on the Wold*. By which Stations they entirely cut off the Communication between the King and *Oxford*; and his Majeſty had no Proſpect of any Help from the *North*. It was then debated in Parliament whether the Earl of *Eſſex* or Sir *William Waller* ſhould march into the *Weſt* to relieve *Lyme*, the Siege of which was preſt by Prince *Maurice*, recover *Exeter* and ſuccour *Plymouth*; but before their Pleaſure was known, the Earl of *Eſſex* had drawn off his Forces for his *Weſtern* March, and left *Waller* to purſue the King. Their Matters being thus ill concerted for Want of a good Underſtanding between thoſe two Generals; the Earl of *Eſſex* met with the greateſt Diſgrace that happen'd to the Parliament's Party in the whole War; and *Waller*, if he was not beaten, was render'd incapable of acting effectually againſt the King. The Earl of *Eſſex* was advanc'd as far as *Saliſbury*, when he receiv'd Orders to march back again towards *Oxford*, and only to ſend a Detachment to releive *Lyme*. Much better Counſel than he took. *Waller* was to follow that Detachment, and himſelf, with the main Army to purſue the King: But *Eſſex* continu'd his March Weſtward; and the two Houſes finding it was too late to prevent it, agreed to it. But this Conduct of theirs, and the Diſagreement between him and *Waller*, was good Cauſe for the Parliament to put their Armies on another Foot, and under other Command the next Year; and from this Time their very great Reverence to the Earl diminiſh'd, and their Affections cool'd.

Parliament Generals ill Conduct ſaves the King.

In the mean while Major General *Browne* had a Commiſſion granted him to command in *Oxfordſhire*, *Berkſhire* and *Buckinghamſhire*, and aſſiſt in reducing the King's Garriſons about *Oxford*. He had 4200 Men, moſt of them City Auxiliaries; as the *Red* Regiment, under Colonel *Harſnet*, the *Blue* under Colonel *Pindar*, and the *White* under Colonel *Shepherd*. While he was advancing towards *Oxford*, Sir *William Waller* took *Sudely Caſtle*, where Sir *William Morton*, high Sheriff of *Glouceſterſhire*, Lieutenant Colonel *Pawyer*, Major *Oldham*, Major *Floyd*, 5 Captains, 250 common Soldiers, were made Priſoners.

Waller *takes* Sudely Caſtle.

His Majeſty being inform'd that the Earl of *Denbigh*, Colonel *Mytton*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton* had beſieg'd *Dudley Caſtle*, in *Staffordſhire*, he ſent the Lord *Wilmot*, with the Earl of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Cleaveland*'s Brigade of Horſe, and 1000 Foot to raiſe the Siege. *Wilmot* charg'd the Parliament's Forlorn, under *Mytton*, with ſuch Fury that his Forces were all like to be cut off; and ſeveral Officers advis'd *Denbigh* not to quit his Trenches to relieve his Friends, but there to abide the Coming of the *Royaliſts*. The Earl, who had ſent out *Mytton* to meet them, reſolv'd, at all Ventures, to aſſiſt him, and drawing out his Troops, led them on in Perſon, giving the Cavaliers ſo ſmart a Charge, that he not only reliev'd his Friends, but repuls'd the King's Party.

Earl of Denbigh *before* Dudley Caſtle.

From *Worceſter* his Majeſty march'd to *Bewdley*, and *Waller* came to *Bromeſgrave* and *Kidderminſter*, within 2 Miles of him. He there expected to be join'd by Colonel *Maſſey*, and the Forces from *Glouceſter*, by the Earl of *Denbigh*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Colonel *Mytton*, Colonel *Rigby*, Sir *William Brereton*, with the Forces out of *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, which would have made a formidable Army. And the King being apprehenſive of their Junction, took a ſudden Reſolution to return to *Oxford*. To conceal his true Deſign he order'd ſome Troops of Horſe to ſhew themſelves along the *Severne*, towards *Bridgnorth*, as if he meant to march directly to *Shrewsbury*; upon which *Waller* diſlodg'd, and made all the Haſte he could to get before him; but his Majeſty ſuddenly turn'd back with his Foot, and came, before Night to *Worceſter*, whether his Horſe ſoon after follow'd, leaving *Waller* two Days March behind him. This was a fine Stroke of Military Politicks; and it is very plain that the King *out general'd Sir* William Waller. His Majeſty the next Day march'd to *Eveſham*, where he took ſome of the Magiſtrates, for having expreſt too much Kindneſs to the Parliament's Army, and proceeded to *Broadway* and *Burford*; from whence he ſent to *Oxford* for his Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition, and as many Men as could be ſpar'd. From *Burford* he came to *Whitney*, and quarter'd his Horſe in the Villages, near and upon the Banks of the River *Thames*, from *Newbridge* to *Letchlade*, where having ſtaid three Nights, he held a general Rendezvouz at *Campsfield* near *Woodſtock*; from whence he advanc'd to *Buckingham*, and thence made Incurſions into the neighbouring Parts, as *Bedford*, *Dunſtable*, *Laiton*, which much alarm'd the *aſſociated* Counties; and 'twas believ'd the King deſign'd to advance farther. This was one of the fineſt Marches and Expeditions during the whole Courſe of the War; and had it been againſt the common Enemy of *Engliſhmen*, would have deſerv'd more Praiſes than even the Earl of *Clarendon* could beſtow upon it. *Waller* perceiving himſelf dup'd, endeavour'd to recover by Speed what he had loſt by Incaution. He march'd from *Wardſley*, near *Dudley* to *Saltwyche*, thence to *Perſhore*, thence to *Tewksbury*, lately taken by Colonel *Maſſey*, thence to *Stow*, *Shipſon* upon *Stoure*, *Banbury* and *Chipping Norton*. The King hearing he was ſo cloſe to him, march'd from *Buckingham* to *Brackley*, and the next Day to *Culworth*. *Waller* quarter'd the ſame Night at *Hanwell*, and the next Day, the 28th of *June*, drew up his Forces in *Battalia*, under *Crouch Hill*, about half a Mile *Weſt* of *Banbury*. The King's Army fac'd him all Day: The River *Charwell* between them.

A. D. 1644.

Copredy Bridge *Fight.*

The next Morning *Waller* appear'd again in *Battalia*, and ſtood ſo, till perceiving his Majeſty drew off towards *Daventry*, leaving a Guard of Dragoons at *Copredy Bridge*, he commanded Lieutenant General *Middleton* with two Regiments of Horſe, and ſome Companies of Foot to fall upon his Rear. *Middleton* ſoon beat off the Guard at the Bridge, and marching over, charg'd the King's Forces, ſuppoſing them to be the Rear. But the Horſe having purſu'd them a while, found a greater Party of the Royaliſts yet behind them. The latter had got between the Bridge and the Foot, who came over with the Horſe. Theſe Cavaliers took ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance which were brought over the Bridge, and not ſufficiently guarded; ſo that the Parliamentarians could not make their Way back without great Loſs and Difficulty, but at laſt they forc'd it; the Bridge being made good and ſecur'd for their Retreat, by the Regiments of the *Tower Hamlets*: The Service was very hot,

while

A. D. 1644. while it laſted. On the King's Side were ſlain two *Kentiſh* Knights, Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clarke*. The Lord *Wilmot* was wounded and taken Priſoner, but reſcu'd by Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, and Mr. *Robert Howard*, who was Knighted for it. On the Parliament's ſide Colonel *Weems*, a *Scots* Officer, General of the Artillery, was taken Priſoner; as alſo Lieutenant Colonel *Baker* of Sir *William Waller*'s Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel *Baines*, and ſeveral Officers; Colonel *Middleton* was diſmounted amongſt the King's Forces, of whom one taking him for a Commander of theirs, mounted him again, *and bad him make haſte and kill a Roundhead*. *The Royaliſts*, ſays *Ruſhworth*, *gave out that they loſt but* 14 *private Soldiers*. *Echard*, who writes after the very worſt of thoſe Royaliſts, affirms *there were but* 14 *common Soldiers kill'd on the King's Side*. *Ruſhworth* aſſures us there were 100 kill'd, and 60 taken. *Waller* maintain'd the Bridge, and kept his Men drawn up on the other Side, both Armies facing one another the reſt of that Day, and the Cannon play'd on both of them. In the Night they alarm'd each other, but little Execution was done; and in the Morning the King's Army being drawn off, *Waller* march'd over *Copredy Bridge* to *Towceſter*. *Echard*'s Hiſtory of this Engagement is extremely merry: *Waller* was *defeated*; *Waller* was *routed*; *Waller* quitted the *Ground*; ſo many Soldiers ran away from him that the King was prevail'd with to ſend a Pardon to the reſt of them, notwithſtanding theſe Pardons had never any Effect or were more minded than old Almanacks. Sir *Edward Walker*, Garter King at Arms, was to carry this Pardon; but *Walker* would not ſtir till a Trumpet had been ſent for a ſafe Conduct; and *Waller* ſaid he had no Power to receive any Meſſage from the King without Conſent of Parliament. The City Regiments, after the Skirmiſh at *Copredy Bridge*, return'd to *London* to be recruited, and *Waller* following them was receiv'd more like a General who had obtain'd a Victory, than one who had been ſo ſhamefully beaten as Mr. Archdeacon repreſents it.

Lyme *reliev'd.* Dorcheſter *and* Weymouth *taken.*

Before the Earl of *Eſſex* could reach *Lyme* that Town had been reliev'd by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Fleet; *Eſſex* detach'd Sir *William Balfour* for that Service, and in his March took *Dorcheſter*, as Sir *William* did *Weymouth*, where the Lord General came the 19th of *June*; and the Earl of *Warwick* landing there, they had a Conference about the Operations of the Campaign.

Parliament and Eſſex *diſagree.*

The Jealouſies and Miſapprehenſions increas'd between the Parliament and their General *Eſſex*: The latter preſt for Money for his Army, and it was ſuggeſted, as if more Care was taken of ſupplying *Waller* than him. On the other hand, ſome of the Members ſeem'd to diſapprove of his Conduct

His March into the Weſt. in marching into the *Weſt*, *alledging* Lyme *might as well have been reliev'd by a Party of Horſe, without carrying the whole Army ſo far*: To which the Earl anſwer'd pretty warmly, concluding one of his Letters thus; *Your innocent though ſuſpected Servant.*

On the 26th of *June*, *Eſſex* having ſummon'd *Wareham* in vain, advanc'd to *Chard* in *Somerſetſhire*, where he receiv'd a Meſſage from the Queen, who 10 Days before had been deliver'd

Princeſs Henrietta Maria *born.* of a Daughter, the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, at *Exeter*, ſhe who was afterwards the beautiful Dutcheſs of *Orleans*; 'twas to deſire a ſafe Conduct to *Bath* for the Recovery of her Health; and afterwards by another Meſſage, ſhe deſir'd a ſafe Conduct for *Briſtol*, to which he return'd Anſwer to this Effect; *That if her Majeſty pleas'd, he would not only give her a ſafe Conduct, but wait upon her himſelf to* London, *where ſhe might have the beſt Advice and Means for reſtoring her Health; but as for either of the other Places, he could not obey her Majeſty's Deſire without Directions from the Parliament:* Upon which her Majeſty not judging her Perſon ſafe at *Exeter*, as ſoon as ſhe was in a Condition to travel, remov'd from thence on *Sunday* the 14th of *July*, and took Shipping at *Falmouth* for *France*, her Month being juſt up. The Earl of *Warwick* had order'd ſeveral Ships to attend at *Torbay*, to intercept and hinder her Paſſage; yet her Majeſty, with a *Flemiſh* Man of War and 10 other Ships, ventur'd out, and by the Advantage of the Wind avoided any Annoyance from the Parliament's Fleet, which however purſu'd with all the Sail they could make; and one Frigat came up and diſcharg'd ſeveral Shot at the Ships under Convoy of the *Flemiſh* Man of War; but the Queen's Ship being freſh and clean, out ſail'd the Parliament's, and her Majeſty landed ſafe at *Breſt*, never ſeeing *England* again till after the Reſtoration.

A. D. 1644. *Queen leaves* England.

From *Chard* the Earl of *Eſſex* march'd to *Tiverton*, where he heard that Prince *Maurice* having ſent a Party to *Barnſtaple*, the Town ſhut their Gates againſt them, and ſlew ſeveral of them. Upon this the Earl diſpatch'd the Lord *Robarts*, with a ſtrong Party, to ſecure and ſettle the Town. Here was one Captain *Howard*, who had been formerly Lieutenant to Captain *Pym*, in the Parliament's Service, which he deſerted, and carry'd off with him 19 Horſe, for which he was now try'd before a Council of War, condemn'd and executed: In Revenge of whoſe Death, Sir *John Berkley*, Governor of *Exeter*, having in Cuſtody one Captain *Turpin*, a Sea Commander, who attempted to relieve that City when the Earl of *Stamford* was beſieg'd in it, and for the ſame being indicted, was condemn'd, but hitherto repriev'd, he hang'd him up by Command of Prince *Maurice*. The Parliament took this Man's Death very ill, alledging his Caſe was quite different from *Howard*'s, the latter being a Run-away, the former a fair Priſoner of War; and therefore having Serjeant *Glanville* in their Cuſtody, who ſat on the Bench when *Turpin* was condemn'd, they order'd him and the other Judges, *Heath*, *Foſter* and *Banks*, to be impeach'd of High Treaſon, *July* the 22d. This Buſineſs and the hanging of 12 of the Parliament's Party, ſaid to be Clothiers, ſoon after at *Woodhouſe* in *Wiltſhire*, gave occaſion for preparing and haſtning the Ordinance for erecting a Court Martial. The Jargon of levying Arms againſt the King, two Years after the King had levy'd Arms againſt the Parliament is ſo abſurd, that nothing but the laudable Clemency of the two Houſes could have ſav'd *Glanville* from the Gallows, for having been acceſſary to the Murder of *Turpin*. Indeed the Creatures of the Court, in this and the following Reigns, till the *Revolution*, ſhew'd a ſtrong Appetite to hanging, and carryed their Point more by the Halter than by Reaſon and Juſtice.

Capt Turpin *hang'd*

About this Time Sir *Robert Pye* and Colonel *Blake*, afterwards the victorious Admiral, took *Taunton Dean*; and the Parliament Convoy, who went with the Cavalier Soldiers to *Bridgwater*, had Serjeant *Francis*'s Letter about Prince *Rupert*'s Victory at *Marſton Moor*, ſhewn them to mortify them; and though that Letter is one Lye from the Beginning to the End, yet it is better grounded than moſt Facts in their Hiſtories; for after the Royaliſts had worſted one Wing of the Parliamentarians, they

Taunton *taken by* Blake.

A. D. 1644. immediately dispatch'd an Express to *Oxford* of a compleat Victory; and there was ringing of Bells upon it, and other Demonstrations of Joy; which News was carry'd as far as *Bristol* before that of Prince *Rupert*'s Rout arriv'd there. Serjeant *Francis*'s Letter is already inserted, and was so thoroughly believ'd that the Lord General *Essex* having receiv'd a Copy of the three Generals Relation of the Princes Defeat, he sent it by a Trumpet to Sir *John Berkley*, offering him a Sort of Bett that if Serjeant *Francis*'s Letter was true, he would engage his Honour to deliver up *Weymouth* and *Melcomb*, if Sir *John* would engage to surrender *Exeter*, in Case the Account in the three Generals Letter was true: To which Sir *John* return'd an Answer so modest and handsome, that it is worth reading.

My Lord,

IN the Posture we are, 'tis very possible I may be deceiv'd in our Intelligence, and considering the Practice of some, not impossible but your Lordship may be. I am confident your Lordship hath no Intention to abuse the People. I am most sure I have not. It must be acknowledg'd your News is very unpleasant to Men of my Affection, and will not prove very prosperous to those of your Lordship's, if I am not mistaken in them, or my Arguments of them. I still incline to believe our own Account, but not to that degree of Difference as there is between Exeter *and* Weymouth; *however, I shall receive the Assurance of either with the most equal Mind, and in the worst Event shall never want the Satisfaction of having discharg'd my Duty to my Country with an Heart as untouch'd of private Ends and Respects as any Man living, and as much*

Your loving humble Servant,
John Berkley.

Irish Rebels in the King's Army taken and hang'd.

On the 11th of *July* Colonel *Obrian* sent out a Party of 240 Horse and Foot from *Wareham* to *Dorchester*, who fac'd the Town several Hours, but the Inhabitants stood on their Guard, and sent to the Parliament's Garrisons at *Alderbury* and *Weymouth* for Relief; accordingly Colonel *Sydenham*, Major *Sydenham*, and other Officers, came thither with some Forces, fell upon the Cavaliers, put them to flight, and pursu'd them almost to *Wareham*, slew 12, and took 60 Horses, and 160 Prisoners, of whom 8 being *Irish Rebels*, seven of them were immediately hang'd, and the eighth was spar'd for hanging his Fellows. It was said to be in Revenge of this that the Cavaliers hang'd up the twelve *Wiltshire* Clothiers. Colonel *Obrian* was Brother to the Earl of *Inchiqueen*, and hearing not long after that his Brother had declar'd for the Parliament, in Oppositon to the odious *Cessation* with the horrid *Massacrers* in *Ireland*, he quitted the Service he was in, and return'd to *Ireland* to serve under his Brother.

The King after the Action at *Copredy* Bridge intended to march Northwards and join Prince *Rupert*, but hearing of that Prince's Defeat he thought fit to change his Measures and go into the *West*, *Waller* being in no Condition to pursue him. From *Evesham* the Marquis of *Hertford* sent a Copy of a Message to the Earl of *Essex*, who communicated it to the Parliament, and 'twas intimated that the *French* Agent had the Original to deliver. A prepostrous Way of doing Business, to send a Copy only of a Message, and to leave the Original to be deliver'd by a Person who had render'd himself obnoxious to them, with this Error in the Address, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at* Westminster, and not to the Parliament of *England*. His Majesty tells them, no Success of his shall divert him from endeavouriug to restore Peace. This Success is the Skirmish at *Copredy* Bridge, and the Parliament had just receiv'd the News of the entire Rout of his Armies in the *North*; he promises to maintain *the true Reform'd Religion establish'd by Law*, by which is meant, *Spiritual Courts*, *Lay Chancellors*, *Excommunications*, and the like, which they resolv'd to abolish, *the Liberty and Property of the Subject*, *according to the* LAWS OF THE LAND, according to the same *Laws* as when the Subjects were prest for Soldiers, and their Property forcibly taken from them by *Ship Money*, *Loans*, *Tonnage and Poundage*, and the like. The very same Laws were then in the Land, and there has been so little Appearance of real Sorrow for the unparallel'd Violation of them, that a Promise to maintain them could not but have wonderful Effects on those who were in Arms to prevent their being again violated. The Parliament had never been offer'd the least Guarantee for the Keeping of this Promise, but the same Royal Inclinations that had before so often broken it. Their Answer was, that they were considering of Propositions of Peace, and could take no farther Notice of that Message, it being but a Copy, and they not own'd as the two Houses of Parliament, any more than the *Mungrel* Parliament at *Oxford*. His Majesty had a Design upon *Tewkesbury*, but Colonel *Massey*, Governor of *Glouceſter*, having strongly reinforc'd the Garrison, the King on a sudden made up the Hills, march'd in View of *Sudely* Castle over the Downs to *Cobberly*, *Beverston* Castle, *Sudbury*, and so to *Bath*, *Massey* continually skirmishing his Rear. At *Bath* the King appointed a Meeting of the Inhabitants of *Somersetshire* at *Kingsmore*, near *Ilchester*, where he made a long Speech to them on the 22d of *July*, and told them, *The Parliament were ready to devour them, and to destroy the true Protestant Religion, their Liberty and Property*, adding, *These I am come to defend, and he that dares not venture his Life for these, I had rather have his Room than his Company.* Though the *Somersetshire* Men were no greater Politicians than they were 40 Years after, when so many Hundreds of them were hang'd for the Protestant Religion, Liberty and Property, as the Duke of *Monmouth* told them, and many of them did not march away with the King, yet it is incomprehensible how they could be impos'd on to believe the Parliament of *England* were about to beggar and inslave them.

King's Message for Peace.

From hence the King march'd to *Exeter*, and *Essex* made a Motion as if he intended a counter March to the *East* and meet him, which Prince *Maurice* having Intelligence of, he march'd with 4000 Horse and Foot after him, but *Essex* remain'd in his old Quarters about *Tiverton*, and hearing that the Lord *Pawlett*'s Regiment of Horse was advanc'd to *Cherrington*, he sent a Party to beat up their Quarters, which they did in the Night, kill'd one Captain, some Troopers, took 60 of their Horses and all their Baggage. *Essex* found himself in great Perplexity by the King's getting between him and all Supplies of Men from *London*, and other Places. There was no way left for him but into *Cornwall*, whether the King seems to drive his Army before him, as a Covey of Birds are driven into a Net. The Lord *Robarts* indeed promis'd that he should be sufficiently supply'd there, and enabled to attack the King in Front, while *Waller*, or some other Parliament General, fell upon his Rear, and thus having coop'd him up they might cut

Cherrington Skirmish.

A. D. 1644. cut off his Army at Pleaſure; but no Parliament Army came that way, and the King's increas'd daily by Reinforcements from Prince *Maurice*'s Troops and his Garriſons, and by the coming in of the Weſt Country Men, who, as *Acherley* obſerves, liv'd ſo far off from *London*, that they might not know but that *Laud* was really the true *Proteſtant Religion*, and *Strafford* the Liberty and Property of the Subject, it being *Laud*'s Religion, and *Stafford*'s Politicks, which the King was fighting for.

Sir Richard Greenvile's ill Practices.

Eſſex in his farther March Weſtward drove the King's Garriſons out of *Mount Stamford*, *Plympton*, *Saltaſh*, and *Greenvile* Houſe, near *Taviſtock*, belonging to that Mirror of *Chivalry*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, who was every Way equal to the Service to which he was revolted: He began it with Perfidy and Ingratitude, and continu'd it with Brutality and Cruelty. He endeavour'd to maintain the Paſs at *Newbridge* to keep the Earl of *Eſſex* out of *Cornwall*, but the Parliament Army ſoon forc'd their Way, and the Earl poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Launceſton*, where he found Store of Ammunition. He earneſtly ſolicited the Parliament for Succours, and Major General *Middleton* was order'd into the Weſt with 2500 Horſe and Foot; he took ſome of the King's Carriages in *Somerſetſhire*, but came too late to effect any Thing for the Relief of the Earl, to whom his Majeſty wrote a Letter with his own Hand the 6th Inſtant, and ſent it by the Lord *Beauchamp*, the Marquis of *Hertford*'s Son, Nephew to *Eſſex*, to propoſe their joining together, and obliging the Parliament to put an End to the War, but without naming any Terms, unleſs he took the Offer of Advantage to his Lordſhip and his Army to be Terms. The Earl, though very deſirous of Peace on honourable Conditions, would not hear of a Treaty without Conſent of his Maſters, and it was a vain Propoſal to a Man of his known Honour. Minds truly noble, as they are incapable of eſpouſing a bad Cauſe, ſo are they of deſerting a good one; and Heaven and Hell are not more diſtant than Treachery and a publick Spirit. Such Sort of Addreſſes muſt be inconceivably Shocking to a generous Soul, that had ſtak'd every Thing which it held dear, for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty.

King writes to the Earl of Eſſex

This Letter from the King was back'd by another from Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Brentford*, adviſing the Earl of *Eſſex* gravely to take his Majeſty's Letter into Conſideration, and that was follow'd by another from the Lord *Hopton*, and the Officers of the King's Army, for Commiſſioners on both Sides to meet and ſettle Matters between them, without giving the Parliament any further Trouble about it. How full of Wiſdom and Honour were the then prevailing Counſels? The Earl of *Eſſex* anſwer'd the Earl of *Brentford*, *That whereas he had received a Letter from his Majeſty, another from his Lordſhip, and a third from ſome other Commanders, by all which a Treaty was deſir'd, he thought fit to acquaint his Lordſhip, that it was not in his Commiſſion to be concern'd in any ſuch Treaty; nor could he betray the Truſt repos'd in him by the Parliament.* If I had not made my ſelf ſo well acquainted as I am with the Reverend Hiſtorian's *Notions of Religion and Honour*, I ſhould have wonder'd at his paſſing by this Hiſtory without the leaſt Reflection on the Perjury the Earl was tempted to commit; inſtead of which, he blames him, and inſults him for not breaking his Oath ſo ſolemnly taken in the Covenant, and renouncing the many Proteſtations he had made to be faithful to the Cauſe he was engag'd in. 'Tis Matter of great Lamentation, that the paltry Intereſts of this World ſhould ſo blind the Conſciences of Men, whoſe Function it is to preach up the next, as to render them inſenſible not only of pious, but of moral Sentiments; and nothing could be more immoral and impious than the Earl's entring into a Treaty without the Conſent of the Parliament, who had entruſted him with the Command of their Armies. True it is, the Temptation was the ſtronger on Account of the Difficulties he had precipitated himſelf into by ſuffering the Enemy to ſhut him up in a Nook of the Kingdom. The General ſent up theſe Letters to the Parliament, and they were read at a Conference in the *Painted Chamber*, *Auguſt* the 14th. The two Houſes approv'd of his Lordſhip's Conduct ſo well, that they order'd him Thanks for his Fidelity.

A. D. 1644.

Wilmot diſgrac'd.

About this Time the Lord *Wilmot*, Lieutenant General of the King's Horſe, fell into his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, and was ſent Priſoner to *Exeter*, upon which, his Lordſhip being well belov'd in the Army, the old Horſe Officers preſented a Petition to the King, to know the Reaſon of his Diſgrace. In Anſwer to which a Charge was drawn up againſt him, and offer'd to them for their Satisfaction. The Main of the Charge was, That by the Meſſenger who went with his Majeſty's Letter to the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Wilmot* ſent alſo a Meſſage, *to commend him kindly to the Earl, and tell him from him, he had many good Friends in the Army, that he ſhould lay hold of this Opportunity, and then they would ſhew themſelves, and the Court ſhould not have Power to hinder it.* *Wilmot* in his Reply ſpeaks very ſoberly and reaſonably, though *Echard* repreſents him as always in his Cups; *I never had a private Treaty, nor did ever ſpeak any Thing to the Prejudice of the Publick Cauſe, yet if there could be a Means found out to reconcile the juſt Intereſts of the King and Kingdom, ſuch as becomes an honeſt and well affected Man to appear in, I am ſure I ſhould be very ready to engage all my Aſſiſtance, thinking it an Action that may be very well juſtify'd to God and all honeſt Men.*

Wareham taken by Sir A. Aſhley Cooper, &c.

In the mean Time Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* and Colonel *Sydenham*, with about 1200 Horſe and Foot, drawn out of the Garriſons of *Lyme*, *Weymouth* and *Pool*, came before the Town of *Wareham*, and began to ſtorm the Out-works, upon which Colonel *Obrian* deſir'd a Parley, and the Place was ſurrender'd on honourable Conditions; the Chief of which was, that *Obrian* and thoſe Forces there that had been brought out of *Ireland*, ſhould return to that Kingdom, to ſerve againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels.

Eſſex in Straits.

As the King had *out general'd* Waller before at *Copredy* Bridge Skirmiſh, ſo he did the ſame now by *Eſſex*, and both in one Campaign: He coop'd the latter up in a Corner, from whence there was no way left for him to eſcape but by Sea. *Ludlow* blames him for not fighting the King's Army before the weſtern Forces had join'd him, he being till then, at leaſt equal in Number to his Majeſty's; and he adds, *much Superior in Courage and Affection to the Cauſe.* If the Parliament did not take ſo much Care as was expected in ſending him Supplies, his Care ought to have been the greater in preventing the Want of them. And Poſterity will not think the Advice of the Lord *Robarts*, though a *Corniſh* Man, ſufficient to juſtify his giving the Enemy ſuch an Advantage over him.

There are various Accounts of the Diſgrace which befel the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army in *Cornwall*; but *Whitlock* aſſures us his is true; and *Echard*'s Account being almoſt the Reverſe of it, I ſhall give it in the Words of the *Memorialiſt*.

A. D. 1644. Whitl. p. 98.

rialiſt. His Majeſty came to *Leskard*, 8 Miles from *Leſtwithiel*, where *Eſſex* lay, and was there encompaſs'd by the King and Prince *Maurice* at *Boconnoc*, Sir *Richard Greenvile* at *Bodmyn*, and Sir *Jacob Aſhley* at *Hull*. The King's Party was deſirous to fight, but upon Conſultation it was held more adviſable to ſtarve the Parliament's Forces, to which End *Goring* with a Party of Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Baſſet* with 1500 Foot, were ſent *Weſtward* to ſtop all Proviſions from the *Land's End* Side, and to ſtreighten *Eſſex* by keeping his Horſe and Foot cloſe together. *Eſſex* drew his Cannon and Baggage towards *Foy*, but in thoſe bad Ways his Carriages ſtuck, and they were much hinder'd by it. In this Diſtreſs the gallant Sir *William Balfour*, having a ſtong Body of Horſe, near 3000, under his Command, and ſcorning to ſubmit to an Enemy he had always hitherto been us'd to conquer, broke thro' all the King's Quarters, and got ſafe to *Saltaſh* and from thence to *Plymouth*, with no Loſs. This is the moſt glorious Event in the whole War, and the diſarming the Earl of *Eſſex*'s few Foot by the King's powerful Army of both Horſe and Foot, with all the Advantages of Ground, was ſo far from covering the Shame of this Inſult of Sir *William Balfour*'s, that the Glory of the King's taking away the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Mens Arms is loſt, in the Diſgrace he ſuffer'd by *Balfour*'s Horſe breaking thro' all his Army, Cavalry and Infantry: And whatever Advantage his Majeſty would have had the World believe he had gain'd by diſarming *Eſſex*'s Foot, People talk'd more of Sir *William Balfour*'s Gallantry than of the King's Victory. The Parliament's Foot made a brave Defence ſome Time after their Horſe was gone; but *Eſſex*'s leaving them, and taking with him the Lord *Robarts*, Sir *John Meyrick*, and other Officers, it was too great a Diſcouragement for them to defend themſelves longer. It is true Major-General *Skippon* propos'd it to them in this Speech.

Eſſex *leaves the Army.*

Major Gen. Skippon's *Speech to them.*

Gentlemen,

" YOU ſee our General and ſome chief Of-
" ficers have thought fit to leave us, and
" our Horſe are got away. We are left alone
" upon our Defence. That which I propound
" to you is this, that we having the ſame Cou-
" rage as our Horſe had, and the ſame God
" to aſſiſt us, may make the ſame Trial of our
" Fortunes, and endeavour to make our Way
" thro' our Enemies as they have done, and ac-
" count it better to die with Honour and Faith-
" fulneſs, than to live diſhonourable.

But few of the Council of War concurr'd with him in this Reſolution, alledging the Horſe had many Advantages to break through which the Foot had not, who now were alſo diſmay'd by the going away of their General; and ſeveral other Reaſons they urg'd for a Treaty which they had receiv'd Intimation from the King's Army his Majeſty was willing to accept.

Accordingly Commiſſioners were appointed to treat.

Treaty between the King and the Parliament's Army in Cornwall.

For the King.

Prince *Maurice*, the Earl of *Brentford*, the Lord *Digby*.

For the Parliament.

Col. *Barclay*, Col. *Whichcot*, Col. *Butler*.

Articles were agreed upon the 2d of *September* to this Effect; *To deliver up to the King their Artillery, with all their Bag and Baggage: No Perſon under a Corporal to wear any kind of Weapon: All Officers above to wear only Sword and Piſtols.* In Purſuance of this Treaty his Majeſty had Poſſeſſion of 40 Pieces of Braſs Ordnance, 200 Barrels of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable, 9000 Arms for Horſe and Foot. Some of the private Soldiers liſted themſelves in the King's Service, and ſome of the reſt as they march'd forth being pillag'd by the Cavaliers, Major-General *Skippon* rode up to the King, who ſtood to ſee them paſs by, and told him, *It was againſt his Honour and Juſtice that his Articles ſhould not be perform'd, his Soldiers pillaging ſome of the Parliament's Soldiers contrary to thoſe Articles, and deſir'd his Majeſty to give Orders to reſtrain them*, which was done, and *Skippon* with his Men march'd to *Pool* under Convoy of Col. *Adrian Scroope*, who ſign'd a Certificate of the good Behaviour of the Parliament's Forces in their March, and Major-General *Skippon* did the ſame for his generous Deportment towards him and his Soldiers, and gave him a ſafe Conduct to [illegible]. This worthy Gentleman Lieutenant-Colonel *Adrian Scroope* had a Kinſman in the Parliament Army, who with Col. *Ingoldsby* ſate on the Bench at the Trial of the King; but at the Reſtoration Col. *Ingoldsby* was made a Knight of the Bath, and Col. *Adrian Scroope* was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, notwithſtanding the good Services of his Kinſman and Nameſake for his Majeſty, and the good Services of many of that ancient Family in ſeveral Parts of *England*, who took Arms for the King.

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Parliament Officers ſurrender.

The Officers of the Parliament Army in *Cornwall* who ſurrender'd, were Major-General *Skippon*, Col. *Whichcot*, Col. *Barclay*, Col. *Gower*, Col. *Tyrrel*, Col. *Butler*, Col. *Hunter*, Col. *Francis*, Col. *Dean*, Col. *Forteſcue*, Col. *Weare*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Martin*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Moore*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Draper*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Mackenſy*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Floyd*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Webb*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Pride*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Everſhot*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Bulſtrode*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Traherne*.

Whitlock informs us ſeveral who were no Friends to *Eſſex* inveigh'd againſt him as one that had quitted his Command, and deſerted his Army in the greateſt Danger. Others excus'd and commended him for this Action, by which Means only he could preſerve himſelf, his Officers and Soldiers to do the Parliament further Service. Others condemn'd *Waller*, *Manchester* and *Middleton*, for not making more haſte to the Aſſiſtance of their General. Every one vented his own Fancy and Cenſure; but there ſeems to be great Reaſon to charge the Earl with Want of Vigour and Foreſight in his *Weſtern* March. He propos'd his coming to *London* to juſtify himſelf; but the Parliament wrote him, *They were fully ſatisfy'd that he was not wanting to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours in that Service, and were well aſſur'd of his Fidelity, deſiring him to entertain no Thoughts of Diſcontent or Diſcouragement, but to go on in the managing of the War, Sir* William Waller's *and other Forces being ready to join him.* Notwithſtanding this civil Letter, it is evident that from this Time their mutual Civilities were affected, and the Cordiality of their Friendſhip daily diminiſh'd. The Parliament were deſirous of *Peace* in the beſt Acceptation of the Word, and were reſolv'd to bring the King to a Neceſſity of the ſame Interpretation of it. They were jealous that their General the Earl of *Eſſex* took it in too unlimited a Senſe, and was willing enough that the *Laudæan* Hierarchy ſhould ſtand, and the Prerogative be what the King would have it, provided himſelf, and the Houſe of Peers were ſecur'd in their Privileges, and the Commons were kept in the

Parliament cool towards Eſſex.

ſame

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ſame or a greater Inferiority. The Two Houſes were for the general Rights, Liberties and Properties of the People, and a *thorough* Reformation. To effect this, they reſolv'd as ſoon as conveniently they could to put their Military Affairs under the Management of Officers who were intirely of their own Sentiments, and for a vigorous Proſecution of the War till thoſe good Ends could be obtain'd.

The King, according to *Echard*, after this glorious Succeſs, look'd upon *Plymouth*, and receiv'd a rude Anſwer to a moſt gracious Meſſage; for my Lord *Robarts*, who was left Governor there, was not ſo frighted at this Glory as to part with ſo conſiderable a Place for a kind Word or two. His Majeſty put the Two Houſes in Mind of his Meſſage from *Eveſham* about *Peace*, but this Meſſage too wanting the neceſſary Form of Addreſs, had no more Effect than the other, and with good Reaſon, for the Stile of all theſe Meſſages were eternally the ſame; *The* Religion *as eſtabliſh'd by Law*; *The* Prerogative *according to the* Laws *of the* Land; *The* Rights *and* Privileges *of Parliament according to* Law: All which he adminiſter'd for 15 or 16 Years in the Manner the Two Houſes juſtly fear'd he would again interpret thoſe Laws, when he was reſtrain'd by no Power but the Royal Will and Pleaſure.

His Majeſty march'd back thro' *Somerſetſhire*, where the Inhabitants preſented a Petition to him, offering to ſpend their Lives in aſſiſting him to obtain ſuch a Peace as he was contending for. There was much Dependance to be made on theſe worſhipful People, who not long after were ſome of the firſt who petition'd the Parliament to bring the *Grand Delinquent* to Juſtice.

During the King's Stay at *Chard*, ſays *Echard*, *the brave Col.* Gage, a Papiſt, *undertook from* Oxford *to relieve* Baſing Houſe, *a ſtrong Place in* Hampſhire, *valiantly defended by the Marquis of* Wincheſter, another Papiſt, *againſt the Parliament for above three Months. All which he perform'd after a moſt ſoldierly Manner, tho' it was near* 40 *Miles from* Oxford; *and ſoon after this great Action*, &c. I repeat this ſhort Piece of Hiſtory, becauſe it is an Epitome of his Way of telling Story. *Whitlock* informs us this *Gage* " took about 1500 of the King's Foot " out of ſeveral Garriſons, and mounting them " for Dragoons, march'd by Night towards *Baſing Houſe*. Col. *Norton* and Col. *Morley*, " *who were then in a kind of Blockade*, took " the Allarm: *Norton* charg'd his Troops and " broke thro' them, but they with great Courage wheel'd about, and charg'd *Norton*'s " whole Body, who retreated into Col. *Morley*'s " Quarters. In the mean while they got ſome " Supplies of Ammunition and Proviſions into " the Houſe. *Morley* and *Norton* fac'd them, " but they would not fight, and retreating back " again, were purſu'd, 150 of them kill'd and " taken, *as many Men as they had reliev'd.* " Among the Priſoners was a Major and other " inferior Officers. *Norton* loſt but one Man. " *Gage*'s Party gave an Allarm to Major-General *Brown* at *Abington*, who ſhortly after in " Revenge allarm'd *Oxford* it ſelf, and " brought away four Drove of Cattle from under " the Walls.

Gage *attempts to relieve* Baſing.

Another merry Story of the Archdeacon's, is as follows *Verbatim*. " The fearleſs *Goring* being now poſſeſs'd with great Gaiety, earneſtly " adviſ'd the King to march with all Speed and " beat *Waller*, who lay at *Andover* with 3000 " Horſe and Dragoons. This was agreed to, but " the March was not manag'd with all neceſſary " Punctuality by thoſe about the King. Yet " they came not within four Miles of *Andover* " before *Waller* had Notice of their Motions; " and taking a View of their Strength and good " Order, durſt not ſtand a Battle, but drew back " into the Town, leaving a ſtrong Party of Horſe " and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But " the King's Van charg'd and routed them with " conſiderable Execution, purſu'd them thro' the " Town till the Darkneſs of the Night ſecur'd " the Remainder. They were very much ſhatter'd.

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The plain Truth of the Fact is no more nor no leſs than what *Whitlock* writes thus *Verbatim*. " The King's Army march'd to *Andover*, where " ſome Skirmiſhes were betwixt them and Sir " *William Waller*'s Forces, and about 20 kill'd " on both Sides." I ſhould not much diſcommend the Archdeacon and his Brother Hiſtorians for making the moſt of every little Succeſs in caſe it had came to any thing, and their noble Cauſe had been a whit the better for it. But ſince a few Months only are to paſs before they are to be beaten out of every Field and every Town in *England*, it is a very childiſh Piece of Vanity to repreſent thoſe to be always Heroes, who are ſo ſoon to be always Runaways. It would be endleſs to pretend to give an Account of every petty Advantage obtain'd by the Parliament's Forces over the King's. But what would the Archdeacon have made of a Skirmiſh between 80 of the Garriſon of *Leiceſter*, Convoy to ſome Carriers, and Colonel *Haſtings* with 120 Men, who ſet upon thoſe Carriers? But their Convoy kill'd 8 of the 120, took 60 Priſoners, and moſt of their Arms.

King at Andover.

At the ſame Time Sir *Thomas Middleton* having taken *Montgomery* Caſtle in *North Wales*, was forc'd to leave it at the Approach of the King's Army in thoſe Parts, againſt which it was not long tenable, and to look out for Help to reſcue the few Parliamentarians whom he had left in the Caſtle, which the Lord *Byron* immediately beſieg'd with 5000 Men. *Middleton* being join'd by Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Meldrum*, and Sir *William Fairfax*, advanc'd with about 3000 Men againſt the Enemy, who met and engag'd them, *Sept.* 18. both Parties came preſently to puſh of Pike, and the Cavaliers worſted the Parliament's Horſe, which ſo encourag'd the King's Soldiers, that, as it was a very common Thing with them, they ſhouted and cry'd, *The Day's our own*, *The Day's our own*; and their Shouting and Crying ſo enrag'd the Parliament's Forces, that they came on again with freſh Courage and entirely defeated the Royaliſts, took Major-General *Broughton*, Sir *Thomas Tildeſley* a Papiſt, Lieutenant-Colonel *Bludwell*, Major *Williams*, 9 Captains, as many Subalterns, and 1500 private Centinels. On the King's Part were ſlain 300, and 500 wounded. On the Parliament's Part about 40 were ſlain, and about 60 wounded. The Lord *Byron* made his Eſcape by the Goodneſs of his Horſe. But the Parliamentarians had little Reaſon to value themſelves on their Victory, ſince they purchas'd it ſo dearly as with the Loſs of Sir *Will. Fairfax*, who was kill'd with nine Wounds, of whom with much *Sincerity* and *Plainneſs* may be ſaid, there was not a braver Officer, nor a better *Engliſhman*, nor a more zealous Proteſtant in the Kingdom. His Zeal for Religion and Liberty engag'd him in this, the *Good Old Cauſe*, and no doubt he could with great Comfort ſay in the Agonies of Death, *Dulce eſt pro Patriâ mori.*

Montgomery *Fight.*

Sir William Fairfax *kill'd.*

A Trumpet who had deſerted Prince *Rupert* on ſome Diſcontent, came to Sir *William Brereton* and inform'd him that Col *Baines*, Col.

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Fight at Malpas.

Coniers, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, all three Papiſts, with 1000 Men, were marching towards *Cheſter* by *Malpas* to join the Prince, upon which *Brereton* drew out 8 Troops of Horſe, and 7 Companies of Foot, every Footman mounted behind a Trooper. When they came within two Miles of *Malpas* the Foot alighted, and the Horſe march'd before the Foot. The King's Forces ſent out a forlorn Hope to obſerve them; but *Brereton*'s Horſe not coming the Way they expected, wheel'd about, and got between the Town and the Cavaliers, kill'd or took moſt of them, and defeated alſo a Party from *Malpas*. Col. *Baines*, Col. *Coniers*, Major *Harborn* a Papiſt, and Major *Hesketh* another Papiſt, were ſlain; Major *Maxey*, Major *Cromwel*, and Major *Crathorn*, were taken Priſoners, together with other Officers, and moſt of the Soldiers.

Theſe and a great many other fine Actions on the Parliament's Side are intirely omitted in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and Mr. Archdeacon's Hiſtories, or are looſely ſlurr'd over; the Former gives his Reaſon for it, and I think it the ſincereſt Thing in the Book, when he ſpeaks of the Rout at *Marſton Moor*. He took no Delight in telling it.

The King.

After the Skirmiſh at *Andover*, his Majeſty march'd to *Whitechurch*, and ſent the Earl of *Northampton* with his Brigade of Horſe to raiſe the Siege of *Banbury* Caſtle, which Col. *John Fiennes* had beſieg'd three Months to little Purpoſe. Accordingly on the 25th of *October* the Earl, having join'd ſome Horſe and Foot from *Oxford* under Col. *Gage*, came to *Banbury* and rais'd the Siege, doing conſiderable Execution on *Fiennes*'s Men, who did not behave as their Fellow-Soldiers had done on the like Occaſion. He had much ado to make good his Retreat to *Warwick*, leaving behind him ſome of his Ordnance, and three Waggon-Load of Arms and Ammunition. But by this Service his Majeſty was depriv'd of the Aſſiſtance of this Brigade of Horſe at the ſecond Battle of *Newbury*, which happen'd two Days after,

Banbury *reliev'd by the King's Forces.*

Newbury *ſecond Battle.*

The Parliament had been diligent to recruit *Eſſex*'s Army, and had ſent 6000 Arms by Sea, for his Foot that came out of *Cornwall*. They had alſo new cloath'd them, and furniſh'd them with a new Train of Artillery, which was ſent by Water as far as *Reading* to be convoy'd thence by *Mancheſter*'s Army to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s, who took the Field on *Thurſday Oct.* 17. about 6 Weeks after his Diſgrace in *Cornwall*. He advanc'd from *Portſmouth* to *Petersfield*, and on the 21ſt his Forces, *Mancheſter*'s, and *Waller*'s join'd near *Baſing*, making an Army much ſuperior to the King's, who now ſaw that his Advantage in the *Weſt* had more Honour than Profit in it. For there were alſo marching to join the Earl of *Eſſex*, the City Brigade, commanded by Sir *James Harrington*, being the *Red* and *Blue* London Regiments. The *Red* Regiment of *Weſtminſter*, the *Yellow* Regiment of *Southwark*, and the Regiment of the *Tower* Hamlets, making in all 5000 Men. On the 22d of *October* his Majeſty, who had fac'd the Parliamentarians with a Party of Horſe, drew off his Infantry from *Kingſclear*, and march'd to *Newbury*, as the Parliament Army did to *Reading*. The next Day the Latter came to *Aldermarſton*, and two Days after to *Bucklebury Heath*, about five Miles from *Newbury*. They made a very good Army, and the Parliament wrote to the Generals to agree among themſelves, and take for Example the good Underſtanding between the General Officers in the *North*. But whatever was the Reaſon of it, if it was not Indiſpoſition, as the Earl of *Eſſex* gave out, his Lordſhip abſented himſelf from the Army at this important Juncture, and without imputing it to the Intrigues of *Cromwel*, and the *Fineſſe* of ſome leading Members of the Houſe of Commons, that Aſſembly would not have deſerved the Character of Wiſe, which is given them by all ſober Writers, had they ever put him again at the Head of their Armies. It was thought the King, whoſe Army was inferior in Number to the Parliament's, would have declin'd fighting till Prince *Rupert* had join'd him with 3000 Horſe and Dragroons, or at leaſt till the Earl of *Northampton* return'd with his Brigade of Horſe and the Foot from *Oxford*; and it was the beſt Counſel his Majeſty could take. He had caſt up Works about *Newbury*, fortify'd the Avenues, lin'd the Hedges, and kept within the Town, guarded with his Artillery; ſo that what Advantage the Parliament Generals had by Numbers, the King would have had as much by Situation, if he had kept it; but he caus'd his Horſe and Foot to draw out into *Speen* Field, the Midway between *Newbury* Town and *Demington* Caſtle, as well to make his Army ſeem more numerous, as to embattle them as advantagiouſly as poſſible. Little paſs'd the firſt Day, the 26th of *October*, for the River *Kennet* was between them, only the two Armies cannonaded each other, tho' with no great Execution, and ſome Skirmiſhing and Picqueering happen'd between the Horſemen; ſo the greater Part of the Parliament Army retreated to *Cheveley*, and quarter'd there that Night in the Field. Here it was reſolv'd at a Council of War to divide their Forces thus: All General *Eſſex*'s Horſe and Foot, and moſt of the Forces under the Command of *Waller*, with the City Brigade, ſhould march to *Speen* Hill, and the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Foot and Part of his Horſe to continue in the Field near *Shaw*, a ſmall Village, where the Houſe of Mr. *Doleman* was fortify'd by his Majeſty's Forces; and it was agreed, that as ſoon as the Latter ſhould by diſcharging of the Cannon underſtand that thoſe at *Speen* were engag'd, *Mancheſter* ſhould fall on to gain the Paſſage at *Shaw*, and give a Diverſion to that Part of the Army deſign'd for *Speen*. The Horſe were commanded by Sir *William Waller* and Sir *William Balfour*, the Foot by Major-General *Skippon*, who by Break of Day on *Sunday* the 27th of *October* was on the March. He fetch'd a Circle to avoid the Fire from *Dennington* Caſtle, where Part of the Garriſon ſally'd on his Rear, and took ſome Priſoners, and *Skippon* intercepted ſome Carts loaden with Proviſions for his Majeſty's Uſe. In four Hours Time his Foot made their Approach on the *Weſt* Side of *Newbury*. It was near Three a Clock in the Afternoon before they could get themſelves into *Battalia*. Then the forlorn Hope of Horſe began the Fight, ſeconded by the Foot, and for three Hours together the Battle was maintain'd with as much Reſolution, Bravery, and even Deſperateneſs, on both Sides, as had been known ſince the Commencement of the War; but in Concluſion the Parliament's Forces beat the King's from the Works at *Speen*, and out of the Village, and took nine Pieces of Cannon, among which were ſix of thoſe they loſt in *Cornwall*, which the Foot that were then diſarm'd ventur'd deſperately to regain, and when they had got them, embrac'd them for Joy, ſaying, *We'll give you a* Corniſh *Hug*. *Orleans* aſſures us, that all thoſe Troops having taken an Oath in *Cornwall* never to ſerve againſt the King, were perjur'd by fighting againſt him in this Battle; which is falſe, for the Parliament's Soldiers there diſarm'd took no ſuch Oath, and they now ſufficiently reveng'd themſelves for the Affront then put upon them.

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A. D. 1644. Night coming on prevented further Action. On the other Side of *Newbury* the Earl of *Manchester* the ſame *Sunday* Morning commanded a Party of about 400 Musketeers to paſs the *Kennet* on the left Hand of *Shaw*, and thereby divert the King's Strength from attending *Speen* Hill. Theſe Musketeers advanc'd accordingly, and beat the King's Forces out of two of their Works, and took ſome Priſoners, but were at laſt beaten back with conſiderable Loſs. Towards Four a Clock, *Manchester* hearing the Cannon play from *Speen* Hill, play'd alſo on *Doleman*'s Houſe at *Shaw* with two ſmall Pieces of Ordnance, and commanded a Party of 500 Musketeers as a Forlorn Hope to attack it, which they did, and beat thoſe who ſally'd out of the Houſe into their Works. The Reaſon why they did no more, was ſaid to be becauſe Night came on. The Action on this Side is generally condemn'd as imperfectly perform'd, and gave Occaſion of Complaint againſt one another by *Manchester* and *Cromwel*, and that the King's Army was not as entirely routed as ever was any Army, is imputed wholly to the bad Service on *Shaw* Side. The King's Forces *left the Field in exceeeding Haſte and Confuſion*, which is hardly worth mentioning; for the Parliament Army was much more numerous. *Skippon* had broke in upon the King's Forces on the *Weſt* Side, *Manchester* might more eaſily have done it on the *Eaſt* Side, *Doleman*'s Houſe being nothing to *Dennington* Caſtle, and the Cavaliers muſt then have been intirely cut to Pieces. The King march'd out of *Newbury* Town in the Night, and ſecuring what Cannon he had left, his Carriage and Baggage in *Dennington* Caſtle, he retreated by *Wallingford* to *Oxford*. The Loſs was little or nothing on the Parliament's Side: On the King's about 200 were kill'd, among whom were Mr. *Goring*, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, and Major *Trevillian*, Col. *Thomas Dalton*, Capt. *Thurſtan Anderton*, Capt. *Samway*, Capt. *Wells*, the four laſt Papiſts. Three hundred of the King's Forces were taken Priſoners, and among them *Thomas Wentworth* Earl of *Cleveland*. Major-General *Skippon* wrote thus to the Committee: "The King, "Prince *Charles*, and Prince *Maurice*, with "about 7 or 800 Horſe, got *Weſtward*, as we "are credibly inform'd. The reſt of his Forces "leaving the Train at *Dennington*, went to-"wards *Oxford*, all much ſhatter'd. General "*Ruthen*, and the Earl of *Brentford*'s Lady, were "taken 7 Miles off, himſelf narrowly eſcaping, "thro' our own Party's unadviſedly ſounding of "a Trumpet when they were near the Place "where he was. We had 50 Soldiers ſlain, and "no Officer of Note but Capt. *Gauler* of my "Lord General's Regiment. The Wounded "are ſcarce 100. *Whitlock* informs us that the "King march'd out of *Newbury* an Hour after "Midnight with an Attendant Troop of Horſe "only. The Parliament's Forces took 1000 "Arms, and had they had but one Hour more "of Day-light, would in all Probability have "routed and diſpers'd the King's whole Army, "which was in ſo great Diſtraction, that they "retreated three ſeveral Ways at once in great "Confuſion." General *Ludlow*, who was in this Battle, tells us, "The Uſage our Men met "with in *Cornwall* being freſh in their Memo-"ry, caus'd them to charge with ſuch Vigour, "that ſome of them ran up to the King's Can-"non and clap'd their Hats on the Touch-holes, "falling ſo furiouſly on the Enemy, that they "were not able to ſtand before them, but were "forc'd to quit their Ground, and ran under "the Shelter of *Dennington* Caſtle." Mr. Archdeacon, with whoſe Sincerity and Judgment the Reader muſt by this Time be as well acquainted as I am, aſſures us, "Sir *John Cansfield*, A. D. 1644. "another notorious Papiſt, Colonel of the "Queen's Regiment of Horſe, charg'd the Par-"liamentarians with ſo much Gallantry, that he "routed them, and purſu'd the Execution of "them near half a Mile. General *Goring* and "the Earl of *Cleveland* charg'd the Left Wing "of the Parliament's Horſe ſo furiouſly, that "they forc'd them over a Hedge in great Con-"fuſion, and follow'd them. At *Shaw* Houſe "Sir *John Browne* with the Prince's Regiment "drove 1200 Horſe and 3000 Foot of the Earl "of *Manchester*'s Men before him with great "Execution, till meeting with another Body of "their Horſe, he retir'd to the Foot in *Doleman*'s "Garden, who oblig'd *Manchester*'s Horſe to "wheel about, when Sir *John* fell upon their "Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all "the Day, while Col. *Thelwell*'s Reſerve of "Foot gall'd their Foot with ſeveral Vollies, "and then fell in with the But-End of their "Muskets till they beat them quite out of the "Field, leaving two Drakes, ſome Colours, "and many dead Bodies behind them. At this "Time a Body of their Foot attempted *Shaw* "Houſe, but were ſo briskly receiv'd by Colo-"nel *Page*, that they were ſoon forc'd to re-"tire with ſuch Confuſion, that they left 500 "dead upon a little Spot of Ground, ſo they "drew off the two Drakes into the Houſe. The "Enemy being beaten off, and retiring from all "that Quarter, it was now Night, which nei-"ther Party was ſorry for." This excellent Portion of Hiſtory, of which hardly one Word is literally true, is however a poor Imitation of a more famous Hiſtorian on the Cavalier Side, who wrote *Mercurius Aulicus*, the *Court* Paper, at *Oxford*, and was the beſt Hand that could be pick'd out in that Univerſity, where once a Week it diverted and edify'd the illuſtrious Aſſembly then in that City. Mercurius Aulicus.

This News-Book was publiſh'd the *Saturday* after *Newbury* ſecond Fight, and contains a Relation of it at large, every whit as florid as the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and a little more impartial. "The REBELS ſent out ſeveral "Parties to have fallen upon his Majeſty's Quar-"ters, but they were every one beaten; 1100 "of the REBELS on the Hill before *Shaw* "came down to paſs the River *Kennet*; they "got over, and then advanc'd with much Con-"fidence, till that gallant Gentleman Sir *Ber-"nard Aſtley* came up with 400 Musketeers, and "charg'd them with ſuch Judgment and Cou-"rage, that he routed all thoſe 1100 REBELS. "While he was upon the Execution of the "REBELS, two other Bodies of REBELS "haſted over the River to ſecond the firſt; but "the brave Knight ſo follow'd his Blow, that he "made the firſt REBELS rout the ſecond RE-"BELS, who all ran thro' the River in ſuch "Diſtraction and Confuſion, that abundance of "them were drown'd, beſides the Slain." There are ſeveral following Pages of the like Hiſtory on his Majeſty's glorious Victory at *Newbury* in this *State* Paper, which is but a faint Reſemblance of *Falſtaff*'s Account of his Proweſs in *Shakeſpear*, I ſhall only give one Inſtance more. *Fine Writing on the Cavalier Side.*

"Col. *Liſle* gave the REBELS three moſt gal-"lant Charges. In the *Firſt* his Field Word "was *For the Crown*, and then he beat them "back and knock'd them down both with Bul-"let and Musket Shot. In the *Second* Charge "his Word was *For Prince* Charles, and then "he cut them off as they came on, and hewed "them down ſufficiently as they ran away. In the "*Third* Charge it was *For the Duke of* York,

"and

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" and then he ſlaſh'd them ſo home, that they " troubled him no more, for had they come on " again, he had reſolv'd to have gone over all " the King's Children, and have knock'd them " down, and hew'd them down, and ſlaſh'd " them down *For the Duke of* Glouceſter, *the* " *Princeſs* Mary, *the Princeſs* Henrietta, till " he had not left one REBEL to fight againſt the " Crown or the Royal Progeny." This Cavalier Hiſtory-Writer, whoſe Manner is equally polite and ſincere, modeſtly rebukes a News-Writer at *London* for ſaying Mr. *Charles Goring* was kill'd, tho' he *was ready for another Charge againſt the* REBELS; but then he unfortunately commits the like Slip himſelf, *Their General the Earl of* Eſſex *is now in the Chirurgion's Hands*, whereas the Earl of *Eſſex* was not in the Battle. He upbraids the Parliamentarians, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Col. *Forteſcue*, Sir *William Balfour*, &c. with the Meanneſs of their Quality; and having juſt mention'd the Earl of *Mancheſter*, he ſays, *I have not met with a Right Honourable* REBEL, *except the Honourable Mr.* Fiennes. The Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. Archdeacon have not ſuffer'd ſo delicate a Remark to eſcape them.

Ruſhw. 728.

I doubt not we ſhall be excus'd for this long Digreſſion, it being ſo undeniable a Proof of the Dependance we are to make on theſe Gentlemens Hiſtories, and of the Neceſſity of our own to ſet People right, if they would know any thing of theſe Matters. It is certain there was not the ſame Vigour ſhewn on *Shaw* Side as there was on that of *Speen* by the Parliament's Forces, and that the Appearance of the King's Army again at *Newbury* a few Days after, gave too great Reaſon to the Two Houſes to be apprehenſive of the ill Effects of the Miſunderſtandings and Jealouſies among the chief Generals, and to provide againſt them as well as they could.

The Parliament Army, after the Fight, ſummon'd *Boys* Governor of *Dennington* Caſtle to ſurrender it, and that reſolute Officer defying them, they march'd towards *Oxford*, but were hinder'd advancing farther than *Hanwell* by the bad Ways, ſo they return'd to *Newbury*; and two or three Days after they receiv'd Advice by their Scouts that the King's Army very much increas'd by the Junction of the Forces under Prince *Rupert*, and thoſe from *Banbury* was on the March to relieve *Dennington*, which the King effected, tho' the Parliament's Army was more numerous than his. General *Ludlow* writes of it thus. " The King " in the Face of an Army twice as numerous as " his, had Time to ſend his Artillery from *Den-* " *nington* Caſtle towards *Oxford*, without any " Oppoſition, to the Aſtoniſhment of all thoſe " who wiſh'd well to the Publick; but by this " Time it was clearly manifeſt, that the Nobi- " lity had no further Quarrel with the King than " till they could make their Terms with him, " having for the moſt Part grounded their Diſ- " ſatisfaction upon ſome particular Affront, or " the Prevalency of a Faction about him. But " tho' it ſhould be granted that their Intentions " in taking Arms, were to oblige the King to " conſent to redreſs the Grievances of the Na- " tion, yet if a War of this Nature muſt be de- " termin'd by Treaty, and the King left in the " Exerciſe of the Royal Authority, after the ut- " moſt Violation of the Laws, and the greateſt " Calamities brought upon the People, it doth " not appear to me what Security can be given " them for the future Enjoyment of their Rights " and Privileges." Here the *Republican* was too hard for the *Engliſhman*. The Propoſitions of the *Uxbridge* Treaty, if the King had comply'd with them, were ſufficient Security, as will be ſeen hereafter. But the Over-earneſtneſs of ſome Parliament Lords for *Peace* before ſuch Security was obtain'd, oblig'd both Houſes to change Hands in carrying on the War, and to employ thoſe Officers who thought it their Duty while their Swords were drawn, to make the beſt, and that was the quickeſt Uſe of them.

King relieves Dennington *Caſtle.*

Soon after this the King reſolv'd to relieve *Baſing*, and to oppoſe him therein the Parliament's Forces drew from *Newbury* that Way, but thoſe before *Baſing* rais'd the Siege of their own Accord, and nothing of Moment happen'd between the Two Armies, and nothing was like to happen till the Parliament's was put under other Management: For tho' the Earl of *Eſſex* was a Man of too much Honour to betray his Truſt, yet he was for doing the Parliament's Buſineſs in his own Way, and not in theirs, which made it abſolutely neceſſary for them to take other Meaſures before the next Campaign.

The King's Forces took up their Quarters at *Oxford*, *Marlborough*, *Baſing*, *Odiham*, *Blewbury*, &c.

The Parliament's at *Reading*, *Henley*, *Abington*, *Farnham*, &c.

His Majeſty returning to *Oxford*, the Archdeacon purſues him with a Panegyrical Congratulation on his Succeſſes this Summer, *in which he nobly diſplay'd* his Genius, and ſhew'd himſelf a moſt vigilant and valiant Commander. When he has not the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Abundance of Words, which are the Character of his Lordſhip's Characteriſticks, Mr. *Echard*'s Eulogy is extremely laconick and barren; for tho' a ſmall Invention will ſerve to falſify Fact, it muſt be a large one to adorn it. I do with Pleaſure read the Story of the King's admirable Conduct, through the whole Courſe of this Campaign. In the Beginning of which he was ſhut up between two Armies under *Eſſex* and *Waller*, each of them as numerous as his own. One of them he ſo ruffled at *Copredy* Bridge, as to render it impotent; the other he diſarm'd in *Cornwall*. And when they were both recruited and rejoin'd, he fought and clear'd himſelf of them with little more than half their Forces at *Newbury*, where in ten Days Time he appear'd again to give them Defiance; and to deny him the Glory of a great intrepid General, is to do him Injuſtice. If the ſame Courage and Conduct had been ſhewn in ſo good a Cauſe as that of King *William*'s at the *Boyne*, his Fame and his Memory would have been equally glorious and immortal. What a deplorable thing is it to think on, that a great King ſhould be environ'd and govern'd by deſperate and criminal Counſellors, and to ſave them, be hurry'd on to his own Deſtruction? For it is certain by his Conduct in the War he was capable of heroic Actions, if, inſtead of Heroiſm, *Laud* and his Brethren had not fill'd his Royal Breaſt with Bigotry, a Weed which grows faſt, takes deep Root, and choaks all the good Seed which otherwiſe would ſpring and flouriſh in a good Soil.

The King's admirable Conduct this Campaign.

During theſe Tranſactions between the greater Armies, ſome Things memorable were tranſacted between the Leſs. Col. *Maſſey*, with a Detachment of the Garriſon of *Glouceſter*, having join'd Col. *Purefoy* with his Regiment of Horſe, they made an Incurſion into *Herefordſhire*, and fac'd *Hereford*. Prince *Rupert* having Intelligence of it, advanc'd towards *Eveſham* Bridge, intending to paſs it, and get between *Maſſey* and *Glouceſter*, while Col. *Myn*, and Sir *John Winter* a Papiſt, held him in Play on *Herefordſhire* Side. But *Maſſey* hearing of his Approach, drew back in Time, and got ſafe into *Glouceſter*. Four Days after, *May* the 7th, he march'd

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Churches profan'd by the Cavaliers.

Col. Maſſey *takes* Weſtbury *in* Glouceſterſhire,

out of that City with 900 Musketeers, 100 Pikes, Col. *Purefoy*'s and Part of his own Regiment of Horſe towards the Foreſt Side, where he fell upon *Weſtbury*, a Garriſon of Sir *John Winter*'s, who held the Church and a ſtrong Houſe adjoining. At *Acton* in *Lancaſhire* we found the Cavaliers behind their great Guns in the Church, at *Weſtbury* in *Glouceſterſhire* they are poſted on the ſame holy Ground, and the *Roundheads* muſt beat the Church about their Ears to come at them: But whenever the Parliamentarians get into a Church, it is made a Stable, it is profan'd, 'tis Sacrilege, and a damnable Sin. *Maſſey* order'd his Soldiers to fling their Granades into that conſecrated Place, which was ſoon ſurrender'd, and Capt. *Bret* and 60 Priſoners taken, while a Party of his Troops beat up the Enemy's Quarters at *Little Dean*, where Lieutenant Colonel *Congreve*, a Papiſt, was ſlain, Capt. *Wigmore* and others taken Priſoners. Thence, *May* the 8th, *Maſſey* march'd to *Newnham*, where another Party of Sir *John Winter*'s kept Garriſon in another Church, into which *Maſſey*'s Forces preſently running after them, the Cavaliers cry'd out *Quarter*, but at the Inſtant one *Tipper*, a Papiſt, Servant to Sir *John Winter*, blew up a Barrel of Gun-powder in the Church, which however had no other ill Effect than to ſinge ſome of the Soldiers. *Tipper* had been taken Priſoner before, and broken his Parole, which made him afraid of a Gibbet, and that put him upon this miſchievous Deſign, which ſo enrag'd *Maſſey*'s Men, that they ſlew him and 20 of his Companions. All the reſt had Quarter, except one Capt. *Butler* an *Iriſh Rebel*, whom a Common Soldier knock'd o' the Head. Here were taken Capt. *Malory*, Capt. *Michael Morgan*, Capt. *Halford*, Capt. *Blany*, 3 Lieutenants, 4 Enſigns, Store of Powder, Match, and 4 Pieces of Ordnance, without the Loſs of one Man on *Maſſey*'s Side, who hearing Col. *Myn* and Sir *John Winter* had join'd the Forces of the Lord *Herbert*, another Papiſt, to oppoſe him, got again ſafe into *Glouceſter*. Soon after, *May* the 22d, he ſurpriz'd *Beverſton* Caſtle in *Wiltſhire*, while *Ogletborpe* the Governor was abroad courting his Miſtreſs, and thence marching to *Malmsbury* he ſent a Summons to Col. *Henry Howard* the Governor, who, to his Honour be it ſpoken, return'd an Anſwer which no Cavalier Governor had the Wit or Courage to ſend before or after it, *I keep the Town of* Malmsbury *for the King and Parliament aſſembled at* Oxford. Upon which *Maſſey*'s Foot got into the Suburbs, broke their Way thro' the Houſes till they came almoſt up to the Works, and the only Place of Entrance into the Town, which is built on the Level of a Rock. *Maſſey* caus'd a Blind to be made croſs the Street to bring up the Ordnance, loaden with Carbine Shot; but in the Heat of the Buſineſs the Fancy of an Alarm ſeiz'd upon his Men, that thoſe in the Town were ſallying out upon them. There was nothing in it, yet ſo prevalent was their *Pannick*, that thoſe very Men who at other Times would brave it in the Face of an Enemy, venture on Breaches, and even Mouths of diſcharging Cannon, were now ſmitten with ſuch Diſtraction and Fear, that they all fled when none purſu'd them, and left their Ordnance deſerted in the open Street. The Garriſon, by Reaſon of the *Blind*, perceiv'd not this Advantage, which otherwiſe had prov'd fatal to the Aſſailants. This Incident ſhews us that Cowardice as well as Courage has its critical Minute, and that Terror and Temerity poſſeſs Men ſometimes like Dæmons, and produce the moſt involuntary Actions. *Maſſey* had much ado to rally his amaz'd Soldiers, but at laſt they recover'd both their Courage and their Ground, and the next Morning a Forlorn Hope, ſeconded with a good Reſerve, advanc'd to the only Paſſage which had no Drawbridge, only a Turnpike, at which they flung in their Granades. Thoſe within made a Random Shot, but by the Diſadvantage of a rainy Night, their Muskets lying wet on the Ground, were little ſerviceable; and *Maſſey*'s Men thronging into the Town, got Poſſeſſion of it *May* the 24th. Col. *Howard* was taken at the Works, making as brave a Defence as was poſſible. *Maſſey* gave ſtrict Orders that the Town ſhould be preſerv'd from Plunder, as he always did on the like Occaſions, giving this Reaſon, *I cannot judge any Part of* England *to be an Enemy's Country, nor any* Engliſh *Town capable of Devaſtation by* Engliſh *Soldiers*. A Saying worthy a great Commander, who was in Arms for the Defence of the Liberties and Properties of *Engliſh* Men.

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Newnham,

Beverſton *Caſtle.*

A Pannick.

Malmsbury *in* Wiltſhire *taken.*

Maſſey's *Generoſity.*

About ten Days after, *June* the 5th, Colonel *Maſſey* drew out a Party of Men, 120 Horſe and 30 Dragoons under Major *Hammond*, and 300 Foot, with which he made himſelf Maſter of *Tewkesbury*, his Horſe and Dragoons coming up to the Main Guard before the Alarm was taken, overturn'd the Enemy's Ordnance, and charg'd thro' the Streets as far as the Bridge, *Worceſter* Way, where they took the Governor Col. *Myn*, who had deſerted the Service in *Ireland*. Col. *Godfrey*, Col. *Vavaſor* Quarter-Maſter General, and a Lieutenant, all three Papiſts, with other Officers of the Garriſon, were ſlain. *Maſſey*'s Horſe and Dragoons, the Foot not yet come up, ſuppoſing themſelves to be wholly victorious, ſome of the Officers and Soldiers diſmounted and went into the Houſes, others diſpers'd themſelves, all neglected both making good the Bridge they enter'd at, and diſarming the *Main Guard*, for tho' they charg'd and routed them, yet they were now rally'd again, and obſerving the Enemy not ſeconded with Foot, and in Confuſion, they fell upon them, beat them out of the Town, and took ſeveral Priſoners. But *Myn* the Governor was ſecur'd and ſent over *Severne* as ſoon as he was taken, and by this Time *Maſſey* was advanc'd with his Foot to the Bridge towards *Glouceſter*, which he found drawn up and the Works mann'd on that Side. He poſted his Dragoons there while he drew up his Men round the Town, it being now dark Night; but before he could reach the farther End, where he enter'd, thoſe of the Town having loſt their Governor and ſeveral Officers, and deſpairing to maintain it, fled towards *Worceſter* about Midnight, leaving behind them 18 Barrels of Powder, Store of Match, 200 new Pikes, two Braſs Cannon, *&c.* The taking of this Place was of great Conſequence, it being a ſtrong Frontier Town, ſecuring that Side of the County of *Glouceſter*, and commanding a good Part of *Warwickſhire*, by which his Majeſty's Meaſures were broken, who intended to have made a Stand at this Paſs againſt *Waller*'s Army. I am the longer about this Progreſs of *Maſſey*, for that there are ſeveral ſurprizing Turns in it, which doubtleſs will be Entertainment for the Reader, eſpecially conſidering that this active Officer endeavour'd afterwards to turn his Activity as well as Perſon on the other Side, tho' not with the like Succeſs and Reputation. It is not unnatural to impute it to the Cauſe on both Sides.

Tewkesbury *taken.*

Maſſey.

The taking and keeping of theſe Places ſo drain'd away *Maſſey*'s Men, that he could no longer keep the Field, till recruited by the Arrival of Col. *Stephens* with three Troops of Horſe and two Troops of the Regiment of Col. *Harley*, a very worthy Gentleman, Father of that moſt excellent Proteſtant and Patriot Mr. *Robert Harley*,

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ley, to whoſe pious Memory is owing the Honour of having put a Stop to the Victorious Arms of *England* againſt *France*. *Maſſey* being inform'd that the King's Forces of *Herefordſhire* and *Worceſterſhire* were to join about *Coſſelawn* to waſte the Country about *Glouceſter* in Harveſt Time, a Work the *Cavaliers* moſt delighted in, he reſolv'd to prevent this Junction, and with 200 Horſe and 300 Foot was preparing to march; but juſt as they were ready an Accident happen'd, which had like not only to have ſpoil'd the Deſign, but to have ruin'd the whole Garriſon of *Glouceſter*; for there having that Morning at a Council of War ſome Words paſs'd between Major *Gray*, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at the Siege of *Glouceſter*, and Major *Hammond*, the former began now to queſtion the latter for his haſty Language, and requir'd Satisfaction. His Challenge being either refus'd or ſlighted, *Gray* gave *Hammond* a Box on the Ear; upon which both drew, and after a Paſs or two *Gray*, who began the Quarrel, receiv'd his Death's Wound by a Thruſt in the Neck, and expir'd on the Spot. His Soldiers being then in Arms, not only refus'd to march, but threaten'd to be reveng'd on *Hammond* for the Death of their Major. The Governor, Col. *Maſſey*, was forc'd to uſe all the Art he was Maſter of to appeaſe them, and after an Hour's Perſwaſion and Treaty, they were ſomewhat qualify'd, and content to march Major General *Myn*, another *Iriſh* Deſerter, with 160 Horſe and 800 Foot, quarter'd at *Red Marley*, with whom next Morning, *July* the 27th, Col. *Maſſey* engag'd, and after a ſharp Encounter, Major General *Myn* was ſlain, with about 170 of his Men; Major *Buller*, 7 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 5 Enſigns, and 300 Common Soldiers taken Priſoners: In the Purſuit of whom *Maſſey*'s Forces met 150 Horſe and 500 Foot coming from *Worceſter* under Lieutenant Colonel *Paſſie* to join *Myn*. *Paſſie*, who commanded them, rode away before, not expecting an Enemy, and juſt at the Beginning of the Fight was coming up to *Myn*'s Brigade to give Notice of the Approach of his Men; but meeting with ſome of *Maſſey*'s, he was wounded and left for dead, by which each Party knew nothing of the other's Condition; but during the Time of Action the *Worceſter* Men were advanc'd near, while *Maſſey*'s Men were ſcatter'd in the Purſuit of *Myn*'s, whom they had routed. The firſt Diſcovery of theſe Men was made by Col. *Broughton* and Capt. *Backhouſe*, upon whom a blunt Trooper charg'd up from the Head of the Main Body in the Entrance of a Croſs Lane. Him they ſurpriz'd in the Name of Friends, drew him aſide, and inform'd themſelves of the Strength at Hand. After which they made a ſudden Outcry, as if they had a great Body ready for a Charge. The *Worceſter* Men ſuſpecting an Ambuſcade, ſtopp'd and retreated, which gave *Maſſey* an Opportunity to rally his diſpers'd Troops, and content with the Succeſs he had gain'd, to make his Retreat to *Glouceſter*, where he gave honourable Burial to the Body of Major General *Myn*.

Major Hammond *kills Major* Gray *in* Glouceſter

Maſſey *routs Major-General* Myn.

I cannot yet leave the Company of this victorious Officer Col. *Maſſey*. After the Rout at *Marſton Moor* ſome of Prince *Rupert*'s ſcatter'd Troops got towards *Wales*, and quarter'd about *Hereford*: Theſe he had a Mind to draw into the *Weſt*; but apprehending leſt *Maſſey* might intercept them, he to facilitate their Paſſage over *Severne* at *Auſt*, ſent a Party of 500 Horſe and Foot to fortify *Beachly* for a laſting Guard, being a Place of difficult Approach, a Gut of Land running out between *Severne* and *Wye*, but a commodious Paſſage from *Wales* to *Briſtol*, and the *Weſtern* Parts. Four Days after they had begun their Fortifications, and drawn their Trench half-way from the Bank of one River to the other, the reſt being well guarded with a high Quickſet Hedge lin'd with Musketeers, a Ditch within, and a fair Meadow beyond, in which was made an Entrenchment, *Maſſey* with about 600 Horſe and Foot advanc'd thither, and lighting on a Party of Horſe from *Chepſtow*, skirmiſhed and made them retreat. He fac'd the new Works that Evening, and next Morning waited an Opportunity to aſſault them, for at high Water the Place was inacceſſible, by Reaſon of the Ships which guarded each River with Ordnance lying level with the Banks, and clearing the Face of the Approach from *Wye* to *Severne*. He therefore took the Advantage of the low Water, and drew forth a Party for the Onſet. He ſelected 10 Musketeers out of the *Forlorn Hope* to creep along the Hedges, and there fall on. Theſe gave the firſt Alarm, and caus'd thoſe in the Works to ſpend their firſt Shot in vain; which being done before they could re-charge, the *Forlorn* Hope went on, and the Reſerve following, they ran up the unfiniſh'd Works, and got Poſſeſſion of them, killing ſeveral, and taking many Priſoners; but ſome recover'd Boats and made their Eſcape, and others were drown'd.

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Deſtroys Pr. Rupert's Works at Beachley.

His next Expedition was the taking of *Monmouth*, which was indeed deliver'd to him by Lieutenant Colonel *Kyrle*, , who had revolted from the Parliament's Party on the Loſs of *Briſtol*, and weary of the Cauſe he was engag'd in, was willing to purchaſe his Peace of them at the Price of this important Town. *Kyrle* propos'd to *Maſſey* to pretend a ſudden Return to *Glouceſter* with his Forces from *Beachley*, and the Lieutenant Colonel would come out, as to fall on his Rear, which ſhould beat him back, and enter the Place with him. *Maſſey* accordingly gave out the Neceſſity of a Retreat, and having march'd back three Miles, lodg'd his Forces in a Thicket of the Forreſt of *Dean*, ſending out Scouts to prevent Diſcovery. The Intelligence ſoon reaches *Monmouth*, Lieutenant Colonel *Kyrle* draws out his Men, and is ſurpriz'd at *Highmeadow* Houſe about Midnight with 30 Horſe. Tho' as little Noiſe as might be was made, yet Col. *Kyrle*'s Cornet eſcaping gave the Alarm to *Monmouth*, and the Garriſon ſtood upon their Guard when *Maſſey* came up to it, yet *Kyrle* arriving there with 100 ſelect Horſe, and pretending to return with many Priſoners, perſwaded the Guard at the *Drawbridge* to let it down with Col. *Holtby* the Governor's Conſent, but with much Jealouſy, and a ſtrong Guard, and the Bridge preſently drawn up again; inſomuch that this firſt Party were like to be made Priſoners, and began to ſuſpect that *Kyrle*, inſtead of betraying the Town, had betray'd them. However they declar'd themſelves, fell on, overpower'd the Guard, and made good the Bridge, ſome of 'em keeping a ſtrict Eye on *Kyrle*'s Deportment, who fought as heartily as any of them, to let in the main Body, who ſoon maſter'd the Town, *Sept.* the 26th; but by the Favour of the Night, dark and rainy, the Governor and moſt of the Garriſon got off over the dry *Graft*.

Surprizes Monmouth.

The Surprize of *Monmouth*, the Key of *South Wales*, the only ſafe Intercourſe for the King's Army between the *Weſt*, *Wales* and the *Northern* Parts, alarm'd all the King's Party thereabouts, eſpecially the old Marquis of *Worceſter*, a zealous Papiſt, in his Caſtle of *Ragland*. He rais'd the Country, and call'd in ſome of Prince *Rupert*'s Horſe to his Aſſiſtance, who with Sir *William Blaxton*'s Brigade of 500 Horſe, and above 1000 Foot, march'd towards *Monmouth* and beat up a Quarter of *Maſſey*'s, but after a briſk Skirmiſh

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was repuls'd, a Major of Horſe and two Captains ſlain, Sir *William Blaxton* wounded, and ſeveral Priſoners taken, of whom ſuch as were *Welch Maſſey* us'd very kindly, and ſoon after ſent them to their reſpective Homes, every one with a little Note directed to his Maſter, or the Pariſh where he liv'd, ſignifying, *That the Intention of the Parliament and* Maſſey's *coming thither, was not to enſlave their Perſons, or take away their Goods or Livelihoods, but to preſerve their Lives and Fortunes, to open the Courſe of Juſtice, and free them from their heavy Burthens under the Forces of* Rupert *a* German. By which Artifice, and free Diſcharge of all Priſoners, the *Welch* People began to entertain better Thoughts of the Parliament's Party than formerly: After this Colonel *Maſſey* demoliſh'd the Works at *Beachley* a ſecond Time, and drove away Sir *John Winter*, who had repair'd them.

Monmouth *retaken.*

But he could not hinder the Recovery of *Monmouth* by the King's Forces, who took the Town at a Diſadvantage when Lieutenant Colonel *Throgmorton*, whom he had left Governor there, was march'd with 300 Men to take *Chepſtow*. The Marquis of *Worceſter*'s Tenants in *Monmouth* preſently ſent Notice of his having drawn off ſo many Men, upon which Colonel *Rogers*, Sir *Trevor Williams*, the Lord *Charles Somerſet*, the Marquis's Son, with a ſtrong Party came to the Town, and eaſily maſter'd it, taking the *Committee* Men, Colonel *Broughton*, Colonel *Stephens*, Mr. *Catching* of *Trelleck*, and Mr. *Jones* of *Uske* Priſoners, together with 4 Captains, 150 common Soldiers, 14 Pieces of Ordnance, 15 Barrels of Gun-powder. Thus was this important Place loſt by the Raſhneſs and Vanity of *Throgmorton*, that as *Ruſhworth* ſays, *He might have the Honour of doing ſomething*, or there would not have been any General in this War, who had begun, proſecuted and ended a *Campaign* with more Glory than Colonel *Maſſey* did this.

Leverpool *taken by Sir* John Meldrum.

One of the laſt Actions this Year was the Reduction of *Leverpool* by Sir *John Meldrum*, who had lain ſome Time before it and reduc'd it to great Straits, yet the Officers refuſing to ſurrender the Town to the Parliament, 50 of the Garriſon eſcap'd out of it, and drove away before them what Cattle they could to *Meldrum*, which thoſe that remain'd in the Town perceiving, and being moſt of them *Iriſh*, and fearing they ſhould be exempt from Quarter, they to make their Peace ſeiz'd on their Officers on the 1ſt of *November*, and deliver'd them Priſoners to *Meldrum*, who took Poſſeſſion of the Town, where were taken two Colonels, two Lieutenant Colonels, three Majors, 14 Captains, and great Store of Ordnance, Arms and Ammunition. The Royaliſts had ſhipp'd their beſt Goods to convey them to *Beaumaris*, but the Soldiers had Notice of it from the well affected in the Town, and manning out long Boats brought the Booty back again. We ſhall have too much Occaſion to ſpeak of the Diviſions and Sub-Diviſions in the Parliament and Army hereafter. What *Echard* ſays of them at the Cloſe of this Year's military Actions, is to repreſent both as Men of addle Pates, guided by Faction and Enthuſiaſm, while the Counſels at *Oxford* were the moſt ſober and the moſt ſage that human Policy could produce, though there were ſuch miſerable Diviſions and Diſtractions, the unavoidable Effects of Diſtreſs and Deſpair among them, and the ſage and ſober Counſellors ſo perſecuted the King with Ad-

King ill us'd by the Cavaliers.

vices and Demands, that Mr. *Locke* tells us, he had ſcarce the Liberty of Choice, whether to remain in their Hands, or put himſelf into the Hands of the Parliament Army. Nay, the King himſelf ſays in a Letter to his Queen dated at *Oxford*, *April* 9th, 1645. *If thou knew what a Life I lead in point of Converſation, which in my Mind is the chief Joy or Vexation of one's Life, I dare ſay thou wouldſt pity me, for ſome are too wiſe.* Thoſe are the Counſellors ſo often ſpoken of by the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was himſelf one of them. *Some are too fooliſh:* Theſe are the Counſellors ſo often ſpoken of by my ſelf. *Some too buſy, others too reſerv'd, many Fantaſtick*, &c. *Echard* hides all this as carefully as can be, that none of their Wiſdoms may be brought into Suſpicion, which he learn'd from the Lord *Clarendon*. This Letter was ſent to the Queen by *Binion*, the *London* Silkman, who though a Bankrupt at *London* made a rare Courtier at *Oxford*. The Miſunderſtandings among the Cavalier Officers had already ſhipp'd near 100 of them for *Hamburgh*, and foreign Parts, which is no great Wonder, for Perſons under Diſappointment and Calamity ſeldom agree well together, nor is there often more Agreement among Perſons fluſh'd with Succeſs. Demands riſe high in Proſperity, every Man judges of his Merit as it weighs in his own Scale, and in Adverſity every Man thinks he is at leaſt intitul'd to Complaint, and the Loſer will have leave to ſpeak. But the unhappy Differences which prov'd ſo fatal to the Parliament were yet in *Embrio*, and the Birth appear'd not with the Deformity which *Echard* gives it till two or three Years after. However, they now paſt ſeveral Ordinances which could not but ſeem Monſtrous to his Imagination. As, one for *Ordination of Miniſters*, notwithſtanding any Breach in the Apoſtolical Succeſſion. An Ordinance *for providing them Maintenances out of Deans and Chapters Lands*. An Ordinance *for Eſtabliſhing the* Aſſembly's Directory of Worſhip; *and putting down the Common Prayer Book*. I believe Mr. Archdeacon thinks no Wickedneſs in the World can come up to that. Such Ordinances as theſe muſt throw him into a Tremour; and that about *ſcandalous Miniſters* work it up to a Frenzy, and we cannot expect Ceremony from him towards a Senate who had aboliſh'd all Ceremonies in the Church.

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The Myſtery which he makes of the Deſigns of the *Independents* by the Change of the Generals, is not a Dream of his own, but of ſome of his *ſober* Writers, whom he has copy'd as faithfully as if they had been awake when they wrote for him. He makes the great Villainy of this Turn to be the Production of a *Faſt* when their Preachers kept the Pulpit 10 Hours, and the next Day Sir *Henry Vane* told them, *If ever God appear'd to them it was in Yeſterday's Exerciſe, which could only proceed from the immediate Spirit of God.* He beſought them to remember *God and their Country; and that thoſe Parliament Men who had Places would lay them down*, which of courſe remov'd *Eſſex*, *Manchester*, *Waller*, &c. among whom were thoſe Diſguſts and Diſagreements which were ſo prejudicial to the Service. The Reverend Hiſtorian repreſents thoſe Gentlemen who had been zealous for the *Directory* as out of their Wits, and to do that effectually he ſeems to have parted with his own. General *Ludlow*, who was himſelf an *Independent*, a Member of Parliament, a chief Officer of the Army, a Man of Honour, Genius, Vertue, Learning, Knowledge and Experience, ſpeaks of this Alteration ſoberly and rationally. " The Diſputes in the mean " Time continu'd in the two Houſes concerning " the Conduct of the Army, and though what " was objected touching the late Miſcarriages at " the Fight of *Newbury*, and elſewhere, amount-

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" ed not to a formal Charge, yet it ſo far pre-
" vail'd with the Houſe of Commons, as to con-
" vince them of the Neceſſity of making an Al-
" teration in the Command of the Army, in or-
" der to bring the War to a Concluſion." Which Reſolution was taken by the Houſe upon a Report made to them by Mr. *Zouch Tate*, *who, by the way, was a zealous* Presbyterian, *and no* Independent, *and is ſaid to be the only profeſs'd* Presbyterians *in the Houſe of* Commons, *when this Parliament met firſt, though there was a great Number of* Puritans. Mr. *Tate* was Chairman of the Committee for reforming the Army, and repreſented in his Report, *That the Committee had been endeavouring to obey the Order of the Houſe, but found the Condition of the Army as the Phyſician did the Blood of his Patient, who conſulted him about the Cure of a ſlight Tumour, when the whole Maſs of his Blood was entirely corrupted; that therefore the Committee had order'd him to acquaint the Houſe, that the whole Body of the Army being infected, nothing would ſerve for their Recovery leſs than the entire renewing of their Conſtitution.*

Self-denying *Ordinance.*

The Houſe, that they might do it without giving Occaſion to any ſiniſter Reflections upon themſelves, agreed to a *Self-denying* Ordinance, the Grounds of which were expreſs'd to be the Clearing of the Parliament from the Aſperſions caſt upon them of prolonging the War, on purpoſe to gratify each other with Places, and neglecting their Duty in the Houſe by holding Employments in the Army, *&c.*

Every one knows *Zouch Tate* was no Creature of *Cromwel*'s, and every one that has read the true Hiſtory of theſe diſtracted Times, ſuch as *Rushworth*'s and *Whitlocke*'s, muſt know, that the Diſagreement among the General Officers of the Parliament's Army, would neceſſarily corrupt the Soldiers; and if as they had begun their Defence with the Sword, they reſolv'd to end it by ſecuring their Religion, Rights and Liberties, they could not hope to do it without putting their Forces under other Management, and they could not change Hands more decently than by this *Self-denying Ordinance*, of which we ſhall hear more the next Year. Some Hiſtorians, as *Gregorio Leti*, who pretends he had his Memoirs from the Earl of *Angleſey*, who publiſh'd *Whitlocke*'s Memorials, repreſents this *Ordinance* as the Effect of *Cromwel*'s Intrigues to remove the Earl of *Mancheſter*, to whom he was Lieutenant General, and get the chief Command himſelf; but as he is out in moſt Things, notwithſtanding the Authority he boaſts of, ſo is he in this; and to me nothing can ſeem more natural, than that after Sir *William Waller* had been routed at *Roundway Down*, for want of Aſſiſtance from the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* had been hinder'd of a compleat Victory at *Newbury* firſt Battle, for want of Aſſiſtance from *Waller*, after the Earl's Diſgrace in *Cornwal*, and his leaving the Army, not only there, but before the laſt *Newbury* Fight, after *Cromwel*'s formal Complaint againſt *Mancheſter*, and *Mancheſter*'s as formal Complaint againſt *Cromwel*, the Parliament ſhould put other Generals over their Armies. The Royaliſts were ſenſible that the Alteration would be for the worſt with reſpect to them, and that in the Low Condition of their Affairs a vigorous and zealous General would ſoon clear the Kingdom of them; but though they were afraid of this Change to a Degree hardly expreſſible, yet they put the beſt Face they could upon it, and ſeem'd to be Merry even when they trembled, calling the Parliament's *new Model* of the Army the *new Noddle*, and it is ſome of their beſt Wit too.

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Elect. Palatine *in* England.

I have mention'd his Highneſs the Prince Elector *Palatine*'s writing to the Parliament, and about the latter End of the Summer he came over into *England*, and was complimented by a Committee of both Houſes. This Prince appears to have a Senſe of true Religion, and to differ in Morals very much from his Brother Prince *Rupert*, who indulg'd himſelf in Looſeneſs of Life as well as Principle, though in his latter Days he became ſenſible of the Deſign to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty, and generally voted in Parliament with the Country Lords in King *Charles* the Second's Reign. The Committee inform'd his Electoral Highneſs, *That the two Houſes were ſurpriz'd at his Coming without giving them any previous Notice, and conceiv'd his Reſidence abroad might be of great Advantage to the Publick, for the Parliament have always been very tender of the Affairs of his Highneſs, and will continue* the ſame *Regards, and are ready to expreſs it in their Actions and faithful Advice.* To which the Elector reply'd, *I hold my ſelf much oblig'd to the Parliament for their former Favours, and my Coming is to expreſs in Perſon what I have often done by Letters, my ſincere Affections unto them, and to take off ſuch Jealouſies as either the Actions of ſome of my Relations, or the ill Effects of my Enemies might by my Abſence caſt upon me. My Wiſhes are conſtant for the good Succeſs of the great Work you have undertaken for a* Thorough Reformation, *and my Deſires are to be rul'd and govern'd by your grave Counſels, and being ready to ſerve you, I will with Chearfulneſs embrace your Advice.* The King wrote his Highneſs a Letter from *Taviſtocke*, *Sept.* the 27th, which was extreamly cold; and though his Majeſty ſaid, The *Conſideration of your Mother's Son is the only Cauſe of my Curioſity*, yet it is plain he was a little perplexed about it, and wanted to know who invited him, and what he meant by coming. The latter was very plain, his Highneſs could have no other Meaning than to procure Aſſiſtance of thoſe who were willing and able to aſſiſt him; whereas himſelf and his Intereſts, and the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany*, had been ſhamefully abandon'd by the Court of *England* for above 20 Years, but the *Palatine* Houſe was too much Proteſtant to be regarded by Miniſters under the Influence of *Villiers*, *Weſton*, *Wentworth* and *Laud*. The two Houſes order'd an Apartment at *Whitehall* to be fitted up for his Highneſs, and 8000 Pounds a Year to be ſettled upon him, till their Circumſtances enabled them to make better Proviſion. They alſo paſt an Order for his being admitted, when he pleas'd, into the *Aſſembly of Divines*, to hear their Debates, as his Highneſs had deſir'd. A Committee was appointed to take his Affairs into Conſideration, and 10000 Pounds a Year order'd to be paid to his Royal Mother the Queen of *Bohemia*. Theſe Civilities from the Parliament are the Occaſion, I ſuppoſe, that *Echard* tells us, her Majeſty's two Sons *Rupert* and *Maurice* ſcorn'd their elder Brother the Elector. I have frequently obſerv'd with what Diſregard that Queen and her Royal Poſterity have always been treated by the *Laudean* Faction. If they had been famous for Foreſight one would think they foreſaw, that the Succeſſion of that Illuſtrious Houſe to the Crown would one Day ſave and ſecure the Reform'd Religion in *England*, the Liberties and Properties of the People, which they could not foreſee but with the utmoſt Terror and Deteſtation, as appears by the Tenor of their late Hiſtories.

The Proteſtant Succeſſion the Security of our Religion and Liberty in England.

Ordinance for Martial Law *Commiſſioners.*

In *June* this Year the Parliament paſt an Ordnance for excluding all Members of both Houſes, who

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An Ordinance for an Assessment *for* Ireland. In *October* an Ordinance pass'd for an Assessment thro' the Kingdom of *England* for the present Relief of *Ireland* and the *British* Army there. The City of *London* was assess'd 300 Pounds a Week, *Middlesex* and *Westminster* 125 Pounds a Week, and so all the Counties of *England* and *Wales*, amounting in all to about 4500 Pounds a Week.

For no Quarter to Irish *Rebels in* England. The Parliament also pass'd an Ordinance, that no Quarter should be given to the *Irish* who were found in Arms against them in *England*.

At this Time the Lord *Macgwire* and *Hugh Oge Mac Mahon*, Esq; were first brought upon their Trials for the *Irish Rebellion*, and their Guilt was so notorious, that Mr. Archdeacon cannot lay their Blood to the Parliament on any other Account, than that *Macgwire* was a Lord and try'd by Commoners. *Macgwire* and *Mac Makon* were taken at *Dublin* the Day before they were to have seiz'd that Castle, and to have murder'd the Lords Justices of *Ireland*. *Mac Mahon* immediately confess'd and boldly avow'd the Plot; but *Macgwire* would not then acknowledge it. At last he made a large Confession before the Lord *Lambert* and Sir *Robert Meredith*. About *July* 1642. they were sent for over to *England* and committed to the Tower, where they remain'd two Years, the Parliament not having Leisure to bring them to Trial. They then, by Confederacy with two Priests belonging to the *Spanish* Ambassador, and one Mr. *Levison* over against the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, at whose House the *French* Agent lodg'd, got a Steel saw, with which in the Night they saw'd asunder the Door of their Chamber above two Inches thick, and so with Cords got over the Tower-Wall, and swam the Ditch. No News was heard of them in a Month. They took Lodgings at a Constable's House in *Drury-lane*, and one of them looking then out of Window to call an Oyster-Woman, happen'd to be spy'd by a Servant of Sir *John Clotworthy*, whose Servant *O Conolly* had discover'd their Plot; and probably the good Services of this Gentleman's Servants expos'd him to the Insults of the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*. The Lieutenant of the Tower hearing where they were hous'd, went and seiz'd them, and carry'd them back to Prison. Their late Escape put the Two Houses upon expediting their Trial. *Mac Mahon* pleaded *Not Guilty*, but was convicted by full Evidence, condemn'd, hang'd, drawn and quarter'd at *Tyburn*, *Nov.* 22. *Macgwire* pleaded his *Irish* Peerage; but Mr. *Prynne* and Serjeant *Whitfield*, Counsel for the State, argu'd learnedly against it, and the Court over-rul'd his Plea. The Witnesses who prov'd the Charge, were Sir *William Cole*, Sir *Francis Hamilton*, Sir *William Steward*, the Lord *Blaney*, the Lady *Caulfield*, and Sir *Charles Coote*. The Evidence was too full to admit of much Debate, so he was convicted and condemn'd to die as *Mac Mahon* did. He petition'd the Two Houses that he might be beheaded, which was refus'd, and in Truth the Gallows was good enough for such an impenitent bloody-minded Rebel. He had much Popish Trumpery about him when he mounted the Ladder, and Directions from his Priest how to make his Prayers, as, *We fly to thee for Aid, O holy Mother of God. Hail! sweet Mother of Christ, pray for the Church of* Ireland, *M. Grea, Say* Jesu Maria *three Times, also a* Pater *and* Ave *and* Jesu Maria *three Times*. Which Farce the poor Wretch was made to believe by his Priest would carry him to Heaven.

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Lord Macgwire *and* Mac Mahon *make their Escape.*

Retaken.

Condemn'd and executed.

About the same Time Sir *Alexander Carew* was brought to his Trial for Treason in contriving to betray the Island of St. *Nicholas* near *Plymouth*, of which the Parliament had made him Governor, to the King. Treachery is a Crime so unworthy a Gentleman, that it has a good Word in no History but in the Archdeacon's and the History he copy'd from. He tells us this Knight was willing to redeem his *former Errors*, his voting for the Attainder of the grand Apostate *Strafford*, and taking the *Covenant*, by Breach of Oath and Trust. It is no Matter how these Men gain their Ends, if they can but gain them. *Carew* was seiz'd in the very Fact by his own Soldiers, and sent up to the Parliament, who order'd him to be try'd by the *Court Martial*. The Witnesses against him were Mr *Francis* Mayor of *Plymouth*, Mr. *Randal*, and Mr. *Willis*, two Ministers, Capt. *Hancock*, Mr. *Deep* a Merchant, and *Arthur Skinner* Gent. Being found guilty, and condemn'd to be beheaded, his Lady petition'd for a Reprieve on Account of his distracted Condition, upon which a Committee was appointed to visit him, who reported that he was not distracted, but a Month's Time was given him to settle his Estate. He made a Speech on the Scaffold, wherein he said, *All you can lay to my Charge is but Intention, and no Man knows my Intentions better than my self, and they shall die with my self.* The Archdeacon makes an old Woman's Reflection on this Execution,

Sir Alexander Carew *try'd, condemn'd, and beheaded.*

A. D. 1644.

ecution, that he was the next Man who was beheaded on that Scaffold after the Earl of *Strafford*. But what he makes of the Puniſhment of the *Hothams* is enough to ſet one a trembling; that their Death was another Inſtance of *Divine Vengeance*, for their being true to their Country, and ſecuring *Hull*. As if the Cauſe of Tyranny, Spiritual and Temporal, of Sabbath-Breaking, Superſtition, and Ceremonies, was the Cauſe of God. The *Brachmans* and *Muſſelmans* ſeem to know as much of the *Chriſtian* Religion as theſe Men do of the *Reform'd*.

Sir John Hotham *try'd and condemn'd.*

On the 30th of *November* Sir *John Hotham* was brought before the *Court Martial* at *Guildhall*, Sir *William Waller* Preſident. The Charge againſt him was for traiterouſly endeavouring to betray the Truſt the Parliament had repos'd in him, which was prov'd by his Letters to the Lord *Digby* and the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*. He made but a poor Defence, and Sentence of Death paſs'd upon him that he ſhould be beheaded; but on his Lady's Petition for Time to ſettle his Eſtate, he was repriev'd.

His Son Capt. Hotham *try'd and condemn'd.*

His Son Capt. *Hotham* was charg'd with holding traiterous Correſpondence with the Parliament's Enemies. One main Evidence was his own Servant *John Keys*, who depos'd that his Maſter having firſt ſworn him to Secrecy, ſent him to *Newark* with a Meſſage to the Queen, juſt after he was committed to Priſon in *Nottingham* Caſtle. 'Twas to deſire her Majeſty to ſend a Party to reſcue him, when he was remov'd thence to be ſent to *London*, or to the Lord General. *Keys* was intruſted with ſeveral other Notices for the Queen, and deſiring his Maſter to give him a Token that her Majeſty might give Credit to him, *Hotham* ſaid, *By the ſame Token I ſent her a Letter by one of her own Doctors of Phyſick where ſhe might land in* England. *Keys* further depos'd, that when he came to *Newark* and deliver'd his Letter, her Majeſty ſaid, *This unhappy Accident had not fallen out if Capt.* Hotham *had come away when he firſt reſolv'd it.* Upon which the Lord *Digby* ſtanding by, told her Majeſty, *Both he and his Father had come in long ſince, but for doing your Majeſty better Service, and by forbearing it for a Time.* So plain Evidence as this could not but produce the ſame Sentence as paſs'd againſt his Father 17 Days before. The Father being condemn'd the 7th of *December* to die on the 16th, and the Son was condemn'd the 24th of *December* to die the 1ſt of *January*, which I mention to ſhew Mr. Archdeacon's uncommon Veracity and Modeſty. He ſays, *The vile Artifices us'd both before and after their Trials, were ſo unhuman, as have been rarely practis'd among Chriſtians.* The Man who writes thus is a Dignitary in the Church. *The Father was order'd firſt to ſuffer upon an appointed Day, and the Son the Day following.* *Ruſhworth* tells us the Father was condemn'd to be executed the 16th of *December*, and the Son was not condemn'd till the 24th of *December*; he adds, they were try'd by a *Court Martial*, but he takes no Notice of the *Ordinance* which made the *Court Martial* the *Law*. The Lords having repriev'd Sir *John Hotham* for a few Days without Conſent of the Commons, it occaſion'd a Vote that no Reprieve ſhould be valid without the Conſent of both Houſes. This tragical Story takes up but a few Lines in the Archdeacon's Folio, and yet it teems with Falſities. *He ſuffer'd* Hugh Peters *to tell the People he had reveal'd himſelf to him, and confeſs'd his Offences againſt the Parliament.* What *Laurence Echard* ſays of *Hugh Peters*, they being both Miniſters, is ſo far from being true, that Sir *John Hotham* himſelf ſaid on the Scaffold, *I was no way guilty of betraying* Hull *from the Parliament*; and *Hugh* only told the People, *It is the Deſire of Sir* John Hotham, *that ſince he has in his Chamber fully diſcover'd himſelf to me and other Miniſters, many Queſtions may not be put to him, but that he might have Liberty to ſpeak only what he thought fit concerning himſelf.* Sir *John* diſown'd any Offence againſt the Parliament as to *Hull*, and Mr. *Peters* did not declare that *he had confeſs'd his Offences.* One cannot let ſuch Scraps of Hiſtory paſs without taking Notice of the Inſolence in them; for tho' *Peters* was a Man of a whimſical Character, yet his Station in the Proteſtant Church was of much more Eminence than the Hiſtorian's is like to be, at leaſt if he is rewarded as his Hiſtory deſerves.

Both executed.

A. D. 1644.

Roger L'Eſtrange *try'd.*

The next Criminal brought before the *Court Martial*, Sir *John Corbet* Preſident, was an infamous Perſon, one *Roger L'Eſtrange*, a Writer of ſuch Hiſtory as our late Hiſtories of *England*, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. and a zealous Champion for the *Church*, in *Echard*'s Senſe of that Word. His Crime was the contriving to betray the Town of *Lynne* in *Norfolk* to the Cavaliers. He receiv'd a Commiſſion from his Majeſty, beginning thus; *We having receiv'd from our truſty and well-beloved* Roger L'Eſtrange, *&c. Which Commiſſion*, ſaid the Judge Advocate, *not being that of a Soldier to raiſe Men, but a Commiſſion of Bribery and Corruption, merely to make a Party in the Town by clandeſtine Ways, with Baits and Promiſes of Money and Preferment, and the Priſoner coming from the Enemy into the Parliament's Quarters without Drum, Trumpet, or Paſs, it brought him within the Danger and Penalty of a Spy.* It was prov'd againſt him, that he promis'd one Mr. *Leaman*, a Sea Captain, 1000 Pounds, and Corporal *Haggar* 100 Pounds to make a Party in *Lynne*, which *Leaman* diſcover'd to Col. *Walton* the Governor, who ſent ſix Soldiers diſguis'd like Seamen to ſeize *L'Eſtrange* at Mr. *Paſton*'s at *Appleton* Hall, where they took him and his noble Commiſſion, and he was condemn'd as a Spy, *To be carry'd back to the Place from whence he came, and there to be hang'd by the Neck until he be dead.* A Sentence which all honeſt Men in *England* wiſh'd afterwards had been executed. But he was repriev'd and ſhut up in *Newgate* ſeveral Years, where he learnt the Manners and Language of a Goal, as appear'd plentifully in his *Obſervators*, *Ryehouſe-Plot*, and other deteſtable Libels againſt the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty, which made him ſo great an Ornament to the Cauſe he eſpous'd, and a proper Subject for Mr. Archdeacon's *Eulogy*. Among other Pieces of Treachery, which, as the eaſieſt Way, the Cavaliers choſe to do their Work by, was the Attempt of one Mr. *Barnard*, a Parſon, to corrupt Major General *Browne* Governor of *Abingdon*. *Barnard* had left his Pariſh of *Woolchurch*, *London*, to be a Court Preacher at *Oxford*. *Browne* was a Sort of Kinſman of his, and as ſuch *Barnard* ſent to him for a Paſs to come and ſpeak with him, which being granted, he told the Major General he *wiſh'd they were both on one Side*. *Browne*, to ſift him, declar'd, *if he thought himſelf in an Error, he would not be long in leaving it.* Mr. *Barnard* then deſir'd Liberty to write to him, which the Major General granted, and the firſt Letter he wrote him informs *Browne*, *His Majeſty wonder'd that he, who is recommended to him for many worthy Parts and Actions, which ſhew'd he was no Stranger to noble Qualities*; *He, who*, &c. and

Condemn'd to be hang'd in Smithfield.

ſo

A. D. 1644. ſo for 20 panegyrical Particulars, *ſhould not only join with, but lead his Subjects againſt him.* By the by, this ſame Major General, with all theſe heroical Endowments, was no more nor leſs than a *London Woodmonger*. The Parſon endeavour'd to prove that he was IPSO FACTO *excommunicated* for ſiding with the Parliament by two or three Texts out of *Proverbs*, the Writer of which never heard of Excommunication, and *that he was commanded to run from his Colours by two or three Texts more in* Timothy. That he was look'd upon as *Mordecai* look'd upon *Eſther*, *as one advanc'd to reſtore the King to his Subjects, and his Subjects to the King.* If *Hugh Peters* or *Stephen Marſhal*, whom *Echard* calls the *Eſſex* Parſon, had held forth like this Mr. *Barnard*, the Archdeacon could not have made himſelf too merry with them. *Browne* gave a civil Anſwer to his Letter, which was follow'd by another, with an Offer of being made a Baronet. But the Major General reply'd, *Abingdon deſerv'd ſomething better.* Upon which the Lord *Digby* wrote to him, and told him, *He was a Perſon of much Reaſon, and very much a Gentleman, and if he will be ſo good as to receive his Majeſty's Forces into* Abingdon, *he ſhall have a Warrant to be a* Baronet, *and the Command of a Brigade in his Majeſty's Army. Browne* anſwers, *There is nothing wanting to an abſolute Concluſion between them, ſaving a ſpeedy Proviſion of his Affairs at* London. The Reply from the Lord *Digby* highly extols the Major General's Diſcretion, and preſſes for a ſpeedy Concluſion. But the Major General receiving a Reinforcement of 1500 Foot into the Town, convinc'd the Lord *Digby* that *Browne* had made a Fool of him, which appear'd more fully in the Major General's next Letter, *Did your Lordſhip imagine that your Ink would catch like Bird-Lime. You ſay you have hang'd a Spy of mine, and that you may be ballanc'd, this very Morning I will cauſe to be hang'd one of yours condemn'd by our Council of War.* *Digby* out of Revenge wrote a Letter ſo worded, as to give the Parliament a Jealouſy of *Browne*, who anſwer'd it, as one who knew what he meant by it, *The World may now ſee which Way the Queen convey'd from* London *the Jewels beyond Sea, and the* Iriſh *Rebels were brought over, which Way ſo many Overtures have appear'd and vaniſh'd, ſurely by my Lord* Digby's *Trick* of *Cleanly Conveyance*, a Term *Digby* had us'd in his laſt Letter. *Browne*'s Works about *Abingdon* were not finiſh'd, and had the Garriſon of *Oxford* attempted the Place, while he was fooling their Secretary of State, they muſt have carry'd it. But when the Fortifications were compleat the Major General told him ſo, and bad him Defiance. The Dexterity of this volatile Lord is the Subject of much Encomium in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and the Archdeacon's Hiſtories, though we ſee he is out-witted and banter'd by a Woodmonger.

Ld. Digby *out-witted by Colonel* Browne *the* Woodmonger.

1645. We have mention'd that there had been ſome Overtures for a Treaty made by his Majeſty. But the two Houſes conceiving that in thoſe Meſſages they were not ſufficiently own'd to be a Parliament, return'd only an expoſtulary Letter, and no farther Progreſs was made in it till about a Month before *Chriſtmas*, when both Houſes, with the Conſent of the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners, having prepar'd certain Propoſitions for Peace, wrote to the King's General for a ſafe Conduct for the Lords and Commons, and Commiſſioners for *Scotland*, who were appointed to carry them to his Majeſty, and theſe were, the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Maynard*, the Lord *Wenman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Whitlocke*, the Lord *Maitland*, Sir *Charles Erskines*, Mr. *Barclay*. The Trumpet who carry'd the Parliament's Letter brought back a ſafe Conduct from Prince *Rupert* under the King's Hand and Seal, which yet took no Notice of them as Members of Parliament, but as private Perſons. The Commiſſioners were not very civilly us'd by Colonel *Blake*, Governor of *Wallingford*, who quarrell'd with the Earl of *Denbigh* concerning ſome Paſſages of the War, and Sir *Jacob Aſhley* Governor of *Oxford* made them wait ſome Hours in the cold open Field, at the latter End of *November*; at laſt they were admitted into the Town, and lodg'd at a ſorry Inn, the *Katharine Wheel*, near St. *John*'s *College*. The next Day they had Acceſs to his Majeſty, and the Earl of *Denbigh* read the Propoſitions which the two Houſes of Parliament and the *Scots* Commiſſioners had agreed to, as the Ground Work of Peace. The King ask'd the Commiſſioners if they had Power to treat. They anſwer'd, No. But *their Commiſſion was to receive his Majeſty's Anſwer in writing*. His Majeſty reply'd, *Then a Letter Carrier might have done as much as you.* The Earl of *Denbigh* ſaid, *I ſuppoſe your Majeſty looks upon us as Perſons of another Condition than Letter Carriers.* The King reply'd, *I know your Condition, but I ſay your Commiſſion gives you Power to do no more than a Letter Carrier might have done.* Which caus'd ſome Diſſatisfaction in the Commiſſioners, who went away in it, but ſome of the Court Lords afterwards excus'd to them thoſe haſty Words. At the Reading the excepted Perſons Names which the Earl of *Denbigh* read with great Courage and Temper, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* being preſent when there Names were read as Perſons *excepted*, they fell into a Laughter, at which the King ſeem'd diſpleas'd, and bad them *be quiet.* His Majeſty's Behaviour to theſe Commiſſioners in general did not promiſe well for a Peace. When he gave them his Anſwer 'twas ſeal'd up, which they did not think proper to receive thus, and humbly addreſs'd to have a Copy of it. The King reply'd, *What's that to you, who are but to carry what I ſend, and if I will ſend the Song of* Robin Hood *and* Little John, *you muſt carry it.* To which the Commiſſioners only ſaid, *The Buſineſs we came about, and are to return with your Majeſty's Anſwer, is of ſomewhat more Conſequence than that* Song. *Whitlocke*, one of them, ſays, " Other Paſſages there " were which ſhew'd the King to be then in no " good Humour, and more wonder'd at, eſpe- " cially in a Buſineſs of this Importance, where " the diſobliging of the Commiſſioners could " be of no Advantage to the King; but all was " endeavour'd to be made up again by ſome " Lords about his Majeſty before the Commiſſi- " oners came away, and a Copy of the Anſwer " was ſent them. They took another Excep- " tion to the Paper, which was directed to no " Body, nor the Parliament ſo much as acknow- " ledg'd or nam'd in it." To which the King anſwer'd, *It was deliver'd to the Parliament's Commiſſioners*, and that was ſufficient. Some of the Lords told them, *They could not get it otherwiſe*, chiefly becauſe they were there as Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, and earneſtly entreated them for Peace ſake to receive it as it was ſent, which was at laſt conſented to, and they carry'd it to the Parliament. Both Houſes had a Conference upon his Majeſty's Anſwer. In the Preamble of which were *High Expreſſions of his Deſires of Peace*, and he demanded a Safe Conduct for the Duke of *Lenox* and Earl of *Southampton* to bring his Anſwer to the Propoſitions, which was granted, and *Somerſet Houſe* order'd

Commiſſioners ſent to Oxford.

A. D. 1645. *Ill us'd by the King's Officers.*

A. D. 1645. to be prepared for their Reception: But no Member of either Houſe was permitted to viſit them or ſend to or receive any Meſſage from any one that came from *Oxford* without leave. All the Anſwer the King's Commiſſioners brought, was a Propoſal for Perſons to be appointed to treat on both Sides and debate the Propoſitions, which the Parliament had ſent to his Majeſty, which being *voted*, ſafe Conducts were granted by King and Parliament for their reſpective Commiſſioners, and *Uxbridge* appointed to be the Place of Treaty.

Treaty at -Uxbridge.

The King's Commiſſioners.

Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Marquis of *Hertford*, Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Kingſton*, Earl of *Chicheſter*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Hatton*, Lord *Capell*, Lord *Colepepyr*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Thomas Gardner*, Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Jefferey Palmer*, Dr. *Stuart*.

Aſſiſtants to the King's Commiſſioners.

Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Lany*, Dr. *Fern*, Dr. *Potter*, Dr. *Hammond*.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners.

Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord *Wenman*, *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; *William Pierrepoint*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Eſq; *Oliver St. John* Eſq; *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; *John* Earl of *Lowdon*, *Archibald* Marquis of *Argyl*, *John* Lord *Maitland*, *John* Lord *Balmerino*, Sir *Archibal Johnſtoun*, Sir *Charles Ereskines*, Mr. *George Dundas*, Sir *John Smithe*, Mr. *Hugh Kennedy*, Mr. *Robert Berclay*, Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*.

Secretaries to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners:
Mr. *Thurloe*, Mr. *Earl*.

To the *Scots* Commiſſioners:
Mr. *Chieſely*.

Aſſiſtants to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners:
Mr. *Vynes*, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Cheynel*.

Theſe Commiſſioners for the Treaty on both Parts met at *Uxbridge*, *Wedneſday* the 29th of *January*, and ſeveral Viſits paſt between them; Sir *Edward Hyde* viſited Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Whitelocke*; the Lord *Colepepyr* did the ſame to Sir *Henry Vane*, and others of the King's Commiſſioners viſited ſeveral of the Parliament's, with whom they had long Diſcourſes about the Treaty, which both Sides ſeem'd very forward to promote; but it was viſible as ſoon as it open'd, that the King did not think his Caſe ſo deſperate as he ſoon found it to be, when the Campaign was begun and his Commiſſioners made no Conceſſions which they could ſuppoſe would be ſatisfactory. Mr. Archdeacon continues the Character of his Hiſtory in the Account he gives us of this Treaty: The very Opening of it being falſe and taken from a *French* Papiſt. The Parliament inveſted their *Commiſſioners with a Power only to treat, whereas the King inveſted*
587. *his with a full Power not only to treat but to conclude.* *Salmonet* ſays, *Au lieu que le Roy Leur avoit donnè un plain Pouvoir de traitter librement & deconclurre ſur tout le detail des Affaires les Eſtats avoient reſtraint les Pouvoirs de leurs Deputez aux Inſtructions qu'ils recevroient*, which is directly the Reverſe of the Truth. *Whitlocke* aſſures us the King's Commiſſioners ſaid, *We are bound up by our Inſtructions from his Majeſty, and can go no further.* *A. D.* 1645.

Sir *John Benner*'s Houſe at the farther End of the Town was fitted up for the Place of Meeting, and the firſt Thing they treated upon when the Commiſſioners met there, was *Religion*, the chief Article of which Dr. *Stuart* aſſerted to be not Faith and Piety, but *Epiſcopacy*, ſuch as that of *Munſter* and *Toledo*, which he affirm'd to be *Jure Divino*. By Epiſcopacy he muſt underſtand *Baronies*, *Lordſhips*, *Titles*, *Dignities*, *Spiritual Courts*, *Prerogatives*, *Mitres*, *Croſiers*, &c. Which it was impoſſible for the Apoſtolical Biſhops to have or think of, there not being a Power upon Earth which did not treat them as Enemies; for if the good Doctor had ſaid, that Biſhop *Titus* and Biſhop *Timothy*'s Vocation to preach God's Word and take Paſtoral Care of their Flocks was *Jure Divino*, nay that their pious Succeſſors have the ſame Divine Right which thoſe primitive Biſhops had, there would not have been a Word ſaid againſt him. Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Marſhal* ſpoke in Praiſe of *Presbyterian* Government as more ſuitable to the Word of God, and conſequently *Jure Divino*; and the Marquis of *Hertford* reply'd to both of them, *My Lords, here is much ſaid concerning* Church *Government in general; the Reverend Doctors on the King's Part affirm, that Epiſcopacy is* Jure Divino; *the Reverend Miniſters on the other Part do affirm the Presbytery is* Jure Divino; *for my Part, I think that neither the one nor the other is* Jure Divino; *and I deſire we may leave this Argument, and proceed to debate upon the particular Propoſals.* The Earl of *Pembroke* was of the ſame Judgment, and many of the Commiſſioners beſides theſe two Lords were willing to paſs over this Point, and to come to the Particulars. But the *Jure Divino* Men on both Sides ſtood to their Text, and the *Lay* Commiſſioners could not but perceive the Peace they came to treat about would not be much forwarded by the warm Debates of the Clergy. One of them, Mr. *Chriſtopher Love*, who it ſeems was a Voluntier, and was come to *Uxbridge* without being ſent, preach'd there to the Market People, and ſaid in his Sermon, *They were not to expect any good from the Treaty, for that they came from* Oxford *with Hearts full of Blood, and* that there was as *great a Difference between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell, and that they only amus'd the People with Expectations of Peace, till they were able to do ſome fatal Miſchief.* This Piece of Impudence would have deſerv'd ſome notable Puniſhment, if the King's Commiſſioners had not really ſo amuſed the People. Their Memorial upon it was ſent to the Parliament, but the Treaty broke up ſo ſoon that *Love* eſcap'd Animadverſion. In the Management of the firſt Article about Religion, and Epiſcopacy as a Fundamental of it, we may ſee by the Papers on both Sides how hopefully the Buſineſs went on. *Epiſcopacy.*

King's Commiſſioners Paper. "As we have "given your Lordſhips already many Reaſons "concerning the Injuſtice and Inconveniency "which would follow upon paſſing the Bill for "aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*: So we are ready now "by Conference to ſatisfy your Lordſhips, why "we conceive that the ſaid Bill is not for the "Glory of God or the Honour of the King.

Parliament's Commiſſioners Reply. "We "have received no Satisfaction from your Lord-"ſhips, nor have you yet made appear unto us "any Injuſtice or Inconveniency in the paſſing "of the Bill for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy." This occa-

A. D. 1645. occasion'd a new Debate between the Divines for Episcopal and Presbyterian Government; and after it was over,

The Parliament's Commissioners deliver'd another Paper. "There having now been several Days spent upon the Proposition for Religion, and all Objections alledg'd to the contrary, either from Conscience, Law, or Reason being fully answer'd, we should be wanting to the Trust repos'd in us, if we did not press for a clear Answer to the Proposition concerning Religion.

King's Commissioners. "We deny that the Objections alledg'd by us against the passing the Bill for abolishing *Episcopacy*, from Conscience, Law or Reason, have been fully answer'd by your Lordships, or that indeed we have receiv'd any Satisfaction from your Lordships in those Particulars; and we should be wanting to the great Trust repos'd in us if we should consent, &c.

Parliament's Commissioners. "We did assure our selves that after so many Days Debate concerning Religion, and our Removal of whatever Objections had been offer'd by your Lordships, and our making appear how great a Hindrance *Episcopal* Government is, and hath been to a *perfect Reformation*, to the Growth of Religion, and prejudicial to the Civil State, that your Lordships would have been ready to have answer'd our Expectation, &c.

King's Commissioners. "It is evident, and we conceive consented to on all Purposes, that Episcopacy hath continu'd even from the Apoples Times by continual Succession in the Church of Christ without Intermission or Interruption.

If two of them speak, or two Hundred of them it is all one. Eternal Sophistry and Prevarication! That the Function and Title of a Bishop to preach the Gospel, administer the Sacraments, to take the Pastoral Care of one Church, and sometimes to superintend others, in a brotherly exhortative Manner, was without Intermission or Interruption is true; but could the most invincible Assurance pretend that the Matters for which the King's six Doctors contended, Mannors, Royalties, Peerages, temporal Powers, Courts and Castles, have been without Intermission or Interruption in the Church of Christ, from Pope *Linus*'s Time to Pope *Joan*'s, or Pope *John*'s 800 Years after. I have before me a very learned and judicious Writer, Mr. *Tallents*, who knew the State of this Affair better than the *Uxbridge* Doctors; and I shall give his own Words, which will be sufficient and satisfactory, and there needs no more be said of it.

Binius *Can. Apost.* "The Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were promiscuously used, and not distinguish'd for above 200 Years. There were good Bishops at *Rome* till after the Year 300: From thence they declin'd much, till the Year 600, and from thence they grew very bad. The Catalogues of these Bishops seem very fair; *This is the boasted Succession, without Intermission or Interruption*; but there is great Confusion in them: Few of them are alike. Some are nam'd that were never in Being. The Times of most are uncertain, and the Names of divers unknown; there being no certain Writer of their Lives from the Year 858, to the Year 1047. Besides, *there were many long Vacancies, and* 30 *Schisms*, 2 or 3 Bishops or Popes at the same Time. There are also great Differences about the first 6 Bishops, as *Baronius* confesses: Some say St. *Peter* came to *Rome Anno* 42. some say 63. and some not at all. We must by no Means imagine the first Bishops of *Rome*, who were holy Men, and gave themselves to Prayer and the Word, were like the Bishops in after Ages or now, &c." What Mr. *Tallents* says is agreeable to the A. D. 1645.

Parliament's Commissioners Reply. "So far were we from consenting that *Episcopacy* hath continu'd from the Apostles Times by continual *Succession*, that the contrary was made evident to your Lordship, and the Unlawfulness of it fully proved." *Warwick*, who is certainly as good a Divine and Casuist as he is a Politician and Historian informs us, that the Presbyterians *storm'd* at Dr. *Lany*; and Dr. *Hammond* prov'd by Scripture that the *Covenant* was against it. *Echard* assures us, *impartial Men*, such as the Earl of *Clarendon* and himself, *thought the King's Divines superior to the other in Argument and Genius*; the last Word *Genius* is very good if he understood it, and if he had we should not have found it in his Panegyrick. This is their modest way of talking. By *Superiority here*, if any Thing is meant it is Confidence, they out fronted the Presbyterian Divines, as we read in *Whitlocke*, Dr. *Steward*, and Dr. *Sheldon* argu'd *very positively, that the Government by* Bishops *was* Jure Divino; Mr. *Henderson* and Mr. *Vines* argu'd *as positively, but more modestly, that the Government of the* Church *by* Presbyteries *was* Jure Divino.

King's Commissioners. "We must profess to your Lordships that we did conceive the Succession of Episcopacy from the Apostles was consented to on all Sides, and cannot remember that the contrary thereof was so much as alledg'd, much less that the Unlawfulness thereof was prov'd.

One may perceive by this with what Spirit and with what Truth these Gentlemen and Doctors argu'd. It was not possible for the Parliament's Commissioners to debate this Article, but they must at least *alledge* some such Thing: But the King's Commissioners, the Lords, Knights, and Doctors, do not remember a Syllable of it, and a Treaty was likely to come to something that was made up of asserting and denying. His Majesty's Commissioners were oblig'd to allow that the *spiritual Courts* ought to be obolish'd by taking away their *Fees* and *Excommunications*; yet that scandalous Grievance, which not only reflects on the Protestant but the Christian Religion, and indeed upon all Religion, as being a Mart for Wickedness by Mulcts and Commutation, &c. is still the Complaint of all honest Men, and the Practices of those mean mercenary Officers the Infamy of a great and generous Nation. The King's Commissioners offer'd that Ceremonies should not be enjoyn'd, which in Truth was to abolish them; that Bishops should not ordain without Consent of the Presbytery; that they should preach every *Sunday* and reside in their Dioceses, and that Pluralities should not be suffer'd, &c. But the Parliament's Commissioners had engag'd for the establishing of the *Covenant* which abolish'd Episcopacy, and it was great Pity they could accept of nothing less; for the King's Commissioners could yield to nothing more: So that Article remain'd in *Statu quo*.

Militia. The next was that of the *Militia*, the Power of which the Parliament's Commissioners demanded to be vested in such Persons as both Houses and the Parliament of *Scotland* should nominate, which, says *Echard*, *Lane*, *Gardiner*, *Bridgman* and *Palmer*, prov'd to be without any *Pretence of Law* or *Justice*. Observe how positive he is, and yet the very contrary of it is the Fact. He adds, "Sir *Edward Hyde*

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" and Mr. *Whitlocke* had ſome Diſputes, but to " no Effect ;" that is, the King's Commiſſioners would make no Conceſſion that was effectual. *Whitlocke*'s own Account of it is as follows ; " Sir *Edward Hyde* would have had it " for granted that the whole Power of the *Militia*, by the Law of *England*, is in the King " only : Mr. *Whitlocke* deny'd this to be ſo very " clear, and undertook to make it out, that our " Law doth not poſitively affirm where that " great Power is lodg'd, and *doubted not* but to " ſatisfy the Commiſſioners fully in that Point : " Upon which it was mov'd that a Day might be " appointed to hear their Arguments, but the " Earl of *Southampton* was againſt a formal Debate, which would take up too much Time, " and ſo was Mr. *Hollis*. However the Commiſſioners of *England* and *Scotland* at their " Return to their Quarters gave *Whitlocke* " Thanks for encountring Sir *Edward Hyde* " upon the Point of Right as to the *Militia*, " wherein he was ſo confident. They ſaid the " Honour of the Parliament was *concern'd there-* " *in, and* Whitlocke had vindicated it." *However the King's Commiſſioners, continues* Echard, *to ſhew their Readineſs for an Accommodation, propos'd, that for ſeven Years the Perſons to be truſted with the Militia, ſhould be nam'd half by the King and half by the Parliament :* Whereas the Truth is, the Parliament to ſhew their Readineſs for an Accommodation, ſent an Expreſs to their Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* to propoſe a " Limitation of the *Militia* for three " Years after the three Kingdoms are declar'd " by the King and Parliament to be ſettled in " Peace, or have it ſettled in the Parliament " for ſeven Years after the Time the King is " willing to ſettle it.

Ireland. The Third Article about *Ireland* is told as faithfully as the reſt. The Archdeacon writes, " Sir *Edward Hyde*, who knew the Secrets of " that Affair, undertook the King's Vindication, " and hiſtorically diſplay'd the Juſtice and Piety " of the King's Proceedings, and the inevitable " Neceſſity of the *Ceſſation* with the bloody " *Iriſh* REBELS." This is not only directly againſt the Truth, but in full Defiance of it. That pious and juſt Act ſtruck the whole Nation with Horror, and one cannot read it without ſhuddering. Theſe *Iriſh Rebels* had juſt maſſacred 200000 Proteſtants, Men, Women and Children, with the greateſt Variety of diabolical Cruelty. The Blood of thoſe Innocents was ſtill as it were reeking on the Hands that ſign'd the Treaty on the Part of the Maſſacrers. As to the Juſtice of it, let us ſee what the Parliament's Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* ſaid after the Matter had been debated. " It is very contrary to our " Expectation to find your Lordſhips unſatisfy'd, " notwithſtanding the Arguments and Reaſons " alledg'd by us that his Majeſty had not Power " to make the *Ceſſation* with the REBELS in *Ire-* " *land* ; and that upon Peruſal of the Statutes, " it appears not to you that his Majeſty had no " Power to make that Ceſſation. It is ſtrange " that your Lordſhips had forgot all other Arguments uſed by us from the Common Law " from other Proceedings in Parliament, and " Circumſtances as this Caſe ſtands, on which " we ſtill inſiſt, and do affirm, that his Majeſty " had no Power to make or conſent to that *Ceſ-* " *ſation* ;" which indeed is as plain as ſimple Fact and common Senſe can make a Thing ; for by an Act of Parliament paſs'd by this King himſelf, the Contributors of Money towards carrying on the War in *Ireland*, were to be repaid out of the forfeited Eſtates in that Kingdom, and this *Ceſſation* cut off thoſe Forfeitures. The King's Commmiſſioners, in the Management of this Point, ſpoke and acted like Perſons who were aſham'd of the Buſineſs, but yet were oblig'd to juſtify it, and confirm it, the King having not only ſent for Sir *Michael Ernly*'s, Sir *Richard Fleetwood*'s, Col. *Monk*'s, Col. *Gibſon*'s, and Col. *Warren*'s *Engliſh* Regiments from *Ireland* ; but the *Ceſſation* was then about to be turn'd into a *Peace*, and the *Popiſh* REBELS were treating with him to ſupply him with an *Iriſh* Army to reduce the Parliament of *England*. One can't without bluſhing read the frivolous Excuſes of the King's Commiſſioners for the Marquis of *Ormond*'s refuſing to take Vengeance on the Murderers of ſo many Thouſands of unarm'd defenceleſs Proteſtants. We have ſeen what was the *Juſtice* of this *Ceſſation*, and the *Piety* of it could not but be ſeen at the ſame Time. The *Parliament*'s *Commiſſioners* earneſtly beſought the *King*'s, *That God's Quarrel might be rereng'd upon thoſe perfidious Enemies of the Goſpel of Chriſt, who had imbru'd their Hands in ſo much Proteſtant Blood* ; and *that they would conſider the* Ceſſation *that is made with them is for their Advantage, and rather a Protection than a Ceſſation, as if it had been all of their own contriving, Arms, Ammunition, and all manner of Commodities being to be brought to them, that afterwards they may the better deſtroy the ſmall Remainder of the Proteſtants.* The Parliament's Commiſſioners add, *Again, we beſeech your Lordſhips, in the Bowels of Chriſtian Charity and Compaſſion to ſo many poor Souls, who muſt periſh if the Strength of that raging Adverſary be not broken, and in the Name of him who is the Prince of Peace, who hates to be at Peace with ſuch Shedders of Blood, give not your Conſent to the Continuance of this Ceſſation, till Juſtice have been fully executed upon the Actors of that accurſed* RE-BELLION. *Let not the Judgment of War within this Kingdom, which God hath laid upon us for our Sins, be increas d by ſo great a Sin as any Peace or Friendſhip with them, whatſoever becomes of us : If we muſt periſh, let us go to our Graves with that Comfort, that we have not made Peace with the Enemies of Chriſt, yea the Enemies of Mankind, declar'd and unreconcil'd Enemies to our Religion and Nation.* Yet, according to the Reverend Hiſtorian, *the making Peace with theſe Enemies of Chriſt was an Act of great Piety.* As to the *inevitable Neceſſity* of *it*, the Falſhood of that Pretence is as ſelf-evident as that there is Light in the Sun : For the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, for whoſe Preſervation it was ſhamefully pretended to be made, proteſted, complain'd, and petition'd againſt it, and yet it is confidently ſaid at *Uxbridge*, *His Majeſty's* Engliſh *Proteſtant Subjects could not ſubſiſt without a* Ceſſation. There is nothing in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, or Mr. Archdeacon's Hiſtory, more falſe than this, *The Parliament's Commiſſioners anſwer'd the King's ; The contrary is undeniable, and his Majeſty's* Proteſtant *Subjects there, both* Engliſh *and* Scottiſh, *who have oppoſed that Ceſſation, have ſubſiſted, and do ſtill ſubſiſt.* It was ſaid again by the King's Commiſſioners, *The poor Proteſtants in* Ireland *were preſerv'd, and that Kingdom kept from utter Ruin by the* Ceſſation *of Arms* made with the Popiſh bloody REBELS. Nothing falſer than this is to be met with in Monkiſh Fables and Legends ; it is not only the very Reverſe of a Truth which every body knew, but which they that ſaid it could have prov'd better than any one. The Parliament's Commiſſioners reply'd, *It is moſt apparent that the Neceſſities alledg'd for the Grounds of that* Ceſſa-

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A. D. 1645. Ceſſation *were made by Deſign of the Popiſh and Prelatical Party in* England *and* Ireland, *who ſo wickedly contriv'd the ſame, that the Proviſions ſent thither by the Parliament for Relief of his Majeſty's good Subjects in* Ireland, *were diſpos'd of, and afforded to the* REBELS *there in their greateſt Wants.* Many wicked Inſtances of this Deſign are ſet forth in their Paper of the 22d of *February*; and this is the juſt and pious Affair of which, ſays *Echard*, Sir *Edward Hyde* knew the *Secrets*. Theſe Men do really know no more of Piety and Juſtice, than what Mr. Archdeacon expreſſes in his Vindication of that impious and unjuſt *Ceſſation*, of which *Whitlocke* writes thus; *The Earl of* Ormond *concluded the* Ceſſation *with the* Iriſh REBELS, *and divers of them under Col.* Ernley *came over hither to ſerve the* KING. *A Miniſter was voted out of his Living for conſtantly praying for the* Iriſh REBELS. *Sir* William Brereton *reported to the Houſe of Commons, that the* Iriſh REBELS *commit great Spoil and Cruelty where they come in* Cheſhire, *and that more of them are expected over. The Houſe taking into Conſideration the Marquis of* Ormond's *treating with them, and ſending them over to* England, *voted to impeach him as a* TRAYTOR *to the Three Kingdoms. In the mean while* 20000 *of the* Scots *in the* North *of* Ireland *vow'd to live and die together in Oppoſition to the* Ceſſation. The Earl of *Inchiquin*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Army in *Munſter*, wrote a Letter to the King, ſubſcrib'd by all the chief Officers, Earl of *Inchiquin*, Lord *Broghil*, Sir *William Fenton*, Sir *Percy Smith*, Lieutenant Col. *William Brocket*, Lieutenant Col. *Thomas Searl*, Major *Muſchamp*; wherein they earneſtly pray'd his Majeſty to revoke the Truce which his Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* ſaid again and again, and no doubt would have ſworn it, was made on Purpoſe to *preſerve them.* The Concluſion of this Letter was thus, *Whatever your Majeſty's Reſolution is hereupon, ours is to purſue the War vigorouſly againſt thoſe inhuman and furious* BUTCHERS, *and we will rather chuſe to die* Martyrs *in a good Cauſe, than baſely abandon the Defence of it.* What Baſeneſs was it then not only to abandon thoſe brave Men, but to aſſert that the *abandoning* them was to *ſave* them, the Nonſenſe of which is without Example, as is the *Effrontery* of juſtifyiug an unjuſt and impious Act as a *pious* and *juſt* one. But to cloſe this Article, and give a ſolid Proof of the Ingenuity of the King's *Commiſſioners* at *Uxbridge*, and of the Modeſty and Ingenuity of their Hiſtorians, Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Echard*, let us read what Sir *John Temple*, Maſter of the *Rolls* in *Ireland*, and a Privy Counſellor there when this *Ceſſation* was made, ſays of it.

Larr. p. 210.

" After a conſiderable Number of Horſe as well " as Foot ſent over by the Parliament of *Eng-* " *land* arriv'd at *Dublin*, and had in ſome petty " Encounters thereabouts try'd the Metal of the " REBELS, and found their Spirits of a poor " and baſe Allay, they began extremely to diſ- " value them, and would be no longer abus'd " with the fabulous Reports of their great " Strength and Numbers, which with much Ad- " vantage they had long made uſe of. There- " fore now they began to ſeek them out in all " Places, and whereſoever they met with them " they always prevail'd even with ſmall Num- " bers very often againſt great Multitudes of " them, ſparing not many Times to purſue them " into the midſt of their greateſt Faſtneſſes, and " made the very Bogs and Woods unſafe Recep- " tacles for their broken Forces, and with ſo great " Succeſs was the WAR proſecuted by the *Eng-* " *liſh*, from the firſt landing of their Forces out " of *England*, until the TREATY OF THAT " MOST UNHAPPY CESSATION concluded " in *September* 1643. as that in all the Encoun- " ters they had with the REBELS during that " Time, they never received any Scorn or De- " feat, but went on victoriouſly beating them " down in all Parts of the Kingdom." This Gentleman was on the Spot, a great Sufferer by that accurs'd REBELLION, and was like to be ſtill as great a Sufferer as any Man in *Ireland*, yet he is ſo far from thinking there was any *Preſervation* for him in the Truce with the Maſſacrers, that he bewails the concluding it. What Abſurdity, what Stupidity, and worſe ſtill than all that, are there in pretending to conclude a Treaty to preſerve thoſe People who know there is no Preſervation for them but in breaking it, and continuing the War. The Truth is, the *Militia*, *Epiſcopacy*, and the bringing Delinquents to Puniſhment were Things the King himſelf, his Biſhops and his Counſellors, could not bear the Thoughts of, and the King could not maintain his Ground another Campaign againſt the Parliament without Aſſiſtance from the *Iriſh* Papiſts, who according to what the *Parliament's Commiſſioners* ſaid at *Uxbridge*, were in League with the *Prelatical* Party; and Agents from the *Iriſh* Maſſacrers were admitted by the Court of *Oxford*, to whom the King, when he took his Leave of them, ſaid, we have *both need of one another*, Ruſhw. *that we neither of us may fail of what we deſign.* The *Deſign* of the bloody *Iriſh* REBELS was to cut the Throats of all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in that Kingdom, and reſtore the Papal Tyranny and Idolatry. This Deſign was open and avow'd, the Lord *Inchiquin*, in a Letter he wrote Colonel *Myn* before he deſerted the Service in *Ireland*, writes thus, *Some Counſellors about the King have prevail'd with him to make ſuch an Agreement with the* Rebels *here, as leaves the Intereſt he now has in their Power, whereof we find they mean to make uſe for the Extirpation of the* Engliſh *Nation and Proteſtant Religion out of this Kingdom, of which we have given the King notice*, &c. However, the King tells them farther, *You muſt not defer putting it in Execution, by aſſiſting me with all your Forces againſt my* REBEL *Subjects of* England. *Do you aſſiſt me to ſubdue them, and when you have done me that Service*, you the *Iriſh* Butchers, the King himſelf calls them ſo, *Ruſhw.* p. 240. *may expect all the Support and all the Protection that can be hop'd for from a grateful* Prince. At the Head of this Agency, were *Dermot Mac Trag Obrien*, one of the moſt barbarous of thoſe Butchers, the Lord *Muskerry*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, &c. and one need not ſay how welcome they were to the Court at *Oxford*, after what we have repeated of the Speech which was there made to them. Thus ended the famous Treaty of *Uxbridge*, after it had laſted 24 Days, in which, according to *Whitlocke*, *There appear'd no Compliance in the King's Commiſſioners to grant any of the Propoſitions, and they only preſs'd for longer Time.* Dr. *Welwood*, in his *Memoirs*, imputes the King's Obſtinacy in refuſing the leaſt Compliance, except a little in the Article of *Epiſcopacy*, to a Letter he received at that critical Juncture from *Montroſe*, who with a Party of Banditti, for moſt of his Followers were no better than *Highland* Robbers, had over-run *Scotland*, but made no Settlement. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* told this Story to *Welwood*, not with a Deſign he ſhould print it, and having himſelf related it in his own Hiſtory, I ſhall take it thence. *The Marquis of* Montroſe's *Succeſs was very Miſchievous*, for when the King had been

Bp. Sal. p. 59.

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D. 1645. been ſatisfy'd by *Whitlocke* and *Hollis*, two of the Parliament's Commiſſioners at *Oxford*, juſt before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, that it was his Intereſt to make Peace with the Parliament on the Foot of their Propoſitions, ſoftned in ſome Places, and many of his Counſellors, as the Earl of *Southampton*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord *Colepepyr*, not *Digby* nor *Hyde*, &c. were of the ſame Opinion, juſt then the King receiv'd a *Letter from the Lord* Montroſe, *with ſuch an Account of what he had done, of the Strength he had, and of his Hopes next Summer*, that the *King was by that prevail'd on to believe his Affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat on better Terms.* This unhappily wrought ſo far, that the Limitations he put on thoſe he ſent to treat at *Uxbridge*, made the whole Deſign miſcarry. *Montroſe* wrote to his Majeſty, *That he had gone over the Land from* Dan *to* Beerſheba, which was true as to his riding Poſt and outrunning Oppoſition; but as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, he had made himſelf Maſter of no ſtrong Places or Paſſes, and therefore had it in his Power only to do Miſchief to his Country without doing good to his Maſter. He added, *Come thou and take the City leſt I take it and it be called in my Name*; for having been a rank Covenanter and bigotted Presbyterian, he wanted not Texts of Scripture to expreſs his Vanity now as they had done his Hypocriſy before. Moſt of the King's Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*, who were not excepted out of the Parliament's Article of Indemnity, as Mr. *Hyde* always was, were for accommodating Matters before they left *Uxbridge*. The good Earl of *Southampton* rode Poſt from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford*, to preſs the King to yield to the Neceſſity of the Times, and by giving his Aſſent to the moſt material Propoſitions, ſettle a laſting Peace with his People: All the wiſe and innocent Part of his Council preſt him to do it upon their Knees, and his Majeſty, though very reluctant, at laſt was prevail'd upon to follow the wholeſome Counſel of thoſe faithful Counſellors. The next Morning was appointed for ſigning a Warrant to his Commiſſioners to that Effect; and ſo ſure were they of a happy End of all Differences, that the King at Supper complaining his Wine was not good, one told him merrily, *I hope your Majeſty will drink better before a Week is out, with my Lord Mayor at* Guildhall: But before the next Morning came, the fatal Letter from *Montroſe* arriv'd with his *Dan* to *Beerſheba*; wherein he expreſt his *utter Averſion to all Treaties with his Rebel Parliament*; and adds, *he hopes it is not true that his Majeſty has conſented to treat, adviſing him not to do it as unworthy of a King, and aſſuring him he doubted not but to be able within a few Months to march into* England *with a brave Army to his Aſſiſtance.* Thus in a Moment were all the Impreſſions the King's beſt Friends had made upon him daſh'd out. This Letter was copy'd from the Original by the Duke of *Richmond*, which Dr. *Welwood* ſaw, and has printed at large: And Dr. *Burnet* not only affirms this Letter came to the King during the *Uxbridge* Treaty, but Meſſengers alſo brought the ſame Romantick Advices from *Montroſe*. Yet *Echard* with a vain ridiculous Air ſays, *I will not examine into the Inconſiſtency of this Letter with the Earl of* Clarendon's *Account and the beſt Writers*; as if the ſureſt Way to come at the Truth was not to refer to thoſe Hiſtories *that are inconſiſtent with the Earl of* Clarendon's and his beſt Writers? and being ſenſible that his own Authority would by no Means paſs with judicious Readers, he quotes the weakeſt Paſſage in the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, where weak ones are pretty plenty: *Suppoſing ſuch a Letter was written, yet it ſeems to be no Inference that the King himſelf was the Cauſe of the Breaking off the Treaty, when the Denial of the leaſt Conceſſions, and even of a few further Days, was the ſole Act of the Parliament's Commiſſioners.* This is their way in all their Arguments and Hiſtories. They take the very Reaſoning and Words of the Parliament, and turn them againſt them. The Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* informs us, *there could be no Expectations of a good Iſſue of the Treaty, or Inducement for the Parliament to grant longer Time, when not one of the Parliament's Propoſitions was granted.* Theſe ſpiritual Authors are always in ſuch a Pannick when their temporal Concernments are in Jeopardy, that any Help, even of the *Iriſh* REBELS, is acceptable: And as the Article of Epiſcopacy every Way concern'd them, they have no Mercy on the Parliament for not making *Conceſſions*, that is, for not continuing the Revenues, Prerogatives, Powers, Dignities, and every Thing belonging to it, which has a Tincture of the Pomps and Vanities which it is their Duty to renounce and to teach us to do the ſame. It was eaſily to be conjectur'd by the *King's Commiſſioners* bringing ſo many Doctors with them that the Article of *Religion* would never be comply'd with.

Montroſe's *fatal Letter.*

Welwood

A. D. 1645.

That of the *Militia* would have ſecur'd all the reſt, and there being no Military Power left to invade the Civil, the Government muſt have been reduc'd to the Rule of the Law, which is no where pretended to have been the Rule of this King's Reign, but in his own Declarations, and the Hiſtorians who have built their Hiſtories on thoſe ſolid Foundations, and that it would be the Rule afterwards when the Power of Breaking it was *reſerv'd*, could not be conceiv'd by any Man in his Senſes.

The Article of the *Iriſh* REBELS was not likely to be yielded up when there had ſo lately paſt ſo much Endearment between them and the Court at *Oxford*, who expected with Impatience a powerful Aſſiſtance from them. Nay, during the Treaty it was intimated to the King's Commiſſioners that his Majeſty was engag'd for *Ireland*, and had ſent this Letter to *Ormond*.

" I Cannot but mention the Neceſſity of haſt-
" ning the *Iriſh* Peace. But in Caſe,
" againſt all Expectation and Reaſon, *Peace*
" cannot be had, you muſt not by any Means
" fall into a new Rupture with them, but con-
" tinue the *Ceſſation*, for which you ſhall pro-
" miſe them to join with them againſt the *Scots*
" and *Inchiquin*, &c.

By theſe Letters, ſays *Sanderſon*, as great a Cavalier and as great an Hiſtorian as Mr. Archdeacon, *the Myſtery is open'd why the King is ſo violent for Peace with the Iriſh: But this was tenderly treated by the King's Commiſſioners; and well they might be willing to ſhadow theſe Deſigns.* He frankly confeſſes the King dealt doubly with the Parliament in the Affair of the *Iriſh* REBELS; and *Echard* commends his *Juſtice* and *Piety* in it.

Till the *Preliminaries* were ſettled for a good Foundation to treat, the Meeting at *Uxbridge* was at beſt but a wild Buſineſs, from which no reaſonable Man could expect any Good.

Notwithſtanding the Archdeacon's Objection to *Welwood*'s Memoirs as inconſiſtent with the Earl of *Clarendon*'s, an excellent Character of a Hiſtory, and notwithſtanding alſo the notable Reflections he has cited out of the *Compleat Hiſtory*

A. D. 1645. *ſtory of* England, ſober Writers are of Opinion that *Montroſe*'s Romantick Actings and Boaſtings had too great an Influence on his Majeſty's Reſolutions in rejecting every Propoſition of the *Uxbridge* Treaty. Mr. *Acherley* writes thus of it; "As to the King, his Majeſty's Affairs were "in a ruinous Condition, for it was apparent "that by one Stroke more all his Power in Point "of War would be quite extinguiſh'd, which "makes the Wonder great why he inſiſted ſo "much as he did upon Points of *Prerogative*, "and why he did not comply with any Terms "by which his Government and Poſſeſſion of "the Crown might be reſtor'd at a Time when "he had nothing to oppoſe againſt the prevail-"ing Power, unleſs his Majeſty's too great De-"pendance on *Montroſe*'s wild Succeſſes made "him indifferent." Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *Lord* Hollis *told me all was owing to* Montroſe's *unhappy Succeſſes*.

I cannot conclude what I have to ſay of the *Uxbridge* Treaty without taking Notice of an Error in *Raguenot*, *Gregorio Leti*, and even *Larrey*, who all mention *Oliver Cromwel*'s being one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners there; and *Leti* particularly writes thus; "*Cromwel*'s Reputation increas'd much in this "Conference, wherein he gave great Proofs of "his Ability, both in Military and Religious "Matters, inſomuch that every one was not on-"ly pleas'd with the Solidity and Eloquence "of his Arguments, but there was hardly any "Body that would venture to argue with him." All the Fault in him is, that *Cromwel* was no *Commiſſioner*, and was not there.

The Preparations for War continu'd all this while, and the two Houſes paſt the Ordinance for new modelling their Army. And what wiſe ones the King had about him we may gueſs again by *Echard*'s Character of them, *they look'd upon this new Army and their new Officers with ſuch Contempt, that the* New Model *was by them in Scorn, commonly called the* New Noddle, which is ſome of their beſt Wit as well as Foreſight. But the Truth is, they were in mortal Fear of both the new Officers and Army. They knew too well the Conduct and Courage of *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, to have any Hopes left of ſpinning out the War. They knew both thoſe Generals were in Earneſt, and reſolv'd heartily to reduce them to Obedience without any more Ceremony and Complement. The Parliament declar'd their Intention to be no longer amus'd with Meſſages and Words: But ſince the Controverſy had been left to the Deciſion of the Sword, they were for the Sword's deciding it as ſoon and as effectually as poſſible. For this End they ſhifted Hands, and to do it with as much Civility as they could to their own Members, they made the Ordinance General to exclude the Members of both Houſes from Employments in Army and Fleet: But there was a Pretext found out to continue *Cromwel* in his Command. I do not find that the Parliament had any Jealouſy of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Fidelity to the Cauſe they were engag'd in; but it is viſible by his March and Diſgrace in the *Weſt*; by his avoiding the ſecond Battle at *Newbury*; by his Miſintelligence with *Waller* and other Generals; by his own continual Speeches in Praiſe of *Peace*, that he would have been glad of one on much eaſier Terms than the Parliament would ſubmit to, and it was not prudent in them to carry on the War under ſuch Management. But they parted with the Earl in as handſome a Manner as they could. They highly extoll'd his Valour, Wiſdom and Experience; they thank'd him for his many glorious Services to the Common Wealth, and ſettled 10000 Pounds a Year on him. 'Tis certain he was very loath to part with his *Batoon*, though he gave the Parliament as good Words as they had given him, when he deliver'd it up. But thoſe who were for a ſpeedy End of the War, and reducing their Enemies to a Neceſſity of making ſuch a Peace as would effectually ſecure thoſe valuable Rights and Liberties for which they had been Fighting and Conquering, found it abſolutely neceſſary to change their General, which is the whole Secret of this *Self-denying* Ordinance. Indeed other Uſe was made of it afterwards, when the Army had knock'd down all Oppoſition, and began to ſet themſelves above their Maſters, when a Party under the Notion and Title of *Independants*, became the Majority in the Army, and ſupported the like Party in the Houſe of Commons, till they were the major Vote in Parliament. The *Independants*, at the Paſſing of this Ordinance, could carry nothing by themſelves, and if the *Presbyterians* had not join'd with them it had never paſt. Mr. Archdeacon makes a Myſtery of this plain Fact, and almoſt all his Authorities are founded on the Dreams and Viſions of thoſe who wanted ſome better Excuſe for their being beaten and baffled, than Cowardice and Folly. This Ordinance was not to extend to Deputy Lieutenants, Juſtices of Peace, or Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, who were Members of either of the Houſes of Parliament. The Lords did not ſo readily fall in with it as the Commons deſir'd; and the Diſagreement about it increas'd the great Difference between the two Houſes, which ended in the Diſſolution of one of them.

A. D. 1645.

Parliament Army new modelled.

The new Army was to conſiſt of 6000 Horſe, 1000 Dragoons, and 14000 Foot, under the Command of

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General.
Oliver Cromwel, Eſq; Lieutenant General.
Philip Skippon, Eſq; Major General.
Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance.
Henry Ireton, Eſq; Commiſſary General of the Horſe.

Colonels of Horſe.

Col. *Middleton*, Col. *Sidney*, Col. *Graves*, Col. *Sheffield*, Col. *Vermuyden*, Col. *Whaley*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Roſiter*, Sir *Robert Pye*.

Colonels of Foot.

Col. *Crayford*, Col. *Barkley*, Col. *Montagu*, Col. *Aldridge*, Col. *Holborn*, Col. *Forteſcue*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Pickering*, Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Welden*.

The Archdeacon aſſures us that theſe Ten Colonels of Foot had not among them all one thouſand Pounds a Year Land, which though it is as falſe as it is impertinent, is far from being a Diminution of the Merit of theſe Officers. I could name him ten Generals in the late Wars with *France*, who had not altogether Land enough for a Knight of a Shire, when they enter'd the Service; yet they behav'd as gallantly as if they had been Heirs to as much Land as they conquer'd.

By the Self-denying Ordinance the following Members of both Houſes were oblig'd to lay down their Commiſſions: The Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Robarts*, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Sir *John Meyrick*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Price*, Sir *Samuel Luke*,

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Luke, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, *Denzill Hollis*, Eſq; *William Strode*, Eſq; *Thomas Cary*, Eſq; *Iſaac Pennington*, Eſq; Colonel *Purefoy*, Colonel *Hutchinſon*, Colonel *Rainsborough*, Colonel *Stapeley*. But *Cromwel*, *Brereton*, *Luke*, *Price*, *Middleton*, *Rainsborough*, and others, were permitted to ſerve 80 Days longer, and that Permiſſion was afterwards prolong'd as their Service was wanted.

Sir Tho. Fairfax *made General.*

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was in the *North* when he was made General of the Army, and coming privately to *London*, was the next Day, *February* the 19th, conducted to the Houſe of Commons by four of their Members. A Chair was ſet for him, but he refus'd to ſit, and the Speaker told him the great Truſt the Commonwealth had conferr'd upon him in the Command of their Army, and the good Opinion they had of his Valour and Fidelity for the Defence of Religion, Laws and Liberties, yet it was ſix Weeks after this that the Earl of *Eſſex* formally deliver'd up his Commiſſion at a Conference between the two Houſes, at which Time he deliver'd alſo a Paper to this Effect, *That he having been employed for almoſt three Years paſt as General of all the Parliament's Forces, which Charge he had endeavour'd to perform with all Fidelity and Sedulity, yet conſidering by the Ordinance lately brought up to the Houſe of* Peers, *that it would be advantagious to the Publick, he deſir'd to lay down his Commiſſion, and freely to render it into the Hands of thoſe from whom he received it, and deſir'd, that ſuch of his Officers who had done faithful Service, and were now left out, might have their Arrears, and ſome others be received into favour.* The Earls of *Mancheſter* and *Denbigh* then alſo laid down their Commiſſions, which was declar'd by both Houſes to be *an acceptable Service, and a Teſtimony of the Fidelity and Care theſe three Lords had of the Publick.* The Commons appointed a Committee to conſider of Gratifying the Lord General, and the two other Earls, for their faithful Services, and hazarding their Lives and Fortunes for the Publick. Some of *Eſſex*'s Friends were againſt his laying down his Commiſſion, but others told him, That Miſchiefs and Conteſts might ariſe if he kept it, of which he himſelf was ſenſible. And, ſays *Whitlocke*, *As he had great Stoutneſs of Spirit, ſo he had great Goodneſs of Nature, and Love to the Publick, which perſwaded him to deliver up his Commiſſion.* It was very abſurd and deſperate Counſel, which thoſe of his Friends gave, who would have had him to have kept it, after the Parliament had voted a new General, and not at all to depreciate the Merit of ſo gallant a Peer, and ſo good an *Engliſhman*, as the Earl of *Eſſex*, it is moſt certain, that excepting the Raiſing the Siege of *Glouceſter*, his Services were not ſo beneficial to the Publick, as his Loſing his Army in *Cornwal*, through his own ill Conduct, was prejudicial; and as for the Battles of *Edgehill* and *Newbury*, which he fought, though *Echard* and other Hiſtorians falſify the Fact in denying him the Advantage, yet it is very evident that thoſe Victories were not ſo well improv'd as they might have been; and that the Suffering the King's Army to retreat after the treacherous Action at *Brentford*, loſt an Opportunity of diſperſing it, and reſtoring Peace before much Blood had been ſpilt in this unnatural War. No Body thinks there was the leaſt Tincture of Unfaithfulneſs in his Lordſhip's Conduct, or that he wanted Courage; but it is obvious he would have had the War carry'd on, and the Peace made in his own Way, which the Parliament thought too indifferent and dilatory.

Earl of Eſſex *lays down his Commiſſion.*

Admiralty. The Earl of *Warwick* laid down his Commiſſion of Lord High Admiral, as the other Earls had done, and had a like Compliment from the Parliament, who appointed Commiſſioners of the *Admiralty*, and nam'd the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Warwick*, the Lords *Say* and *North*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, for that Commiſſion. The Commiſſions which they granted now to their Generals had not the *Care of the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon in them*, nor were in the Name of the *King and Parliament*, but in the Name of the *Parliament* alone, and if they had run ſo at firſt there would have been the leſs Abſurdity in them, for every one knew the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army was rais'd to fight the King's, and that the *Care of the Preſervation* of the King's Perſon at the Battle of *Edge-hill*, where his Majeſty attack'd him, was Nonſenſe, yet the Archdeacon tells us, that the leaving out that Nonſenſe was a Sign of the Parliament's Intention from the beginning to murder the King. *This was the firſt plain Diſcovery of their Intention. The Juggle and Mask were remov'd.* He knew very well that the two Houſes abhor'd the King's Death, and while they were free did their utmoſt to prevent it, yet becauſe they were *Presbyterians* he does what he can to load them with this Infamy.

A. D. 1645.

The main of the King's Strength was in the *Weſt*, where *Goring* commanded, and committed ſo many Acts of Cruelty and Rapine, that his Name is Infamous there to this Day, eſpecially about *Taunton*, which Town he beſieg'd, and during the Siege his Soldiers made themſelves terrible by continual Butcheries, Rapes and Robberies, inſomuch that the Name of *Goring*'s Crew is even now remember'd with Abhorrence. Before he form'd this Siege a ſmall Officer, one Colonel *Edmund Windham*, ſent a Summons to Colonel *Blake* the Governor, threatning him with *Fire and Sword*, but *Blake*, infinitely ſuperior to *Windham* in the Character of Heroiſm, return'd this Anſwer, *Theſe are to let you know, that as we neither fear your Menaces, nor accept your Proffers, ſo we wiſh you for Time to come to deſiſt from all Overtures of the like Nature unto us, who are reſolv'd to the laſt Droop of our Blood to maintain the Quarrel we have undertaken, and doubt not but the ſame God who hath hitherto protected us, will e'er long bleſs us with an Iſſue anſwerable to the Juſtneſs of our Cauſe. Howſoever, to him alone ſhall we ſtand or fall.* The Works of the Place were inconſiderable, and *Blake* was in great Want of Ammunition and Proviſions, yet he made a reſolute Defence againſt ſeveral Armies, one after another, till a Party of the Parliament's Forces broke through the Beſiegers, and ſupply'd the Town with Stores of Proviſions, and what they wanted. *Larrey* terms it the *Saguntum* of the Parliamentarians, comparing the Fidelity of *Taunton* to that of *Saguntum* in *Spain*, and the Extremities which both Towns were reduc'd to, one with the other. *Taunton*, however, had better Fortune than *Saguntum*, which *Hannibal* took and demoliſh'd, but *Taunton* was reliev'd twice by the Parliament Army; the firſt Time was when Colonel *Welden* and Colonel *Graves*, who were detach'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, came to the Aſſiſtance of *Blake*, whom the Parliament had order'd the General to relieve, but he was afterwards countermanded, and *Graves* and *Welden* ſent on that Expedition. They came before the Town on *Sunday*, *May* the 11th, and the Beſiegers knew nothing of their coming till they were within 4 Miles of the Place. *Greenvile* the weſtern Robber, and the other Cavalier Commanders, immediately drew off in Confuſion,

Colonel Windham *ſummons* Taunton.

Colonel Blake's *Anſwer.*

Taunton compar'd to Saguntum.

A. D. 1645. on, blocking up the Way with Trees that the Parliament's Forces might not purſue them. The Town, eſpecially *Eaſt Street* was much burnt, having been ſeveral Times ſtorm'd and enter'd by the Enemy, who was always beaten out again.

Siege rais'd. In the laſt Storm one *Bawdon*, a Parliament Officer, having his Thumb cut or ſhot off, as he was driving the Cavaliers before him out of that Part of the Town, proteſted the *Rogues ſhould not carry it away with them*, and while he was ſearching for it, one of thoſe Rogues, who remain'd drinking in an Alehouſe ſhot him dead out of a Window, which was the greateſt Loſs that happen'd to the Beſieg'd in that Action. The Parliament order'd Colonel *Blake* 500 *l.* and 2000 *l.* for his Garriſon. And what is very remarkable, the 11th of *May* was kept an Anniverſary Day of Rejoicing for the Relief of that Town, even after the Reſtoration, and in the Worſt of Times, King *Charles*, and King *James*'s Reigns, and is ſtill yearly kept at *Taunton* in ſome Meaſure. *Goring* had been order'd out of the *Weſt*, and Prince *Rupert* out of the *North*, to join the King at or about *Oxford*, where the Court was very much perplexed at the Raiſing the Siege of *Taunton*; *Goring*'s Heart was ſet upon the Reduction of that Place, that he might bring that rich and populous Town and Country under Contribution, and indulge himſelf in Rapine and Riot. This made him ill digeſt the Orders he receiv'd to leave the *Weſt*, eſpecially when he heard that Colonel *Welden* and Colonel *Graves* had thrown Succours into the Town. In this Humour he approach'd *Oxford*, which City his Majeſty had left and was making towards *Worceſter*, to be nearer Prince *Rupert*.

Cromwel *defeats the Earl of* Northampton *at* Iſlip. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* march'd from *Windſor* with a Party of Horſe to *Caveſham* Bridge, and thence to *Wheatley*, to obſerve the King's Motions, and being inform'd that a Squadron of Horſe under the Earl of *Northampton* and *Goring* was hovering about *Iſlip*, he haſten'd thither, attack'd and defeated them, took 400 Horſe, 200 Priſoners, of whom many were of Rank, and the Queen's own Standard. The reſt fled to *Bletchington* Houſe, where Colonel *Windebank* kept Garriſon for the King. *Cromwel* purſu'd them thither, and after ſome Treaty took the Houſe alſo upon Articles, and therein ſtore of Arms and Ammunition, for which Colonel *Windebank* was ſhot to Death at *Oxford*.

Takes Bletchington *Houſe.*

Col. Windebank *the Governor ſhot.*

Colonel *Fiennes* fell upon a Party of the King's Horſe near *Witney* in *Oxfordſhire*, took 120, three Standards, and 140 Priſoners, Lieutenant General *Cromwel* fell upon another Party of the King's at *Bampton Buſh*, where he took Sir *William Vaughan*, Lieutenant Colonel *Littleton*, and another Lieutenant Colonel, Mr. *Lee*, 5 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 8 Enſigns, Dr. *Dunſe*, 20 Serjeants, 230 Common Soldiers and Arms. Being reinfor'd with 500 Foot from Major General *Browne*'s Garriſon at *Abington* he attempted *Farringdon* Houſe without Succeſs. The King's Forces under Prince *Rupert* and *Goring* join'd in *Oxfordſhire*, and, with the Troops his Majeſty had there before, made an Army of 11 or 12000 Men, which had he kept together he might at leaſt have defended himſelf longer. *Echard* has found out a Victory for *Goring*, who *ſurpriz'd a Horſe Quarter of* Cromwel's, *and another Party of* Fairfax's *Horſe, broke and defeated them with great Slaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceeding welcome to the King.* *Larrey* writes, *Cromwel open'd the Campaign fortunately, by the Defeat of Colonel* Goring, *whom he made to loſe the Title of* Invincible, *which his People had given him.* But *Larrey* being a Proteſtant may not have Credit with Mr. Archdeacon, therefore ſee what *Leti* a *Papiſt* ſays, *Cromwel meeting a Body of* 1300 *Horſe commanded by* Goring, *defeated them, took* 200 *Priſoners*, &c. We ſee how well grounded the Reputation of the Hiſtorian's Heroes is, for *Goring* did not beat *Cromwel*'s or *Fairfax*'s Men, but was himſelf ſoundly beaten. He was order'd again into the *Weſt* to join *Greenvile* and *Hopton*, and renew the Siege of *Taunton*.

A. D. 1645.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being making Preparations to beſiege *Oxford*, the King perceiv'd he was ill adviſ'd in dividing his Army; and tho' his marching *Northward* to relieve *Cheſter*, which was diſtreſs'd by Sir *William Brereton*, had ſo good an Effect, that *Brereton* on the News of it drew off his Forces; yet it brought him into a Neceſſity of coming to a deciſive Battle, which prov'd fatal to himſelf and to his Followers.

King relieves Cheſter.

But before the utter Overthrow of his Army, he came before *Leiceſter*, where Col. *Gray* commanded for the Parliament; and one of the Gates being betray'd to him, his Forces enter'd, after a gallant Defence made by the Parliament's Soldiers in the Market-place. The Cavaliers put a great Number to the Sword, ſome of them after Quarter was given. They murder'd ſeveral Women, raviſh'd ſeveral Maids and Matrons, turn'd others naked into the Streets. They hang'd Mr. *Rayner* and Mr. *Sawyer* in cold Blood, and murder'd Mrs. *Barlow*, a Miniſter's Wife, and her Children. The whole Town was miſerably plunder'd. This is *Whitlocke*'s Account of the King's *Triumph*, as *Echard* terms it; and I do not here or elſewhere mention the Maſſacres, Rapes and Plunderings of the *Royaliſts* as Matter of Wonderment; for People who were in Arms to deſtroy the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the Nation in general, could not ſtick at killing them, and robbing them in particular; but to ſhew what Reaſon the Archdeacon has to glory in a Conqueſt which a good Proteſtant and *Engliſhman* cannot read without Horror, he aſſures us the Town was got *purely by an Act of great Courage*; *and* Whitlocke, *that it was got purely by an Act of great Treachery.* But this Falſity is nothing to the wretched Reflections he makes on the Conſternation the Two Houſes were in on News of the Loſs of this one Town only, *a Place*, ſays he, *very conſiderable, but of no great Extent. The taking of* Leiceſter *gave the King's Armies a mighty Reputation, and made a terrible Impreſſion upon the Hearts of thoſe at* Weſtminſter. *Great Fears and Diſtruſts aroſe in the Houſes*, every Word falſe, *and ſeveral Members were heard to ſay in their Paſſage, There is no Hope but in the King's Mercy, and the ſpeedieſt Recourſe to it will be the ſafeſt Expedient.* What follows may have a little more Truth in it, becauſe this has none at all. The Royal Party ſeem'd as good as ſure *that the Day was their own*, which they made appear even in *London* by all publick Signs and Diſcourſes, which they durſt no more do than to have taken *Cromwel* by the Noſe at the Head of his *Ironſides*. What his Majeſty ſaid upon it in a Letter to the Queen, ſhews how ſoon he was lifted up with a little Succeſs in the Midſt of extreme Calamity and Diſtreſs: *I may, without being too ſanguine, affirm, that ſince this* REBELLION *my Affairs were never in ſo hopeful a Way.*

Takes Leiceſter.

The ſtrong Town of *Shrewsbury*, which cut off the Communication with *Wales*, had been lately ſurpriz'd by the *Parliamentarians*; the Town of *Taunton*, one of the Keys of the *Weſt*, had lately been reliev'd; *Weymouth*, which Sir *Lewis Dives* had taken for him, was juſt recover'd by the Parliament's Forces; the *Scots* had

A. D. 1645. had join'd Sir *William Brereton* in the *North*; Sir *James Long* had been juſt routed at the *Devizes* by a Party of Sir *William Waller*'s Troops, with the Loſs of a whole Regiment of Horſe. *Montroſe* had lately been defeated in *Scotland*. The Rout at *Iſlip* was but a few Days before, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was about to lay Siege to *Oxford*; yet his Majeſty ſays, *his Affairs were never in ſo hopeful a Way* ſince he began the War.

Battle of NASEBY. Let us look a little into *Echard*'s Hiſtory preceding the Fight at *Naſeby*, becauſe we ſhall ſee by it that himſelf and the Authors he depended upon are as ignorant of the true Cauſe of that Fight, as if it had been fought in *China*. "The "King, inſtead of retiring towards *Worceſter* to "join General *Gerrard*, who had 3000 Horſe "and Foot, or ſtaying for General *Goring*, now "ſent for by his Majeſty, or of marching *North-*"*ward* with the *Terror* of a victorious Army, "*which we ſhall ſee preſently was ſo terrible*, "*that* Oliver *was afraid they would have gi-*"*ven him the Slip*, unfortunately turn'd "towards *Oxford*, which was thought by "ſome to be in Diſtreſs. From whence hearing "that *Fairfax* was drawn off, it kindled a "greater Appetite in the King's Army to find "him out." There are many other Falſities in this Account of the Preparations for the Battle of *Naſeby*, but the laſt is the moſt extraordinary one; for *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* were all this while drawing the Cavaliers into the Snare they had prepar'd for them, as appears by *Larrey*'s Hiſtory. "*Cromwel* made but a ſmall Account "of his little Succeſſes. His Views and Hopes "went much farther, and flaming with Deſire to "ſee himſelf engag'd with the *Royal Army*, "he deſpis'd all Triumphs but over the King, "and therefore being highly delighted that his "Deſigns were ſupported by the Advice and "Commands of the Two Houſes, he us'd his "utmoſt Diligence to bring his wiſh'd-for Pro-"ject to ſucceed, and block the Way up, ſo that "the King could not eſcape him." The Two Houſes, inſtead of having Recourſe to the King's Mercy as the ſafeſt Expedient, in which *Echard* tells us they center'd all their Hopes, had really Recourſe to their Army, and commanded their Generals to bring the King to a Battle, now he was in the Field, before he got into a Town again. *Larrey* proceeds, "With this Deſign, "and the better to conceal it, *Cromwel* made a "Feint of marching towards the *Northern* "Counties, as if his Intention was to go into "*Scotland*, and there join the Covenanters Ar-"my. He croſs'd *Huntingtonſhire* and *Cam-*"*bridgſhire*, but he communicated his Intention "to General *Fairfax*, that he might follow him, "keeping cloſe to the King's Army, which he "did not doubt would purſue him, and join "him when there ſhould be Occaſion. Every "thing ſucceeded. The King ſuppoſing no "Stratagem, and being altogether intent on "*Cromwel*'s Motions, took his *Route* thro' *Nor-*"*thamptonſhire*, with a Deſign to obſerve him, "but not risk a Battle, in which he was miſta-"ken. The active and diligent *Cromwel* no "ſooner had Advice that the King was encamp'd "near *Naſeby*, but he reſolv'd to ſurprize him "there, and compel him to fight. He advis'd "*Fairfax* of it, and the whole Army marching "all Night, came the 10th of *June* by Break of "Day up with the King's Camp." What need was there then of the Archdeacon's *kindling an Appetite* in the Royaliſts to find out *Oliver*? *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* have found out the King, and are reſolv'd not to let him eſcape, as he had done at *Edgehill* and *Brentford*. The Battle ending ſo unhappily as it did, *Echard* will by no Means leave any Blame on the King, and therefore he affirms *his Majeſty deſign'd to return to* Leiceſter, *and continue on the Defenſive*; whereas, directly contrary to this, we are inform'd by a Writer who was on the Spot, *the King's Opinion prevail'd againſt the Mind of moſt of his great Officers, who thought it beſt to avoid Fighting*. *A. D.* 1645. Sp. p. 33.

On the 5th of *June* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* roſe from before *Oxford*, and march'd to *Marſh Gibeon*, having order'd Major General *Skippon*, who lay before *Borſtall* Houſe to join him, which Mr. Archdeacon very ingeniouſly calls being beaten off with Loſs. Here the Lord General had Intelligence that the King was marching from *Leiceſter* towards *Daventry*, with Intention to raiſe the Siege of *Oxford*, which was done to his Hand. The next Day the Army march'd to *Great Brickhill*, and the next Day to *Sherrington*, from whence an Expreſs was ſent to General *Cromwel* in the Aſſociated Counties, to inform him of the Army's advancing that Way. On the 9th of *June* a Party was ſent out to get Intelligence of the Enemy, who brought in ſome Priſoners of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*'s Brigade, by whom General *Fairfax* was inform'd that the King lay ſtill at *Daventry*, having fac'd *Northampton*. A Council of War was alſo held, where it was reſolv'd to ſend Letters to the Two Houſes, praying, That in Conſideration of the Likelihood of a ſudden Battel, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*'s Abſence in the Houſe might be diſpenc'd with for a Time, which ſhews us that he was not ſo entirely exempted from the ſelf-denying Ordinance as is pretended. Col. *Hammond* went Poſt to *London* with theſe Letters, and return'd Poſt with a favourable Anſwer, and a Commiſſion for General *Cromwel* to command the Horſe under the Lord General *Fairfax*; which Proceeding of the Parliament being purſuant to a Motion of the Council of War held when *Oliver* was at a Diſtance, and knew nothing of the Matter, takes away much of the Artifice and Trick imputed to *Cromwel*, to get himſelf diſpenc'd from the Ordinance laſt mention'd. On the 11th of *June* the Army march'd to *Wootton*, within 8 Miles of *Northampton*, where they were inform'd that the King's Army lay ſtill at *Daventry*, his Foot and Carriages on *Burrough Hill* making a Shew as if he intended to fight on that Ground. But afterwards it appear'd that his Stay there was only till a Party of 1200 Horſe was return'd from convoying the plunder'd Cattle and Sheep from *Leiceſterſhire* and *Northamptonſhire* to *Oxford*, himſelf intending to follow *Cromwel*. From *Wootton* the General march'd to *Gilsborough*, within 5 Miles of *Burrough Hill*. A Party of Horſe being detach'd to get further Information of the Enemy, they alarm'd their Camp and took ſome Priſoners, by whom the *Parliamentarians* underſtood the King was a Hunting, the Soldiers in no Order, and their Horſes at Graſs, having not the leaſt Knowledge of *Fairfax*'s Advance. But the Alarm was quickly taken thro' all their Quarters, and the Parliament's Foot being ſomewhat behind, it was not thought proper to make any farther Attempt. About Twelve that Night the General took Horſe, and rode about both the Horſe and Foot Guards till Four in the Morning, expecting the Enemy would have ſhewn ſome Gallantry that Night, and fallen upon ſome of his Quarters. About Break of Day a remarkable Accident befel him as he was riding his Round, for having forgot the Word, he was ſtopp'd by the Guard, and requiring the Soldier who ſtood Centinel to give it him, he refus'd to do it, ſaying,

A. D. 1645. *I am to take the Word from all that paſs, but to give it to none*; which oblig'd the General to ſtop in the Rain till the Captain of the Guard came, and commanded the Centinel to give him the Word, which he did, and the General rewarded the Soldier for his Duty and Careſulneſs. As he was riding within a Mile and a half of *Flowre*, where the Enemy kept a Horſe-Guard, he could diſcern them about Three a Clock in the Morning riding faſt over *Burrough Hill*, and making Fires in Abundance, as if they were Firing their Huts, which gave him Reaſon to conclude they were about to march; and two Hours after he receiv'd Advice from Scout-maſter General *Watſon*, who was almoſt always upon the *Reconnoitre*, that the Enemy was drawing off from *Burrough Hill* in great Amazement at the near Approach of the Parliament Army. *Echard* owns his Majeſty lay quiet five Days, not knowing where *Fairfax* was, tho' within five or ſix Miles of him; a very unhappy Security amidſt ſo much Danger, and an Inſtance that the King's ill Fate faſt purſu'd him; for in all the War he had not till then ſhewn any Want of Conduct or Activity. *Watſon*'s Scouts were follow'd by ſome Spies, who confirm'd the former Report, adding, that the King's Carriages were drawn from *Burrough Hill* towards *Harborough*. Upon which a Council of War was held. Before it broke up, Lieutenant General *Cromwel* arriv'd with 600 Horſe out of the *Aſſociation*, to the great Joy of the General and the whole Army. A Party of Horſe was immediately order'd to get Intelligence on *Daventry* Side, and Colonel *Ireton* with a ſtrong Party to fall upon the Flank of the Enemy if he ſaw Cauſe, while the main Body of the Parliament's Army flank'd the King's in their March to *Harborough*, and came that Night, the 13th of *June*, to *Gilling*, where they underſtood the Royaliſts were at *Harborough*, their Rear within two Miles of *Naſeby*, and ſoon after, that Col. *Ireton* had fallen into their Quarters in *Naſeby* Town, where he took many Priſoners, ſome of the Prince's Life-guard and *Langdale*'s Brigade, and gave a terrible Alarm to all their Forces; upon which his Majeſty quitted the Quarters he had taken, and for Security went to *Harborough*, where Prince *Rupert* quarter'd, who was then a-bed; but the King order'd him to be call'd up, and a Council of War to be held, by whom it was reſolv'd to give Battle, *taking themſelves*, ſays my Author, *as indeed they were, a more conſiderable Force than the Parliament's, eſpecially in Horſe, on which they chiefly depended.*

Saturday, June the 14th, General *Fairfax* advanc'd by Three a Clock in the Morning from *Gilling* towards *Naſeby*, and by Five his Army rendezvouz'd near the Town, when great Bodies of the Enemy's Horſe appear'd on the Top of the Hill on *Harborough* Side; and theſe were follow'd by the whole Army, for the Royaliſts had receiv'd falſe Intelligence, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was flying towards *Northampton*, and they made ſo much haſte to purſue him, that they left many of their Ordnance behind them. Whereas *Fairfax*, inſtead of flying, had drawn up his Army in *Battalia* in a large fallow Field, on the *North-Weſt* Side of *Naſeby*, and was ready to receive them.

The Battle. The King commanded the Main Body of his Army, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindſey* and the Lord *Aſtley* the Right Hand Reſerve, the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Liſle* the Left.

Of the Parliament Army *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwel* the Right Wing and *Ireton* the Left. The Reſerves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond* and *Pride*. The Parliament Word was *God our Strength*; the Royaliſt, *Queen* Mary, a *Papiſt*, 'tis true, but never the worſe Word for their Purpoſe. Prince *Rupert* began and charg'd the Parliament's Left Wing with great Reſolution. *Ireton* made gallant Reſiſtance, but was at laſt forc'd to give Ground, he himſelf being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horſe ſhot under him, and himſelf taken Priſoner. Prince *Rupert* follow'd the Chace almoſt to *Naſeby*, and in his Return ſummon'd the Train, who made no Anſwer but with their Firelocks. He alſo viſited the Carriages, where was good Plunder, for which the Cavaliers had always ſo keen an Appetite that to come at it, they never conſider'd the King's Safety nor their own, and it muſt be confeſs'd that this Plunder was what their common Soldiers fought for, ſince one cannot believe they were ſo well appriz'd of the great Advantages of arbitrary Power, and the Bleſſings of Superſtition and Prieſtcraft, as the Earl of *Clarendon* and the more enlighten'd of them were.

Prince *Rupert* remain'd all this while among the Parliament's Carriages which he could rifle, tho' they could not take, and all this while was *Cromwel* cutting to pieces the left Wing of the King's Army, whom he had forc'd from their main Body, broke them and their Reſerve with a dreadful Slaughter; after which he bore down like a Torrent on the main Body of the Royal Army, and with the Aſſiſtance of two or three Regiments of Infantry encompas'd their Foot, who finding themſelves deſerted by their Horſe, threw down their Arms and yielded themſelves Priſoners. His Majeſty got out of the Field into *Leiceſter* Road, where he was purſu'd by the Parliament Horſe, and thinking *Leiceſter* not ſafe enough, he poſted to *Litchfield*, and thence into *Cheſhire* and *Wales*. Prince *Rupert* returning too late from his Expedition againſt the Parliament's Carriages, found all was loſt on the Place of Battle, and with about 300 Horſe made as faſt as he could to *Briſtol*. Tho' the Action was hot while it laſted, and many of the King's Soldiers who behav'd like *Engliſhmen*, were ſlain; yet the Shortneſs of it prevented a greater Slaughter on both Sides: On that of the Parliament, Captain *Buſh* of *Cromwel*'s, and Captain *Selby* of *Fleetwood*'s Regiments, and Lieutenant Colonel *Francis* of *Skippon*'s Regiment were kill'd, and about 1000 kill'd and wounded: 600 of the King's Soldiers, among whom was Colonel *Sayr*, a Papiſt, were kill'd, but 6000 were taken Priſoners, which made the Number of the Slain the leſs. Among the latter were Sir *Thomas Daliſon* and Sir *Richard Cave*, Sir *Peter Brown*, Major *Rively*, Major *Markham*, and Captain *Thorold*, the four laſt Papiſts. All their Train of Artillery, every one of their Carriages were taken, 8000 Arms, 200 Barrels of Powder, 200 Horſes, 6 Colonels, 7 Lieutenant Colonels, 16 Majors, 70 Captains, 80 Lieutenants, 80 Enſigns, 200 inferior Officers, 140 Standards and Colours, the King's Footmen and Servants, his Coaches, Sumpter and Cabinet, of which more in due Time. *Whitlocke* tells us, *there were found among the Runaways* 100 Iriſh *Women, and many other Women who had follow'd the Camp*; and Mr. *Echard*, with ſingular Sincerity tells us, Fairfax's *Soldiers avoided no Manner of Cruelty, and in the Purſuit kill'd above* 100 *Women, ſome of which were Perſons of Quality.* It is modeſt to a Miracle. Women of Quality are wont to be Campers; and tho' they were *Iriſh* Qua-

The King entirely defeated.

A. D. 1645. lity, the *Trulls* of *Iriſh* REBELS, they were not maſſacred, as the Archdeacon affirms they were. *Lilly* ſays, *p.* 72. *The King's Army was overcharg'd with* Iriſh *Whores.* Some particular Accidents which happen'd in the Fight are worth Remembrance.

Particular Accidents in the Battle.

The Lord General had his Helmet beaten off, and riding in the Field bare headed from one Part of his Army to another, to ſee what Advantage might be gain'd, he came up to his own Life Guard, commanded by Colonel *Charles Doyly*, who told him he was too much expos'd, ſo many Bullets flying about him, and offer'd him his Helmet, which the General refus'd, ſaying, *It is well enough* Charles. A Body of the King's Horſe making a Stand not far off, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ask'd him if he had charg'd them; *Doyly* reply'd, *I have charg'd them twice but cannot break them:* Upon which the General order'd him to charge them once again in Front, and he would himſelf charge them in Rear. Thus they would meet together in the middle of them. *Doyly* did as he was commanded, and both together charging that Body put them in Confuſion, broke them, and *Fairfax* and *Doyly* met indeed in the Middle of them, where *Fairfax* kill'd a Cornet, and one of *Doyly*'s Troopers took his Standard, bragging of the Service he had done in killing the Officer and taking his Colours: But *Doyly* who ſaw the General himſelf kill the Cornet, ſeverely reprimanded the Trooper for his bragging and lying, telling him how many Witneſſes there were who ſaw the General do it with his own Hands; but *Fairfax* himſelf bid the Colonel let the Trooper alone, ſaying, *I have Honour enough, let him have that Honour.* General *Skippon*, the oldeſt Soldier remaining among the Chief Officers, receiv'd a Shot in the Body, from one of his own Men, as was ſuppos'd unwillingly, whereby he was in a great Meaſure diſabled to perform the Duty of his Poſt that Day, though extreamly deſirous to do it: The Lord General entreated him to go out of the Field, but he anſwer'd, *I will not ſtir ſo long as a Man will ſtand*; and he ſtaid accordingly till the Battle was ended. *Cromwel* alſo had his Helmet knock'd off, but haſtily catching it up he clap'd it on the wrong Way, and ſo fought with it bravely the reſt of the Day. We have mention'd *Ireton*'s being wounded and taken in the Fight, but in the Confuſion of the *Rout*, he got looſe again and was a Witneſs of the Victory obtain'd by his Party.

Whitlocke, who was one of *Lilly*'s Patrons, as were Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray*, Mr. *Reynolds*, and the Learned *Elias Aſhmole*, Eſq; ſpeaks of that *Aſtrologer*'s foretelling the Battle of *Naſeby*, which he himſelf tells thus in his Life, "I made "Uſe of the King's Nativity, and finding that "his Aſcendant was approaching to the Quadra- "ture of *Mars* about *June* 1645, I gave this un- "lucky Judgment in my *Anglicus* for that Year, "*If now we fight a Victory ſtealeth upon us*, "and ſo it did in *June* 1645, at *Naſeby*, the "moſt fatal Overthrow he ever had." Sober Perſons, eſpecially ſuch as curſe *Lilly* for his Prediction, may cenſure ſo grave a Perſon as Mr. *Whitlocke* for taking any Notice of it, and deſpiſe the Parliament for countenancing him, tho' the King himſelf countenanced him ſo far as to ſend Mrs. *Whorwood* to him from *Hampton-Court*, when he was there under Confinement, to erect a Figure for his Eſcape, and ſhe gave him 20 Broad Pieces, part of the 1000 Pounds which Alderman *Adams*, of *London*, had lately ſent him. But the King's Conjurers, though they were eternally running from one Houſe to another among the *Celeſtial* Ones, could never make any Thing of their Errand. All the Houſes were againſt them. The chiefeſt of them was *Hodges* of *Wolverhampton*, of whom *Lilly* writes, "He was a great *Royaliſt*, but could ne- "ver hit any Thing right for that Party, though "he much deſir'd it. *A. D.* 1645. *P.* 49.

Colonel *John Fiennes* was ſent to *London* with the Priſoners and Colours, and the News was receiv'd in that City with unexpreſſible Joy, as being the Promiſe of a ſafe Peace.

P. 46. *Lilly's Propheſy of* Naſeby *Fight.*

Among the Pillage of the Field, which was very rich, was taken the King's own *Cabinet*, "Where, *ſays the Archdeacon*, were lodg'd his "*ſecret Papers*, and Letters between him and "his Queen, of which they ſoon after made the "moſt barbarous Uſe, and publiſh'd them in "Print with the ſevereſt Comment." The Falſhood and Sophiſtry of this Reflection, which is in all their Hiſtories, *Orleans*, *Raguenot*, *Salmonet*, *Clarendon*, *Warwick*, &c. are equal to the Character of his Hiſtory. He would have you believe by the moſt *ſecret Papers*, are to be underſtood the *Privacies of Conjugal Amours, and the Secrets of the Marriage Bed*, which if they had made publick, it would have been a barbarous Uſe of thoſe Papers. Inſtead of this they publiſh'd ſuch Paſſages as prov'd to the World what they had long aſſerted, That the King correſponded with the *Iriſh* REBELS, and that he was never ſincere in the Treaties he propoſed to the Parliament. We have already obſerv'd that he would not ſuffer thoſe Butchers to be call'd REBELS, and it was here that the Manuſcript of his Victories written by Sir *Edward Walker* was taken among other Papers, where when Sir *Edward* ſaid REBELS, he ſtruck it out with his own Hand, and in ſeveral Places wrote *Iriſh* over it. There was alſo taken and brought to the Lord General a Wooden Image like a Roundhead, which the Cavaliers blaſphemouſly *called the God of the Roundheads*, and carry'd it about their Camp in Scorn a little before the Battle began. In one of the Letters to the Queen, it is ſaid *His Majeſty intended to make a Peace with the* Iriſh, *and to have* 40000 *of them over into* England *to proſecute the War here.* Did this need a *ſevere Comment*? and could any Thing but this Intention keep up the Spirit of a Party reduc'd to the extreameſt Degree of Miſery and Deſpair. In other Letters to the Queen the King complains, *that he could not prevail with his* Mongrel Parliament *at* Oxford *to vote that the Parliament at* Weſtminſter *were no Parliament: That he will not make Peace with the* Engliſh REBELS *without her Approbation, nor go one Jot from the Paper ſhe ſent him. That upon the Treaty at* Uxbridge *he did not poſitively own the Parliament, it being otherwiſe to be conſtru'd, though they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out, and that it was recorded in the Notes of the* Council *that he did not acknowledge them a Parliament.* But the Parliament were not ſuch Simpletons as to be impos'd upon by him and his *Oxford* Counſellors. They oblig'd the King to own them in as ſolemn Words as Language can expreſs, and his Majeſty's commanding that Prevarication to be recorded in the Notes of the Council, that he did not own them after he had done it ſo ſolemnly, is one of thoſe Paſſages which a little Diſcretion would have ſunk as the Parliament ſunk thoſe Paſſages in the King's Letters, which would have vindicated him for the Particular of the 40000 *Iriſh* REBELS. The King made them more than they were, to keep Life in the languiſhing Spirits of his Queen and Followers; but that he intended to bring as many of them *The King's* Cabinet *taken.* Whitl.

over

A. D. 1645. ever as he could is a Truth ſo well known that I ſhall not endeavour to prove the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*'s Miſrepreſentations on that Article ſince they ſufficiently prove themſelves. The double Dealing in the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, and putting the Terms of Peace into the Queen's Hands, are Paſſages that would not admit of Vindication. Another Charge of Concealment he brings againſt the Parliament, is their hiding a great Part of his Majeſty's Book ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, which his Majeſty had not then written, and never did write, but was afterwards the Performance of Dr. *Gauden*, as is proved as plain as Proof can make a Thing, by Dr. *Walker*, who carry'd *Gauden*'s Manuſcript to the Preſs, and talk'd of it frequently with the true Author, by the Earl of *Angleſey*, who was ſo careful to prevent the World's being any longer impos'd on by it, that he left an Atteſtation under his Hand that King *Charles* II. own'd to him, his Father did not write it: So did King *James* II. but ſince thoſe Proofs appear'd, we have another in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of his own Times.

Eikon Baſilike not written by the King.

P. 51. " The Duke of *York* ſuffer'd me to talk very " freely to him about Religion, and as I was " urging him with ſomewhat out of his Fa- " ther's Book, he told me, *That Book was not* " *of his Father's Writing, and that the Letter* " *to the Prince of* Wales *was never brought to* " *him*;" 'tis much inſiſted on by *Clarendon* and *Echard*. " *The Duke of* York added, Dr. " Gauden *writ it*; *after the Reſtauration, the* " *Doctor brought the Duke of* Somerſet *and* " *the Earl of* Southampton *both to the King* " *and me*, who affirm'd, that they knew *it was* " *his Writing, and that it was carry'd down to* " *the* Iſle of Wight *by the Earl of* Southampton, " *and ſhewed the King during the Treaty there,* " *who read it, and approv'd of it.* The Duke " ſaid farther, *Though* Sheldon *and the other* " *Biſhops oppos'd* Gauden's *Promotion, becauſe* " *he had taken the Covenant, yet the Merits of* " *that Service carry'd it for him, and he was* " *made a Biſhop.*" Dr. *Burnet* ſays this Evidence is very ſtrong, and indeed ſtronger there cannot be. Since theſe Evidences we have ſtill another later one, Dr. *Burnet* of the *Charter-houſe*, and a Biſhop whoſe Name I was not told, being at Dinner on a *Thirtieth* of *January*, at the Houſe of a Perſon of Quality, one of the noble Company, from whom I had it, ſaid to Dr.

M. S. *Burnet*, *There's Dr.* Gauden's *Letter to the Lord* Clarendon *about* Eikon Baſilike, *and the Lord* Clarendon's *Anſwer in their own Hand-writing at ſuch a Booksellers, Why don't the Biſhop and you go and ſee them?* Dr. *Burnet* reply'd, *Be quiet, be quiet, we have ſeen them already.* I find, that upon the publiſhing of this Book, many People ſuſpected it to be an Impoſture, among others *Lilly* writes, " I wonder

Eikon Baſilike ſuſpected at firſt to be a Forgery.

" at that Paſſage of his, if it was his, which I " doubt of, in that Book publiſh'd under his " Name, and call'd his *Portraiture*, wherein he " maintains the Parliament was called as much " by his own Choice and Inclination, as Advice " of others, whereas it is manifeſtly known even " unto all, it was only Neceſſity and the Impor- " tunity of the *Engliſh*. The Book it ſelf main- " tains ſo many Contradictions unto thoſe Things, " manifeſted by his own Letters under his own " Hand to his Queen, that I conceive the moſt " part of it *Apocryphal*. The *Meditations* or " *Pſalms*, wholly were added by others. Some " looſe Papers he had I do well know, but they " were nothing ſo well methodiz'd." Again,

P. 53. " Two main Things are objected againſt the " King, which his late *pretended* Book meddles " not with, or anſwers. *Firſt*, Why his Majeſty " was ſo tender-hearted of the *Iriſh*, as not to *A. D.* 1645. " ſuffer above 40 Proclamations to iſſue againſt " thoſe *Rebels* in *Ireland*, and thoſe alſo to no " Purpoſe, or unopportunely, when too late. " Beſides, to ſhew his Reſpect unto them, I " know he obliterated with his own Hands the " Word *Iriſh Rebels*, and put in *Iriſh Subjects*, " in a MS. Diſcourſe, writ by Sir *Edward Wal-* " *ker*, and preſented to him, which I have ſeen " of the *Iriſh* Rebellion. *Secondly*, Whereas " the Parliament were ſending over Clothes and " other Neceſſaries for the *Engliſh* Soldiers in " *Ireland*, the King ſeiz'd them as they went, " arm'd and furniſh'd the *Engliſh* and *Welch* " againſt the Parliament. The Reaſons of theſe " are omitted by the *Penmen* of his *Portraiture*.

But to good Judges of Sentiments and Stile all theſe Declarations are needleſs. The Diſagreement there is between the King's Thoughts and Expreſſions in that and his other Writings, the Affectation, and the Rounding and Ranging of the Periods, the Coldneſs even in ſuch exalted Devotion, and the Bitterneſs where Occaſion is taken to ſpeak of the Reform'd Religion, as it is eſtabliſh'd in Proteſtant Countries, ſhew ſufficiently, without other Proof, that it was not the Work of a Layman.

Echard's Story of the *Spy*, who was the Cauſe of the Loſs of the Battle of *Naſeby*, is ſo far from being true, that it could not be true. He tells us, *Cromwel* and *Ireton* prevail'd with the unwilling General to open the Letters which the Spy was carrying to the King from *Goring*, adviſing him not to fight till he join'd him. *Cromwel* could not prevail with him, for he was then in the *Aſſociated Counties*, and came not to *Fairfax*'s Camp till after the Reſolution to fight was taken. If there had really been no Intention to bring over the *Iriſh Maſſacrers* to aſſiſt the Cavaliers, the continuing the War after the entire Defeat at *Naſeby*, is an Effect of Deſpair, which ſeldom appears while Men have their Wits about them, for if, like the *Parliamentarians*, we purſue the Royaliſts from one End of the Kingdom to the other, 'tis only from Rout to Rout on their Side, and from Victory to Victory on that of their Enemy.

General Fairfax takes Leiceſter.

General *Fairfax* march'd from *Naſeby* Field to *Leiceſter*, where the King had left a Garriſon under the Lord *Haſtings*, whom he ſummon'd two Days after the Fight, and his Lordſhip return'd a Cavalier Anſwer, defying him and his victorious Army, but he did not keep in that ſturdy Humour, for the next Day on the Firing of two or three great Guns, he ſent out a Trumpet to deſire a Parley, which being granted, Colonel *Pickering* and Colonel *Rainsborough* concluded a Treaty of Surrender on more honourable Terms than Men in their deſperate Condition ought to have expected. But ſuch was the Clemency of the Parliament's General, who took Pleaſure indeed in Conqueſt, but not in Inſolence and Cruelty, which cannot be ſaid of the King's Generals in the few Inſtances we have of their Succeſſes.

Taunton again diſtreſs'd.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Heart was ſet on relieving *Taunton*, which good Town *Goring* had reduc'd to a ſecond Extremity, and ruin'd the adjacent Country with ſecond Pillage and Devaſtation. Colonel *Blake* the brave Governor, had in ſeveral Sallies got great Advantages of him, and at laſt wrote to the Parliament; *That if Relief came not ſpeedily they ſhould be put into great Straits for Proviſions and Ammunition. He aſſur'd the Houſe he had never accepted of a Parley, but ſcorn'd it. That his Garriſon had ſome Ammunition left, and reſolv'd to feed upon their Horſes. He deſir'd the Houſe to take Conſideration*

General Blake's Letter to the Parliament.

A. D. 1645.

ſideration of their Condition, and left all to the Almighty, who he doubted not would relieve them. The Parliament anſwer'd, *That Relief ſhould ſpeedily come to the Garriſon. And what Money they took up the Houſe would pay, deſiring them to go on in their Vigilancy and Valour and they ſhould never want Encouragement.* Soon after Governour *Blake* had Intelligence from *Lyme*, that Succours were order'd for him, and having receiv'd thence a ſmall Supply of Powder, a Party of the Garriſon iſſu'd out on the Beſiegers and ſlew above 400 of them, with the Loſs of 100 of the Beſieg'd, who oblig'd the Enemy by this ſharp Action to draw back, and enlarg'd their Quarters 5 or 6 Miles in Compaſs. On the Parliament's Side were kill'd Colonel *Lloyd* and Colonel *Rickbel*. On the King's Major *Norwood* and Captain *Richardſon*, two Papiſts. Sir *John Digby* was mortally wounded and died at *Bridgwater*, a ſtaunch Papiſt. The Parliament ſent Orders to General *Maſſey* to march towards *Taunton* with 3000 Horſe and Foot, before General *Fairfax* left purſuing the King, but he was only ſtrong enough to hinder the Cavaliers ſcatter'd Troops from joining *Goring*, and *Fairfax* wrote him Word he would be up with him by ſuch a Day, in order to clear *Taunton*, and the Country about it, from ſuch a horrid Crew.

General Fairfax's March into the WEST.

The two Houſes deſir'd the *Scots* Army to advance towards *Hereford*, that by reducing ſo conſiderable a Place on the *Welch* Frontier, the King, who was in *Wales*, might be farther ſtraiten'd, and ſent Orders to General *Fairfax* to march to the Relief of *Taunton*. Accordingly having ſettled the Town of *Leiceſter*, he march'd the 20th of *June* to *Lutterworth*, thence to *Warwick*, thence to *Clifford* and *Campden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and on the 25th he came before *Highworth* in *Wiltſhire*, and ſummon'd one Major *Hen*, who had fortify'd himſelf in the *Church* and refus'd to ſurrender. There is a Spice of Deſperation and Frenzy in the future Actions of the Cavaliers. *Hen* hung out bloody Colours, but he no ſooner ſaw the Guns drawing up againſt his Fortification than he yielded upon Quarter. The Soldiers had good Booty. The Reſiſtance the *Cavaliers* make is like the Agonies of dying Men, yet they will not ſuffer their Maſter to part with the *Laudæan* Prelacy, or rather to part with them, to ſave Himſelf, his Kingdoms and Poſterity. The Miſchief they did now was of no Uſe to them, and the Parliament's Forces treated them like Men who deſerv'd Pity rather than Chaſtiſement, the Delinquents only excepted, who had brought all theſe Calamities on the Nation, and of whom Mr. *Edward Hyde* was not the leaſt guilty. The General left a ſmall Garriſon at *Highworth* to enlarge the Parliament's Quarters that way. From *Marlborough*, *June* 29. Spies were ſent to *Taunton*, to give Governor *Blake* Notice of *Fairfax*'s March towards him. On *Salisbury* Plain the Army met with ſome of the *Club Men*, and near *Blandford* in *Dorſetſhire* took Mr. *Penruddock* and one *Fuſſell*, two of their Captains, who upon Promiſe of future peaceable Behaviour were diſmiſs'd. Theſe *Club Men* were ſpirited up by ſome *Laudæan* Prieſts in *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, who having a little more Diſcretion than Dr. *Hudſon*, Dr. *Dunſe*, and other Doctors, who were among the King's Troops, did not counſel them to declare openly for the King, but for a *Neutrality*, and under that Pretext to fall upon thoſe who offer'd to diſturb them, meaning the Parliament's Forces only, which they fail'd not to do when they met with Straglers, or had any Advantage over them, as they once broke into Major General *Maſſey*'s Quarters, ſurpriz'd ſome of his Men and ſlew them, but having ſeveral of their own ſlain in Revenge, it gave a Check to them for ſome Time. Their Leaders, Dr. *Goche* of *Trinity College*, *Cambridge*, Mr. *Bromwel*, Mr. *Waltham*, Mr. *Hook*, all Club Divines, *John St. Loe*, Eſq; *Peter Hoskins*, Eſq; *Thomas Trenchard*, Eſq; *Robert Culliford*, Eſq; Gentlemen much too good for the Company they kept, Mr. *Richard Newman*, Mr. *George Hawles*, Mr. *Robert Pawlett*, and one *Young* an Attorney, deliver'd a Petition to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to deſire, that till a Peace was concluded the Towns of *Dorſet* and *Wilts* ſhould be put into their Hands. The General thought fit to temporize with them till he had driven *Goring* from before *Taunton*, leſt on any ill Succeſs theſe Club Troops, headed by their Clergy, ſhould fall upon thoſe of his Men, who retreated to thoſe Counties, ſo he gave them good Words, though he knew very well that ſome of them had rais'd Men by the King's Commiſſion, and reſolv'd to diſperſe them as ſoon as he had an Opportunity.

A. D. 1645.

Goring hearing of *Fairfax*'s Approach drew off his Army to *Blackdown*, to tempt the Garriſon of *Taunton* to ſally ſtill farther from their Works, and then cut off their Retreat. But the Garriſon heard as well as he that General *Fairfax* was approaching, and left *Goring* to his Management.

The Army march'd from *Dorcheſter* to *Beamiſter*, which Town they found in Aſhes, being ſet on Fire by Prince *Maurice*'s Men in five Places at once, occaſion'd by a Quarrel between the *French* and *Corniſh*. Here the General receiv'd certain Information, that *Goring*, who did not know what to do, was quite drawn off from *Taunton* and come to *Ilmiſter*, making the beſt of his Way to avoid the victorious Army, but he had ſtaid about *Taunton* too long. He had a long Reckoning to make up, for the Robberies and Cruelties he and his *Crew* had committed, and *Fairfax* is reſolv'd they ſhall pay it. At *Crookkern* the General commanded Colonel *Fleetwood* with a Body of Horſe to purſue *Goring*, while three other Regiments of Horſe, and two of Foot, march'd more ſlowly after him, to be ready to join in caſe of Action. The Enemy pretended to make good *South Petherton* Bridge, but on *Fleetwood*'s Approach they abandon'd it. The Parliament's Forces march'd over the Bridge towards *Ilcheſter*, and ſent a Detachment to *Load Bridge*, where the Royaliſts had a ſtrong Guard, but it was not thought fit to attack them. They had alſo garriſon'd *Ilcheſter* and *Langport*, and broke down the Bridge near *Yeovill*. On *July* 7, the Parliament Army rendezvouz'd in a Field near *Crookkern*, and the General and Lieutenant General went with a Party to view the Paſs at *Load Bridge*. The Enemy's Horſe appear'd in great Numbers. They drew up their Foot and march'd ſome Regiments from *Load Bridge* along the Side of the River *Parret*, towards *Ilcheſter*. The Horſe on both Sides skirmiſh'd all Day by Parties on the Meadows near the River. The Cavaliers had Garriſons at *Ilcheſter*, *Langport*, *Burrough*, *Sydenham Houſe*, and *Bridgwater*, and their Army was ready on the other Side of the River to defend the Paſſage. The General therefore left a ſufficient Strength to obſerve the Garriſon at *Ilcheſter*, and the Guard at *Load Bridge*, and march'd his Army to *Yeovill*, where Intelligence was brought that Colonel *Phillips*, Governor of *Ilcheſter*, had quitted it, after having burnt the *Bridewell*, a Place he had fortify'd. The Guard alſo was drawn off from *Load Bridge*, and *Goring* came near *Taunton* again as if he thought he might ſurprize the

Club Men.

A. D. 1645. Town in the Security they probably were in upon the Approach of the Parliament Army. General *Fairfax* ſent Major General *Maſſey* after *Goring* with his own Brigade of Horſe, and order'd another Party of Horſe as a Reſerve if need were.

Wedneſday, *July* the 9th, the Army march'd to *Long Sutton*, where News came that Major General *Maſſey* was near upon an Engagement, and the General immediately gave Command that Colonel *Montagu* ſhould march with 2000 Musketeers to his Aſſiſtance, being every where an inclos'd Country, but the Engagement was over before he could come up, *Goring*'s Party beaten, many ſlain, 800 Horſe taken Priſoners. In this Action Colonel *Cooke* was ſhot through both Cheeks. The Parliament Horſe continu'd all Day skirmiſhing with the Enemies, at a Paſs a Mile beyond *Langport* on *Ham* ſide. They took a *French* Cornet with his Standard, a *Dutch* Man, and a *Spaniard* Priſoners.

Battle of Langport.

The next Day, *July* the 10th, the *Cavalier* Infantry advanc'd from *Langport* to the Paſs, lin'd the Hedges thick with Musketeers, and drew up their Ordnance, upon which the General, Lieutenant General, and all the Officers, inſtantly mounted and rode up the Field where the Enemy was preparing to engage, one of the raſheſt Actions in the War, for *Goring* might have made his Eſcape when he was Maſter of the weſtern Side of the River. *Fairfax* could not have hinder'd his Army's getting into *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, where there were more Forces to encreaſe it, but ill Fate purſu'd the King and his Generals, and Deſpair hurry'd them on Enterprizes which had no Proſpect but Deſtruction. The Parliament's Army was not only more Numerous but Victorious, and *Goring*'s, ſpirited with nothing but the Luſt of Blood and Rapine, which ſinks always in Battle, where the honeſt and generous Mind only carries a Man well through.

Before the Detachment ſent as a Reſerve to *Maſſey* return'd, *Fairfax*'s Ordnance play'd on *Goring*'s Army with great Execution, beating the Enemy from the Hill on *Ham* ſide, and forcing them to draw off their Ordnance from the Paſs. The Parliament Foot drew down the Hill towards the Paſs, and with their wonted Reſolution charg'd the Enemy from Hedge to Hedge till they got the Paſs, upon which *Goring*'s Horſe advanc'd towards them, and were charg'd and routed by Major *Bethel* and Major *Desborough*. The Musketeers coming up after the Horſe, fir'd on them ſo cloſe, that the King's *White* and *Black* Regiment march'd off without farther engaging, and were purſu'd as far as *Aller Drove*, 3 Miles off, where *Goring*'s Horſe and Foot made a ſhort Stand, but ſeeing *Fairfax*'s Horſe and Foot marching after them in excellent Order, the Cavaliers took to their Heels, the Horſe endeavour'd to leap the *Reens*, which are broad, full of Water in Winter, and Mire in Summer, and many of the Cavaliers were mir'd. The Troopers diſmounted and got into the Meadows to the Infantry, who being ſurrounded yielded at Diſcretion. There were about 300 of the King's Soldiers kill d, among whom was Mr. *Theodore Moxſe*, a Popiſh Voluntier, and 1400 Priſoners taken, among whom were Major General *Porter*, Colonel *Heveningham*, and Colonel *Slingsby*, General of *Goring*'s Ordnance *Fairfax*'s Men took alſo 100 inferior Officers, 40 Standards and Colours, 4000 Arms, and 1200 Horſes. *Goring*, and the reſt of the Runaways, got to *Bridgwater*, and the General took up his Quarters at *Middleſey*, within 5 Miles of it. The next Day he drew up his whole Army, Horſe and Foot, on *Weſton Moor* near *Penſy Pound*, the very Spot of Ground where juſt forty Years after the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Forces fought King *James* the Second's. The People of *Middleſey*, *Weſton*, *Chedſey*, *Bawdrip*, *Puriton*, *Pawlet*, and all along *Poldon Hill*, hearing of the Defeat of the Cavaliers, and fearing to taſte of their former Cruelties as they ran away, roſe in great Numbers, and with their Colours, Clubs, and Arms, appear'd upon *Knoll Hill*, then belonging to the famous Governor *Blake*. General *Fairfax* being inform'd of it, He, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, and other Officers, rode up the Hill to them, and were receiv'd with ſeeming Joy, in token of which they gave them a *Volley*, and their Leader made a neutral Speech. The General having engag'd them not to ſupply *Bridgwater* with Proviſions return'd to the Army, which quarter'd that Night in and about *Chedſey*, within two Miles of *Bridgwater*, which Town the Lord General reſolv'd to reduce.

A. D. 1645.

General Goring routed.

If I am more particular in this Siege than any other, ſome Allowance is to be made for my writing it on the Spot, and for the Love which every one naturally bears to the Place of his Nativity, an Affection which I have obſerv'd to be more prevalent in the Natives of this Town than thoſe of any other, owing probably to their plentiful and jocund Way of living. I am furniſh'd with the Particulars by a Manuſcript which will be improv'd by my Knowledge of the Place, at that Time the moſt Important in the Weſt of *England*, it, in ſome Meaſure, cutting off the Communication between all the Country beyond it to the *Lands End*, and the Reſt of *England*, ſtanding on the River *Parret*, which divides the ſpacious and rich County of *Somerſet* in two, and from the Mouth of that River 12 Miles from *Bridgwater* in the *Severn* Channel, to its Source on the Edge of *Dorſetſhire*, not far from the *Britiſh Channel*, is an *Iſthmus* not much above 30 Miles broad. The Country from the *North* almoſt to the *South* Channel, abounds with all Sorts of Proviſions, as much, if not more, than any Part of *England*, and could plentifully ſupply a much greater Garriſon than the King had in *Bridgwater*. A Town which never departed from the true Intereſt of *England*, when they were not miſled by Bigots, nor influenc'd by an ill Neighbourhood. It was now full of Gentlemen and Clergymen, who, contrary to the Inclination of the Inhabitants, who were generally Puritans, under the Guidance of a very pious, worthy Miniſter, Mr. *Deveniſh*, their Vicar, made it a Garriſon for the King, while the gallant Colonel *Blake*, afterwards the renowned Admiral, a Native of this Town, kept *Taunton* for the Parliament.

Siege of BRIDGWATER.

About 3 Months before General *Fairfax* attack'd *Bridgwater*, the Prince of *Wales* kept his Court in the Caſtle there, and had his Council with him, the chief of whom were, the Earl of *Berkſhire*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Colepepyr*. Thither were ſummon'd the King's Commiſſioners for the four aſſociated Counties.

For Dorſetſhire.

Sir *John Strangways*, *Anchitel Grey*, Eſq; Mr. *Ryves*.

For Somerſetſhire.

Sir *John Stawell*, Sir *Hugh Windham*, Mr. *Walrond*, Mr. *War*.

For Devonſhire.

Sir *Peter Ball*, Sir *George Parry*, Mr. *St. Hill*, Mr. *Muddiford*.

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For Cornwall.

Sir *Henry Killigrew*, Mr. *Coriton*, Mr. *Scawen*, Mr. *Roſcorroth*.

Theſe Gentlemen waited on the Prince the 23d of *April*, and a long Conſultation was held at the Caſtle about the Operations of the enſuing Campaign. Sir *John Stawel* propos'd, that *One and All* ſhould riſe in theſe *Aſſociated* Counties, and knock the Parliamentarians o'th' Head. But the Vigour of that Propoſition did not meet with the Applauſe it was intended for, his Highneſs's Council not being ſatisfy'd that the *One and All* were at the Command of Sir *John Stawel*. At this Meeting was diſcover'd the ill Effect of the Diſagreement between *Goring* and *Greenvile*, the King's Generals in the *Weſt*. Complaints were daily brought againſt Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and *Goring* was diſguſted that the Prince did not make him *Generaliſſimo* of all the *Weſtern* Armies, which were to be ſoon diſſipated. Much Buſineſs would have been done according to Sir *Edward Hyde*, who was one of the principal Counſellors, IF it had not been for the Diviſions in the Counſels, which render'd this Meeting uſeleſs. His Highneſs ſtaid at *Bridgwater* eight Days, and then return'd to *Briſtol*.

Windham *Governor of* Bridgwater *his Character and his Wife's.*

The Earl of *Clarendon* in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, gives us a pleaſant Account of the Wife of the Governor of *Bridgwater*, Colonel *Edmund Windham*, who had been a Burgeſs for this Borough, and was expell'd the Houſe of Commons as a *Monopolizer*. His Wife had given Suck to the Prince, yet, to uſe the Lord *Clarendon*'s Words, *ſhe was a Woman of no good Breeding, and a Country Pride*, Nihil Muliebre præter Corpus gerens, *having nothing of a Woman about her but her Body*. He adds, *She valu'd her ſelf much upon the Power and Familiarity which her Neighbours might ſee ſhe had with the Prince of* Wales, *and therefore upon all Occaſions in Company, and when the Concourſe of People was greateſt, would uſe great Boldneſs towards him, and, which was worſe than all this, ſhe affected in all Companies where ſhe let her ſelf out to any Freedom, a very negligent and diſdainful Mention of the Perſon of the King. She diverted the Prince by her Folly and Petulancy from applying himſelf to the ſerious Conſideration of his Buſineſs, and ſpoke negligently and ſcornfully of his Council.* Intolerable! The Lord *Clarendon* was the chief Man of that Council, and to be *ſcorn'd* and *neglected* was enough to put her into his Hiſtory in as ill a Figure as the Wife of Col. *Ven*, whom he has alſo made as immortal as the Hiſtory of the Rebellion. *Governor* Windham *acted upon his Neighbours without Controul*, ſays the Earl, and it is ſaid he hung up an honeſt Townſman upon the Sign-Poſt of the *George Inn* for having given Offence to ſome of his Clergymen by certain Acts of Devotion in the Presbyterian Way. On the 3d of *June* the Prince of *Wales* return'd to *Bridgwater*, and was attended by a Deputation from the *Club-Men*, who to the Number of 5 or 6000 appear'd in Arms on *Poldon Hill*, near *Marſhal's Elm*, 10 Miles from this Town. They complain'd of *Goring*'s Violence and Rapine, and the Earl of *Clarendon* aſſures us that Sir *John Stawel* had his Agents amongſt them. Several Perſons were active at their Meetings, who were known to be affected to the King's Service. The Prince order'd *Goring* to reform his Army by good Diſcipline, but he took little Notice of thoſe Orders, and liv'd himſelf and ſuffer'd his Men to live in all manner of Licentiouſneſs; but what was moſt grievous to *Windham* Governor of *Bridgwater*, he took the Contributions which were aſſeſs'd on the Inhabitants of the Parts adjacent for the Payment of his Garriſon, which conſiſted of about 1800 Men, ſome of whom were taken Priſoners by the Club-Men for attempting to levy thoſe Contributions by Force, after *Goring* had inhibited *Windham* to do it.

A. D. 1645.

An Account of the Town.

The Town of *Bridgwater* is ſeated, as the Earl of *Clarendon* obſerves, in the Centre of the Shire, and is conſequently the beſt ſituated for the Buſineſs of it, which one would think to be within the Compaſs of common Underſtanding, and therefore not liable to be conteſted. It is the youngeſt Town and the oldeſt Corporation in the County; it not having a Being before the *Norman* Invaſion, and was incorporated about 130 Years after by Procurement of that powerful Baron *William de Briwere*, Favourite to *Henry* II. *Richard* I. and King *John*. *Briwere* built the Caſtle, and made it the Head of his Manors in thoſe Parts. The Caſtle and the Manor of the Caſtle are now in the Poſſeſſion of his Grace the Duke of *Chandos*, who has built a very handſome Street between the Site of the old Caſtle and the River. The Caſtle now remaining is a modern Building not 100 Years old, and there were no more Apartments in it in *Windham*'s Time than there are now, but ſome Outlodgings and Houſes, of which nothing now is to be ſeen. There were 40 Guns mounted on the Walls, which were 15 Foot thick in moſt Places. An Hiſtorian who was with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, ſays, *The Town glory'd in the Equality of its Level, there being not a Clod on the* Eaſt *Side of the River that could afford any Advantage againſt the Place. The Fortifications were very regular and ſtrong; the Ditch about it very deep, and 30 Foot wide, which for a great Part of the Circuit of the Town was every Tide fill'd up to the Brim with Water.* The Circuit within the Line and Works was not very large, but very well mann'd. The Town is divided into two Parts by the River *Parret*, over which is a Stone Bridge with three large Arches built by *Nicholas Trivet* the Hiſtorian, who marry'd a Deſcendant of *Briwere*'s in *Henry* III's Time, or that of his Son *Edward* I. There was a high Fortification at the *Eaſt* End of the Field, where ſtood the Hoſpital of St. *John*, and Mounts rais'd between that and *Dunwear*, which render'd the Acceſs difficult on the Side of *Eaſtover* the *Eaſtern* Diviſion of the Town. There was alſo a Garriſon in *Sydenham* Houſe, belonging now to Mr. *Dodington*, one of the Lords of the Treaſure, and Repreſentative in this preſent Parliament for the Borough of *Bridgwater*. The Houſe was ſurrender'd to Colonel *Holborn* on Summons, and in it 100 Men were made Priſoners of War. The General order'd Col. *Welden*'s Brigade to poſt themſelves at *Ham* Houſe on the *South-Weſt* Part of the Town, and the adjacent Hill belonging alſo to Mr. *Dodington*, from whence it was eaſy to annoy the Place. Batteries were rais'd there, but the Lord General reſolv'd not to make a long Siege of it, and to carry the Town by Storming, while his Soldiers were fluſh'd with the Victory at *Langport*. He commanded Col. *Okey* with a Detachment to reduce the King's Garriſon at *Burrough*, where 140 of *Goring*'s Men had fortify'd themſelves in a Chapel on the Top of a ſteep Pyramidical Hill; but they were ſo terrify'd at the Sight of the Rout given their Fellows in *Auler* Grounds, juſt under the Hill, that they ſurrender'd upon Quarter.

Vice Admiral *Moulton* had been order'd to cruize in the *Severne*, or *Briſtol* Channel, and prevent the tranſporting of Soldiers from *Wales*

A. D. 1645. to *Bridgwater*, between which there is great Communication on Account of the Coal Trade. *Moulton*'s Frigates took 16 *Welſh* Tranſports off *Steepholmes*, an Iſland, or rather Rock, about two Leagues from the Mouth of *Bridgwater* River, famous for the Retirement of the old *Britiſh* Hiſtorian *Gildas*, which, with Variety of other curious Incidents relating to theſe Parts, muſt be referr'd to the Deſcription of *Somerſetſhire*, a Work the Author has been preparing theſe twelve Years, the perfecting of which, as uſeful and pleaſant as it would be, has been and is ſtill impeded purely by the Prejudice of Party, and a private Jealouſy too mean to be mention'd here.

On *Monday* the 14th of *July* a Council of War was held at the head Quarters at *Chedſey*, and a great Debate aroſe whether to ſtorm the Town or not. They came then to no Reſolution; but however Preparations were made for a Storm, Faggots were provided, and the Soldiers drawn out in a Readineſs: But it was deferr'd at that Time, and Lieutenant General *Hammond* caus'd eight Bridges about 40 Foot long to be prepar'd, which was of great Uſe in the Storm. This Day the General fording the River at *Dunwear* to view the Poſts on *Ham* Side, was in Danger of being ſurpriz'd by the *Head of the Tide*, which at a Spring breaks in ſometimes in a foamy Wave, of 4 or 5 Foot high, the Breadth of the River. Two Days after another Council of War was held at *Chedſey*, wherein was debated, *Whether to riſe, and leave the Town unattempted*, which was conceiv'd to be very prejudicial to their future Progreſs, *or to ſit down before it*; being a Place of that Strength, and they not ſure to carry it, leaving the Enemy at Liberty to rally his broken Forces, which ſeem'd very hazardous, or *block it up by Forts on both Sides with Part of their Army*: But the Difficulty of laying a Bridge over the River, thro' the Violence of the Current, which would be neceſſary for maintaining a Communication between the Quarters on both Sides, hinder'd that Deſign, *or attempt it by Approaches*. It was conſider'd, if they ſhould go that Way, it would prove very tedious; and if, during their Stay about it, any great Glut of Rain ſhould fall, it would fill up their Trenches, and diſable them from effecting the Buſineſs; ſo at laſt it was reſolv'd to ſtorm, tho' it carry'd the greateſt Danger with it. Yet the Deſire the Army had to be ſpeedily free, for the farther Service of the Common Wealth, ſurmounted all Difficulties, and both Officers and Soldiers drew Lots for their Poſts, ſome to ſtorm, ſome to be Reſerves, others to allarm. The Day appointed for it was *Monday* the 20th of *July*. General *Maſſey* was to make the Attack on *Ham* Side, with the Regiments of Col. *Welden*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Forteſcue*, Col. *Herbert*, Col. *Birch*, and the Major General's own Regiment. On St. *John*'s and *Caſtle Field* Side were poſted the General's Regiment, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*'s, Col. *Pickering*'s, Col. *Montagu*'s, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*'s, Col. *Pride*'s, Col. *Rainsborough*'s. On the *Saturday* the General forded the River again, and rode round the Town to ſee if all Things were ready, that both Sides might fall on together. The Caſtle Wall on the *North* Side was very high, the Moat was deep, and between the *North Gate* and *Weſt Gate* was a Battery on the off Side of the Moat, which hinder'd all Approach that Way. On *Sunday* Mr. *Peters* preach'd an encouraging Sermon, after his Way of Preaching, in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Bowles*, the Lord General's Chaplain, in the Afternoon. The eminent Mr. *Baxter*, who was preſent at this great Action, was not wanting in the Diſcharge of his Duty. Mr. *Bowles* is the ſame Divine who was afterwards ſo inſtrumental in the Reſtoration, and refus'd the Deanry of *York*, which was offer'd him. After the Sermons the Drums beat, and the Army was drawn up in the Fields about *Horſey* and *Bower*. The Commanders of the Forlorn Hope, and the Soldiers who were to begin the Storm, were afreſh exhorted to do their Duties by Mr. *Peters*, who behav'd that Day *tam Marte quam Mercurio*. As ſoon as it grew dark, the Soldiers drew to the ſeveral Poſts alloted them to Storm. The *Storm'd.* Signal was the ſhooting off three Pieces of Ordnance, which the Forces on *Ham* Side were to take Notice of, and to fall on at the Inſtant. Before the Action Sir *Thomas Fairfax* ſent a Summons to the *Governor* and *Citizens*, as Sir *Roger Manley* calls them, to ſurrender: But *Windham*, like the reſt of the Cavaliers, did not want Words of Defiance, and return'd a ſcornful Anſwer, for which he is to pay ſeverely the next Day. *July* the 21ſt, about Two a Clock in the Morning, while *Maſſey*'s Forces kept alarming the Enemy on the *South* Part of the Town, Lieutenant Col. *Hewſon* led on the Forlorn Hope at the *Eaſt* End, and was valiantly ſeconded by the General's own Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Jackſon*, and Lieutenant General *Cromwel*'s, commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Aſhfield*. The Bridges prepar'd by Col. *Hammond* were quickly brought to the Ditch at St. *John*'s and *Caſtle Field*, and thrown over it, on which the Soldiers paſs'd with little Loſs, and with undaunted Courage mounted the Works the Enemy had rais'd there, beat them from their Ordnance, and turn'd them on the Town, while Capt. *Reynolds*, of *Cromwel*'s Regiment of Horſe, at the Head of the Forlorn Hope, drove the Cavaliers from the *Draw-bridge* at St. *John*'s, which was let down, and a Paſſage made to the *Eaſt Gate*, which was ſoon forc'd open, and *Reynolds* entring *Eaſtover*, ſays my Author, with his Horſe, *ſcour'd the Streets of that Part of the Town* up to the Stone Bridge, over the River that cuts it in two; upon which the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of 600, who had made Reſiſtance in *Eaſtover*, threw down their Arms, and cry'd *Quarter, Quarter*. There was at that Time a Gate on the Bridge where the Enemy inſtantly made Barricades, and drew up a *Draw-bridge*. The Parliament's Forces had not been two Hours in *Eaſtover* before the King's ſhot Granades and Slugs of hot Iron, which fir'd it on both Sides, and by next Morning it was all burnt to the Ground, except three or four Houſes: It conſiſted then of *Goodly Buildings*, as my Author writes, who ſaw it, and of ſeveral Streets. Major *Cowel* of Col. *Harley*'s Regiment, ſtood in the Midſt of *Eaſtover*, while both Sides were in Flames, and kept Guard to prevent the Enemy's ſallying. General *Fairfax* hoping the Storm might have ſo wrought upon the Soldiers, and the Fire on the Townſmen, that they would have hearken'd to a Treaty, renew'd his Summons, which the Governor peremptorily refus'd, as if it was his Intent that ſo fair a Town ſhould be deſtroy'd, for he knew he could at worſt be but a Priſoner of War. There was no Hope of his being reliev'd, and the Reſiſtance the Royaliſts made, had more of Frenzy in it than Courage. When the Latter ſaw *Eaſtover* in a Blaze, they rang the Bells for Joy, and ſet Fire themſelves to ſeveral Houſes in *Silver Street*, *Friers Street*, and at the *Pig Croſs*, which ſhew the Effect of it to this Day, where the Parliament Fire had done no Hurt, laying it to the Charge of the Townſmen, *who*, they ſaid, *did it on Purpoſe to be rid of them*; for the Inhabitants,

A. D. 1645. habitants, as I have already obſerv'd, were generally well affected to the Parliament. The Townſmen ſaid the Soldiers did it, when they had little Hopes to hold out; *But Thanks be to God*, ſays the Hiſtorian, *we found more of it ſtanding than we expected.*

On *Tueſday*, *July* 22. General *Fairfax* reſolv'd to alarm the Town on the *Eaſt* Side, while General *Maſſey* ſtorm'd it on the *South*; but that Reſolution was chang'd to an Alarm on both Sides, at which the Enemy was much amaz'd, and abandon'd their Line on the *South* and *South-Weſt* Part of the Town. About Two a Clock that Day the General ſent a Trumpet to the Governor with a Meſſage to this Purpoſe; *That his Denial of fair Terms had wrought in him no other Thoughts, but of Compaſſion towards thoſe that were innocent, who otherwiſe might ſuffer thro' the Governor's Obſtinacy; wherefore he ſignify'd to him, That Women and Children that would might come forth of the Town by Four a Clock*; which being made known to Col. *Windham*'s Lady, ſhe came out, as did alſo the Lady *Hawley*, Mrs. *War*, and ſeveral other Ladies. They were no ſooner gone, than the Cannon play'd fiercely into the Town; Granades were ſhot, and Slugs of hot Iron in Abundance, by which ſeveral Houſes on the *Corn-hill*, in St. *Mary*'s *Street* and *High Street* were ſet on Fire, and the Wind being high, increas'd the Flame. *The Citizens and Soldiers*, ſays Sir *Roger Manley*, who was then *there, were aſtoniſh'd at this unuſual Tempeſt, and every Man employ'd about ſaving his Houſe and his Goods. Windham*, amidſt this Diſtraction, ſent *Tom Elliot*, as he was then generally call'd, one of the King's Domeſticks, to deſire Terms; but the General would only grant *the Soldiers their Lives, the Inhabitants their Liberty and Freedom from Plunder, the Gentlemen to be diſpos'd of as the Parliament ſhould appoint*, which the Governor ſaid the Gentlemen would not conſent to, and Mr. *Elliot*, the ſame who carry'd the Great Seal to the King at *York*, fearing the Army would fall on, pray'd the General to forbear till he went once more to *Windham*, from whom he preſently brought back an Anſwer of Submiſſion. The Town continu'd on Fire, and the Townſmen ran about, crying, *Mercy, for the Lord's Sake.* Hoſtages alſo came out to the Lord General for Performance of the Governor's Agreement, who were Sir *John Heal*, Sir *Hugh Windham*, Mr. *Walrond*, Mr. *War*, Mr. *Sydenham*, Mr. *Speke*, and the Town was the next Day, *July* the 23d, *Taken.* ſurrender'd to the Parliament Army upon Quarter for Life only. There were in the Town when Sir *Thomas Fairfax* came before it, Col. *Edmund Windham* the Governor, Sir *Hugh Windham*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *John Heal*, Sir *John Stawel*, Sir *Francis Courtney*, Mr. *Speke*, Mr. *War*, Mr. *Walrond*, Mr. *Sydenham*, &c.

One of the pooreſt hiſtorical Creatures who ever wrote, is *Sanderſon*, to whom Mr. Archdeacon is much obliged, and he tells us, *The Garriſon was to march out, leaving ſuch Ammunition and Plunder as eſcap'd burning, which was very little, and not worth the Purchaſe.* This Author was allow'd to be the beſt Hiſtorian on the Cavalier Side, till the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* appear'd in direct Defiance to Fact and Truth; and how they were taught by *Sanderſon* will be ſeen when he is compar'd with *Whitlocke* and *Ruſhworth*, the latter being preſent when this Town was ſtorm'd and taken. *There were left for the Parliament* 40 *Pieces of Ordnance*, 4000 *Weight of Match, and Powder in Proportion, Victuals for* 2000 *Soldiers for four Months*, 1700 *Priſoners*, 200 *of them* Reformades, Commanders, Gentlemen *and* Prieſts, *Treaſure in Plate, Jewels*, &c. *ſaid to be worth* 100000 *Pounds.* The Works of the Town were as ſtrong as any in *England*, and the Moat as deep. *A. D.* 1645.

The taking of *Bridgwater*, according to my Lord *Clarendon*, who had been there but a Month before, was "Matter of Amazement to all Men; "nor was it any Excuſe that it was not of "Strength enough againſt ſo ſtrong an Army, "for it was ſo ſtrongly ſituated, and it might "well have had all thoſe Additions which were "neceſſary for Fortifications, that it was inexcuſable in a Governor, who had enjoy'd that "Charge 3 Years, with all the Allowances he "had himſelf deſir'd, and had often aſſur'd the "King that it was not to be taken, that it did "not reſiſt any the greateſt Strength that could "come before it for one Week, and within leſs "Time it was ſurrender'd into *Fairfax*'s Hands, "*not till it had been ſtorm'd, burnt, and ren*"*der'd defenceleſs: But the Earl of* Clarendon *did not love* Windham *on his Wife's Account*, who had no very good Opinion of his Counſels. Again, "That this prodigious Succeſs on the "Enemy's Side ſhould break the *Spirits of moſt* "*Men is not at all to be wonder'd at*, &c."

An Expreſs was immediately diſpatch'd to the Parliament with Advice of the Surrender of *Bridgwater*. They gave him 20 Pounds as a Reward, and order'd that the Miniſters in the ſeveral Pariſhes of *London* ſhould the next Lord's-Day, render Thanks to God for the taking of this Town, of which Mr. *Peters* gave them, two or three Days after, a more particular Account, and produc'd ſeveral Commiſſions in Characters which were taken from the Priſoners at *Bridgewater*. The Houſe order'd him 100 Pounds, and Thanks to their General Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, for reducing it. Colonel *Birch* was made Governor. The Reaſon of ſo great Treaſure found here was, that the Cavalier Gentry had from all the adjacent Parts, ſent in thither their Jewels, Plate, and beſt Houſhold Furniture; Colonel *Windham*, the Governor, having aſſur'd the King it could not be taken. Much Plate and rich Hangings were carry'd thence to *London*, and there ſold to raiſe Bounty Money for *Fairfax*'s Soldiers who were at the Storm, which was the moſt Furious of any in this War, and the Prize of the Victors as valuable; But the *fine Town*, as the Hiſtorian ſtiles it, ſuffer'd much in the Burning ſo many *goodly Buildings*, of which there are left no Remains in the *Eaſtern* Diviſion of the Place, which was taken by Storm, but the *Weſtern* can now boaſt of more Beauty and Magnificence of Building than any other Town in the *Weſt* of *England*, of ſo ſmall a Circuit, ſcarce 2 Miles in Circumference.

A Week after the Surrender of *Bridgwater*, the Army was drawn up on *Mendip Hill*, above *Wells*, with Intention to march to *Bath*; but Bath *taken* upon Intelligence that the Citizens had open'd their Gates to Colonel *Rich*, who came before it with two Regiments of Horſe and two Troops of Dragoons only, the General turn'd towards *Shireburn*, which he took a View of at the *Lodge*, *Saturday*, *Auguſt* 2. The ſame Day he had Information that the *Club Men* of *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, Club Men. and *Somerſet*, were to rendezvouz at *Shaftsbury*, and a fair Opportunity offer'd to ſurprize them. Theſe *Club Men* correſponded with Prince *Rupert*, Lord *Hopton*, and *Goring*, though they pretended *Neutrality*. Indeed it was one of the beſt Cards the Cavalier Generals had to play in this Extremity. This Rabble were in all above

A. D. 1645. above 15000 Men, and if they could have been prevailed upon to have declar'd and fought for the King, it might have prolong'd the War ſome Months at leaſt, and People in Deſpair always flatter themſelves, that Matters being at the Worſt muſt mend; but though the *Club Men* were much better inclin'd to that Service than to the Cauſe of their Country, they had not Courage enough to oppoſe a victorious Army, and the Lord General did not think it convenient to be any longer trifled with by them, or to leave them at Liberty to join or not join the Royaliſts at their Pleaſure. He therefore commanded Colonel *Fleetwood* with a good Body of Horſe to ſurround them in the Town of *Shaftsbury*, which accordingly he did, and took about 50 of their Ringleaders Priſoners; among whom were Dr. *Goche*, the Parſon, Mr. *Hawles*, Mr. *Carey*, Mr. *Young*, Mr. *Cradocke*, who were all diſarm'd and impriſon'd. The next Day the General receiv'd Advice that more *Club Men* were to join them from *Dorſet*, *Wilts* and *Somerſet*, to deliver their Fellows out of Priſon, though their real Intent was to hinder Proviſions coming to the Army before *Shirburn*. Upon this Lieutenant General *Cromwel* went in Perſon with Part of the Army to diſperſe them: As he advanc'd towards *Shaftsbury*, he diſcover'd ſome Colours on the Top of a high Hill, full of Wood and almoſt inacceſſible. He ſent a Lieutenant and a ſmall Party to know their Meaning, and to inform them the Lieutenant General was there. Mr. *Newman*, one of their Leaders went along with Gen. *Cromwel*'s Lieutenant, to the General, and demanded, *Why the Gentlemen were taken at* Shaftsbury? *Cromwel* told him, "No Account was due concerning their Fellows there taken, but yet he "aſſur'd him, that the General only intended "if they were found upon due Trial, to have "committed any Offence, they ſhould be puniſh'd according to Law, otherwiſe be releas'd." *Newman*'s next Demand was, *that they might ſecure themſelves from Plunder*: To which the Lieutenant General reply'd, "The General "will not ſuffer any of you to be plunder'd or injur'd, but upon Complaint againſt any of his "Soldiers, will do you Juſtice;" With which Anſwer he ſeem'd ſatisfy'd, and the *Club Men* on the Hill diſappear'd: But *Cromwel* advancing towards *Shrawton*, the Seat of Mr. *Freeke*, ſaw 4000 of them on *Hambleton Hill*, where is an old *Roman* Work deeply trench'd. The Lieutenant General ſent a Lieutenant with a Party of Horſe to require an Account of their Meeting; he was anſwer'd with a Volley of Shot from the *Club Men*. *Cromwel* ſent one Mr. *Lee*, who had come from them to him to require Submiſſion to his Orders, and that they would diſperſe, which they refus'd, and made another Volley on the Parliament's Soldiers. *Lee* was ſent to them again to prevent Effuſion of Blood, but they refus'd this third Meſſage at the Inſtigation of one *Bravel*, a Parſon, who bad them *ſtand to it, or he would Piſtol thoſe that gave back*. The Lieutenant General then order'd his own Troop to fall on, which they did, and were repuls'd, the *Club Men* firing from behind the old Work, to which there was a Paſſage about 20 Foot wide: Upon this Major *Desborough* with the General's Regiment, went round about a Ledge of the Hill, and climb'd it with much Difficulty, which the *Club Men* perceiving, and that he was about to attack their Rear, they ran away; ſome were ſlain, many wounded, the reſt ſlid and tumbled down the high ſteep Hill to the Hazard of their Necks. Four hundred of them were brought to *Shrawton*, of whom 200 were wounded. In this Skirmiſh Captain *Pattiſon* and about 12 more were kill'd on the Parliament Side. There were among the Priſoners four Parſons, Mr. *Talbot* of *Milton*, Mr. *Lawford* of *Auckfield*, a vicious one, and two more. The Motto of their Colours was, *A. D.* 1645.

Diſpers'd.

If you offer to plunder or take our Cattle,
Be aſſur'd we will bid you Battle.

My Author adds, *in others of them they had Sentences of Scripture profanely apply'd by their malignant Prieſts, who were the principal ſtirrers up of the People to theſe tumultuous Aſſemblies*, particularly *Bravel* before mention'd, Parſon of *Compton*, and Mr. *Rogers* Parſon of *Langton*, who iſſu'd out Warrants to the Country Fellows to make Repriſals for the Priſoners taken at *Shaftsbury*, and the *Club Men* own'd they would have laid down their Arms had it not been for *Bravel*, *Lawford* and *White*, Vicars or Curates. We have read in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and *Echard*'s Hiſtories, That the *Puritan* Miniſters were the *Eccleſiaſtical Drummers*, and preach'd the People to War. But here we find ſome of their own Eccleſiaſtical Friends in actual War, miſleading their ſtupid Hearers to hazard their Lives and Goods for they knew not what; and the ſame Spirit ſtill poſſeſſes too many of the Vicars and Curates in the ſame Quarter of the Kingdom.

In the mean Time General *Fairfax* carry'd on the Siege of *Shirburn Caſtle*, before which was kill'd the gallant Captain *Horſey* of Colonel *Rainsborough*'s Regiment, who was bury'd with military Pomp in the fine Church at *Shirburn*, where his Anceſtors lay bury'd: His Family being at leaſt as ancient and honourable as Mr. *Hyde*'s, who is pleas'd to ſay in his impartial Hiſtory, that there was hardly a Colonel in the Parliament Army of a better Family than the private Soldiers, and here's a Captain only of as good a one as his own, or that of the greateſt General in the King's Army, the Princes only excepted. A Breach of 50 Foot wide being made in the Caſtle Wall, the General ſummon'd Sir *Lewis Dives* the Governor to yield, but he return'd a peremptory Denial, confiding too much in the Zeal and Strength of the *Club Men*. Upon his Refuſal of Terms 20 of his Garriſon leap'd over the Wall, and came to the Parliament Army upon Quarter. Thoſe within cry'd out for a *Parley*, but it was deny'd upon any other Condition than to have their Lives ſpar'd; and while they were diſputing it, the Parliament's Soldiers enter'd the Place at the Breach, and the Garriſon threw down their Arms; Quarter was given them, but they were ſtripp'd to the Purpoſe, all but Sir *Lewis Dives* and his Lady, the Lord *Digby*'s Siſter, and a few more. The Soldiers found Plunder to a great Value, and took it in a diſorderly Manner, which could not then be prevented. Beſides their making a Reſiſtance not like brave Men, but mad Men, no Relief being to be expected, loſt them all Claim to the Uſage of generous War. The taking of this Place ſo diſcourag'd the *Club Men*, that they gave the General very little Trouble afterwards. In it were taken, beſides Sir *Lewis Dives*, the Governor, Colonel *Giles Strangeways*, Sir *John Walcot*, Mr. *Pawlet*, Colonel *Thornhill*, and others of Quality. We cannot name the latter without obſerving that Sir *James Thornhill*, the greateſt Genius for Painting, not only of our Nation, but of our Age, is of the ſame Family, and Owner of the ſame Seat, *Thornhill*, in this County of *Dorſet*. Shirburn *taken.*

A. D. 1645.

The Priſoners, as well the *Club Men* as thoſe taken in *Shirburn Caſtle*, being ſent to *London*, the General march'd to *Caſtle Cary* in *Somerſetſhire*, and in his March order'd Colonel *Rainsborough* with his own, and Colonel *Hammond*'s Regiments to take in *Nunney Caſtle*, which was very ſtrong though not very large, and had a Garriſon of 100 Men under Captain *Turberville*, who ſurrender'd it the ſecond Day after Summons.

Nunney Caſtle *taken.*

Siege of Briſtol.

The Siege of *Briſtol* being reſolv'd on, Commiſſary General *Ireton* was commanded to advance near it with 2000 Horſe and Dragoons, to preſerve the adjacent Towns for the better Accommodation of the Army. Vice Admiral *Moulton* was order'd to ſend ſome Ships from *Milford*, to block up the City on the Side of the *Severne*. Prince *Rupert*, the Governor, had there and in the Neighbourhood about 5000 Men, Horſe and Foot. The General detach'd a ſtrong Party of Horſe with a Regiment of Foot to take Poſt at *Hanham*, three Miles from *Briſtol*, on the River *Avon*, between that and *Bath*, which gave the Enemy the firſt Alarm; for the Cavaliers made ſo great Dependance on their good Friends the *Club Men*, that they did not think the General would be able to reduce *Shirburn* in ſo ſhort Time. Upon his Approach they fir'd *Bedminſter* and burnt it to the Ground, a Village now almoſt contiguous to the City on *Somerſetſhire* Side: Thither was ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot to keep the Prince where he was, upon Advice that he intended to break through with his Horſe and join *Goring*. The General and Lieutenant General went with this Party, view'd the Town, and appointed Guards and Quarters on *Somerſetſhire* Side: The General himſelf quarter'd at *Keynſham*, where he receiv'd Meſſages from ſeveral Lords and Perſons of Quality for Paſſes to go beyond Sea; but they had ſtaid too long in *England* ſince the War broke out, and done too much Miſchief to be let go at the Ending of it. The two next Days, the 22d and 23d of *Auguſt*, were ſpent in ſetting Guards on *Glouceſter* and *Somerſetſhire* Side, the Head Quarters being remov'd to *Hanham*. The Enemy's Cannon play'd from the *Great Fort* and *Pryor*'s *Fort*, but wounded only a Dragoon. They made a Sally with a Party of Horſe but were beaten in again, with the Loſs of Sir *Richard Crane*, and others. The Head Quarters were again remov'd to *Stapleton* on *Glouceſterſhire* Side. The next Day being *Sunday*, the Enemy ſally'd out again, at the *Salley Port* near *Pryor*'s *Hill Fort*, in a full Career, but were again beaten back by Colonel *Rainsborough*'s Regiment. In this Action they loſt a Major and ſome others. The next Day Warrants were iſſu'd to Sir *John Horner*, that eminent Patriot, High Sheriff of the County of *Somerſet*, to raiſe the *Poſſe*, and be in a Readineſs to reinforce General *Maſſey*, who lay about *Taunton*, to obſerve the Motions of *Goring*, who had got a Body together in *Devonſhire*. On *Tueſday* the Enemy ſally'd on Colonel *Welden*'s Brigade at *Bedminſter*, and through the Negligence of the Officer who then had Command there, took 10 and kill'd as many. As a Recompenſe for this Affront Captain *Molineux* of Colonel *Butler*'s Regiment, and another ſtout Officer, ſeeing three bold Cavaliers under their Works, rode up to them, and ask'd *Whom they were for?* They ſwore, *God damn them, for the King*, and fir'd at the two Roundheads, who immediately return'd their Fire, wounded them, and after ſome Bickerings, took Sir *Bernard Aſhley*, who was one of them, and dy'd of his Wounds; Colonel *Daniel* another of them, and his Companion got into the Town again. On *Thurſday* the 28th of *Auguſt*, Lieutenant Colonel *Kempſon* of *Welden*'s Regiment, took the Fort at *Portſhead Point*, which open'd a Paſſage for the Parliament's Ships into *Kingroad*, where Vice Admiral *Moulton* arriv'd three Days after, came a Shore to wait on the General, and offer'd him his beſt Aſſiſtance of Sailors, if the General ſtorm'd the City. The Beſieg'd made a Salley on the Parliament's Quarters near *Lawford*'s *Gate*, and took three or four Soldiers. *A. D.* 1645.

On *Monday* the 1ſt of *September*, Prince *Rupert* ſally'd out with 100 Horſe and 600 Foot, and was driven in again by *Fairfax*'s Horſe and Colonel *Rainsborough*'s Brigade of Foot; but it being a wet miſty Day, Colonel *Okey* fell in among the Enemy unawares, and was taken by them. The Valiant Captain *Guilliams* of Commiſſary General *Ireton*'s Regiment was kill'd in the Skirmiſh. On *Tueſday* a Council of War was held, and it was then reſolv'd to ſtorm the Place. Colonel *Welden* with his Brigade, conſiſting of his own Regiment, Colonel *Ingoldsby*'s, Colonel *Forteſcue*'s and Col. *Herbert*'s were to ſtorm on *Somerſetſhire* Side; Colonel *Montagu* with the General's Brigade, conſiſting of *Fairfax*'s Regiment, Colonel *Montagu*'s, Colonel *Pickering*'s, and Sir *Hardreſs Waller*'s were to ſtorm on both Sides *Lawford*'s *Gate*, to the Rivers *Avon* and *Frome*. The Bridge over *Frome* to be made good againſt Horſe with Pikes, or to break it down. Colonel *Rainsborough* with his own Regiment, Major General *Skippon*'s, Colonel *Hammond*'s, Colonel *Birch*'s, and Colonel *Pride*'s were to ſtorm from the *Salley* on *Frome* Side up to *Pryor*'s *Hill* Fort, and to ſtorm the Fort it ſelf as the main Buſineſs, 200 of this Brigade to go up in Boats with the Seamen to ſtorm *Water Fort*: A Regiment of Horſe and another of Foot to move up and down in the Cloſes before the *Royal Fort*, to ply hard upon it and alarm it. A Regiment of Dragoons and two Regiments of Horſe to carry Ladders with them, and attempt the Line and Works by *Clifton* and *Waſhington*'s Breach: All Things being ready, the General order'd every Man to have ſix Shillings paid him for his Encouragement; ſo much having been promis'd them as a Bounty for their good Service at *Bridgwater*; and the General and Council here receiving News of *Montroſe*'s Succeſſes and Depredations in *Scotland*, wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Leven* and his chief Officers, to expreſs how ſenſible they were of it, and how willing to ſerve them if Need were for their ſettling of their Nation in Peace, ſo ſoon as the Condition of this Kingdom could ſpare them. Sign'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, General, *Oliver Cromwel*, Lieutenant General, *Thomas Hammond*, Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, *Henry Ireton*, Commiſſary General, *Edward Montagu*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, Colonel *Richard Forteſcue*, Colonel, afterwards Sir *Richard Ingoldsby*, Colonel *John Pickering*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller* Colonel, Colonel *William Herbert*, Colonel *Robert Hammond*, Lieutenant Colonel *James Gray*, Adjutant General of the Foot, Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Pride*, Sir *Robert Pye* Colonel, Colonel *Thomas Rainsborough*, Colonel *Thomas Sheffield*, Colonel *Ralph Welden*, Colonel *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieutenant Colonel *John Raymond*, Lieutenant Colonel *Leon. Watſon*, Captain *Arthur Evelyn*, Adjutant General of the Horſe, Captain *Richard Dean*, Comptroller of the Ordnance, Lieutenant Colonel *James Jackſon*, Major *John Desborough*, Major *Chriſtopher Bethel*. *A. D.* 1645.

Cannon

A. D. 1645. Cannon Baskets being fill'd, Seamen and Boats ſent for, and all Things ready for a Storm, the Lord General ſent a Letter to Prince *Rupert*, to ſummon him to ſurrender the City, in which Letter he endeavour'd to convince the Prince of the Juſtneſs of the Parliament's Cauſe, and of his delivering up the City to them: He cloſes it thus, *Let all* England *judge whether the Burning of its Towns, ruining its Cities, and deſtroying its People be a good Requital from a Perſon of your Family, which hath had the Prayers, Tears, Purſes and Blood of its Parliament and People.* I have often taken Notice of this. *And, if you look on either as now divided, hath ever had the ſame Party, both in Parliaments, and among the People moſt Zealous for their Aſſiſtance and Reſtitution, which you now oppoſe and ſeek to deſtroy, and whoſe conſtant Grief hath been, that their Deſires to ſerve your Family have been ever hinder'd and made fruitleſs by the ſame Party about his Majeſty, whoſe Courſe you act, and whoſe Intereſt you purſue in this unnatural War.* It is worth obſerving here that General *Fairfax* remonſtrates againſt Prince *Rupert*'s drawing his Sword againſt a Party, who were the only zealous Friends to his illuſtrious Family, the Parliament of *England* having always deſir'd nothing more earneſtly than the Reſtoring the *Palatine* Houſe to their Hereditary Rights. The Trumpet that went with the Summons was detain'd all Night, and the next Day, *September* the 5th, brought an Anſwer from the Prince, deſiring Leave to ſend to the King, which the Lord General excus'd as a Delay, and demanded a more poſitive Anſwer by the ſame Trumpet, who brought back Propoſitions; to every Article of which the General objected, and gave his Reaſons for it in Writing, which not ſatisfying Prince *Rupert*, the Storm was made the 10th of *September*.

Parliament Party the only Friends to the Palatine Family.

The Storm.

The Signal was the Firing of *Straw* and *Faggots* on the Top of a Hill, and the Shooting off 4 great Guns againſt *Pryor*'s Fort, from the Place where the General was to reſide all the Time of the Storm, which began immediately upon the Signal, and was terrible to the Beholders. The Parliament Word was *David* before the Line was enter'd, and the *Lord of Hoſts* afterwards. Colonel *Montagu* and Colonel *Pickering*, with their Regiments at *Lawford*'s Gate enter'd ſpeedily, and took 22 great Guns with many Priſoners. Major *Desborough* advanc'd with the Horſe after them, having the Command of the General's Regiment and part of Colonel *Graves*'s, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Jackſon* enter'd with their Regiments between *Lawford*'s Gate and the River *Frome*, Colonel *Rainsborough*'s and Colonel *Hammond*'s Regiments enter'd near *Pryor*'s Fort, Major General *Skippon*'s and Colonel *Birch*'s enter'd nearer to the River *Avon*. The Regiment commanded by Colonel *Pride* was divided, part aſſign'd to the Service at *Pryor*'s Fort, and part to alarm the *Great Fort*. Theſe took a little Fort defended by *Welch* Men. The Seamen aſſiſted in ſtorming the Line and Works, which being broken down by Pioneers, Captain *Ireton*, Major *Bethel*, Adjutant General *Fleming*, of *Whaley*'s, *Rich*'s and *Graves*'s Regiments of Horſe, enter'd, and meeting with a Party of the Enemies defeated them. In this Action Colonel *Taylor*, Burgeſs for *Windſor*, but expell'd for Malignancy, was mortally wounded. This ſo diſhearten'd their Horſe, who perceiv'd alſo that *Fairfax*'s Foot were Maſters of the Line, that they never came on again to give one Charge, but retreated, and ſtood in a Body under Covert of the *Great Fort*, and *Coulſton*'s Fort. In the mean while *Pryor*'s Hill Fort held out obſtinately two Hours after the Line was center'd, but then was taken by Storm, ſome of the Parliament's Soldiers creeping in at the *Port Holes*. Captain *Lagoe*, of Colonel *Pride*'s Regiment, was the firſt who laid hold on the Colours, and the *Parliamentarians* were ſo enrag'd at the Obſtinacy of the Cavaliers, that they put the Commander, Major *Price*, and moſt of the Officers and Soldiers to the Sword. All this was done between two a Clock and five in the Morning. It was dark, and well it was ſo for the Parliament's Soldiers, who could not have ſtood upon any Ground, had it been light, to have attempted *Pryor*'s Hill Fort, in regard the *Great Fort*, and *Coulſton*'s Fort on the one Side, and the Caſtle on the other, might have cut them off as they came, but being in the Dark they durſt not ſhoot for fear of killing their own Men, the Cavalier Horſe being drawn up during the Storm in a Body between *Coulſton*'s Fort and the *Great* Fort. The Forces on *Somerſetſhire* Side had not the like Succeſs. The City Works were ſo High without *Temple* Gate and *Radcliffe* Gate, that the Ladders could not reach them. The Horſe deſign'd to enter the Line there, were Lieutenant *Cromwel*'s Regiment, commanded by Major *Huntington*, Sir *Robert Pye*'s, and Colonel *Sheffield*'s, who all three behav'd with great Intrepidity, but could not force their Way. And leaſt the Prince ſhould attempt to make his Eſcape, while *Fairfax*'s Men were ſtorming, Commiſſary General *Ireton*'s, Colonel *Butler*'s, and Colonel *Fleetwood*'s Regiments of Horſe, were appointed to be in a moving Body on *Durdam Down*, the moſt open Paſſage for Horſe to get off. *Ireton*, and the two other Regiments, alarm'd that Side of the Line, and *Great Fort*, towards *Durdam Down* and *Clifton*, as Colonel *Okey*'s Dragoons did *Brandon* Hill Fort, and the Line towards *Clifton*. A. D. 1645.

The Surrender.

About 9 a Clock a Trumpet came from the Prince to deſire a Parley, which there was Reaſon enough to refuſe, but conſidering the Enemy had fir'd the City in ſeveral Places, at which Time *Temple Street* was burnt, and that the whole City was like to be conſum'd, if the Fire had gone on, the General conſented to a Treaty, and nominated Colonel *Montagu*, Colonel *Rainſborough*, and Colonel *Pickering*, to be his Commiſſioners to treat with the Prince's Commiſſioners, Colonel *Mynn*, Major General *Tillyer*, Sir *William Vavaſor* a Papiſt, and they agreed upon Articles which were very honourable for a Garriſon in that deſperate Condition, who were allow'd to march out with *Arms*, *Colours*, *Drums*, *Bag and Baggage*, and they did ſo the next Day, the 11th of *September*, when the Prince march'd out of the *Great Fort*, and with him went 8 Lords, ſeveral Ladies and Perſons of Quality. The General waited on his Highneſs about 2 Miles, and there was a great Appearance of the Country to ſee Prince *Rupert* and his Garriſon marching off, many crying, *Give him no Quarter*, *Give him no Quarter*, for his Highneſs had much provok'd the People by the ill Diſcipline of his Men, and had carry'd on the War with great Rage and Inveteracy againſt the Parliament, who made ſuch ample Proviſion for his Mother and elder Brother the Prince Elector, and were always ſo zealous to promote the Intereſts of his Princely Family. *Whitlocke* ſays, "The Cauſe of fitting down before *Briſtol* was "to prevent the Plunder and Cruelties of Prince "*Rupert* in that Country." Here were taken 140 Pieces of Cannon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition in Proportion. The

A. D. 1645.

Great Fort and *Caſtle* had Proviſions for 150 Men for 350 Days; there was in Garriſon, as Mr. *Creſwick* the Mayor told General *Cromwel*, 2500 Foot, 1000 Horſe, and about 1500 Train'd Bands and Auxiliaries, and there march'd out only 500 Horſe and 1400 Foot, the reſt being kill'd, or wounded, or taken, or run away. *Fairfax* loſt but 160 Men in the Storm, among whom were Capt. *Gayle* of *Pickering*'s Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel *Durſey* of *Forteſcue*'s, Major *Cromwel* and Capt. *Ward* of *Ingoldsby*'s, Capt. *Sterne* of *Rainsborough*'s, Major *Bethel* of *Whaley*'s, Capt. *Guilliams* of *Ireton*'s. *Fairfax* here and at *Bridgwater* recover'd all the Cannon which the Earl of *Eſſex* loſt in *Cornwall*. Major General *Skippon* was appointed Governor of *Briſtol*, Mr. *Creſwick* the Mayor was diſplac'd, and *John Gunning*, Eſq; who had been Sheriff *A. D.* 1631. put into his Office.

Thus in little more than two Months has the victorious General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* won two Battles, and taken the two ſtrongeſt and moſt important Towns in the *Weſt* of *England*, by Storm partly, and partly by Surrender. We muſt now leave him there, and ſee how his Majeſty diſpos'd of himſelf after the Rout at *Naſeby*.

The Continuance of the War now is an Affront to the Character of the *Engliſh* Nation, whoſe Valour has always had a Mixture of Sobriety; but the *Cavaliers* are ſo many *Quixots* fighting with *Windmills*. There is not the leaſt Likelihood of their ſaving themſelves by Reſiſtance, and yet they keep up one another's Spirits as if there was Heroiſm in their Deſpair.

The King after Naſeby Rout.

The King being got into *South Wales*, was join'd by General *Gerrard* with 2000 Horſe and Foot, and receiv'd great Encouragement from the Commiſſioners of the *Welſh* Counties, who attended him at *Abergavenny*. Several Gentlemen in thoſe Parts were ſeiz'd for obſtructing the Levies that were made for him, and without conſidering that the Parliament had a hundred to one to make Reprizals, ſome about the King were for hanging theſe Gentry, which his Majeſty not conſenting to, *Echard* tells us the Marquis of *Worceſter* made this *ſhrewd Anſwer*; *Well, Sir, that forgiving Temper may chance to gain you the Kingdom of Heaven, but if ever you gain the Kingdom of* England *by theſe Means I'll be your Bondſman.* I do not believe one Word of it came out of the Marquis's Mouth. 'Tis ſo far from being *ſhrewd*, that it is extremely ſilly; for if, as his Lordſhip would have had him, the King had order'd the Marquis's Neighbours to be hang'd, and the Parliament had hang'd up half a hundred of their Enemies, how *ſhrewdly* would the old Marquis have adviſ'd his Majeſty, who was about paſſing over to *Briſtol*, and in order to it was come to *Chepſtow*, where he was met by Prince *Rupert*; and tho' his Highneſs ſeem'd highly pleas'd with having the Court in the City of which he was Governor, yet other Meaſures were taken, an uſual Effect of the Irreſolution in unfortunate Counſels. The King returning to *Cardiffe*, heard of the Loſs of *Bridgwater*, *which*, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, *he had been perſwaded to believe was impregnable, and the Loſs of it could not but make great Impreſſions upon him, to think he was betray'd.* The Commiſſioners of all Counties earneſtly deſir'd *Peace*, and ſome Officers of the Army enter'd into Cabals with them to get Propoſals to be ſent to the Parliament. Prince *Rupert* was of the ſame Opinion, and wrote his Reaſons for it to the Duke of *Richmond*, which the King anſwer'd in a Letter written with his own Hand at *Cardiffe*. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, *'Twas ſo lively an Expreſſion of his Soul, that no Pen elſe could have written it*: I ſhall therefore repeat a Paſſage or two, *If I had any other Quarrel but the Defence of my Religion, Crown and Friends, you had full Reaſon for your Advice.* It will not be deny'd that thoſe Friends were the *Delinquents*, againſt whom the Parliament demanded Juſtice, and, as was declar'd after the *Reſtoration*, drew their Swords to bring them to it. All the Calamities which the Nation had indur'd in this King's Reign, were owing to their evil Counſels, yet the Letter ſays, *God will not ſuffer his Cauſe to be overthrown. I know my Obligations not to abandon God's Cauſe, and do not deſpair that God may in due Time avenge his own Cauſe*, for which his Majeſty had bargain'd with the *Iriſh Rebels* to fight, as will be ſeen preſently.

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At *Cardiffe* the King heard that the *Scots* Army had laid Siege to *Hereford*, and the Earl of *Clarendon* is of Opinion no better Way could be thought of to relieve it, than by iſſuing Writs to the *Welch* Sheriffs to raiſe their *Poſſe*. I was very willing to follow his Lordſhip in his Hiſtory of the King's Actions after *Naſeby* Rout, but every one of them is ſo magnify'd, and will ſo little bear it, that it is turning them into Ridicule.

His Majeſty paſs'd over the Mountains of *Brecknock* and *Radnor* to *Ludlow*, thence thro' *Shropſhire* and *Derbyſhire* to *Welbeck*, intending to join *Montroſe*, who had over-run *Scotland*, without having made himſelf enough Maſter of any Part of it to ſtand out againſt the Power that was coming againſt him. The King proceeded as far as *Doncaſter*, where the Gentry ſo well preſerved their Promiſes to him, that within three Days there was an Appearance of full 3000 Men without Arms; but they offer'd to get Arms within four and twenty Hours, if the King ſtaid ſo long, which was ſo uncertain, that a few Hours after his Majeſty made haſte back to *Newark*, on News that *David Leſley* was come to *Rotheram*, with all the *Scottiſh* Horſe, to enter *Scotland* and oppoſe *Montroſe*, which he did effectually, routed his Band of Mountaineers and *Iriſh* REBELS, whom he cut off almoſt entirely, and oblig'd the Marquis to ſhelter himſelf behind the *Grampian* Hills. This was the Army which was to enter *England*, in Hopes of whoſe March the Treaty of *Uxbridge* was broken off, and his Majeſty got into *Yorkſhire*.

The Lord *Clarendon*, in the Fulneſs of his Politicks, which are indeed incomparable, informs us, that IF the King with his *beaten* and *baffled* Troops, as he calls them himſelf, had, inſtead of retreating from *Doncaſter*, fallen upon *David Leſley* and his 4000 Horſe at *Rotheram*, *he had found him in a very ill Poſture to have made Reſiſtance, and had abſolutely preſerv*'d Montroſe. *His Majeſty*, ſays the Earl, *proſecuted his Journey from* Newark *to* Oxford, *tho' not without making ſome Starts out of the Way, by which he had an Opportunity of beating up ſome Quarters of the Parliament Horſe.* As thus in *Whitlocke*: "In the King's March, the *Scots* "Horſe fell upon his Quarters at *Bewdley*, took "70 Horſe, and ſeveral Officers. At *Tilbury* "Sir *John Gell* fell upon his Rear, took Capt. "*Blake* and 40 Priſoners." The Earl of *Clarendon* aſſures us, that *David Leſley* knew nothing of the King's being in *Yorkſhire*; and *Whitlocke*, that Major General *Pointz*, Col. *Roſſiter*, and the Country Forces, were order'd to join the *Scots*, after which Junction they got between the King and the *North*, ſo he retreated back to *Newark*. A Party of the Parliament's

A. D. 1645. made a *Start* and fell upon his Rear, took the Lord *Harris* a Papiſt, 100 Horſe, and ſeveral Priſoners. *Whitlocke* again: "From *Newark* "the King march'd into *Lincolnſhire*, where his "Army committed many Outrages." The Earl of *Clarendon*'s *Starts*. The next Day he lay at *Belvoir*, the next at *Stamford*, his March being very ſudden, for he met with frequent *Starts* from the Parliament's Forces. "A Party from "*Burleigh* and *Leiceſter* fell upon his Rear, took "80 Horſe, four Standards, and many Priſoners. "The Van of his Army being as far as *Stilton* "by *Huntington*, were oppos'd by Capt. *Gibbs* "and Capt. *Poe*, but they were overpower'd by "Numbers, and the King's Forces enter'd the "Town, which they miſerably plunder'd," and made the like *Starts* in ſeveral Places of *Cambridgſhire* and *Bedfordſhire*, upon an unarm'd defenceleſs People, and not upon the *Parliament*'s *Horſe Quarters*. At laſt underſtanding the Country was riſing againſt them, his Majeſty haſten'd to *Woburn*, where ſome of his Stragglers were taken, and from thence to *Oxford*, where he ſtaid three Days only, and then, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, proſecuted his former Reſolution, "at leaſt to endeavour the Relief of "*Hereford*; and as he was on his March thi-"ther, he receiv'd Intelligence that the *Scottiſh* "Army, upon Notice of his Purpoſe, was that "Morning riſen in great Diſorder and Confuſion. "This News was ſo welcome, and his Majeſty "was receiv'd with ſo full Joy into the City of "*Hereford*, that he ſlip'd the Opportunity not "of *vanquiſhing*, *overcoming*, or *routing*, but "of *diſcommoding* the *Scottiſh* Army, IF not "*ruining* it." The Pleaſantry of it is extremely delightful; for in Truth the *Scots* Army conſiſted of 16 or 17000 Men, and the King had with him not above 4000, moſt Horſe and Dragoons. The Parliament order'd Major General *Pointz* and Col. *Roſſiter* to attend his Motions, and if he went towards *Hereford*, to correſpond with General *Leven*, and aſſiſt him. Accordingly *Pointz* and *Roſſiter* follow'd the King, and the *Common Council* of the City of *London* reſolv'd that every one of them ſhould furniſh a Horſe and Arms to make up with other Forces a flying Army to attend the King, who, if we may believe the Lord *Clarendon*, was going even then to drive the *Scots* Army from before *Hereford*. There is no other ſuch Hiſtory in Being. The Truth is, the *Scots* were alarm'd at the Progreſs of *Montroſe*, and tho' their Horſe was gone to the Relief of their Brethren, they could not be eaſy ſo far *Southward*, while all was in Danger in the *North*; upon which Conſideration only they quitted the Siege of *Hereford*, and march'd *Northward*; but in their March heard of the Marquis of *Montroſe*'s intire Defeat, and at the Deſire of the Parliament lay down before *Newark*, the King making what haſte he could towards *Cheſter* to relieve that City, beſieg'd by Sir *William Brereton*. His Forces plunder'd and burnt Mr. *Cartwright*'s Houſe at *Aynoe* in *Northamptonſhire*. But before he bent his March that Way, he endeavour'd again to get ſome Levies in *Wales* to relieve *Briſtol*. He went a ſecond Time to *Ragland* Caſtle in *Monmouthſhire*, where he receiv'd the dreadful News of the Surrender of *Briſtol*, which ſo diſcompos'd him, that he wrote the following Letter to Prince *Rupert* from *Hereford*.

His Letter to Prince Rupert.

Nephew,

"THO' the Loſs of *Briſtol* be a great Blow to "me, yet your ſurrendring it as you did is "of ſo much Affliction to me, that it makes me "not only forget the Conſideration of that Place, "but is likewiſe the greateſt Trial of my Con-"ſtancy that hath yet befallen me. For what is "to be done, after one that is ſo near to me "both in Blood and Friendſhip, ſubmits him-"ſelf to ſo mean an Action? I give it the ea-"ſieſt Terms ſuch ——— I have ſo much to "ſay, that I will ſay no more of it, only leſt "Raſhneſs of Judgment be laid to my Charge, "I muſt remember you of your Letter of the "12th of *Auguſt*, whereby you aſſur'd me, that "if no Mutiny happen'd you would keep *Bri-"ſtol* for *Four Months*. Did you keep it four "Days? Was there any thing like a Mutiny? "More Queſtions might be ask'd, but now, I "confeſs, to little Purpoſe. My Concluſion is, "to deſire you to ſeek your Subſiſtence, until it "ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my Condi-"tion ſomewhere beyond Sea, to which End I "ſend you herewith a Paſs, and I pray God to "make you ſenſible of your preſent Condition, "and give you Means to redeem what you have "loſt; for I ſhall have no greater Joy in a "Victory than a juſt Occaſion, without bluſhing, "to aſſure you of my being

Your loving Uncle, and

Moſt faithful Friend,

C. R.

Having lately read the Particulars of the Siege and Surrender of *Briſtol*, one can't think the *Prince*'s Conduct deſerv'd ſo ſevere Animadverſion. General *Fairfax* had maſter'd above a Mile of the Line and Works in the ſtrongeſt Part of the City, the Miſcarriage on the Side of *Somerſetſhire* was owing only to the Shortneſs of the Ladders, which would be lengthen'd in two or three Hours time. The City was a Fire, and the Prince had no Way to ſave that, himſelf and his Garriſon, but the Way he then took. What Succeſs the King had had in his Field Battles, was owing to Prince *Rupert*'s Valour, and this Letter ſeems to be the Effect rather of Affliction than Reflection.

His Highneſs was convoy'd from *Briſtol* to *Oxford*, and the King wrote a Letter to the Council there, to require him to deliver up all his Commiſſions; which it was ſurmis'd to him the Prince would not do tamely; and therefore Orders were ſent to impriſon Col. *Leg*, Governor of *Oxford*, and Favourite to his Highneſs, leſt he ſhould attempt any thing on his Account.

From *Hereford* the King went to *Worceſter*, and made an Attempt to reach *Oxford*, but was hinder'd by Major General *Pointz*, who follow'd him cloſe with about 3500 Horſe and Dragoons; ſo he march'd to *Ludlow*, and thence towards *Cheſter*, which was beſieg'd and diſtreſs'd by Sir *William Brereton*, Col. *Jones*, and the *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire* Forces. It was thought the King intended to paſs from *Cheſter* into *Ireland*, and put himſelf at the Head of the Army that was to be tranſported thence into *England*. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s Account of the King's March and Defeat, is as pleaſant as his Lordſhip's other Relations of Events in this War. "The Enemy "had ſurpriz'd both the Out-works and Suburbs "of *Cheſter*, when the King came within half "a Day's Journey of it; ſo that his unexpected "coming look'd like a Deſignation of Provi-"dence for the Preſervation of ſo important a "Place. The *Parliamentarians* were no leſs "amaz'd, looking upon themſelves as loſt; "and the King's Troops believ'd them to be "in their Power." Every Word of which is as true as that the King ſaw the enſuing Fight from

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the Walls of *Cheſter*, when he was not in the Town, but in the Battle on *Rowton* Heath, two Miles off. The placing his Majeſty upon *Cheſter* Walls, is to leſſen the Diſgrace of the Defeat as much as poſſible, in a Suppoſition that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had not been ſo beaten as he was by Major General *Pointz*, if his Majeſty had been in the Battle: A very poor Way of Writing! If his Troops are beaten, he is beaten, and there's no Need of concealing his being in the Action, which is not a whit the better or the worſe for it. The Fact is thus:

Echard. Rowton Heath Battle.

Whitl.

Sir *William Brereton*, with the above-mention'd Forces, had lain before *Cheſter* ſome Time, when Col. *Jones*, who commanded the Horſe, and Adjutant General *Lothian*, who commanded the Foot, drawing off from before it in the Evening, the Beſieg'd thought they were gone, and took the leſs Care of their Works, but early the next Morning *Jones* and *Lothian* return'd and ſtorm'd the Suburbs and Out-works before they were diſcover'd, which the King hearing, haſten'd his March to relieve the Place, and with about 5000 Horſe and Foot got thro' *Wales* to the Neighbourhood of *Cheſter*. *Pointz*, whoſe Duty was to obſerve him, having Intelligence of his March, took a ſhorter Way, and came to *Rowton* Heath, 2 Miles from *Cheſter*; he could reach no farther. He alſo had given Col. *Jones* Notice of his Approach, deſiring him to charge that Body in the Rear while he attack'd them in Front. But the King's Troops engag'd *Pointz*, *Sept.* 26. before *Jones* could come up, and worſted him. However he rally'd and made good his Ground till *Jones*'s Forces join'd him, and then, together with *Lothian* and *Jones*, renew'd the Fight, utterly routing the King's whole Body, of which about 300 fled into *Cheſter*, and the King with them. But the Purſuit was ſo violent, that he immediately left the Town, and fled into *Wales*. The reſt of his Party were kill'd, taken, and diſpers'd. Among the Slain was the Lord *Barnard Stewart*, Earl of *Litchfield*, a *faultleſs* young Man, ſays the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lieutenant Colonel *Middleton*, Lieutenant Colonel *Conſtable*, Capt. *Abraham Lance*, Capt. *Robert Lance*, all Papiſts; and during the Siege were kill'd Lieutenant Colonel *Philip Howard*, Mr. *Roger Wood*, Mr. *Edward Davis*, Mr. *Errington*, all Papiſts, on the King's Side, as alſo two Knights, one Colonel, and above 400 Officers and Soldiers, Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, and ten Colonels, moſt of them Knights, ſeven Lieutenant Colonels, five Majors, forty other Officers, 1000 Common Soldiers, and 100 Horſe were taken. The Country People took 60 Priſoners after the Rout, with Store of Arms, which the Cavaliers had flung away in their Flight, and the Parliamentarians had good Pillage. The invincible Obſtinacy, or rather the miſerable Infatuation of theſe Men! There is ſcarce a Horſeman left of the whole Body that had attended the King ſince the Battle of *Naſeby*; *Montroſe* was ſuppreſs'd in *Scotland*, the King's Troops in the *Weſt* were flying before General *Fairfax*. *South Wales* was in a manner reduc'd, *Pointz* following the King into *North Wales*. Yet rather than Delinquents ſhall be puniſh'd, or Epiſcopacy aboliſh'd, does the King not only fly from the War, but from *Peace*, which might now eaſily be had on thoſe Terms, and there remain'd no Hope for him ever to have better, unleſs he had plac'd his Hope in Aſſiſtance from *Iriſh* REBELS. In this deſperate Condition the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* are eternally holding Councils of War for the wiſe Counſellors to ſhew their Parts; but they came to Reſolutions only to abandon them; and yet theſe two Hiſtorians in-

The King routed.

large upon them, as if they had been all crown'd with Victory. *A. D.* 1645.

The firſt Action which ſucceeded thoſe Counſels, was the ſending the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Northward to join *Montroſe*, if they could. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory of this Event is as riſible as Affectation and Inſincerity can make it. "The Lord *Digby* "was inform'd at *Doncaſter*, that there was "1000 Foot newly rais'd for the Parliament a "little out of the Way, which he reſolv'd to "fall upon, and did it ſo well, that they all "threw down their Arms." *Whitlocke*, "He "ſurpriz'd 400 of the Parliament's Party at "*Shirburn*, and ſhatter'd Col. *Wren*'s Regiment of Horſe." *Clarendon* again: "While "the Lord *Digby* ſtaid at *Shirburn*, he had "Notice of the Advance of ſome Troops of "Horſe under the Command of Col. *Copley*. "*Digby* preſently ſounded to Horſe, and having gotten ſome few Troops ready, march'd "with them out of the Town, and finding *Copley* ſtanding upon a convenient Ground, he "would not ſtay for his other Companies, but "immediately charg'd them with that Courage, "that he routed moſt of their Body, which after a ſhort Reſiſtance fled, and were purſu'd "thro' *Shirburn*, where his other Troops were "refreſhing themſelves, and diſcerning the "Flight of *Copley*'s Horſe, concluded in great "Conſternation, that their own Fellows were "flying, and ſo with equal Confuſion they "mounted their Horſes, and fled as faſt as "the others. IF it had not been for the flying "of theſe Troops, becauſe the Enemy fled, the "Lord *Digby* had without doubt been Maſter "of the *North*." Is not this excellent above all Story? The Roundheads and Cavaliers are running away very lovingly together. Again: "By "this Means one Troop only that remain'd in "the Field unbroken fell upon the Lord *Digby*, "and thoſe Officers and Gentlemen who ſtay'd "with him, *for it ſeems the Parliament Troops "ran away, tho' no Body ran after them*, and "they were compell'd to retreat to *Skipton*, "which they did with the Loſs of Sir *Richard* "*Hutton*, a gallant and worthy Gentleman;" as they are all to a Man, excepting two or three who had diſoblig'd his Lordſhip. "The Lord "*Digby*'s Baggage and Cabinet were taken, "which being publiſh'd by the Parliament, ad-"miniſter'd ſo much Occaſion of Diſcourſe." The Occaſion adminiſter'd, was by the Diſcovery of a horrid Correſpondence with the bloody Maſſacrers in *Ireland*, and a Deſign to bring them over to deſtroy the Proteſtants in *England*, as they had done there; which I ſpeak the more boldly, for that I ſhall prove it upon them, when I have given the true Hiſtory of the Rout of *Digby*, that the Reader may laugh as well as I when he compares it with that of the Lord *Clarendon*.

"Col. *Copley* engag'd the Lord *Digby*'s whole Whitl. p. "Body, *not a Part of them*, about *Milford*, 162. "routed and purſu'd them three Miles, ſlew "Col. *Carnaby*, Sir *Richard Hutton*, ſeveral "Officers, and 40 others, took Priſoners four "Colonels, many inferior Officers, Gentlemen "and Reformades, about 400 Troopers, and the "Counteſs of *Niddeſdale*, who was under the "Lord *Digby*'s Convoy. That Lord's Coach, the "King's Chirurgeon, and divers Letters and Pa-"pers were taken, among which was a Letter to a "Member of Parliament, who was expell'd for "it." *Ludlow* adds, *that* Copley *recover'd the Men and Arms which the Lord* Digby *had taken*. One cannot part with the Earl of *Clarendon* yet, for what follows is not one of the leaſt Falſities in

A. D. 1645. in the *History of the Rebellion*. " Moſt of *Dig-*
" *by*'s ſcatter'd Troops came together again at
" *Skipton*, with which he march'd without any
" other Miſadventures through *Cumberland* and
" *Weſtmoreland*, as far as *Dumfreis* in *Scotland*."
One cannot read it without Hands and Eyes up-
lifted. For *Ludlow* informs us, *that Party was defeated a ſecond Time by Sir* John Browne, *and a third by Colonel* Bright; yet according to the Lord *Clarendon*, *they met with no other Miſadventures*; " but being arriv'd in *Scotland*,
Lord Digby *routed near* Scotland. " and neither receiving Directions which Way
" to march, nor where *Montroſe* was, and leſs
" Knowledge how to retire without falling into
" the Hands of the *Scottiſh* Army on the Bor-
" ders, in the higheſt Deſpair, the Lord *Dig-*
" *by*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the Earls of
" *Carnwarth* and *Niddeſdale*, and moſt of the
" other Officers embark'd themſelves for the Iſle
" of *Man*, and ſhortly after for *Ireland*," which is ſo far from Truth, that he met with the following Miſadventures, Diſgraces and Routs, as we read in *Whitlocke*; " The Lord *Digby* and
" *Langdale*, with 800 Horſe advancing to-
" wards *Scotland* to join *Montroſe*, were fallen
" upon at *Carliſle* Sands by a Party of
" the *Scots* Forces under Sir *John Browne*,
" who though leſs in Number, after a ſharp
" Diſpute routed *Digby*'s Party, kill'd 100,
" took 200 Horſes, ſeveral of their Officers,
" 3 Colours, many Priſoners, and diſpers'd the
" whole Party, *Digby* and *Langdale* flying into
" the *Iſle of Man*." The Reader will obſerve how the Earl of *Clarendon* turns and winds himſelf in this Hiſtorical Adventure, and how it is after his Manner envelop'd in Words to conceal the Truth. *Warwick*, who tells his Tale as wretchedly as ever any Body told one, comes off much better in his than the Lord *Clarendon*.
P. 290. *Digby*'s *Deſign evaporated; he is beaten in his Entrance into* Yorkſhire, *before he got into* Carliſle *defeated, and ſo forc'd to ſhip himſelf for* Ireland, *inſtead of* Scotland. This Scrap of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion is ſo very extraordinary and *Clarendine*, that I recommend it to the Reader as a choice Example of the Author's ſincere and fine Way of Writing.

Now let us ſee what Sort of Letters there were taken in the Lord *Digby*'s Coach: The Contents were, *That the King*, notwithſtanding that tremendous Appeal to Heaven before the Sacrament at *Chriſt-Church*, *Oxon*, againſt Popery and Papiſts, and the pledging his Salvation upon it, *offer'd the* Iriſh *Papiſts* a Toleration of their Religion, the Choice of their Governor, to have Forts and Caſtles, *&c.* on Condition they ſent 10000 of thoſe Maſſacrers into *England*, whom he himſelf call'd *Butchers*, to aſſiſt him againſt his Enemies, meaning the Parliament of *England*. There was alſo a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Glamorgan*, a Papiſt, impowering him to treat and conclude an Agreement with the *Iriſh* REBELS. The Popiſh Archbiſhop of *Tuam* being
P. 194. ſlain at the Battle of *Sligo*, in *Ireland*, *Whitlocke* informs us there were Letters taken about him, diſcovering the Tranſactions between the KING and the REBELS, whom his Majeſty tenderly ſtiles the *Confederates*; but the Lords and Commons of *England* are every where term'd in the Full of the Mouth, REBELS. *Whitlocke* adds, *Thoſe Letters diſcover'd large Offers to the Maſſacrers, as a Toleration of their Religion*, &c. as is above-mention'd. Not long after the People of *Padſtow* in *Cornwall*, ſeizing a Ship coming from *Ireland*, the Maſter of which threw a Packet over Board, it was recover'd, and in it
Ludlow. was found a Letter from the Earl of *Glamorgan*, importing that 6000 *Iriſh* REBELS were ready to embark for the Aſſiſtance of the King's Party, and 4000 more ſhould follow in a little Time, which is farther confirm'd by this Letter of the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s to the King, *I am now at* Waterford *providing Shipping, immediately to tranſport* 6000 *Foot, and* 4000 *more are by* May *next to follow*: This was after the Earl of *Glamorgan* had been charg'd with High Treaſon by the Lord *Digby*, and committed for treating with the *Maſſacrers*, which Commitment was all Grimace. The Noiſe that wicked Treaty had made even among the Royaliſts, of whom the more reaſonable complain'd againſt it, occaſion'd the pretended Diſgrace of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, who wrote to his Lady not to *entertain any Fears concerning him, for that he doubted not he ſhould be able to juſtify his Proceedings to the Confuſion of thoſe who had cauſed his Impriſonment*, which he could well do by the before-mention'd Commiſſion, and he was employ'd in the ſame impious Service after his Enlargement, as appears by his Letter in *Sanderſon*, addreſt to his Majeſty, yet upon the Parliament's diſcovering and declaring warmly againſt this clandeſtine, felonious Treaty, the King reply'd thus, *His Majeſty doth proteſt, that till ſuch Time as he had Advertiſement that the Perſon of the ſaid Earl of* Glamorgan *was arreſted, he never heard nor had any kind of Notice that the ſaid Earl had enter'd into any Capitulation with the* Iriſh. I never met with any colourable Pretence for this nefarious Confederacy with the *Iriſh* Maſſacrers. The beſt is in *Echard*, becauſe taken from the beſt Writer and the honeſteſt Man on that Side, one Doctor *Nalſon*, who in a Nook of the Paper Office, found a Letter written to the Popiſh Lords and Gentlemen by the Lord *Digby*, wherein 'tis ſaid the *King will joyn with the* Roundheads *and* Scots *Presbyterians rather than do the leaſt Act that may hazard the Proteſtant Religion*. The Archdeacon's Judgment was not of Extent enough to let ſuch an idle Paper from ſuch an idle Author eſcape him; for it is very well known, as *Whitlocke* ſays, that this very Lord *Digby*, the Popiſh Earl of *Glamorgan*, and the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, concluded the Peace with the *Iriſh Butchers*, which put the Provinces of *Munſter* and *Ulſter* in that Kingdom, under the Government of the *Popiſh ſupreme Council*. *Glamorgan*'s prior Treaty had ſo incens'd the Parliament, " That they refus'd either to treat with
" the King, or admit him to come to *London*,
" or this Buſineſs to end here, but render'd all
" the King's ſubſequent Treaties with the Par-
" liament ſuſpected, and the End of attaining
" the King's Propoſitions more difficult. And
" here, *continues* Coke, *you may ſee how this*
" *King would proſtitute his Honour and Chri-*
" *ſtianity, contrary to what he ſo often profeſs'd*
" *not only to the* Parliament *but to his own*
" *Party*.

A. D. 1645. *King's Treaty with the* Iriſh *REBELS.* Sanderſon. Ludlow. Sanderſon. Coke.

The King remaining at *Newark* after the De- *Diviſions in the King's Garriſon at* Newark. parture of *Digby* and *Langdale*, there happen'd ſome Differences in the Garriſon, which render'd his Condition ſtill worſe, as it made him more uneaſy, for there was no Manner of Proſpect that it would mend. Hither came Prince *Rupert* with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and was ſeemingly reconcil'd to the King about the Surrender of *Briſtol*; but his Majeſty having made the Lord *Bellaſis* Governor of *Newark*, inſtead of Sir *Richard Willis*, who was appointed Captain of his Guards, about the 20th of *October*, the two Princes and the Lord *Gerrard* eſpous'd *Willis*'s Quarrel; and *Bellaſis* had the Party of the Lord *Digby*. Prince *Rupert* told the King plainly, Willis *was remov'd becauſe he*

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was his Friend; and *Gerrard* added, *It was a Plot of the Lord* Digby, *who was a* Traytor, *and he would prove him ſo.* This Language ſo ſurpriz'd the King that he commanded them from his Preſence, and to come no more into it: Upon which the Prince, the Lord *Gerrard*, Sir *Richard Willis*, and above 200 Officers, the Meaneſt a Captain, deſir'd Paſſes to go beyond Sea, and retir'd from *Newark* to *Wyverton*, whence they ſent to Col. *Roſſiter* for Parliament Paſſes, engaging their Honours never to return to take up Arms againſt them; accordingly Paſſes were granted to the Princes and others. The King ſoon after by haſty Night Marches, got from *Newark* to *Oxford* in the Beginning of *November*, where we muſt leave him to follow General *Fairfax* farther into the *Weſt*.

Fairfax's *March into the* Weſt.

The Prince of *Wales* was *Generaliſſimo* of all the King's Forces in thoſe Parts, which were commanded under him by the Lord *Hopton*, Sir *Richard Greenville*, the Lord *Goring* and Sir *John Digby* in ſeveral Bodies; but before the Parliament's Forces went in Purſuit of them, 'twas thought convenient to clear the Trading Counties and the Roads towards *London*, of Cavalier Garriſons, which were reduc'd rather to Neſts of *Banditti* than Retreats for Soldiers. *Ludlow* tells us, "Many of the King's Party "hover'd about the *Hampſhire* and *Wiltſhire* "*Downs*, to rob Travellers, and thence were call'd Colonel *Down*'s Men.

Lieut. Gen. Cromwel *takes the* Devizes.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel* march'd with his own, Colonel *Montagu*'s, Colonel *Pickering*'s, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*'s, and Colonel *Hammond*'s Regiments, to take in the *Devizes* and *Lacock* Houſe in *Wiltſhire*. Sir *Charles Lloyd*, Governor of the *Devizes* ſurrender'd it after a few Shot, on Condition of marching out, Officers and Gentlemen with Arms, and the Soldiers without Arms. The next Day, *September* the 24th, Colonel *Boſvile* yielded *Lacock* on Summons, himſelf, Officers and Soldiers to have their Arms and Baggage. Colonel *Rainsborough* ſummon'd Sir *Charles Lucas*, Governor of *Berkley*, who anſwer'd, *He would eat Horſe Fleſh before he would yield, and Man's Fleſh when that was done*; but they were not ſuch *Cannibals* as they made themſelves. We muſt remember that theſe heroical Perſons had not the leaſt Hope of Relief, and that the Overflowings of their Courage are of no more Uſe to them than the Overflowings of their *Bile*, and indeed paſt off generally in Vapour. For no ſooner had *Rainsborough* maſter'd the Out-works by Storm, and put 40 to the Sword, than *Lucas* was glad to ſound a Parley, and accept of ſuch Conditions as *Rainsborough* would give him and his Garriſon, about 500 Men.

And Lacock.

And Berkley.

Cromwel *takes* Winchester.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, while General *Fairfax* was marching Weſtward, diſpers'd the *Hampſhire* Club Men, and coming before *Winchester*, forc'd the Gate, enter'd the Town and began to batter the Caſtle, the Lord *Ogle* the Governor having rejected his Summons. He then planted more Guns againſt it and made a Breach; upon which the Lord *Ogle* beat a Parly, which was agreed to, and Colonel *Hammond* and Major *Harriſon* for *Cromwel*, concluded Articles with the Governor, who ſurrender'd the Caſtle the 14th of *October*. It had a Garriſon of 500 Men, and was well provided with all Sorts of Stores. There were in the Place Sir *John Pawlet*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Edward Ford*, and Colonel *Bennet*. Againſt the two latter *Cromwel* made great Exceptions, they having not kept to their Engagements with the Parliament, but rather than ſtay longer before it he at laſt conſented to let them go with the reſt and march'd himſelf to reduce

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Baſing, a Place of Importance, it having been a great Annoyance to the Trade, both of *London* and the *Country*. As ſoon as Lieutenant General *Cromwel* had planted his Batteries and ſettled the ſeveral Poſts for the Storm, his Men fell on with their wonted Reſolution, and took *Baſing* Houſe and the *Grange* with little or no Loſs. Colonel *Pickering* ſtorm'd the *New Houſe*, paſt through it, and got to the Gate of the *Old Houſe*; the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, a Papiſt, Lord of it, ſounded a Parley, which the Parliament Soldiers would not hear of. In the mean while Colonel *Montagu* and Sir *Hardreſs Waller*'s Regiments maſter'd the ſtrongeſt Work, and beat the Enemy from a whole Culverin. They there drew their Ladders after them, and got over another Work and the Houſe Wall before they could enter. In this Attack Sir *Hardreſs Waller* was wounded, but the Parliament Forces ſuffer'd not much: They put many of the King's Forces to the Sword, and ſome Officers of Quality: One Major *Caſtle* a notorious Papiſt, was kill'd by Major *Harriſon*, for this Garriſon had been a Harbour for Papiſts, and no doubt they far'd the worſe for it. Major *Caſaud*, Captain *Wyburn*, Captain *Rigby*, Popiſh Officers, were ſlain, as alſo theſe Popiſh Volunteers, Mr. *Salvine*, Mr. *Bowles*, Mr. *Stoner*. One *Robinſon*, a noted Player in thoſe Days, and a fit Champion for ſuch a Cauſe, was kill'd here; about 300 Priſoners were taken, and the Soldiers got rich Booty, the Stores of all Kinds being prodigious; the Furniture ſo coſtly that one Bed only was valu'd at 1300 Pounds. The old Marquis talking with *Hugh Peters* after the Place was taken, as to the Juſtice of the Quarrel, ſaid, *If the King had no more Ground in* England *but* Baſing Houſe, *which was called* Loyalty, *he would adventure as he did and maintain it to the uttermoſt.* The Son of this zealous Papiſt became a zealous Proteſtant, and all the Reward he had for the Sufferings, Loſſes, and Merit of his Father, was his being ſpar'd when the Lord *Ruſſel* was murder'd in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, the Court having as good Proof againſt the one as the other. The Marquis, Sir *Robert Peake* and other Priſoners of Quality were ſent up to the Parliament.

Beſieges Baſing.

Storms it.

Takes it.

After this new Advantage the Lieutenant General follow'd General *Fairfax* into the *Weſt*, and in his March took *Langford Houſe* in *Wiltſhire*, which Sir *Bartholomew Pell* ſurrender'd at Summons, *October* the 18th. And by the reducing of this Place the Roads were ſo clear'd from *London* to *Exeter*, that a ſingle Man might have travell'd there, without any Fear of an Enemy.

And Langford *Houſe.*

General *Fairfax* about the ſame Time took *Tiverton*, and gave Quarter to Sir *Gilbert Talbot* the Governor, and the Garriſon, though his Men enter'd the Place Sword in Hand, and carry'd it by Aſſault; in it was found much Plunder, and about 300 Men were made Priſoners: among them was one Major *Sadler*, who having deſerted the Parliament had privately made Overtures to General *Fairfax* to ſerve him for a Pardon, but they being rejected he was try'd by a Council of War, and condemn'd to die. He broke Priſon and eſcap'd to *Exeter*, not yet reduc'd, where the Royaliſts having had Information of the Offers he had made General *Fairfax*, try'd him by their Council of War, condemn'd and ſhot him.

Gen. Fairfax *takes* Tiverton.

While the General was on his March in *Devonſhire*, he receiv'd Advice that all *South Wales* had declar'd for the Parliament, after Colonel *Mitton* had oblig'd Colonel *Fitz Morris* to deliver up *Chepſtow* Town and Caſtle and made him-

A. D. 1645. himſelf Maſter of *Monmouth*, Sir *Trever Williams* and Colonel *Morgan* rais'd 1500 Men for the Parliament in *Glamorganſhire* and *Monmothſhire*. *Pembrokeſhire* and *Carmarthenſhire* had before been intirely reduc'd by Major General *Langhorne*. The Marquis of *Worceſter* had a long while influenc'd and govern'd that Country. The King was twice there in Perſon in Expectation of raiſing very great Reinforcements for his Armies; but Reſource is now cut off, and *Hereford* being ſurpriz'd by Col. *Birch* and Col. *Morgan*, the Cavaliers have no Place to retreat to on that Side of *England* but *Ragland Caſtle*, which will follow the Fate of their other Garriſons.

South Wales *reduc'd.*

Hereford *ſurpriz'd.*

In *Hereford* were taken according to *Ludlow*, 40 *Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of Worth, moſt of them Papiſts*. If it was the Cauſe of God and the true Proteſtant Religion for which the King fought, as he always declares, how comes it, that when any of his People are taken Priſoners, there are ſuch Numbers of *Papiſts* amongſt them? Colonel *Birch*'s Stratagem to ſurprize *Hereford* is a very pleaſant one. He hir'd 6 Men, and diſguis'd them like Labourers, putting Lieutenant *Bernard* as a Conſtable over them with a Warrant to bring thoſe Men to work in the City. They lodg'd in the Night within 3 Quarters Musket Shot of the Place, and 150 Firelocks near them; himſelf with the Foot, and Col. *Morgan* with the Horſe coming up after them to cut off all Intelligence from the Town, by which Means they were never diſcover'd. The firſt Night they came too ſhort, but the next, with careful Spies and Scouts they carry'd on the Buſineſs, and in the Morning, upon letting down the *Drawbridge*, the Conſtable and the 6 Country-men went with their Pick-axes and Spades to the Bridge. The Guard beginning to examine them, they kill'd three and kept the reſt in play till the Firelocks came up, who made it good till Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Morgan* came with the whole Body, and ſoon maſter'd the City, *December* the 18th.

We ſhall not take further Notice of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Progreſs in the *Weſt* this Year, intending to begin the Hiſtory of the next Years Military Tranſactions with it, and ſhall cloſe this with a ſhort Account of ſome Re-encounters in other Parts of the Kingdom.

Colonel *Moor* Governor of *Gaunt Houſe*, with 200 Horſe, fell upon 500 of the King's, 3 Miles from *Oxford*, routed them, and purſu'd them to that City, taking Mr. *Sackville*, the Earl of *Dorſet*'s Son, one of the King's Pages, Prince *Rupert*'s Chaplain, and ſeveral others, Priſoners; about the ſame Time Colonel *Paine* march'd with a Party from *Abingdon* to *Farringdon*, with an Intent to ſurprize the Garriſon; but though he fail'd in that, he took 100 Horſe, 4 Captains, other Officers, and 36 Priſoners, with the Loſs but of one Man. Thus while the Royal Garriſon of *Oxford* was ſhut up within the Walls, the King's Forces in the Neighbourhood ſuffer'd much by the Vigilance and Valour of the Parliamentarians.

After the King's Defeat at *Routon Heath*, Colonel *Jones* renew'd the Siege of *Cheſter*, which was valiantly defended, and the Beſieg'd made ſeveral bold though not ſucceſsful Sallies. They lay near *Ireland*, and no doubt were in daily Expectations of the 10000 *Iriſh* Men. Sir *William Byron*, the Lord *Byron*'s Brother, got together 400 Horſe about *Holt Caſtle*, of which Colonel *Jones* having Notice, he drew off a Party of Horſe from the Siege, attack'd him and routed him, took Sir *William* and other Perſons of Quality Priſoners, ſlew 40, and brought away as many Horſe. Sir *William Vaughan* with 1700 Foot, and 700 Horſe was marching towards *Cheſter* to throw Succours into it, of which Colonel *Jones* having Notice, 1400 Horſe and 1000 Foot were detach'd from the Siege to encounter them, under the Command of Colonel *Mitton*, who came up with them near *Denbigh*, defeated them, kill'd 100 of them, took 500 Horſe, 400 Foot, and ſo diſpers'd them, that not above 100 were left together. Another Parliament Party took *Shelford* Manor, almoſt in Sight of *Newark*. It had been reſolutely defended by 200 Men, of whom the greateſt Part after Summons and Quarter refus'd, were put to the Sword. The Governor, the Earl of *Cheſterfield*'s Son was wounded and taken Priſoner. Mr. *Cary* and Mr. *Gennings*, two Popiſh Voluntiers were kill'd, as was alſo Captain *Cliſton*, another Papiſt. *Wyverton* Houſe near *Newark*, follow'd the Example of *Shelford*. *Latham* Houſe, defended two Years by the dauntleſs Counteſs of *Derby*, of the Blood of *Tremouille* in *France*, yielded upon Articles, and in it were found 12 Cannon, Store of Arms and Ammunition, rich Prize and Pillage.

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Sir William Vaughan *routed by Col.* Mitton.

Shelford *Houſe taken.*

And Wyverton. *And* Latham.

Thus the Parliament's Forces clear'd the Way every where, and it is not in human Wiſdom to imagine what could reaſonably give Hope to the Cavaliers, and ſupport them in an Oppoſition that was as vain as it was deſperate.

We muſt leave *Newark*, beſieg'd or rather blockaded by the *Scots* and General *Pointz*, *Cheſter* by Sir *William Brereton* and Colonel *Jones*, General *Fairfax* in *Cornwall*, and take a View of what paſt at *Oxford* and *Weſtminſter*.

The King being got ſafe from *Newark* into *Oxford* was at Leiſure to conſider the Perils which ſurrounded him, and the hopeleſs Way of Deliverance by Arms, which Conſiderations naturally produc'd Thoughts of Peace, but no juſt Thoughts of accompliſhing it. For the wiſe Counſellors began with adviſing his Majeſty to ſend a Meſſage to the Parliament, almoſt glutted with Victory, which as the Earl of *Clarendon* ſays, *ſhould contain nothing but a Reſentment*, that his former Meſſages had not been anſwer'd. Was there ever ſuch Wiſdom before in the World? If they had Reaſons for not anſwering the Meſſages before they were Conquerors, they muſt of Courſe have more Reaſons not to do it after. The Lord *Clarendon*'s political Reflections on this Occaſion, being not founded upon Fact, muſt be left to the Fate of all ſuch Reflections, and the Reader will not expect any Remark ſhould be made upon them: It would too much ſwell the Bulk of this Hiſtory, and too much interrupt the Courſe of it. But when ever any Attempt ſhall be made to juſtify them, I am well enough provided to prove it will be in vain.

Before the King's Meſſage of Reſentment was receiv'd, the Parliament had appointed a grand Committee to ſit about Propoſitions of Peace, and inſtead of a Treaty were reſolv'd to reduce the Terms of it to Acts, which were to be preſented to his Majeſty. Yet the Earl of *Clarendon* not taking the leaſt Notice of this Reſolution, declaims with a very great Superfluity of Words, on the Perverſeneſs of the two Houſes in refuſing to treat in the King's Way. The grand Committee had ſate ſeveral Times, and debated the Propoſitions, which were in ſome Forwardneſs to be made Acts, when the King ſent a ſecond Meſſage to them for a ſafe Conduct for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, to bring his Propoſals to *London*; to which Anſwer was return'd, *That they were themſelves in Conſider-*

King's Anſwer.

Parliament's Anſwer.

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ation of Propoſitions to be ſent by way of Bills to his Majeſty, And the Commiſſioners for *Scotland* agreed to it. They were ſo much in earneſt for this Peace, that they provided for themſelves and their Friends in the Articles of it, having voted,

Members to be promoted.

That their General, Sir Thomas Fairfax, *be made a Baron, and have* 5000 *l. a Year ſettled upon him.*

The Lord Fairfax, *his Father, to be made an Earl.*

The Lieutenant General Cromwel *to be made a Baron, and to have* 2500 *Pounds a Year.*

The Earl of Northumberland, *the Earl of* Eſſex, *the Earl of* Warwick, *the Earl of* Pembroke, *to be made Dukes.*

The Earl of Salisbury, *and Earl of* Mancheſter, *to be made Marquiſſes.*

The Lord Roberts, *the Lord* Say, *the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham, *the Lord* Wharton, *the Lord* Howard, *to be made Earls.*

Denzill Hollis, *Eſq; to be made a Viſcount.*

Sir William Waller *to be made a Baron, and to have* 2500 *l.* per Ann.

Sir Arthur Haſlerigg *to be made a Baron, and to have* 2000 *l.* per Ann.

Sir Henry Vane, *ſen. to be a Baron.*

Sir Philip Stapleton *to be a Baron, and to have* 2000 *l.* per Ann.

Sir William Brereton, *to have* 1500 *l.* per Ann.

Major General Skippon *to have* 1000 *Pounds* per Ann.

In the mean while the King met his *mongrel Parliament* at *Oxford* again, and as an Effect of more Wiſdom, they were permitted to vote, *That the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Judges and the Pleaders at* Weſtminſter, *are guilty of High Treaſon, and the Seal to be void.* A rare Way this to promote Peace. They alſo voted, *That the* Directory *which the Parliament had eſtabliſh'd by Law ſhould not be us'd in Divine Service, but the* Common Prayer *to be ſtill us'd as by Law eſtabliſh'd.* The Parliament of *England* look'd on them, and treated them as a *Non-Entity*. But they look'd upon themſelves, and the King look'd upon them, and treated them as ſo many *Some-bodies*. The two Houſes *reſolv'd, The King's Anſwer ſhould be deſir'd to their Acts without any Treaty*, which the *Scots* Commiſſioners ſeem'd to deſire. And that Motion of theirs to treat, with their refuſing to beſiege *Newark*, when they were firſt requeſted to do it, and to deliver up the Places they were poſſeſs'd of in *England* with that Readineſs which was expected, created ill Blood between the two States, and there was not then Temper enough in either of them to provide againſt it in Time.

Whit. p. 188.

Diviſions in Parliament.

Now alſo began to appear ſome Clouds of Difference ariſing in the Parliament Houſe, the only Cloud that threaten'd them, for the Oppoſition they might expect from the Royaliſts was rather deſpicable than dangerous. And all Parties thought of making their Market by their Merit in the late Succeſſes.

The Presbyterians.

The Presbyterians were the Majority in the Parliament, City, and Aſſembly of Divines, but the *Independents* had undermin'd them in the Army, where their Head, *Oliver Cromwel*, did what he pleas'd, though Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had the Name and Show of General. The Cavaliers were a baffled, beaten Party, and without the Diviſions and Sub-diviſions which fell out in Parliament and Army, they had never been heard of more. Nor is it in any one Inſtance owing to their Policy and Management that they ever lifted up their Heads again, but wholly to the Inteſts, Jealouſies, and Reſentments of the chief Men, both in the Parliament and Army, both grown too ſecure and too wanton by Succeſs. A. D. 1645.

There were but few Independent, and no *Baptiſt* Miniſters in the *Aſſembly of Divines*, but thoſe *Independents* who were there acted with a Spirit and Conſtancy which were troubleſome to the Presbyterians, who procur'd a Petition from the Common Council of *London*, *That more Power might be given to Miniſters and Elders than was eſtabliſh'd by Parliament.* This Petition was follow'd by another from the *London* Miniſters, who were anſwer'd, *That they ſhould go home and look to the Charges of their ſeveral Congregations.* Alderman *Gibs* preſented a like Petition from the City to the Houſe of Lords, with a long Speech, and their Lordſhips promis'd to take it into Conſideration, being very much *Presbyterian* in Principle.

Aſſembly of Divines.

The *Independents* had kept themſelves pretty much to themſelves till the War broke out, and they and the *Baptiſts* were reckon'd no more *Sectaries* than the *Presbyterians* by *Churchmen*. But when the Aſſembly of Divines met there were among them 6 or 7 of the moſt eminent Independent Miniſters who join'd with the Presbyterians till they had drawn up the *Confeſſion of Faith*, the larger and ſmaller *Catechiſm*, but when they came to *Church Government*, they engag'd the Presbyterians in long Debates, and kept the Matter as long as they could undetermin'd and unexecuted in almoſt all Parts of the Kingdom, except *London* and *Lancaſhire*, which gave their Party Time to ſtrengthen themſelves in the Army and Parliament, and at laſt hinder its Execution. The Chief of theſe Independent Miniſters were, Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*, Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, Mr. *Philip Nye*, Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Mr. *William Bridge*. *Not illiterate, ignorant Enthuſiaſts*, as the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* repreſent them, but as Mr. *Baxter*, their known Opponent, does it impartially, *learned, diſcreet, and pious, capable of being very ſerviceable to the Church, Searchers into Scripture and Antiquity*. He adds, *Some* Epiſcopal *Men, of whom Archbiſhop* Uſher *acknowledged to him he was one, held that every Biſhop was* Independent *as to Synods, and Synods were not ſo much for Government as for Concord*. This Party diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by a Zeal for a *Thorough Reformation* in Church and State, and were for the moſt part *Republicans*. Thoſe of the Parliament who were for ſo effectually ſecuring their Spiritual and Temporal Liberties, that it ſhould not be in the Power of a ſingle Perſon to invade them hereafter, lik'd very well to ſee the Independents ſo zealous, and gave them Encouragement. *Cromwel*, who probably began to think what Game he ſhould play for himſelf after the Battle of *Naſeby*, courted and careſs'd them as much as was conſiſtent with keeping Terms with the *Presbyterians*.

The Independents.

Cal. p. 112.

The Baptiſts.

The *Baptiſts* were *Independents* in every Thing but *Infant Baptiſm*, the denying of which, good Church-men do generally believe, being generally ſo taught, to be as great a Hereſy as thoſe of the *Ophites* and *Peternians*, if they know what thoſe Hereſies were, and conſidering their Cauſe is ſo very good, it is great Pity there is no more to be ſaid for it out of Hiſtory or Argument. *Baxter*, who wrote for *Infant Baptiſm* with more Succeſs than any of thoſe Men, writes thus of the *Baptiſts*, "He found many of "them ſober, godly People, not differing but "in Point of *Infant Baptiſm*, and as to that, "conſulting *Antiquity*, he obſerv'd, That tho' "*Infant Baptiſm* was held lawful by the "Church,

Cal. p. 113.

A. D. 1645. " Church, yet ſome with *Tertullian* and *Na-*
" *zianzen* thought it moſt convenient to make
" no haſte, and the reſt left the Time of *Bap-*
" *tiſm* to every ones liberty, and forc'd none
" to be *baptiz'd*, *ſo that not only* Con-
" ſtantine *the Great*, Theodoſius, *and ſuch*
" *as were converted at Years of Diſcretion*,
" *but* Auguſtine *alſo*, *and many Children*
" *of Chriſtian Parents had their* Baptiſm
" *long deferr'd*, *to ſome it was adminiſter'd*
" *in Infancy*, *to ſome at ripe Age*, *and ſome a*
" *little before their Death*, *as was the Caſe of*
" *the Emperor* Conſtantine," in whoſe Reign there were more Chriſtians baptiz'd than had probably been in an hundred Years before. Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Calamy*, both eminent Aſſertors of *Infant Baptiſm*, add, *All the Penalty of Delay of* Baptiſm *was the being ſtill numberd among the Catechumens* or Expectants. Mr. *Echard* is a *Church Hiſtory* Writer, and an Archdeacon, and yet he does not ſhew that he knows one Word of theſe Matters, upon which many thouſand Words more may be ſaid was it needful, or more nearly related to the Hiſtory of *England*, only I cannot help obſerving, that there is hardly one rural Vicar or Curate in twenty who has the leaſt Conception that ſuch a *Catechumen* is in a State of Salvation, ſo literate, ſo rational, and ſo charitable are they.

The *Baptiſts* and *Independents* agreeing exactly in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Polity, made them united a formidable Party, which alarm'd the *Presbyterians*, who by endeavouring to nip them in the Bud in a Time of ſo much Diſtraction, irritated thoſe who were only offended before, and induc'd them to put themſelves under the Protection of the Army, who found the *Presbyterians* in too much haſte as they thought for *Peace*, and willing to accept of it, if the King would accept of them and their *Directory*, without conſidering much the Merit of the Army, and the Intereſt of the other Denominations, which the Soldiery were reſolv'd ſhould be conſider'd before they put their Swords into the Scabbards, *Satisfaction* and *Security* after ſo bloody and expenſive a War grew popular Terms, and all thoſe who made uſe of them went under the Notion of the *Independent* Party, though there were many *Presbyterians*, ſome Church-men; and if one could believe Mr. Archdeacon, ſome Papiſts, as Sir *John D'anvers*, one of the King's Judges, among them: Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. *Henry Martin*, Eſq; Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Lord *Monſon*, *Anthony Stapely*, Eſq; *Miles Corbert*, Eſq; &c. were at the Head of this Party in the Houſe of Commons; and at the Head of the *Presbyterians* were *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, *John Glyn*, Eſq; Sergeant *Maynard*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Long*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Maſſey*, Colonel *Copley*.

The Army.

Heads of the Independents.

Heads of the Presbyterians.

There was another Party in the Houſe of Commons who declar'd for neither Side, as Mr. *Pierpoint*, *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Colonel *Birch*, Mr. *Goodwyn*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, &c. who ſometimes voted with the *Presbyterians*, and ſometimes with the Independents, as they thought conduc'd moſt to the Service of the State, and generally they went with thoſe who were for *Satisfaction* and *Security*, till it was known that *Oliver* and his Party meant the Death of the King by it, in which they were left by all thoſe who meant the *Reformation*, and not the Deſtruction of the Government at the Beginning of the Rupture.

Neutral Party.

A. D. 1645.

As to the *Sects*, *Antinomians*, *Familiſts*, *Seekers*, *Ranters*, *Adamites*, &c. every one knows they were the Muſhrooms which ſprung up in the Fields of Blood during the *Civil War*, and when muſter'd together, hardly made up the Number of Parſon *Maſon*'s Followers in *Buckinghamſhire*, about ſix or ſeven and thirty Years ago, with whom the Church of *England* may be as well charg'd as the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, with the Sectaries againſt whom they were always preaching and labouring as much as conſiſted with the Confuſion of the Times.

Sectaries.

Mr. *Baxter* informs us, that the Parliament's Friends ſaw betimes what would be the fatal Conſequence of the before-mention'd Diviſions and Sub-diviſions, and that their Enemies had not a Twig to catch at to ſave them from ſinking to the Bottom for ever but what grew out of them. They had nothing left to employ their Valour about, and their Wiſdoms had been baffled as much as their Armies had been beaten; but they could with Safety, if not with Succeſs, foment thoſe Diviſions, and flatter'd themſelves that when by courting ſometimes one Party, and ſometimes another, a Breach was made, they might enter at it, tho' all other Entrance was deny'd them. Succeſs is as apt to perplex Counſels as Diſtreſs. The Conquerors quarrel as often about dividing the Prize, as the Conquer'd about keeping of it. There had been 1000 Light Houſes ſet up in Hiſtory to direct Nations and States how to avoid the Rocks and Sands of Diſcord. *Baxter* foreſaw, and it needed not good Eyes, what would be the Effects of the Animoſities between the Presbyterians and the other Denominations whom he warn'd, *That a Houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand*; *That the Courſe they took would bring them to Shame, and turn a hopeful* Reformation *into Scorn, and make the Land of Nativity a Place of Calamity and Woe*, as it was from the *Reſtoration*, the Effect of that divided Houſe, to the *Revolution*.

Diviſions.

Cal. *p.* 97.

We ſhall in the Sequel of this Hiſtory ſo often have Occaſion to ſpeak of theſe Parties jointly and ſeparately, that it was neceſſary to explain them a little, to make what we are to ſay the more intelligible.

Juſt at the End of the preſent Year, his Majeſty ſent another Meſſage to the Parliament, offering to come to *London* and treat with the Two Houſes: Upon which read what Mr. *Acherley* writes; " It is obſervable, that the King in
" all his Anſwers to thoſe infinite Petitions and
" Invitations which had been ſent him to re-
" turn to his Parliament, had always objected,
" That *he would not return for fear of Tu-*
" *mults at* Whitehall, *whereas he knew that his*
" *Proſecution of the* Invitation *and* Scots *Invaſion*
" *was the Cauſe of thoſe Tumults*. But now
" when the King's Power to revenge was ex-
" tinguiſh'd, his Majeſty laid aſide all his
" Fears, *&c.*

King's Meſſage.

He propos'd in this Meſſage to commit the Truſt of the *Militia* for ſuch Time and with ſuch Power as is expreſs'd by his own, not the Parliament's Commiſſioners at *Uxbridge*, to the following Commiſſioners: Lord Privy Seal, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hertford*, Marquis of *Dorcheſter*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of *Chicheſter*, Earl of *Southampton*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Leppington*, Mr. *Delaware*, Mr. *Spencer*, Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Gervaſe Clifton*, Mr. *Tho. Chichely*; Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl

Militia.

Commiſſioners for it nam'd by the King.

A. D. 1645. Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord *Say*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Mr. *Robert Wallop*, Mr. *Oliver Cromwel*, Mr. *Philip Skippon*. But the *Militia*, with all its Powers, being to be reſtor'd to the King ſolely in Three Years, while Reſentment and Revenge were ſtill hot, and not the leaſt Satisfaction offer'd for the Blood that had been ſpilt in the Three Kingdoms by the wicked Counſels of Delinquents, the Parliament reſolv'd to go on as they had begun, in preparing Bills for his Majeſty to ſign, as the Foundation of a ſafe and laſting Peace, which all good *Engliſhmen* earneſtly pray'd for.

The main Strength the King had leſt, were the Remains of his *Weſtern* Army under the Prince of *Wales*, retreating before Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the Garriſons of *Oxford*, *Newark*, and *Worceſter*. Yet ſuch was the Fury and Outrage of the Cavaliers, even in the woful Cataſtrophe of their War, that Col. *Bard*, Governor of *Worceſter*, now iſſu'd out his Warrants to the Conſtables for Contributions, in theſe Terms:

The King's Governor of Worceſter's *Warrant.*

Know ye, That unleſs you bring in unto me, at a Day and Hour in Worceſter, *the monthly Contributions for ſix Months, you are to expect an* unſanctify'd *Troop of Horſe amongſt you, from whom if you hide your ſelves, they ſhall fire your Houſes without Mercy, hang up your Bodies wherever they find them, and ſcare your Ghoſts.* I wonder ſuch a fine Piece ſhould not be found in Mr. Archdeacon's Hiſtory, among ſo many Pieces not ſo fine, which he intended for the Glory of his Heroes.

A. D. 1646. General *Fairfax* did not think fit to lay Siege to *Exeter* in the Depth of the Winter, but having ſtreighten'd the Garriſon there as much as he could, he follow'd *Goring*, who was haſtening farther *Weſtward* with 1000 Horſe. *Biſhops Cliff*, *Stoke* and *Poltimore*, were garriſon'd by *Fairfax*, the latter with the Conſent of the Owner Sir *John Bampfield*, a worthy Member of the Houſe of Commons, whom I name the rather, for that there are ſtill Branches of that ancient and honourable Family to glory in, and imitate the Example of their Anceſtor.

General Fairfax *in the* Weſt.

When the General arrived at *Ottery*, *November* the 4th, a Trumpet came to him from his Royal Highneſs the Prince, with a Letter deſiring a Paſs for two *New Lords*, *Hopton* and *Colepeper*, to go to the King on a Deſign of mediating a Peace between his Majeſty and both Houſes of Parliament. The Lord General reply'd, he would ſend his Highneſs's Letter to the Parliament, from whom only he could expect an Anſwer; but if he would disband his Army, and go himſelf to them, he would be his Convoy. While the General lay at *Ottery*, he receiv'd a Letter from the Lord *Goring* for a ſafe Conduct for Col. *Scrope* and Col. *Philips* to attend him with Overtures; which was granted, not out of Expectation of Good from the Treaty, but to increaſe the Jealouſy and Diſcontent between *Goring*'s Party and *Greenvile*'s. The Overtures brought by *Scrope* and *Philips* were for both Armies to engage themſelves to force both King and Parliament to Conditions. To which the General return'd no other Anſwer, than that he would acquaint the Parliament with it. At *Ottery* a Sickneſs incident to the Seaſon ſeiz'd his Soldiers, and for ſome Time hinder'd his marching into *Cornwall*, which gave *Greenvile* and *Hopton* an Opportunity to raiſe more *Corniſh* Men; tho' the Earl of *Clarendon*, then Prime Miniſter to his Royal Highneſs, attributes whatever was done in his Service to the Depth of Wiſdom in the Prince's Counſels, and makes Myſteries of thoſe Things which will appear to be plain Facts. The Step the Lord *Goring* had taken about the Overtures, being not done in Concert with Mr. *Hyde* and *Greenvile*, the Jealouſy and Diſcontent above-mention'd increas'd ſo far, that *Goring* left his Army and retir'd to *France*, from whence he went to *Spain*, and, to crown all his heroical Actions recorded by Mr. *Echard*, turn'd *Dominican* Fryar, as did alſo another of their Heroes, the Lord *Cottington*, Fellow Ambaſſador in *Spain* with Sir *Edward Hyde*, and the *Gradation* in the Remove was very ſmall. Indeed I ſhould not have been aſtoniſh'd at it if they had all turn'd Fryars, conſidering the Cauſe they had eſpous'd

A. D. 1646.

Goring *retires to* France.

The General ſent Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, with a Body of Troops, to ſeize *Crediton*, and order'd ſeveral Houſes to be garriſon'd for the Parliament, as Sir *William Courtney*'s at *Polderham*, Sir *George Chudleigh*'s at *Aſhton*, the Lord *Chicheſter*'s and Mr. *Davy*'s at *Canon Leen*, by which the City of *Exeter* was ſo ſtreighten'd, that the Prince's Generals were preſs'd very much to relieve it, and gave out they would attempt it, which made the General rendezvous his Army between *Okehampton* and *Crediton*, from whence Lieutenant General *Cromwel* advanc'd to *Bovey Tracy*, *January* the 16th, where Part of the Lord *Wentworth*'s Brigade lay, took about 400 Horſe, ſeven Colours, one of them the King's, with a Crown and *C. R.* upon it. Several of the King's Officers were at Cards when the Parliamentarians enter'd the Town, and ſeeing the latter coming upon them, flung their Stakes out at the Window; for which, while *Cromwel*'s Soldiers ſcrambled, the Lord *Wentworth*'s Officers made their Eſcape.

Ld. Wentworth's *Brigade defeated.*

The General advancing in Perſon, march'd to *Aſhburton*, which a Day before, *January* the 9th, had been the Enemy's Head Quarters. The advanc'd Guard found a Body of them at the Town's End, beat them thro' the Town, and broke two Regiments of that Brigade.

On the 12th of *January* the Army appear'd before *Dartmouth*, where Sir *Hugh Pollard* commanded for the King, and had near 1000 Men in Garriſon. General *Fairfax* order'd all Neceſſaries to be provided for a Storm, and on the 18th about Eleven at Night the Action began. The Cavaliers made but one Diſcharge before the Parliamentarians got under their Cannon, poſſeſs'd them, and turn'd them againſt the Enemy, having none of their own, the Way and Weather not admitting any to be drawn againſt the Place, where were no leſs than 100 Pieces mounted. The Commanders of every Party took the Poſts aſſign'd them, and maſter'd thoſe of the Enemy. Lieutenant Colonel *Pride* poſſeſs'd himſelf of Mount *Boone*, where were Twenty Pieces of Ordnance; Col. *Hammond* took the *Weſt Gate*, where were Four Pieces of Ordnance, and Twenty in the *Flanker*; Col. *Forteſcue* took *Tunſtal* Church with Twelve Pieces of Ordnance in it, and the other Commanders ſucceeded alike in the other Parts of the Town, particularly the *Old Caſtle*, where were five great Guns that commanded the River. All which was done with the Loſs of one Man kill'd. The Town being maſter'd, Capt. *Dean*, Comptroller of the Ordnance, was ſent to ſummons two Men of War which lay in the River, and yielded immediately. About a Mile from the Town were two old Forts, mounted with 84 Guns, the Garriſons of which beat a Parley. The General permitted Sir *Henry Cary*, who commanded in one of them, to march away, but oblig'd the Lord *Newport* and Col. *Seymour*, with their Garriſon in the other, to ſurrender

Dartmouth *ſtorm'd and taken.*

A. D. 1646. render at Mercy: Among them was found Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Governor of *Dartmouth*, who had fled out of the Town to that Fort. There were 600 Men in the Out-Garriſons, and 1000 in the Place, of whom 800 were made Priſoners. The reſt were either kill'd, or ſuffer'd to march off with Sir *Henry Cary*. In this Service Capt. *Roupe*'s Men of *Dartmouth* were very uſeful in guiding the Parliament's Soldiers at the ſeveral Attacks. The Engineer belonging to the Town, a bigotted Papiſt, was in Danger of being torn in Pieces by the Women for his Cruelty in burning of Houſes, particularly Mr. *Plumley*'s, with great Store of Corn in it, threſh'd and unthreſh'd.

Plymouth *Siege rais'd.*

Some Days before, Sir *John Digby*, who commanded the Blockade of *Plymouth*, march'd off, leaving his Works ſtanding, and that important Town which had defended it ſelf againſt two or three long Sieges, was at laſt deliver'd from a rapacious revengeful Enemy.

Not long after *Dartmouth* was taken, a Ship from *France* came into the Port, as if it had been ſtill in the King's Hands. The Maſter immediately threw his Diſpatches over-board, but ſufficient Matter was diſcover'd in the Queen's and *Goring*'s Letters to ſhew, they had at the ſame Time Negociations with the *Scots* Presbyterians and the *French* Papiſts to carry on their good Cauſe. The General intended to return *Eaſtwards* and lay Siege to *Exeter*; but upon Advice that the King's Forces in *Cornwall* were about to croſs the *Tamar*, in hopes of being join'd by a great Body of Horſe from the *Eaſt* to attempt the raiſing the Blockade of *Exeter*, *Fairfax* march'd to meet them, having by Col. *Hammond* reduc'd *Polderham* Caſtle, where Sir ——— *Meredith* commanded for the King. On the 11th of *February* the General came up with the Royaliſts near *Torrington*, where his Forlorn of Horſe charg'd the King's, and forced them to retreat; however they ſally'd, being reinforc'd, and put the Parliament's Forlorn to a Stand, whoſe Reſerves and ſome Foot coming up, they again forc'd the Enemy to retreat, and purſu'd them as far as *Stephenſton*, Mr. *Rolle*'s Houſe, which they had begun to fortify, but quitted it on the Approach of *Fairfax*'s Men, and retreated to *Torrington*, whither *Fairfax*'s Forlorn follow'd them. The Enemy drew their Foot out of the Town into the Cloſes. The Parliament's Forlorn of Foot lin'd the Hedges, and ſo they fac'd each other about two Hours within half Musket Shot. There were ſeveral Skirmiſhes between the Forlorns and Reſerves on both Sides, and by this Time it began to be Night. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* call'd his Council of War to conſider, whether to engage before Day or not; but they deferr'd the Reſolution, and the General and Lieutenant General rode to the Forlorn to ſee in what Poſture they were. They knew the Enemy to be ſtill in the Town by the *Tattoe* which they could hear. However, to be certain, ſix Dragoons were commanded to creep under a Bridge near the Barricades, and to give Fire, to ſee whether they would anſwer, by which it might be known certainly whether they ſtood to defend the Town. They receiv'd the Charge, and anſwer'd with a ſharp Volley of Shot. The Parliament's Forlorn Hope ſeeing the Dragoons engag'd, gave Fire, upon which the Enemy fir'd all along the Hedges and Works, and the Reſerve to the Forlorn came up to their Relief, which being ſo engag'd, the whole Army advanc'd, and about 8 at Night the Battle began, ſix Fields from the Town. The Parliamentarians fought from Hedge to Hedge till they had beaten the Royaliſts into their Barricades, which for an Hour they maintain'd very reſolutely, and often repuls'd the Parliament's Forces, who at laſt got over the Barricades, and forc'd the Enemy into the Town. The Horſe follow'd them, and ſcouring the Streets, were warmly receiv'd by the Cavaliers; but they drove them before them thro' the Town, and out of the Barricades, at the other End of it. The Parliament's Soldiers having taken many Priſoners, put them into the Church, but many more eſcap'd in the dark over the Hedges, throwing down their Arms, and all the Men flying ſeveral Ways. *Fairfax*'s Soldiers were no ſooner poſſeſs'd of the Town, but the Enemy's Magazine, which they had left in the Church took fire, whether caſually or by Deſign is uncertain: It prov'd a terrible Blaſt, blowing up the Church with all the Wood and Lead upon it, deforming many Houſes, killing ſome of the Priſoners in the Church, and ſome of the Parliament's Soldiers in the Church-yard. Two great Webs of Lead fell within 10 Foot of the General, and a great Number were hurt with the Stones, Timber, and Lead. Moſt of the Town was ſhaken, and the Blow could not but be prodigious, near 80 Barrels of Powder being fir'd. Sir *John Digby*, at the Head of the Enemy's Horſe, gave one Charge more, and then they all fled about Eleven a Clock at Night. Their Infantry were taken, ſlain, and totally routed, many of their Cavalry taken and diſpers'd. The reſt fled in great Diſorder towards *Cornwall*, leaving all their Bag and Baggage behind them. Among the Colours taken, was one of the Lord *Hopton*'s, with this Motto, a very bald one, *I will ſtrive to ſerve my Sovereign King*. Sir *John Digby*'s Commiſſion was taken, 500 Pounds in Money, and much rich Pillage in his Quarters. The Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Wentworth*, were in this Battle, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Capel* were wounded, Major General *Threave*, Capt. *Fry*, ſeveral Officers, and 400 of their Men kill'd and blown up. This Army conſiſted of about 4000 Horſe and 5000 Foot, of which very few remain'd in a Body.

A. D. 1646.

Torrington *Church blown up.*

Lord Hopton, *&c. defeated.*

The General having order'd a Party to block up *Barnſtable*, and another to take in the Earl of *Bath*'s Houſe, march'd after *Hopton* towards *Cornwall*, having detach'd Col. *Butler* with a ſtrong Body to purſue him, and himſelf following cloſely with the reſt of the Army. Near *Stratton* Col. *Butler* came up with Part of the Enemy's flying Forces, commanded by Major General *Web*, a Papiſt, whom he routed, and took about 400 Horſe, *Feb.* the 24th. This ſame *Stratton* is the Place where, as *Echard* tells us, this ſame Lord *Hopton* gain'd that *Noble Victory*, for which he was made Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*. But the Village is now to be remember'd to the Honour of Col. *Butler*, who obtain'd this Noble Victory over Part of the Baron of *Stratton*'s Army.

Torrington *Fight.*

Lord Hopton *routed at* Stratton.

General *Fairfax* advancing to *Launceſton*, *Feb.* 25. the Lord *Hopton* retir'd to *Bodmin*, whither the General purſu'd him, *March* the 2d, and *Hopton* retreated to *Truro*. At *Bodmin* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had Intelligence that the Prince of *Wales*, with Sir *Edward Hyde* and his other Counſellors, had ſhipp'd themſelves for *Scilly*, *from whence*, ſays Sir *Edward* in his Hiſtory, *he might be able to relieve his Friends in* England, tho' he might have done it as well from *Alderney* or *Sarke*, for in Truth he wanted Relief himſelf as much as they did. But theſe Gentlemen always carry'd their politick Views along with them, and their Hopes ſeem'd to increaſe with their Calamities. The laſt Thing which Guilt ſubmits to is *Deſpair*.

Prince of Wales at Scilly.

A. D. 1646.

Corniſh *Gentlemen ſubmit.*

On the 3d of *March* Col. *Edgecombe* deliver'd up his ſtrong Houſe of Mount *Edgecombe* to the General, and Mr. *Coriton*, Mr. *Glanvile*, Mr. *Lower*, and Mr. *Treviſe*, *Corniſh* Gentlemen, made their Submiſſion. The General ſhew'd them the original intercepted Letters from the Earl of *Glamorgan*, concerning the Army of *Iriſh* REBELS to be brought over to the King's Aſſiſtance. Several of thoſe *Rebels* being found a-board the *Iriſh* Ship at *Padſtow*, were knock'd on the Head by the Townſmen, and one, a Captain of thoſe REBELS, offer'd on Promiſe of Pardon, to confeſs what he knew, which was, that 300 *Iriſh* were appointed for the Prince of *Wales*'s Life-guard, of whom 100 were to be put into the *Mount*, and 100 into *Pendennis* Caſtle. The *Corniſh* Gentlemen juſt mention'd were ſo ſurpriz'd at this Intelligence, that they declar'd they would raiſe what Force they could to aſſiſt the Parliament againſt all *Iriſh* and Foreigners, tho' they had hitherto aſſiſted the King.

IRISH REBELS *imploy'd by the* King.

We remember how *Clarendon* and *Echard* inſulted the Parliament when the Earl of *Eſſex* had unadviſedly ſhut himſelf up within a Nook of this County of *Cornwall*, and left his Army to take Care of themſelves, and that his Horſe broke their Way thro' the King's. General *Fairfax* has now got the Royal Army within another Nook of *Cornwall*; but tho' their Horſe were almoſt double the Number to *Eſſex*'s, there's no Attempt to break thro', which indeed *Fairfax* had well provided againſt, with the utmoſt Precaution, and *Hopton* and his Army are in ſo miſerable a Condition, that it would be inhumane to inſult them, tho' the Inſolence of the Cavaliers and their Hiſtory Writers, do ſufficiently provoke one.

From *Bodmin* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* wrote a Letter to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, taking no Notice of his Barony of *Stratton*, a Title which he purchas'd with Apoſtacy from good old *Engliſh* Principles, wherein he ſaid, "I have thought "good, for Prevention of more Blood-ſhed, "or of farther Hardſhip or Extremity to any, "but ſuch whoſe Hearts God ſhall harden to "their own Deſtruction, to ſend you this Summons for your ſelf and your Forces, to lay down "your Arms, and withal, a Tender of ſuch Conditions upon a preſent Surrender, and Engagement never to bear Arms againſt the Parliament, as may be better than any thing they "can rationally expect by farther ſtanding out." Thus we ſee that the General, out of meer Compaſſion, made the firſt Motion of Treaty to them, whom he could eaſily have cut to Pieces or ſtarv'd. But the Earl of *Clarendon*, who had all along been with *Hopton*'s Army, and muſt neceſſarily know the Truth, will not allow this kind Offer to proceed from a generous Sentiment of Soul in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, but from a mutinous Spirit in *Hopton*'s Officers, who poſitively propos'd to ſend for a Treaty, which poſitively had been propos'd and ſent to them. The Lord *Hopton*'s Anſwer to the General's Letter further ſhews us, what we learn by the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, that the Royaliſts did not know what was doing at *Weſtminſter*, or that their Judgments were not ſo ſagacious and piercing as the Earl repreſents them; for he deſires to be inform'd, *Whether the King has not paſs'd the Four Bills, and concluded a Treaty with the Parliament*: If ſo, there was no Occaſion for them to *treat*; if not, he would name eight Commanders, and three Country Gentlemen, to give a Meeting to an equal Number on *Fairfax*'s Side. In the General's Anſwer to the Lord *Hopton*'s Letter, are ſome Expreſſions which will confirm what we have urg'd of the King's treating with the *Iriſh* REBELS, and the Double Dealing of his Commiſſioners in former *Treaties* with the Parliament's: "I believe that as the "Parliament may be diſcourag'd from the Way "of Treaty by former Experiences of the Fruitleſſneſs thereof, and the ill Uſe the ſame hath "been deſign'd or driven unto, *viz.* only to "gain Advantages for War, without real Intentions for Peace; ſo the late Overtures that way "are the leſs likely to be ſucceſsful, by Reaſon "of the clear and certain Diſcoveries the Parliament have had, that his Majeſty, at the "ſame Time, was and is labouring, by Agents "in all Parts, to draw in Foreign Forces, and "*eſpecially* that the Earl of *Glamorgan*, by "*Commiſſion* from his *Majeſty*, had concluded "a *Peace* with the *Iriſh Rebels*, upon the only "Condition of ſending over Forces to invade "*England*, whereof I preſume you cannot but "have heard: And tho' his Majeſty did in a "Letter to the Parliament *diſavow* any ſuch "Agreement, and *pretended* he had given Order to the Lord *Digby* for the Attainting and "Impeaching the Earl of *Glamorgan* of High "Treaſon, yet by late Diſcoveries of the Parliament, and eſpecially by Letters intercepted "from the Lord *Digby* and the Earl of *Glamorgan*, to Secretary *Nicholas*, your ſelf, Sir "*Edward Hyde*, and others, it is moſt clear "and evident, that the arreſting the Earl of "*Glamorgan* was only for a preſent Colour, to "ſalve Reputation with the People, and continue their Deluſions till Deſigns were ripe for "Execution; for the ſame Peace is fully concluded with the REBELS, the King to have "Aid from them, *&c.*" After this there can be no Front ſo harden'd, as to deny the Treaty with the *Maſſacrers* in *Ireland*, and the inviting of them into *England* to butcher the Proteſtants in this Kingdom, as they had done in that: And to me it does not ſeem much Matter, whether the King granted a Commiſſion to thoſe bloody REBELS before he made War upon the Parliament or after, for that War might have been avoided, if he had govern'd according to Law, which he ſays he is fighting for in all his Declarations; and it was as much againſt Law to commiſſion the Popiſh *Rebels* to kill the *Engliſh* as the *Iriſh* Proteſtants; and that he did ſo commiſſion them was, as General *Fairfax* ſays, clear and certain. If thoſe *Butchers* were proper Champions for the *Cauſe of God*, as his Majeſty calls his own, let any reaſonable Reader determine; and what fine Hiſtories muſt the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and Mr. *Echard*'s be, which deny that he gave any Commiſſion at all to the *Iriſh* REBELS. This one Article is enough to prove that neither of thoſe Hiſtorians made Conſcience of what they did ſay, or did not ſay, for the Cauſe they eſpous'd. The Lord *Hopton* ſeeing his Stratagem would not take, but he muſt beg a *Ceſſation*, if he would have it, ſent at Twelve a Clock at Night for a Treaty at *Treſilian* Bridge. The Earl of *Clarendon* affirms *he would not treat for himſelf*. The General conſented, and appointed his Commiſſioners.

A. D. 1646.

Sir Thomas Fairfax's *Commiſſioners.*

Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Commiſſary General *Stane*, Col. *John St. Aubin*, Col. *John Lambert*, Capt. *Edward Hearle*, Capt. *Richard Deane.*

Lord Hopton's *Commiſſioners.*

Col. *Charles Goring*, Col. *Mark Trevor*, Col. *Thomas Panton*, Col. *Jordan Boſvile*, Sir *Richard Prideaux*, Major *Gotear.*

Who agreed upon Terms, *That the Lord* Hopton's *Army ſhould be diſbanded, his Horſe, Arms, Ammunition, Artillery, Bag and Baggage be deliver'd up to Sir* Thomas Fairfax. *Officers to have their Horſes, and Troopers Twenty Skillings*

Lord Hopton's *Army ſurrender*

A. D. 1646.

Shillings a Man; Strangers to have Paſſes to go beyond Sea, and the Engliſh *to go to their Homes, taking an Oath never to bear Arms againſt the Parliament*; about 3000 ſurrender'd, and *Eſſex*'s old Soldiers in *Fairfax*'s Army ſaid, *We are even with the King's Forces for the Lord General's Buſineſs in* Cornwall. While *Hopton*'s Troops were disbanding, another Packet of the Lord *Glamorgan*'s was taken at *Peryn*, containing Copies of the Letters intercepted at *Padſtow*. The Ship put into *Cornwall* on a Suppoſition that the King's Army were Maſters there, and probably the *Iriſh* REBELS were to re-inforce it. About the ſame Time Sir *Hardreſs Waller* reduc'd *Exmouth Fort*, where Colonel *Arundel* commanded. General *Fairfax* took in *Dennis Fort*, near which Colonel *Rich* defeated Major General *Pert*, and took 300 Horſe. The whole Field Force of the Enemy being reduc'd, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wentworth*, and other Perſons of Quality embark'd for *Scilly*. The General march'd his Army back to beſiege *Exeter* in Form; but firſt he wrote a Letter to Sir *John Berkley* the Governor, *March* the 31ſt, to offer Terms, and Sir *John* in Anſwer nam'd his Commiſſioners to treat: Sir *Henry Berkley*, Mr. *William Aſhburnham*, Sir *George Carey*, Mr. *John Weare*, Colonel *Godolphin*, Captain *Fitzgarret*, Mr. *Robert Walker*, Mr. *Thomas Knight*, Mr. *Thomas Kendal*, Mr. *Thomas Foard*.

Exeter *taken.*

General *Fairfax*'s Commiſſioners.

Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Commiſſary General *Stane*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Fry*.

The Treaty laſted ſix Days, and was concluded the 9th of *April*: The Hoſtages for *Berkley* were Sir *John Coventry*, Sir *James Thynne* and Colonel *Croker*. *Whitlocke* obſerves that his Commiſſioners had moſt at Heart *the preſerving the* Cathedral *from Damage*. As the Governor was very frank in anſwering the General's Summons, ſo the General was very fair in the Conditions he granted him; one of which was, that the Princeſs *Henrietta*, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, a Native of this City, *Her Governeſs and Houſhold ſhould have Liberty to paſs with their Plate, Money, Goods*, &c. *to any Place in* England *or* Wales, *at her Deſire, in* 20 *Days*.

Barnſtable *taken and* Dunſter.

The next Day after the City was ſurrender'd the General march'd to *Barnſtable*, ſummon'd the Town and receiv'd a civil Anſwer from Sir *Allen Apſley*, who yielded on much the ſame Terms as Sir *John Berkley*. *Dunſter Caſtle*, the Seat of the ancient Family of *Lutterel* in *Somerſetſhire* was ſurrender'd by Colonel *Windham* to the famous Colonel *Blake*, afterwards Admiral. The General returning to *Exeter* the 14th of *April*, made Lieutenant General *Hammond* Governor, and left with him Part of the Country Regiments of Colonel *Shapcot*, Colonel *Fry* and Colonel *Weare*, who had done good Service at *Tiverton* and *Exmouth*.

Gen. Fairfax's *great Actions in one Year.*

On the 18th of *April* General *Fairfax* began his March towards *Oxford*, having in leſs than a Year obtain'd more Victories and taken more Towns than ever did any General in ſo ſhort Time, in a War where the Number and Valour of the Troops on both Sides were ſo equal.

On the 24th of *May*, 1645. he took *Godſtow* in *Oxfordſhire*.

On the 14th of *June* he gain'd the glorious Victory at *Naſeby*.

On the 18th of *June* he took *Leiceſter*.

On the 27th of *June* he took *Highworth*.

On the 3d of *July* he oblig'd the Lord *Goring* to raiſe the Siege of *Taunton*.

On the 10th of *July* he fought and won the Battle of *Lanport*.

On the 23d of *July* he took the ſtrong Town of *Bridgwater* by Storm.

On the 15th of *Auguſt* he took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Shirburn* by Storm.

On the 10th of *September* he took the City of *Briſtol* by Storm.

On the 23d of *September* he took the Town of *Devizes*.

On the 20th of *October* he took *Tiverton* by Storm.

On the 16th of *January* he rais'd the Siege of *Plymouth*.

On the 19th of *January* he took *Dartmouth* by Storm.

On the 15th of *February* he fought and won the Battle of *Torrington*.

On the 25th, 28th, 29th of *February*, and *March* the 3d he took *Saltaſh*, *Leskard*, *Mount Edgecomb*, *Fuoy*.

On the 14th of *March* he oblig'd the Lord *Hopton* to disband all the King's *Weſtern* Army.

On the 10th of *April*, 1646. he took the City of *Exeter*.

On the 20th of *April* he took the Town of *Barnſtable*. And,

On the 1ſt of *May* he came before *Oxford*, being that Day Twelvemonth from his leaving the Siege of that City to take the Field. And what Hiſtory can produce a General who in a Twelvemonth did ſo many glorious Actions, and obtain'd ſo many Victories?

The King did not ſtay for his coming, but as ſoon as he heard of his Intention made his Eſcape, as will be ſeen hereafter. We muſt now look into ſome other Parts of the Kingdom, where the Royaliſts were in the Agonies of a dying War.

Cheſter *taken.*

We left the City of *Cheſter* beſieg'd by Sir *William Brereton*, who met with a gallant Reſiſtance; but the Hope of Relief from the *Iriſh* failing, and Colonel *Mitton* having hinder'd the Junction of ſome Troops that were marching to relieve it, the Beſieg'd deſir'd a Treaty, which was concluded, and the City ſurrender'd to Sir *William*, where he found great Store of Proviſions and Ammunition. Sir *Jacob Aſtley* now made a Lord too, had got together 2000 Horſe and Foot, which were intended to join Sir *William Vaughan*; and ſome Forces landed in *Wales* from *Ireland*, for the Relief of *Cheſter*, which being ſurrender'd, Sir *William Brereton* march'd to meet the Lord *Aſtley*, who hearing of the Surrender would have ſhelter'd himſelf in *Oxford*; but Sir *William Brereton*'s Troops being join'd by thoſe of Colonel *Morgan*, Governor of *Glouceſter*, and Colonel *Birch*, fell upon the Lord *Aſtley* at *Stow on the Woald*, in *Glouceſterſhire*, *March* the 22d, and after a very ſharp Engagement routed them, took the Lord *Aſtley* and 1600 Horſe and Men, all their Carriages, Arms, Bag and Baggage. *Brereton*'s Word was *God be our Guide*; *Aſtley*'s Word was *St. Patrick* and *St. George*, two ſpecial Saints and hopeful Patrons for ſo hopeful a Cauſe: About 200 Cavaliers were kill'd, many of them Gentlemen of Quality, as Colonel *Caſſey Bentall*, a Papiſt. A few of the King's Forces eſcap'd to *Oxford* and *Farrington*; and the Lord *Aſtley* ſaid to ſome of the Parliament's Officers, *Now you have done your Work and may go play, unleſs you fall out among your ſelves*, which the Royaliſts expected, and no Body more than the King himſelf, who having now no Body of Men in the Field to oppoſe the Parliament's Armies, plac'd all his Hope in their falling out with one

Lord Aſtley *defeated.*

A. D. 1646.

another or with the *Scots*. A Company of *Welſhmen* were got together in *Glamorganſhire* for the King, under Sir *Charles Keymes*, who makes but a ſcurvy Figure at the Fag-end of the War. Major General *Langhorn*, Sir *Trevor Williams*, and Colonel *Morgan* ſoon drove him and his Company out of the Country. *Echard* who is wonderfully delighted with the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Political Myſteries, attributes the Hopes of the King and his Counſellors to the Miſunderſtandings between the Parliament and the *Scots* Army. But the Parliament had done their Work, and could drive the *Scots* out of *England* with as much Eaſe as they had driven *Hopton* out of *Cornwal*, had they been forc'd to it. The true Reaſon is in *Ludlow*, who writes thus on the above mention'd Saying of the Lord *Aſtley*; "It deſerves the more Reflection be-
"cauſe he being well acquainted with the
"King's Secrets, was not ignorant that many
"amongſt us, who at the Beginning appear'd
"moſt forward to engage themſelves, and to
"invite others to the War againſt the King,
"finding themſelves diſappointed of thoſe Pre-
"ferments which they expected, or out of ſome
"particular Diſguſts taken, had made Conditi-
"ons with the King, not only for their Indem-
"nity, but for Places and Advancements under
"him, endeavouring by a Treaty, or rather by
"Treachery, to betray what had coſt ſo much
"Blood to obtain. Theſe Men to ſtrengthen
"their Intereſt, apply'd themſelves to the *Pres-*
"*byterian* Party, who jealous of the Increaſe of
"Sectaries, of which the Army was reported
"chiefly to conſiſt, readily join'd with them,
"by which Conjunction moſt of the new elect-
"ed Members were either of a neutral Spirit,
"and willing to have Peace upon any Terms,
"or ſuch, who though they had engag'd againſt
"the King, yet finding Things tending to a
"Compoſition with him, reſolv'd to have the
"Benefit of it and his Favour, though with the
"Guilt of all the Blood that had been ſhed in
"the War upon their Heads, as not requiring
"Satisfaction for the ſame, nor endeavouring to
"prevent the like for the Future." This was the Party whom the Royaliſts courted, and who were not a little pleas'd with their Courtſhip. But however, as much as the Diviſions in the Houſe were fomented, it would all have come to nothing, and the Cavaliers would never have had another Card to play, had not the Army, at leaſt the Chief of it, *Cromwel*, acted an under Plot, and betray'd, and even depos'd his Maſters; and it is a juſt though not a common Obſervation, that as all the Diſgraces, Defeats, Calamities, and Diſtreſſes of the Royaliſts, were owing to their Raſhneſs, Weakneſs, Pride and Obſtinacy; ſo all the Good that happen'd to them afterwards, was owing to the Jealouſies, Animoſities, Diviſions and Quarrels of their Enemies. In a Word, their Miſeries were owing to their own Folly, their Happineſs to the Folly of others.

Diviſions.

Corfe *Caſtle ſurpriz'd.*

About this Time a Party of the King's ſurpriz'd *Wareham* in *Dorſetſhire*, and carry'd the Governor, Colonel *Butler*, into *Corfe Caſtle*, whence *Butler* made his Eſcape with Major *Laurence* a Royaliſt, who reſolv'd to come in to the Parliament, and ſoon after *Corfe Caſtle* it ſelf fell into their Hands thus; Lieutenant Colonel *Pitman*, who was in Garriſon there, had formerly ſerv'd under the Earl of *Inchiquen* in *Ireland*, and being weary of the Service he was in, intimated that if he might have Protection he would deliver the Place to the Parliament, which being promis'd him, he told Colonel *Anketill* the Governor, he would fetch 100 Men out of *Somerſetſhire* to reinforce the Garriſon, and would get Leave of the Commander of the Forces who lay before the Caſtle under Pretence of procuring an Exchange for his Brother, who was their Priſoner, for a Parliament Officer in the Caſtle. The Governor conſenting to it, Leave was had from Colonel *Bingham*, who commanded thoſe Forces, and gave *Pitman* 100 Men to carry with him into the Caſtle, who were no ſooner enter'd than the Beſiegers began to ſtorm, and *Pitman*'s Men ſoon poſſeſs'd themſelves of the chief Towers, which they made good againſt the Garriſon, who ſeeing this yielded upon Quarter.

A. D. 1646.

The Siege of *Newark* was carry'd on by the *Scots* on one Side of the River *Trent*, and Major Gen. *Pointz* on the other. Gen. *Leven*, who commanded the *Scots*, had ſome Difference with the Parliament's Commiſſioners in his Army about Pay; and the *Scots* Parliament and Army finding they were not careſt ſo much now the Parliament of *England* did not want them as when they did, grew daily more diſcontented, pretending however 'twas only out of Concern for the *Presbytery* and the *Covenant*. The Parliament were diſcontented at General *Leven*'s raiſing Money in *England* by his Warrants, and granting Commiſſions for makng Levies of Men in this Kingdom.

Newark *beſieg'd.*

Scots *diſcontented.*

All the Stir the Royaliſts could make was by ſpiriting up Mobs and Mutinies in City and Camp; and there were not wanting a great Number, who over valuing their Merit, thought themſelves not ſufficiently rewarded, and were ready to take hold of any Occaſion to be troubleſome. *Whitlocke* informs us that the King's Party was ſuppos'd to ſet on Soldiers Widows and Creditors of the Parliament to come to the Doors of the Houſe and cry out, *Pay us our Money, we are ready to ſtarve*, and when any of the Members came by they ſeem'd as if they would tear their Clothes off their Backs. A ſmall Game; but the Cavaliers were unwilling to ſtand out.

Royaliſts impotent.

The King remain'd ſtill at *Oxford*, and from thence ſent another Letter to the Parliament, *January* the 16th, deſiring, *That Church Government may continue as it was in the Days of Queen* Elizabeth; a Name dear to all good Proteſtants for her Zeal againſt Popery: But the Meaning of continuing Church Government as it was in her Days, was the Continuance of *Spiritual Courts, Forms, Ceremonies and Superſtition*, which 'tis very well known were the only Blemiſh of her Reign. His Majeſty was content that the *Directory of Worſhip* ſhould be uſed in ſome Churches in *London*, but not all; which muſt neceſſarily have bred the utmoſt Confuſion. In a following Letter he charges *them with violating the* known Laws *to draw to themſelves an exorbitant Power over their Fellow Subjects*: A very likely Stile this, to engage them in a Treaty of Peace in the Height of their Proſperity. He preſs'd again for it the 26th of *January*; but the Parliament proceeded in the ſame Way ſtill, and prepar'd the following Bills, to which if he would aſſent, they were willing he ſhould come to *London*.

King's Meſſage about the Church.

1. *For ſettling* Presbyterian *Government, and extirpating Epiſcopacy.* 2. *For proſecuting the* War *againſt the* Iriſh REBELS. 3. *For the* Militia *to remain in the Power of the Parliament.* 4. *For Payment of the Debts of the Kingdom.* 5. *For bringing* Delinquents *to Puniſhment*, of whom Mr. *Hyde*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon* was always named to be one. 6. *That no Honours be given but to ſuch as have teſtify'd their Affections to the Publick.*

Acts for the King to ſign.

7. *Con-*

A. D. 1646. 7. *Concerning the Privileges of* London.

His Majeſty offer'd the *Militia for ſeven Years*; *That the Parliament ſhould nominate Officers of State, Judges*, &c. *That Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be granted to thoſe that were ſcrupulous.*

And what is amazing, after the Hiſtory we have read of it, he diſclaim'd the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s Commiſſion *as falſe*, which General *Fairfax* ſaid was *ſo clear* and *certain*. How this agrees with the pious Sentiments in *Eikon Baſilike*, and how the double Dealing in the Treaties mention'd by the ſame General, whom his Enemies allow to be a Man of ſtrict Honour, agrees with them, is what no Body can underſtand but *Echard* and his Brethren. The Parliament of *Scotland* wrote to the Parliament of *England* to *ſettle* Religion *as the* Aſſembly *deſir'd, to forward the Propoſitions for Peace, and pay the* Scots *Army their Arrears by the third of* May. The Committee of both Kingdoms were order'd on the 26th of *February*, to deſire the *Scots* Commiſſioners to bring in their Accounts. This was long before any one had the leaſt Suſpicion that the King would put himſelf into the Hands of the *Scots* Army, and when he did ſo, and theſe Accounts were made up, and their Arrears paid, the whole Herd of Cavalier Hiſtorians bellow out againſt it as a Bargain and Sale for the delivering up of the King. Let us have Recourſe to *Ludlow* here; "Another Sort of Men there was amongſt us, who "having acquir'd Eſtates in the Service of the "Parliament, now adher'd to the King's Party "for the preſerving of what they had got; who "together with ſuch as had been diſcharg'd "from their Employments by the *Reform* of "the Army, or envy'd their Succeſs, com-"bin'd together againſt the Common-wealth. "This Party was encourag'd and ſupported up-"on all Occaſions by the *Scots*, and the City of "*London*. The firſt of them, though they be-"gan the War, and though their *Aſſembly* of "Miniſters had declar'd the King guilty of the "Blood of Thouſands of his beſt Subjects, "their *Covenant* engaging them in the Preſer-"vation of his Perſon, ſo far only as might con-"ſiſt with the Laws of the Land and Liberty of "the Subject; yet having had many good Op-"portunites in *England*, and hoping for more, "ſuppoſing it to be in their Power to awe the "King to whatſoever they ſhould think fit, "they were content to ſwallow that Ocean of "Blood that had been ſhed, preſſing the Par-"liament by their Commiſſioners to conclude "upon ſuch Terms with the King as ſhew'd "them rather Advocates than ſuch as had been "Enemies to him. The City of *London* had "had their Treaſure much waſted in the War, "and their Trade long interrupted; beſides the "Influence the *Scots* had upon them by the "Means of their Miniſters: The Common "Council being alſo debauch'd by Sergeant "*Glyn* and others of that Party in the Houſe of "Commons; it was not much to be wonder'd "at, if they earneſtly ſollicited for the ſpeedy "Determination of the Difference by a Treaty. "The King alſo perceiving Judgment to be gi-"ven againſt him by that Power, to which both "Parties had made their ſolemn Appeal, "thought it adviſable to make Uſe of the "*Fox's* Skin, and for a Time to lay aſide that "of the *Lyon*, ſending Meſſages to the Parlia-"ment, to deſire of them a ſafe Conduct for "his coming to *London* in Honour, Freedom "and Safety, there perſonally to treat with the "two Houſes, The Parliament for divers Rea-"ſons thought it not convenient to comply with "the King's Propoſitions, and demanded of the "*Scots* an exact Account of what was due to "them", which, as I have already obſerv'd, was before the King went to their Army; and the Parliament had promis'd to pay them their Arrears upon their withdrawing their Garriſons out of *England*, which they pretended to keep as cautionary Towns. The Parliament had ſome Difference with the *Scots* Commiſſioners concerning the Propoſitions about the *Militia*, the Education of the King's Children, the Disbanding of the Army, the Act of Oblivion, in which Matters the Parliament would not let them interpoſe; and this occaſion'd a Remonſtrance from them to the two Houſes, containing Expreſſions highly reflecting on the Parliament, who declar'd them to be injurious, ſcandalous, and order'd the Remonſtrance to be burn'd by the Hands of the common Hangman, the 14th of *April*; ſo far were they from being in the leaſt Dread of the *Scots*, which the Earl of *Clarendon* and his Shadow Mr. *Echard*, all along intimate, though in a Manner which diſcovers that they knew very little of the Things they wrote of, or did not write according to their Knowledge. True it is the two Houſes were very deſirous to preſerve a good Correſpondence with the *Scots*, on Account both of Religion and Intereſt; but they were not for preſerving it at the Expence of their Honour: And the *Scots* finding them ſo reſolute, thought fit to abate of their Demands, and leave the Parliament to their own Management. *Theſe Animoſities*, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, *and the* Scots *Pretenſions to have a Right in their King, were thought very advantagious to his Majeſty's ſinking Cauſe, and there ſeem'd to be ſome Life in it.* 'Twas *thought*, and there *ſeem'd*; By whom? By thoſe who had been *thinking* and *ſeeming* his Majeſty into the moſt deplorable Condition a Prince could be reduc'd to; and yet in the midſt of all this Miſery the Hiſtorian preſents us with a Vow made by the King, *That he would reſtore Abbey Lands*, if ever it pleas'd God to reſtore him to that Sovereign Power which he had ſo well exercis'd before the Rupture. Archbiſhop *Sheldon* gave it under his Hand that he kept a Copy of that notable Vow under Ground thirteen Years, though if he had kept it above Ground, it was not ſuch a Treaſure that he needed be afraid of loſing it; and a little more Diſcretion would have hinder'd Mr. *Echard*'s publiſhing it in print, and calling ſuch Things as the demoliſhing St. *Becket*'s Tomb at *Canterbury Sacrilegious Incroachments*. What a Parcel of Words have theſe Men got to make Uſe of inſtead of Reaſon? *Schiſm*, *Rebellion*, *Sacrilege*, and if you take down a *Rood* or melt down a *Chalice*, though by Act of Parliament, you are as guilty of Sacrilege, according to this good Proteſtant, as if you ſtole the *Church Bible* or *Common Prayer Book*. To hedge in an Acre of a Monk's Glebe, though allow'd by the *Statute*, is as damnable a Sin, according to the Reverend Hiſtorian, as to break open a Houſe. He tells us the King made an *extraordinary Vow, in the Preſence of Almighty God, to give back to God's Church*; to what ſhocking Uſes do they put that tremendous Name! *all Lands belonging to any Abby, Religious Houſe*, &c. This *Vow* was made at the moſt improper Juncture of Time which could happen; for 'twas when Monſieur *Montreuil* was ſent to *England* by Cardinal *Mazarine*, and two Popiſh Queens, the Regent of *France* and Conſort of *England*, to perſwade the King to aboliſh *Biſhops*, and ſet up *Presbyters*, as the only Means to ſecure to himſelf and Poſterity the Poſſeſſion of the

Scots.

Diviſions.

King's Vow about Abbey Lands.

A. D. 1646.

Throne. About the ſame Time too as he vow'd this, his Majeſty ſent another Meſſage to the Parliament, offering "to come in to his two "Houſes upon their Aſſurance for the Safety of "his Perſon, provided all thoſe that had ad-"hear'd to him might return home, and live "in quiet without taking the *Covenant*, or ha-"ving their Eſtates ſequeſtred: He will then "diſband his Forces, diſmantle his Garriſons, "and paſs an Act of Oblivion, which was do-"ing nothing." The Parliament knew very well that his Garriſons and Forces would be diſbanded and diſmantled in a few Weeks without him, and that his Friends wanted an Act of Oblivion much more than they. There is a Reſerve in all theſe Meſſages which ſhews that the King never ſent them with Expectation of Succeſs; for without *Presbytery* the *Militia* and Juſtice on Mr. *Hyde* and the other Delinquents he knew well they would not receive him again. The judicious *Acherly* ſays, *The* Parliament *argu'd that now the* King *had no* Power *but what they ſhould give him, and how he, who had continu'd ſo obſtinate, would uſe his Power did plainly appear by his Declaration after the taking of* Briſtol, *and therefore their Reſolutions about receiving him were for the preſent ſuſpended.* We ſhall ſee what *Life there ſeem'd* to be in the King's Cauſe by the Parliament's Anſwer to this Meſſage, as it is in *Larry*. "They "were very much prejudic'd againſt him as to "his Sincerity, and deſir'd him not to think of "coming to *London* till he had firſt given his "Aſſent to the *Bills* that would be ſent to him. "They added, if he attempted to come not-"withſtanding this Remonſtrance, they would "give Orders to ſecure his Perſon, and ſieze on "all his Retinue." They alſo order'd that all Perſons who had born Arms againſt the Parliament ſhould immediately withdraw out of *London*, and without the Lines, under Pain of being treated as Spies. 'Tis ſaid *Cromwel*, who was come from the Army, was in a great Meaſure the Occaſion of this Anſwer and Order, which ſufficiently convinc'd his Majeſty that he muſt either throw himſelf upon the Parliament, or have Recourſe to the *Scots*, whoſe Difference with them was magnify'd, and himſelf made believe it was much greater than he found it. *Fairfax*'s Approach quicken'd his Majeſty in this laſt Reſolution, the worſt he could have taken. There had not yet been a Hint in Parliament againſt the King's Perſon, but it was reſented. The major Vote was then for a Peace on Terms of Security for Religion and Liberty, and his Preſence at *London* would moſt certainly have encreas'd that Party, but by his throwing himſelf upon the *Scots* he irritated both Parliament and Army, and gave the Enemies to his Perſon an Opportunity to accompliſh thoſe Deſigns which till then they durſt not think of. I take no Manner of Notice of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s long Account of *Montreuil*'s Negotiations with General *Leven* for his kind Reception of the King before his Majeſty left *Oxford*, becauſe it is quite contrary to Fact. For the Earl of *Leven* and the Committee of Eſtates of *Scotland* wrote to the Committee of both Kingdoms, *That they were aſtoniſh'd at the Providence of the King's coming to the* Scots *Camp*, which was ſo *private that it was long e'er they could find him there.* They declar'd, *there hath been no Treaty betwixt his Majeſty and them*; and add, *We believe your Lordſhips will think it Matter of much Aſtoniſhment, ſeeing we did not expect him to come to any Place under our Power, and we do ingeniouſly affirm that there hath been no Treaty nor Capitulation between his Majeſty and us, nor any in our Names. The King came to our Army in ſo private a Way, that after we had made ſome Search for him upon the Surmiſes of Perſons who pretended to know his Face; yet we could not find him in ſome Hours.* Among others this was ſign'd by General *Leven*, to whoſe Quarters, as *Echard* informs us, the King was conducted by a Troop of *Scots* Horſe upon his Arrival at their Camp, and to prove that General *Leven*, the Earl of *Dumferling*, the Earl of *Lothian*, &c. wrote ſo ſhameful a Falſity to the Committee of both Kingdoms; he quotes Biſhop *Guthry*, which I mention to ſhew what Authority his Biſhop *Guthry* is in other Caſes. The *Scots* Commiſſioners in their Declaration tell the Parliament, the King came to their *Army without Capitulation or Treaty*; yet the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and *Echard*'s Hiſtories, as well as *Guthry*'s, enlarge upon *Montreuil*'s Negotiations, in Purſuance of which the King made his Eſcape in Diſguiſe, *April* the 27th, his Hair cut after the *Roundhead* Faſhion, with a *Portmanteau* behind him, as Mr. *John Aſhburnham*'s Servant. Their Guide was one *Hudſon* a Parſon of the Militant Order, who conducted them to *Henley*, by Croſs Roads, *Brentford*, *Harrow on the Hill*, where his Majeſty ſtaid ſome Time; thence by St. *Alban*'s to *Harborough* in *Leiceſter*, where *Echard* aſſures us the *French* Agent *Montreuil*, was to meet him with ſome *Scots Horſe*, according to a Treaty which the *Scots* Lords ſay he never made with them, and indeed no *Scots* Horſe came thither. 'Tis probable *Montreuil* met with Encouragement from the *Scots* as to the King's coming amongſt them, but that they ſign'd any Treaty is neither propable nor credible; and though the King ſays in his Letter to the Marquis of *Ozmond*, *April* the 13th, *Having lately receiv'd very good Security that we and all that do or ſhall adhere to us ſhall be ſafe in our Perſons, Honours and Conſciences in the* Scottiſh *Army*; yet there ſeems to be no other Security for any Thing than the *French* Agent's Word, and one of the firſt Things that the *Scots* did after he came to their Army was to prohibit by Proclamation all thoſe that *did or ſhould adhere to him* to come near his Perſon. From *Harborough* the King and his Companions went to *Stamford*, and thence croſs the Country to *Downham* in *Norfolk*, where he arriv'd *April* the 30th; and his Travels were not kept ſo private but that it was ſaid in *London*, he was gone to the *Aſſociated Counties*, upon which Colonel *Wharton* was ſent by the Parliament to *Lynn*, to take Care for the Security of the *Aſſociation*. *Clarendon*, *Echard*, *Sanderſon*, and all their Hiſtory Writers throw the Parliament into the moſt terrible Conſternation, on News of the King's having made his Eſcape: They make them more afraid of him now he is riding about the Country as Mr. *Aſhburnham*'s Man, than when he had diſarm'd General *Eſſex*'s Army in *Cornwall*: Whereas they were in no farther Concern about it than it might be a Hindrance to a Peace, which if he had been taken in *Oxford*, they hop'd he might have been prevail'd upon to hearken to, and as eſcaping in ſo clandeſtine a Manner could not be with any good Deſign, they declar'd by Beat of Drum and Sound of Trumpet, that *what Perſon ſoever ſhall harbour or conceal, or know of the Harbouring and Concealing of the King's Perſon, and ſhall not reveal it immediately to the Speakers of both Houſes ſhall be proceeded againſt as a* TRAYTOR, *forfeit his whole Eſtate, and die without Mercy.* From *Downham* the King went to *Montreuil*'s Quarters at *Southwell*, where Part

Another Meſſage from the King.

Parliament's Anſwer.

A. D. 1645.

King's Eſcape from Oxford.

of

A. D. 1645. *In the Scots Army.*

of the *Scots* Army quarter'd, and perhaps there was a Whiſper of his being there before he diſcover'd himſelf, and after it was known, ſome Horſe might be ſent to bring him to General *Leven*. This Hiſtory will ſhew that 'tis impoſſible to read it, and have a very good Opinion of King *Charles*'s Counſellors and Counſels. He has hardly taken one prudent Step either before or after the War; and there have many Opportunities offer'd when one ſuch Step would have preſerv'd him on the Throne with Safety and Honour. Had he now thrown himſelf upon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* inſtead of General *Leven*, he would have puzzled his Enemies, and prepared the Way for a Concluſion of a happy Peace; whereas by going to the *Scots* Camp, he ſhew'd that his Intention was to divide them from the Intereſt of the Two Houſes to engage them in his own, and renew the War, which gave too much Occaſion to People to think there could be no Security in any *Treaty* with him. He was brought to the Earl of *Leven*'s Quarters the 5th of *May*, eight Days after he left *Oxford*. On News of which the Parliament voted, *That the Commiſſioners and the General of the* Scots *be deſired that his Majeſty's Perſon be diſpoſed of as both Houſes ſhall deſire and direct, and that he be ſent to* Warwick *Caſtle*; alſo, *That Mr.* Aſhburnham *and* Hudſon *be ſent for as Delinquents*. The Former made his Eſcape, but *Hudſon* was brought up by the Serjeant at Arms. The *Scots*, who had a ſtrong Appetite for their Arrears, reſolv'd to delay the Delivery of the King till they were paid. The Account between the Parliament and them, was adjuſting by Mr. *Bond* the Auditor; and as their Demands for Damages and Charges, as well as Pay, were exorbitant, it could not be ſtated with the Diſpatch they inſiſted upon.

The King orders the Surrender of Newark.

They immediately oblig'd the King to ſend to the Lord *Bellaſis* to ſurrender *Newark* to the Parliament's Commiſſioners in their Army, and march'd farther *North* with their Prize, being afraid of having him taken from them by Force. Their receiving him without Conſent of the Two Houſes, had brought them under Suſpicion, and their diſputing the Delivery of him, made many, eſpecially among the Soldiery, to wiſh that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had been order'd to demand him, rather than the Parliament's Commiſſioners. *Warwick* is not ſo weak but he could obſerve the Parliament were a little too forward in their Treaty with the *Scots*: *If the* Engliſh *Army had been left to themſelves, they would ſoon have ſhorten'd the Taylor's Bill.* 'Tis Sir *Philip*'s courtly Way of Writing. *Fairfax* would have made up the Account ſooner than Auditor *Bond*. The Parliament knew it well enough, and order'd Forces to march from ſeveral Quarters to the *North*, to let the *Scots* ſee they would vindicate their Demand of the King's Perſon in another manner, if they attempted to keep him; but the *Scots* meant only to quicken the paſſing their Account, and his Majeſty ſoon found when he was at *Newcaſtle*, that he might as well have truſted himſelf with the *Engliſh* Army as with the *Scots*. The Latter began their *March* from *Newark*, *May* the 7th, the King being ſuffer'd to ride before them as their General, the Earl of *Leven* by his Side, and the *Scots* Lords around him. The Bells rung in the Towns and Villages thro' which they march'd; but tho' there was an Appearance of Joy, there was no Appearance of Liberty for the King; and when he came to *Newcaſtle*, *May* the 13th, he was lodg'd in the ſame Houſe with General *Leven*, but with no Solemnity; and *Leven* iſſu'd a Proclamation, *That no* Papiſt *or* Delinquent *ſhould come near him, and that all Perſons do conform to the Orders and Ordinances of Parliament*, who preſs'd the *Scots* Commiſſioners to ſettle their Army's Account, that they might be paid, which ſhews that the Two Houſes were deſirous to pay off the *Scots*, and diſmiſs them, before any Bargain was made for the Sale of the King's Perſon, which the Ignorant and the Vulgar talk much of; tho' it is certain that according to the Stipulations between the Two Houſes and the States of *Scotland*, for the levying and maintaining a *Scots* Army for the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament of *England*, there was near twice the Money coming to the *Scots*, including their Loſſes and Damages by the War, as the Parliament agreed to pay, and even of that Agreement, they had not above half paid them.

A. D. 1646.

The King at Newcaſtle.

His Majeſty from *Newcaſtle* wrote another Letter to the Parliament, *May* the 18th, expreſſing *that he was not come into the* Scots *Army out of any Intent to divide the Kingdoms in Affection, or prolong the War*; whereas it was an expreſs Article in *Montreuil*'s Negociation, if there was any ſuch Negociation, *That the* Scots *ſhall really and effectually join with the King of* Great Britain, *and employ their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt him.* His Majeſty proceeds, *but to ſecure his Perſon, and labour to compoſe the Differences between him and his Kingdoms, and ſettle all well, he deſir'd* Religion *might be firſt inſiſted on, and ſettled according to the Advice of the Aſſembly of Divines of both Kingdoms.* Before we ſay more of this Letter, it is worth remarking, that the pretended Martyrdom of this King for the Church, is indeed nothing but a very poor and groundleſs Pretence; for here he offers to ſettle Religion as an Aſſembly of *Presbyterian* Divines ſhall adviſe, it being moſt notorious that *England* and *Scotland* at that Time had no other Divines in Aſſembly. As to the *Militia*, *he was willing to concur with what had been propounded at* Uxbridge. After the Nation had been involv'd in War and Waſte twenty Months longer, he would agree to what he had agreed to before: *For* Ireland, *he will do what he can to ſatisfy Deſires of that Kind.* How tenderly this is touch'd! The Deſires of that Kind were to purſue the *Iriſh* Maſſacrers with Slaughter and Deſtruction, till the innocent Blood of two or three hundred thouſand Proteſtants was reveng'd, and the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt in that Kingdom ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd and ſecur'd. *He will disband and diſmantle his Armies and Towns*, if he has any, ſhould have been added, *and conſent to the Payment of the Debts of the Nation*, which the Parliament were reſolv'd to ſee paid, whether he conſented or not. Such Propoſitions were but Waſte of Time and Paper. The Parliament have the Power, and conſequently will have the Terms. He knew what they were, and the endeavouring to evade them was equally vain and dangerous.

Diſſentions

City Remonſtrance for Perſecution.

The Royaliſts, playing their laſt Cards, were in the mean while very induſtrious in fomenting Differences in the Parliament, Army, and City; and they were all blind enough not to ſee it and guard againſt it. Ambition, Avarice, Pique, Reſentment, Revenge, and falſe Zeal began to operate, now their Work with the King was pretty well over: The Cavaliers durſt not ſpeak out, but under various Pretexts increas'd the Miſunderſtandings between all of them. The Lord-Mayor Sir *John Gayer*, the Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*, preſented a Remonſtrance to both Houſes of Parliament, the Twenty-ſixth of *May*, deſiring *a ſtrict Courſe for ſuppreſſing all private and ſeparate Congre-*

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Congregations; *that all Anabaptiſts, Heretricks*, &c. *as not conform'd to the publick Diſcipline, may be declar'd and proceeded againſt.* Theſe worſhipful Perſons were themſelves perſecuted five or ſix Years ago; and now having the Power, as they thought, in their Hands, are themſelves very eager for Perſecution. This ought to have been a Leſſon to their Brethren in our own Days, who could not but have heard how many thouſand Reverend Divines had been ruin'd for not ſubmitting to the Tyranny of Subſcription after the *Reſtoration*, and yet they themſelves a few Years ſince were very zealous to compel Miniſters to ſubſcribe. The Citizens proceed, *That all be requir'd to obey the Government ſettled, or to be ſettled*; *That none diſaffected to the* Presbyterian *Government be imploy'd in any Place of Publick Truſt.* If I had learnt *Echard*'s Partiality by reading him, I would have ſunk this Remonſtrance, it highly reflecting on a Body of Men whom I reſpect; but I am ſenſible this narrow Spirit is what they are now aſham'd of, and this will be no Example to them for the future. It was levell'd directly againſt the Army, where *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and almoſt all the chief Officers, were diſaffected to the *Presbytery*; and finding themſelves ſtruck at, began to think of ſecuring and maintaining themſelves. Again, *That the Propoſitions of* Peace *may be haſtned.* This Article was very Cavalier. By *haſtning the Peace* was always underſtood *the receiving the King.* Again, *That the Privilege of Parliament may be ſo qualify'd, that Men may recover their Debts*; which was a tacit Reproach to the Houſe of Commons, as if the Members of it defrauded their Creditors by that Privilege. *That the Publick Revenues may be employ'd to publick Uſe, and the City Taxes abated*; another Reproach that the Members of Parliament miſapply'd the Money that was rais'd for the Service of the Common Wealth. *That the Compoſitions of* Delinquents *may be employ'd to pay the Debts owing the City*; *That the Committee of* Haberdaſhers Hall *may be diſſolv'd*: A kind of Committee for Taxes, who were impower'd to compound with Delinquents, to proſecute ſuch as refus'd or delay'd to pay the Contributions requir'd by Ordinances. This was a very popular Article among the Royaliſts and Diſaffected, *Haberdaſhers Hall* being as terrible to them as the *High Commiſſion Court* was to the *Puritans.* However, in the Cloſe of their Remonſtrance they ſoften the Matter, and ſay, *They would not have it interpreted to intrench upon the Privilege of Parliament, whom they are ready to ſerve*; whereas they intrench'd upon their Government from the Beginning to the End of their Remonſtrance, and directed them what they ſhould do. The Houſe of Commons expreſs'd great Offence at it, and, according to *Whitlocke*, "many ſober Men were unſatisfy'd with this "Action of the City, looking upon it as wholly "a Deſign of the *Presbyterian* Party; but the "Houſe of Lords acknowledg'd the great Ser-"vice and Merit of the City, and gave them "Thanks for this Teſtimony of their Duty and "good Affections." Tho' the Royaliſts were no further the better for this Miſunderſtanding between the Houſe of Commons and the City, than that they were both the worſe for it, yet they were wonderfully elated at it, and by their bold Behaviour ſo incens'd the Parliament and Army, that they compleated their own and their Maſter's Ruin.

The King's laſt Propoſitions were approv'd of by many of the Houſe of Commons, and in Truth they were a good Foundation for a Treaty, had the Point of Security been a little better explain'd, and had not the Weakneſs and Raſhneſs of the Royaliſts exaſperated the major Part of the Parliament and Army, and put Thoughts into their Heads of which they had not till then been ſuſceptible. For nothing can be more obvious, than that a little more Moderation, Diſcretion, Forbearance, and Compliance in the King and the King's Followers, would have prevented the tragical Cataſtrophe of the *Civil War.*

A Counter Remonſtrance.

The above-cited Remonſtrance produc'd a counter one, intituled, *A Petition from many Thouſands of* London, ſetting forth the *Power of Parliaments, and the Labour and Succeſſes of the preſent Parliament, which cauſe the more Oppoſition againſt them, and praying them to proceed in managing the Affairs of the Kingdom according to their own beſt Wiſdoms, and the Truſt repoſed in them, and to puniſh Delinquents and procure Peace. That they would never ſuffer the free-born People of* England *to be inſlav'd, upon what Pretence ſoever, nor any other to ſhare with the Parliament, or preſcribe to them in the Government or Power of this Nation, and the Petitioners will ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes.* This Petition was counter to the former from the City, *and now*, ſays *Whitlocke*, *the Deſigns were to make Diviſions, Arms beginning to fail.* The Royaliſts were ſoon detected in their Politicks, which ſeldom had any Depth in them. The Parliamentarians ſaw as plainly as the Quarter of the Wind, whence came the Differences and Diviſions that were riſing among them like ſo many Clouds; but the Variety of particular Intereſts to be reconcil'd before the general one could be ſecur'd, render'd it impoſſible to hinder the Effects which always attend Diſcord, Confuſion, and Overthrow. Theſe Petitioners were thank'd by the Houſe of Commons, as the Remonſtrancers had been thank'd by the Houſe of Lords; and is it not great Pity that their Lorpſhips ſhould not have more conſider'd their own Dignity and Safety, than to give into Deſigns which led ſo directly to their Ruin? For what could be more natural than to foreſee that the Party in the Houſe which were againſt the Remonſtrancers would be ſupported by the Army; That all Oppoſition againſt them would be in vain; and that the only Way to a ſafe and laſting *Peace*, was to unite heartily in the moſt proper Methods of procuring it.

In all Propoſitions of Peace the Affair of the *Church* was the firſt Article, but that of the *Militia* the moſt important; for can there be in Reaſon and Argument greater Nonſenſe and Contradiction, than that the King, who had utterly extirpated *Epiſcopacy* in *Scotland*, ſhould ſacrifice his Life for it in *England*, where alſo we ſhall find, when it is too late, that he conſents to aboliſh it? The *Militia* was a Conceſſion which ſecur'd the People's Liberty againſt future Invaſions, and without the *Militia* the Parliament could not ſecure their Presbytery againſt the Zeal and Power of the King, who being reſolv'd to have the Power ſtill in him to govern after the Civil War as he had done before, was obſtinate in the Point of the *Militia*, but ſtruck at the Church firſt, it being the firſt Article.

Sir William Davenant ſent to the Queen for Presbytery.

The Earl of *Clarendon* informs us, that Sir *William Davenant*, whoſe Poetry and Politicks were much of a Piece, was ſent to the Queen to prevail with the King to give up the *Church*, as he terms it, and then explains what is to be underſtood by it, *the Lands belonging to Cathedrals.* He adds, *That to ſet up Presbytery was profane and ſacrilegious, and to gratify the Luſt and Impiety of the* Scots, *which the Marquis*

A. D. 1646. *quis de* Bellievre, *the Miniſter of* France, *very much preſs'd the King to do*; but he was too *conſcientious*, ſays the Earl, for if he had given up the *Church*, he muſt have given up the Earl, with the other Delinquents, and that would have been as *profane* and *ſacrilegious* as the other, conſidering how his Lordſhip very modeſtly commends himſelf, where he makes the King ſay of him, *He is an honeſt Man, and will never deſert me nor the Church.*

I have often obſerv'd upon what rotten Foundations the Royaliſts built their magnificent Fabricks, and now the Earl tells us, IF *the Prince of* Wales *had ſtaid in* Cornwall, *his Reſidence might have been ſecure:* Scilly *and* Pendennis *might always be reliev'd by Sea*, where the Parliament were Maſters, and *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, and *Ludlow*, *were not taken*, *which upon any Diviſions among them might have turn'd the Scale*; that is, thoſe Garriſons, which were all impatient to ſurrender, might have beaten Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s victorious Army. If there had been better Politicks in any one Page of his Lordſhip's Hiſtory, this ſhould have been ſpar'd for the Sake of it.

The King and the Scots.

His Majeſty continuing reſolv'd not to yield to the Parliament's Propoſitions, the *Scots* told him by their Lord Chancellor *Lowdon*, "That the "Parliament, after many bloody Battles, had "got into their Hands the ſtrong Holds and "Forts of the Kingdom; That they had his "Revenues, Exciſe, Aſſeſſments, Sequeſtrations, "and Power to raiſe all the Men and Money of "the Kingdom; That they had gain'd Victory "over all, and had a ſtrong Army to maintain "it, ſo that they might do what they would "with Church and State; and without he "granted their Propoſitions, the Kingdom and "his People could not be in Safety; That if he "refus'd his Aſſent, he would loſe all his "Friends in Parliament, loſe the City, and loſe "the Country; and if he left *England*, he "would not be admitted to come to reign in "*Scotland*, which had been declar'd by the "General Aſſembly of the Kirk." The King, according to the Lord *Clarendon*, bad them *proceed their own Way, and tho' they had all forſaken him, God had not.* Pagan Hiſtory has nothing like it. To ſay it is Noonday at Midnight is Modeſty to it; for is there the leaſt Appearance that can be, that *Arbitrary Power*, *Oppreſſion*, *Perſecution*, *Superſtition*, are a Cauſe that God will not forſake. But the Argument was as good as the Prophecy, and it is very probable his Majeſty never ſaid it. The Parliament had voted, *That the King, in going to the* Scots *Army, intended to prolong the War, and to make a Difference between the Two Kingdoms.* They alſo voted, *June* the 9th, *That this Kingdom hath no more Need of the* Scots *Army, and that the* Scots *Commiſſioners ſhould be deſired to take Orders that their Army might be withdrawn out of this Kingdom.* Upon which the *Scots* Commiſſioners deliver'd a Paper, containing in Subſtance, "That they deſire to depart, "and will deliver up ſuch Towns and Caſtles "as they have: They deſire to have Conſide- "ration for their Loſſes and Hazards, Charges "and Damages, Part in preſent Money, and Se- "curity for the reſt; and his Majeſty not ha- "ving conſented to the Propoſitions, that a Way "may be thought upon, by joint Advice, for "the Security of both Kingdoms.

Votes concerning the Scots.

The Way which the Parliament of *England* thought of, was reduc'd to Nineteen Propoſitions.

1. "To take away all Oaths and Proclama- "tions againſt the Parliament and their Ac- "tions.
2. "To ſign the *Covenant*, and an Act for "the general taking of it.
3. "To paſs an Act to aboliſh *Biſhops*, &c.
4. "To confirm the *Aſſembly of Divines.*
5. "That *Religion* be ſettled as both Houſes "ſhall agree.
6. "*Unity* and *Uniformity* of *Religion* to be "ſettled by an Act.
7. "An *Act* againſt *Jeſuits*, *Papiſts*, &c.
8. "An *Act* for educating *Papiſts* Children "in the *Proteſtant* Religion.
9. "The Penalties againſt *Papiſts.*
10. "Againſt ſaying *Maſs* in any Place.
11. "The like for *Scotland*, as they ſhall "think fit.
12. "For the due Obſervance of the Lord's "Day.
13. "The *Militia* to be in the Parliament "for 20 Years, ſo for *Scotland*, with the Power "to raiſe Monies, and uſe the *Militia.*
14. "All Honours and Titles ſince the Great "Seal was carry'd from the Parliament, to be "void, and no Peer to be made but by Conſent "of both Houſes.
15. "To confirm the Treaty between *Eng-* "*land* and *Scotland*, and Conſervators of the "Peace to be appointed.
16. "To eſtabliſh the Declaration of both "Kingdoms of the 30th of *June*, 1643. with "the Qualifications of Exception from Pardon, "both *Engliſh* and *Scots*, and the Names of "thoſe made incapable of Office, and ſuch as "have deſerted the Parliament.
17. "To make void the *Ceſſation* in *Ireland*, "the War there to be left to the Parliament, "and the ſame Religion to be ſettled there "as in *England.*
18. "The *Militia* and the Tower of *London* "to be in the Government of the City, and "their Charters to be confirm'd.
19. "All Grants and Proceſs under the Great "Seal here, to be confirm'd, and all by any "other Great Seal to be void, and the like "for *Ireland*, and all Honours granted ſince the "*Ceſſation* there, to be void.

A. D. 1646. *The 19 Propoſitions at* Newcaſtle.

Theſe Particulars to be paſs'd by ſeveral Acts of Parliament.

The Commiſſioners appointed to attend the King with theſe Propoſitions, were for the Lords, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*; for the Commons, Sir *John Hippeſley*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *Robinſon*, and Mr. *Goodwin*, who arriv'd at *Newcaſtle* the 25th of *July*, and were well receiv'd by his Majeſty, as was alſo Duke *Hamilton*; but, ſays the judicious *Echard*, at *the very Moment he kiſs'd the King's Hand, there happen'd a prodigious Storm of Thunder and Lightning, without any preceding Appearance, in the Midſt of a fair Day.* What then! What did this preſage! His *Blazing Star* in *Libra* prognoſticated that Queen *Anne* would die of a Dropſy, which had long afflicted her: But what doth this Thunder and Lightning prognoſticate! Duke *Hamilton* loſt his Head for the King, whoſe Hand he kiſs'd. The Sillineſs of this Remark is without Example. When the Commiſſioners deliver'd the Propoſitions to his Majeſty, the Earl of *Pembroke* told him, *He knew well what a Spokeſman he was, therefore he deſir'd Mr.* Goodwin *might ſpeak for him.* The King preſently ask'd, *If they had any Power to treat.* They anſwer'd, *No.* Then ſaid he,

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Saving the Honour of the Buſineſs, an honeſt Trumpeter might have done as much. I hope you expect not a preſent Anſwer to this high Concernment. The Air is always the ſame; his Majeſty had been often told, that the Parliament would proceed by Bills, and not a Treaty. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, in the Letter already mention'd, gives the Reaſon for it, *the Inſincerity of former Treaties*; yet the Parliament's Commiſſioners could get no other Anſwer, than an Offer for a *Perſonal Treaty* at *London*, which had been ſo often rejected.

Of the ſame Authority with *Eikon Baſilike*, is what the Archdeacon inſerts of the King's Diſpute with Mr. *Henderſon*, the *Scots* Presbyterian Miniſter, who, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*, dy'd of Grief, and Heart-broken, for his having taken the *Covenant* and acting againſt *Epiſcopacy*. *Sanderſon*, who was as zealous a *Churchman* as the Earl, aſſures us, *He fell into a Diſtemper at* Newcaſtle, *and therefore was ſent home to* Scotland, *where he dy'd*; and *Whitlocke*, *That he dy'd of Grief, becauſe he could not perſwade the King to ſign the Propoſitions.* 'Tis very hard that one can't have one Word of Truth from them, *Echard* again, IF *his Majeſty's Army had been as ſtrong as his Arguments, he had been every Way invincible. Henderſon*'s Arguments were *Texts* of *Scripture*, the *King*'s the *Authority* of the *Fathers*, which, as we are told by Mr. Archdeacon, triumph'd over the Word of God.

When the Parliament's Commiſſioners came to *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſty was engag'd with the famous Mr. *Henderſon*; and in *Whitlocke* we read of another ſort of Engagement about the ſame Time, and that was with the *Iriſh* REBELS, Sir *Robert King*, one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners in *Ireland*, bringing thence the Marquis of *Ormond*'s Treaty of Peace with thoſe Butchers, which however had not the intended Effect, for the Pope's Nuncio and the moſt bigotted of the REBELS, diſclaim'd the Treaty made by their Commiſſioners, and proſecuted the War to their Deſtruction. *Whitlocke* informs us, that the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms begg'd the King on their Knees to ſign the Propoſitions, but he was inflexible, of which more hereafter.

Ireland.

We have ſeen already, that the Earl of *Clarendon* was of Opinion, that IF *Pendennis* Caſtle, *Ragland* Caſtle, *Wallingford*, *Ludlow*, &c. had not ſurrender'd ſo ſoon, their ſtanding out might have *turn'd the Scale*, after every other City, Town and Caſtle in *England* were reduc'd; and both the Earl and the Archdeacon make it a wonderful Condeſcenſion in his Majeſty to ſend Warrants to Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governor of *Oxford*, Sir *Thomas Tilſley* Governor of *Worceſter*, Col. *Waſhington* Governor of *Banbury*, Col. *Blague* Governor of *Wallingford*, and all other Governors of Cities, Towns, Caſtles, and Forts in *England* and *Wales*, to quit the Places, and disband their Forces, neither of which could they have maintain'd much longer. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* came before *Oxford* the 1ſt of *May*, and having ſettled the ſeveral Quarters of the Army in order for an Attack, he ſent a Summons to Sir *Thomas Glemham* the Governor the 11th of *May*, who deſir'd a ſafe Conduct for Sir *John Monſon* and Mr. *Philip Warwick*, the renown'd Memoir Writer, to confer with him, or whom he pleas'd to appoint, who were Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Harley*, and Col. *Lambert*. All that *Monſon* and *Warwick* propos'd, was to ſend to the King to know his Pleaſure about the Surrender of that chief City of his Reſidence, this being

The King orders his Governors of Places to quit them.

ſome Weeks before the Warrant for the general Surrender arriv'd at *Oxford* or elſewhere, that Propoſal being only to delay Time. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Commiſſioners repreſented to Sir *Thomas Glemham*'s the Vanity of ſuch a Delay, and the Advantage of treating before the Attack was begun. But they having no Power to treat, a Trumpet was ſent back with them for a poſitive Anſwer; and in the mean Time the Line went forward, and Order was given for drawing up of the Batteries. Upon which on the 14th of *May* the Governor made known his Deſire to treat, which was agreed to, and Mr. *Crook*'s Houſe at *Marſton* appointed to be the Place.

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Oxford taken.

The Commiſſioners named on both Sides were,

For the King.

Sir *John Monſon*, Sir *John Heydon*, Sir *George Bynion*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Richard Willis*, Sir *Stephen Hawkins*, Col. *Goſnold*, Col. *Tyllier*, Dr. *Zouch*, *Thomas Chriſty*, Eſq; Mr. *John Dutton*, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Capt. *Robert Mead*, M. A. Mr. *Philip Warwick*.

For the Parliament.

Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Col. *Ireton*, Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Harley*, Col. *Watſon*, Major *Desborough*, Major *Harriſon*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Waller*.

The General excepted againſt Sir *George Bynion*, as being exempted from Pardon by the Parliament's Propoſitions; and it is obſervable that this Perſon had been only an ordinary Silkman in *Cheapſide*, but ſuch another buſy Fellow as *Jones* the *Gun* Man in *Sacheverell*'s Time. Being oblig'd to leave the City of *London*, he was well receiv'd by the Court at *Oxford*, made not only a Knight, but a Politician, and advanc'd from a Counter to a Court. The Parliament were oblig'd to content themſelves with the Quality of their People as they found it; and the Earl of *Clarendon* does not a little value his Cauſe on the Dignity of thoſe who eſpous'd it. The Parliament indeed could make nothing but *Soldiers*, but the King made *Knights* and *Lords* too, tho' the Parliament would not own them, as well in the War Time as out of it. Mr. *Herbert*, one of the Commiſſioners for the Parliament, is the ſame who was afterwards Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who with Mr. *Harrington* waited on the King as Groom of his Bed-Chamber from his Confinement at *Holdenby* to his Death. The Treaty for the Surrender of *Oxford* commenc'd before his Majeſty arriv'd at *Newcaſtle*, and was almoſt concluded before Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governor, could know his Majeſty's Pleaſure in it. It ſpun out to ſuch a Length of Time, about five Weeks, on Account of the General's ſending the Articles to *London* to be conſider'd, and confirm'd by the Parliament.

While the Treaty laſted, *Radcot Houſe* was ſurrender'd by Colonel *Palmer* to Colonel *Saunderſon*, and *Farringdon* by Sir *George Liſle* and Sir *William Coventry*, to Sir *Robert Pye*, on Condition to have the Benefit of the *Oxford* Articles, which were very beneficial to the Royaliſts. The City had been fortify'd with the utmoſt Art and Induſtry, and the Parliament were not willing their Army ſhould be detain'd by the Siege while the *Scots* were in the *North*, and had the King's Perſon with them. Little Incidents very often give great Turns to the Fortune of States; and wiſe Stateſmen will leave as little as poſſible in her Power. The Parliament Army were ſure enough of doing the Work they

Radcot House ſurrender'd, and Farringdon.

A. D. 1646. they were upon; but the doing it without Bloodſhed was thought moſt eligible, and therefore the Commiſſioners on their Part were the more generous in their Terms, which being concluded, the City was ſurrender'd on *Midſummer* Day. The Articles were ſign'd by the General on one Part, and by Sir *Richard Lane*, the King's Lord Keeper, *Francis* Lord *Cottington*, the King's Lord Treaſurer, *William* Marquis of *Hertford*, *Edward* Earl of *Dorſet*, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, *Francis* Earl of *Chicheſter*, *Francis* Lord *Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, and Sir *Edward Nicholas* on the other. On *Wedneſday*, *June* the 24th, there march'd out *Eaſtward* 3000 Soldiers in a Body, 500 march'd *Northward*, and a little before and after them 500 more moſtly Horſemen and private Perſons engag'd in the War. On the *Monday* before Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, with their Attendants, departed. The Duke of *York* was to remain till he could more decently be remov'd to *London*. *Whitlocke* obſerves that no Injury nor Affront was offer'd by the Parliament's Soldiers to thoſe of the Garriſon, but all the Articles were punctually perform'd. There went forth ſeveral *Iriſh* Men and *Iriſh* Women, and after the Governor was march'd away, the Keys of the City were preſented to the General, who order'd three Regiments of Foot to enter the Town, between whom and the Citizens was courteous Language, not a reproachful or uncivil Word by any of the Army to them, nor the leaſt Diſorder. There was little Proviſion found in the Town, either for Man or Horſe, which ſhews that the Garriſon could not have held out much longer. *The Conditions*, ſays *Sanderſon*, upon which *Echard* builds much of his ſtately Edifice, *were but ſlenderly perform'd.* "Surely, ſays *Whitlocke*, no Action or Agree-"ment, either of *War* or *Peace* was ever more "punctually obſerv'd than was this of *Oxford* "Articles," which were firſt broken on the King's Side by Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, in coming ſo near *London* as *Oatlands*, upon which the Parliament ſent an expreſs Order to them to tranſport themſelves beyond Sea in 10 Days. The Two Princes return'd a very reſpectful Anſwer, *That they were ſorry they had given the Parliament any Offence; had no Intention to do it, and would obey their Order:* Then had the Prince Elector leave to go to ſee them; and if you will believe *Echard* or *Sanderſon*, they receiv'd his Viſit with Scorn. They had been juſt mortify'd with this Rebuke from the Parliament, and juſt order'd to be gone out of the Kingdom. They muſt needs be in a very ſcornful Humour; and their elder Brother the Prince Elector, knew little of it, or he would not have made a Journey on purpoſe to ſee them, and to be ſo ſcornfully treated by them.

Notwithſtanding the mutual Civilities between the Parliament's Soldiers and the Citizens of *Oxford*, as reported by *Whitlocke*, *A. Wood* repreſents the Place as thrown into the utmoſt Diſtraction by the Miniſters in General *Fairfax*'s Army, *who preach'd* raſcally *Doctrine*, *one of them a* diabolical Villain; *There was nothing but Confuſion and Darkneſs: Hell was broke looſe, and the Orthodox overrun by Blaſphemers.* I am not at all ſurpriz'd to meet with this Way of Thinking and Speaking in an *Oxford* Writer. I know what is the Eloquence, Elegance, Politeneſs and Temper of a College Spirit, ſuch as *A. Wood*'s, reckon'd an Ornament to this Seat of the Muſes; and though the Earl of *Clarendon*'s and Archdeacon *Echard*'s Language is ſomewhat more purify'd, yet the Sentiments in their Hiſtories agree exactly with thoſe of *A. Wood* the *Oxonian*.

Faſt *Oxon.* p. 58.

In the City were left the *Sword of State*, the *Great Seal*, the *Privy Seal*, the *Chancery*, the *King's-Bench*, the *Exchequer Seals*, which being carry'd to *London* were all broken by a *Blackſmith*, in the Preſence of the Two Houſes, who were extraordinarily aſſembled on Purpoſe to aſſiſt at that Ceremony, *Auguſt* the 11th.

A. D. 1646.

About the Time of *Faifax*'s coming before *Oxford*, Archbiſhop *Williams* betook himſelf to his ſtrong Houſe of *Puryn*, near *Conway* in *North Wales*, and put a Garriſon into it, declaring for the Parliament. Whatever was the Occaſion of his Diſguſt, whether it was his being ſuſpected by the King, or reſenting the large Contributions that were rais'd by the Royaliſts in his Precincts; it is moſt certain he apply'd himſelf to Major General *Mitton* for Aſſiſtance againſt the Lord *Byron*. We are told by *Whitlocke*, "He perſwaded the Country againſt pay-"ing Contribution to the King; and the Lord "*Byron* hearing of his Revolt ſent out a Party "from *Conway*, to beſiege him; but the Arch-"biſhop ſending to Major General *Mitton* for "Aſſiſtance, the latter drew out a Party to in-"terpoſe, and wrote to the Parliament how "ready the Archbiſhop was to promote their "Affairs, particularly for reducing the Caſtle of "*Conway*, in which, and in all other Matters, "he was very active for them." After we have read this in ſuch authentick Memoirs as *Whitlocke*'s, how muſt one be diverted with the Pains taken by Biſhop *Hacket*, Mr. *Ambroſe Philips*, *Harmar*, and others, to prove the Archbiſhop never took Arms for the Parliament. The Earl of *Clarendon* could not have minc'd the Matter better than a *Welſh* Author; *he only garriſon'd his own Houſe, and diſcountenanc'd ſome ſtragling Cavaliers.* Indeed the Uſage he had met with was enough to provoke a more moderate Man than the Archbiſhop of *York*; for in the Beginning of the War he had fortify'd his Caſtle of *Aberconway* for the King, in which *A. Wood* and others, tell us, *He ſpar'd not any Coſt or Labour to make it tenable; but then his Majeſty and Privy Council ſuſpecting he would not be faithful to him, they put a Commander therein*, Sir John Owen, *and in a Manner, thruſt the Archbiſhop out of his own Houſe*, which is not the only Inſtance of the prodigious Effects of the *Oxford* Counſels. *Whereupon taking theſe Matters in high Diſdain, he retir'd to his Houſe at* Puryn, *not far from* Aberconway, *and afterwards obtain'd ſome Forces from a Parliament Colonel, with which he ſet upon* Aberconway *Caſtle, took it, and kept Poſſeſſion of it to his dying Day*; and he was for ſo doing call'd *Perfidious Prelate, Apoſtate Archbiſhop, Shame of the Clergy*, &c. *by the King's Friends*, whom we have had too much occaſion to blame for being *foul mouth'd*, eſpecially the *Academicks*. *Sanderſon* ſays he was *bold, malepert, petulant, impudent*. One would think their writing and reading ſo much courtly Hiſtory, their being converſant with ſuch well bred Perſons, ſhould have taught them a little more Manners; but the Truth is, their Breeding was no better than their Bravery, and they were always in too great a Rage to obſerve *Decorum*.

Archbiſhop Williams for the Parliament.

D. Lloyd.

It is hardly worth while, after ſo many illuſtrious Actions, to beſtow Pains on ſmall Sieges and Skirmiſhes, which remain unrelated. *Banbury*, after a long Siege, was ſurrender'd by Sir *William Compton* to Colonel *Whalley*, and ſoon after Colonel *Waſhington* deliver'd up the City of *Worceſter* to Colonel *Rainsborough*; but it was not in Obedience to the King's Order, for

Banbury, Worceſter,

A. D. 1646.

Walling-ford, Pendennis *taken,*

for that was publiſh'd ſix Weeks before. On the 22d of *July*, *Wallingford* Caſtle was ſurrender'd by Colonel *Blague*, to the General, whoſe Forces in *Cornwall* reduc'd *Pendennis* Caſtle, valiantly defended by *John Arundel* of *Trerice*, Eſq; but not as valiantly attack'd by Colonel *Forteſcue*, at the Cloſe of the Siege, there being no likelihood of that Garriſon's receiving any Relief, Captain *Batten* blocking them up by Sea. Colonel *Forteſcue*'s Patience was exercis'd to prevent the Shedding of more Blood, a Conſideration which had very little Weight with the Royaliſts; however it did at laſt work upon *Arundel*, the Governor of *Pendennis*, and he deſir'd a Treaty, which was granted, and Commiſſioners nam'd.

For the King.

Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Lieutenant Colonel *Arundel*, Colonel *William Slaughter*, Colonel *Charles Jennings*, Colonel *Lewis Tremaine*, *Nevil Bligh*, Eſq; *Joſeph Jane*, Eſq; Lieutenant Colonel *Brocket*.

For the Parliament.

Colonel *John St. Awbin*, Sir *John Aſcue*, Colonel *Robert Bennet*, Lieutenant Colonel *Edward Herle*, Lieutenant Colonel *Thomas Fitch*, High Sheriff of *Cornwall*, Lieutenant Colonel *Richard Townſend*, Major *Thomas Jennings*, Captain *Walter Maynard*.

Who agreed that the Garriſon, Officers excepted, ſhould march to *Arwinch Downs*, and there lay down their Arms. The Prince of *Wales*'s Servants to paſs with their Bag and Baggage; 500 Pounds were to be paid to the Garriſon Officers and Soldiers, who were in Streights to enable them to remove from the Caſtle. Not far off it is the *Mount* which Sir *William Baſſet* the Governor ſurrender'd to Colonel *Hammond*, who found there Duke *Hamilton*, and gave him a Paſs for *London*, where that Duke waited at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, and thank'd the Members for his Liberty. *Salcombe Fort* had before been deliver'd up to Colonel *Welden*, by Colonel *Forteſcue*, a Cavalier, and *Borſtal* Houſe by Sir *William Compton*, to the General, who had before given it a ſhort Viſit in his March to *Naſeby*, and becauſe he would not be interrupted in his Purſuit of the King, and did not at that Time continue the Siege, *Echard* and all their Hiſtorians cry out, He was beaten off from *Borſtal*.

And St. Michael's Mount.

Duke Hamilton's *releaſe.*

Saltcomb Fort, Borſtal Houſe,

All that remains to be reduc'd, is *Ragland* Caſtle, except three or four petty Garriſons in *North Wales*, which were not minded, Major General *Mitton* being order'd to ſtarve them rather than hazard his own Men about them. The old Marquis of *Worceſter* ſtood out ſtill at *Ragland*, againſt Colonel *Morgan*, who commanded the Blockade there. At laſt General *Fairfax* went thither in Perſon from *Bath*, where he had been for his Health; and after ſeveral Letters had paſt between him and the Marquis, the latter ſurrender'd his Caſtle, *Auguſt* the 19th, in great Glory, that it was the laſt Place which held out for the King, though he had ſomething elſe to boaſt of, as that he had ſpent in Money, and ſuffer'd in Loſſes and Damages 300000 Pounds in the Cauſe of the *Star Chamber* Court, *High Commiſſion* Court, *Book of Sports*, *Ship Money*, &c. which his Poſterity no Doubt will always take more Pride in telling than we do. General *Fairfax* ſent to *Mitton*, he would ſend him more Men if he wanted them; but the latter reply'd there was no Need of them, as was apparent in the Sequel; for

Ragland Caſtle *taken.*

A. D. 1646.

within a few Days the King had not a Man in Arms for him in any Part of *England* or *Wales*. The Parliament ſent Orders to the General to disband Major General *Maſſey*'s Brigade at the *Devizes*, which he did, and in eight Days diſbanded 2500 Horſe. The Major General himſelf and Colonel *Cooke* aſſiſting him; but I cannot believe what a certain *Roundheaded* Writer ſays, *That divers of the Disbanded came from very remote Countries, and had Paſſes*, ſome for *Egypt*, ſome for *Meſopotamia*, ſome for *Ethiopia*: I cannot, I ſay, believe that the *Ethiopians*, *Meſopotamians* and *Egyptians* came to fight for the Parliament; but I do verily believe that *Iriſh* and *French* Papiſts came to fight for the King.

Maj. Gen. Maſſey's *Brigade disbanded.*

The *Civil War* being thus ended in four Years Time, from the King's Beginning it, by ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham* the 22d of *Auguſt*, 1642. to General *Fairfax*'s Ending it by taking *Ragland* Caſtle, *Auguſt* the 19th, 1646, the General as ſoon as he was recover'd of a ſore Fit of the Stone, went to *London*: He was met ſome Miles off by the *Militia* of the City, and many Thouſands of Citizens, and the next Day, *November* the 12th, both Houſes of Parliament congratulated him; the Lords by their Speaker, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Commons by their Speaker, *William Lenthall*, Eſq; which was done with very great Ceremony.

End of the Civil War.

Gen Fairfax *returns to* London.

The Parliament having now no Enemy in *England*, to divert them from the Affairs of *Ireland*, began to take them into ſerious Conſideration, and order'd the Forces in the Counties of *Oxon*, *Berks* and *Bucks*, to be diſpos'd of for that Service, being Forces that had ſerv'd in Garriſons, and not Part of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army. If they had continu'd to complement that Army thus, there is no Doubt but they would have been obedient to them; but as ſoon as the Parliament ſhew'd a Jealouſy of their Continuance, and talk'd of disbanding them, the Soldiery let them ſee that it muſt be done with their own Conſent. Major General *Langhorn*'s Forces lying about *Milford*, were thought moſt proper to be tranſported to *Ireland*, which was order'd accordingly; and that all Soldiers in the ſeveral Counties, who would liſt for the Service ſhould have a Month's Pay extraordinary, and thoſe that would not liſt be disbanded, which began to create ill Blood; but the Diſtemper broke not out till the grand Reſolution paſt, that 12000 Men of the Army ſhould be tranſported to *Ireland*; and to pleaſe the Soldiers, Major General *Skippon*, who was much in their Favour, was appointed to command them.

Ireland.

Parliament and Army differ.

In the mean while the *Scots* Arrears and Demands were under *Audit*, the Sum amounting to above a Million; but ſome of the Articles were ſo extravagant that they admitted much Litigation; and to ſhorten the Matter, the *Scots* Commiſſioners offer'd to lump it at 500000 Pounds: The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners offer'd 200000 Pounds down, and 200000 Pounds at ſeveral after Payments, which the *Scots* accepting, Major General *Skippon* was order'd to convoy that vaſt Sum to *Newcaſtle* in ready Caſh, for which there were about forty Waggons loaden with Silver. The Money was lent by the City of *London* to be repaid out of Delinquents Eſtates and Biſhops Lands. The *Engliſh* Parliament were oblig'd in Honour to pay the *Scots* their Arrears, and make good the Agreement with them upon their coming to their Aſſiſtance. It is not pretended there was not 200000 Pounds due to them, and they never receiv'd a Penny more. But becauſe as a Conſequence of this new Com-

Arrears due to the Scots *paid.*

pact,

A. D. 1646. pact, much ſhort of the Debt to the *Scots*, the latter were to deliver up their Garriſons, and march out of the Kingdom without the King, it is very whimſically call'd a *Selling of him*. The Parliament appointed a new Committee of both Houſes, *September* the 22d, to treat with the *Scots* Commiſſioners about diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King, which the *Scots* aſſerted they had an equal Right to with the *Engliſh*: To which the Parliament of *England* made a very good Anſwer in their Arguments to juſtify this Aſſertion; *We do affirm that the Kingdom of* Scotland *hath no Right of joint Exerciſe or Intereſt in diſpoſing of the Perſon of the King in the Kingdom of* England: To which the *Scots* Commiſſioners made ſeven *Objections*, and the Parliament's Anſwers ſhew them to be weak enough. But there is an Argument in the Declaration of the Houſe of Commons, which neither the Author of the four laſt Reigns in the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England, nor Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, nor any other Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, nor Cavalier Writer ſay a Word of: "The "Queſtion is, Who ſhall diſpoſe of the Perſon of "the King in *England*? and not after what Man- "ner his Perſon ſhall be diſpos'd; and it is to "be conſider'd in what Condition the King now "is; That he hath deſerted his Parliament and "People, enter'd into and continu'd in a bloody "and dangerous War againſt them, hath not "granted thoſe Propoſitions that were ſent "to him by both the Kingdoms of *England*, "and *Scotland*, as the Means of a ſafe and well "grounded Peace, and therefore is not for the "preſent in a Condition to exerciſe the Duties "of his Place, or be left to go or reſide where "and when he pleaſeth; and your Lordſhips, "the *Scots* Commiſſioners, did your ſelves de- "clare, that it was prejudicial to both King- "doms for the King to go into *Scotland*." The new Committee brought the *Scots* to a Compliance in this Matter, and it was agreed that the *Scots* Army ſhould march out of *England*, and leave the King at *Newcaſtle*, where Commiſſioners from the Two Houſes ſhould be ready to wait upon him, and conduct him to the Place nam'd in their Inſtructions. The King and his Party car'd not what Blood was ſhed, what Treaſure waſted, what Spoil and Devaſtation were made, if the Struggle in their Behalf could be kept on Foot. *Warwick* and every one about the King knew that *Fairfax*'s Army could have driven him and the *Scots* Army out of *Great Britain*, if the Parliament of *England* had not wiſely conſider'd that the *Scots* were their Brethren, and their Intereſts, as Proteſtants, inſeparable; that the Money they were to receive was their Due, and a great deal more had the Account been ſtated with Rigour, and that it would be both unreaſonable and unjuſt to obtain that by Force which they could have by Treaty. This Treaty is what the Cavalier Hiſtorians exclaim againſt as a Bargain and Sale, which is equally abſurd and ridiculous. The *Scots* Convention confirm'd the Agreement made by their Commiſſioners: The Money to be paid them was due to them long before the King came to their Army: Add to this, it was not poſſible for the *Scots* to keep him without a War, and they were not ſo enamour'd with the Cauſe as to enter into one with the Conquerors, to eſpouſe it when it was deſperate; for the Spirits as well as Fortunes of the Royaliſts were broken: They were in Deſpair and Impotence, and in no likelihood of being able to give them ſuch Aſſiſtance as would enable them to cope with the Power of the *Engliſh* Parliament. If they had ſuffer'd the King to make his Eſcape, the Place he would have gone to was *Ireland*, and the Party he would have rely'd upon the *Iriſh* REBELS, whom of all Creatures upon Earth the *Scots* moſt abhor'd, and who indeed were the Abhorrence of every good Man who ever heard of them. There was not a Prince nor State in *Europe* that was diſpoſed to eſpouſe the King's Quarrel. The Parliament's Army was a Terror to all the Nations around them. *France* was in a Minority, *Spain* in Declenſion, the *Dutch* hated Epiſcopacy, for which the King had been fighting with his People; *Denmark* was weaken'd by her late Loſſes in *Germany*, and at the beſt in no Condition to defy the Common-wealth of *England*, *Sweden* was all along a Well-wiſher to the Parliament, out of Jealouſy of the *Dane*, who now and then talk'd big againſt the *Swede*. What would theſe fine Politicians have had the *Scots* do with the King? Or what would he have done with himſelf better than a Compliance with the Two Houſes, while they were in Temper to receive it? Should they have ſent him to *Montroſe*, that the Plunderings and Burnings might be renew'd in *Scotland*, as when that Lord was riding Poſt there with Victory behind him?

Printed A. D. 1648. *p.* 6.

A. D. 1646.

The Situation of foreign Affairs.

On the Eighth of *December* a full Agreement was made with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, that when 100000 Pounds came to *Topcliff* in *Yorkſhire*, the *Scots* ſhould give Hoſtages to quit all their Quarters, Poſſeſſions and Garriſons on the *South* Side of *Tyne*, within 10 Days, when the Hoſtages were to be re-deliver'd; and upon the Delivery of the other 100000 Pounds on the *North* Side of *Newcaſtle*, the *Scots* ſhould give Hoſtages to march out of *England*, and quit the Garriſons of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, within 10 Days. There was another 200000 Pounds talk'd of; the *Scots* were to take the Parliament's Word for it; and probably they would have paid them if they had not fooliſhly invaded *England*, a few Months after to procure the Liberty of that Prince whom they now deliver'd up to Priſon. General *Fairfax* was order'd to appoint the Convoy for the Caſh, and he appointed Major General *Skippon*, Sir *William Selby*, Mr. *Delaval*, Sir *Edward Loftus*, Sir *Thomas Trollop*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *William Broughton*, who were agreed upon to be Hoſtages with General *Leven* for Performance of the Stipulations on the Parliament's Side, who appointed the Earl of *Stamford* for the Lords, and Mr. *Aſhurſt* and Mr. *Goodwin* for the Commons, to go to *Edinburgh*, and ſatisfy the *Scots* Convention as to all Proceedings.

Agreement with the Scots.

About this Time the Presbyterians ſtickled much to have Church Government ſettled after the *Scots* Model; and the Royaliſts, who hated *Presbytery*, privately inſtigated them to inſiſt upon it: The latter had no other Game to play but to ſow the Seeds of Diſcord, which in Time produc'd them a plentiful Harveſt. *Whitlocke* obſerves this Debate about Church Government was intended to raiſe Diviſions, which were the Cauſe of all the Miſchiefs that befel the Presbyterians and their Diſſenting Brethren afterwards. Had they now ſeriouſly conſider'd that the *Laudean* Perſecution had created all thoſe Diſcontents which ended in the Ruin of the Perſecutors, and that the creating new Diſcontents could not fail of the like ill Conſequence; That all the Denominations could not ſupport themſelves againſt the Church, but by the Power of the Army, they would certainly have come to an Underſtanding with thoſe Miniſters, and that People whoſe Principles the Army eſpous'd, and have yielded them full Liberty of Conſcience, and the full Privilege of *Engliſhmen*, which it

Diviſions.

A. D. 1646. they had done without inſiſting on the Suppreſſion of *Independants* and *Baptiſts*, they might have ſupported their Superiority by their Numbers, and their Wealth, and have prevented thoſe Diviſions that naturally grew out of Jealouſy and Oppoſition. It is moſt certain they were the Aggreſſors by their ſo frequent troubling the Parliament with Petitions againſt their Proteſtant Brethren, who daily got Ground in the good Will of the Soldiery, as the Soldiery daily got Ground in their Influence on the Parliament, who appointed a Committee to conſider of a new Petition in Agitation in the City by the *Presbyterian* Party, which they ſaid might tend much to endanger the publick Peace. One Sir *David Watkins* was very forward in this Buſineſs, and reported on the *Exchange*, that Sir *John Evelyn*, a Member of Parliament ſhould ſay, *Since the Citizens of* London *intend to come to the Houſe of Commons in a tumultuous Manner, he thought Sir* Thomas Fairfax's *Army ſhould be ſent for to quell them*, which was falſe, and he was queſtion'd for it, as done with a Deſign to exaſperate the Citizens, and increaſe the Miſintelligence between the Parliament and them. Sir *David* being examin'd, ſaid he was told ſo by one Mr. *Drake*, and Mr. *Drake* upon Examination, declar'd he had it from one Dr. *Aldwyn*; by which one may eaſily perceive from what Quarter the growing Jealouſies and Diviſions came, and that the Cavaliers, though they had not Wit enough to do themſelves Good, had enough to do Miſchief to others. They were like Moles working under Ground, and turning up the Earth in the fineſt Borders of the Garden.

The City Petition again. The Petition was preſented by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and ſeveral Citizens, *December* the 19th, firſt to the Lords, from whom they had Thanks; then to the Commons, who after much Debate thank'd them for their good Services in general, and appointed a Day to conſider of the Petition, which in Fact was not the true Senſe of the City, but of a Party under the Direction of the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Warner*, and Serjeant *Glyn*, the Recorder; for another Petition from a Conſiderable Party, as we are told by *Whitlocke*, *Counter-Petition.* was obtain'd againſt it, as there was againſt the Remonſtrance a few Weeks before: And thus did both Parties, blinded by Paſſion or Zeal, drive one another into the Snare which the common Enemy had prepar'd for them. The Houſe of *Commons* voted that the Petition was a *Breach of their Privilege*, and then appointed a Committee to conſider the Particulars of it, who to pleaſe the Petitioners, agreed that no *Miniſter ſhould preach unleſs he was regularly ordain'd by the* Presbytery, which farther diſguſted the *Independants*, and made them throw themſelves intirely upon the Army for Protection.

King's Perſon. In the Diſpoſal of the King's Perſon, there was a Diſagreement between the Lords and Commons, and the like Diſagreement happen'd too often when they had no Body to quarrel with but themſelves. The *Lords* voted that the King ſhould come to *Newmarket*, the *Commons* that he ſhould come to *Holmby* Houſe in *Northamptonſhire*, and the Lords at laſt agreed to it. Things being ſo ripe for Execution, the *Scots* Commiſſioners in *London* ſent to the Parliament to acquaint them with their ſpeedy going home to *Scotland*, and deſir'd to know what farther Service they had to command them to the Parliament of *Scotland*. Both Houſes agreed *Scots Commiſſioners depart.* that Thanks ſhould be given the *Scots* Commiſſioners for all their Pains and good Services, and Notice taken of their laſt Reſpect to them. The *Scots* talk'd *very ſturdily*, ſays the Earl of *Clarendon*, as appears by theſe Votes of their Parliament at *Edinburgh*. *A. D.* 1646.

Scots *Votes againſt the King.*

1. *That* Scotland *ſhall be govern'd as it hath been for the five laſt Years, all Means being uſed that the King may take the* Covenant, *and paſs the* Propoſitions.

2. *That the taking the* Covenant *and paſſing the* Propoſitions *doth not give Warrant to aſſiſt him againſt* England.

3. *That upon bare taking the* Covenant *the* Scots *may not receive him.*

4. *That the Clauſe in the* Covenant *for Defence of the King's Perſon, is to be underſtood in Defence and Safety of the Kingdom.*

5. *That the King ſhall not exerciſe any Power in* Scotland *till he hath granted the* Propoſitions *concerning* Religion *and the* Covenant, *and given a ſatisfactory Anſwer to both Kingdoms, in the reſt of the* Propoſitions *preſented him at* Newcaſtle.

6. *That if his Majeſty refuſe to paſs thoſe* Propoſitions, *he ſhall be diſpoſed of according to the* Covenant, *&c.*

How *ſturdily* they talk in Behalf of the King? Theſe Votes were paſt by the Lords and Commons of *Scotland*; yet *Echard*'s Biſhop *Guthry* affirms, there were a hundred to one againſt them in the Parliament, and out of it. I gueſt at the Authority of this *Guthry* before I came to this ſingular Evidence of it; and he has no better Buttrices for his ſuperb Edifice. I ſuppoſe it is after him or ſome other ſuch Hiſtorian that he tells us how the 200000 Pounds was diſpoſed of, 30000 Pounds to the Marquis of *Argyle*, 15000 Pounds to ſome Body elſe, for *Argyle*'s ſake, Sir *Archibald Johnſtone* 3000 Pounds, one round *O* more had made it *Thirty*, and been every whit as true. Duke *Hamilton* 30000 Pounds: Here's near half the Money gone to three or four Perſons; *ſeveral of the Kirk* Miniſters were *inrich'd*. How honeſt and ingenuous is this ſame Biſhop *Guthry*? How judicious the Archdeacon, to write after him, what appears at Sight to be miſerable Fable.

We ſhall in the Beginning of the next Year ſee how the Perſon of the King is diſpos'd of, and muſt now wait upon the Prince of *Wales*, and look a little into the Affairs of *Ireland* and *Scotland*.

The Prince of Wales. We have mention'd his Royal Highneſs's keeping his Court at *Briſtol* and *Bridgwater*; from whence he remov'd to *Exeter* with his Council, the Earl of *Berkſhire*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Colepepyr*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, whoſe Names are ſufficient to give every good *Engliſhman* a Concern for his being in their Hands. Not one of them ſince *Colepepyr*'s Apoſtacy, having any Diſpoſitions to inſtil other Principles into him than thoſe that had brought his Father into ſuch a deſperate Condition, and will bring himſelf into almoſt as bad a one, when it is his Turn to reign. The Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, who is his own Hiſtorian, gives himſelf the moſt advantagious Poſition in his Picture; and if there is any Defect in Polilicks, as humane Wiſdom cannot be always perfect, it does not come from Sir *Edward Hyde*, though the Truth is, they had not had a great deal of Buſineſs on their Hands, and the moſt they had was to keep Matters quiet among themſelves. The Character the Lord *Clarendon* gives of Sir *Richard Greenvile*, is monſtrous, not in the Painting but in the Figure; and what elſe could one expect from a Perſon, who having receiv'd a great Sum of Money of the Parliament to raiſe Men, ran away with it, and took a Commiſſion from the King? His hanging a *Weſt*

Sir Rich. Greenvile's *Picture.*

Country

A. D. 1646. Country Attorney would not have deſerv'd much Notice, if he had had a better Plea for it than that he had been concern'd in a Suit againſt him: His throwing the Mayor of *Leſtwithiel* into the common Goal, for Fiſhing in a River which was not his own: His impriſoning great Numbers for not grinding at his Mill: His impoſing Fines of 2, 3, 4, and 500 Pounds on Men, under Pretence of Diſaffection: His ſending the Mayor of St. *Ives* to the common Jail for not paying him Fifty Pounds when he did not owe him a Farthing, and the Mayor's Son to Jail for petitioning in Behalf of his Father, are ſome of the Piccadillo's he was guilty of. His Rapine and Cruelty about *Taunton* are as infamous as *Goring*'s, and theſe two Heroes are the Generals in the *Weſt*, who ſerve under his Royal Highneſs, who being preſs'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s March towards *Cornwall*, was advis'd to ſend a Letter to that General for a Paſs for the Lords *Colepepyr* and *Hopton*, to go to the King about a Peace; which Letter and the General's Anſwer have been mention'd in the preceding Pages. But as the General advis'd the Prince to have ſuch Counſellors as the Parliament ſhould approve, and as Sir *Edward Hyde* would then infallibly have loſt his Seat at his Royal Highneſs's Council Table, one may be ſure he gave him no Counſel of that kind. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* advancing into *Cornwall*, the Prince paſs'd over to *Scilly*, from thence to *Jerſey*, and thence to *France*, where, as the Earl of *Clarendon* repreſents it, he was receiv'd in a manner that ſhew'd he was not welcome, and had little to expect from the Friendſhip of that Court. The ſame Hiſtorian gives us ſeveral original Letters from the King to the Prince, written in the Stile of *Eikon Baſilike*, and as if they had been ſo written on purpoſe to be printed, as that of the 22d of *March*, 1645. from *Oxford*: *I command you upon my Bleſſing to be conſtant to your Religion, neither hearkening to* Roman *Superſtitions, nor the ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Doctrines of the* Presbyterians *and* Independents. *Schiſm* and *Sedition* are taken out of the Cavalier Lexicon, and mean *Liberty* and the *Reform'd* Religion; *for know that a perſecuted Church is not thereby the leſs pure, tho' leſs fortunate.* Moſt certainly, if it was the leſs pure by Perſecution, the *Proteſtants* in *France* and other foreign Countries, the Church of *Scotland*, and their Brethren in *England*, would have been moſt abominably defil'd in this King's Reign, and his Son's, to whom he writes, *For all other Things, I command you to be totally directed by your Mother*, whoſe Directions had contributed more than any thing elſe to his own Misfortunes.

Earl of Eſſex's Death. Before we leave *England*, it will be convenient to remember a few other Occurrences, and none more worthy of Remembrance than the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who dy'd the 14th of *September* at *Eſſex* Houſe, *in a melancholy diſcontented Manner*, ſays the Archdeacon, as falſly as he ever ſaid any thing elſe; for General *Ludlow* aſſures us, his very Death was occaſion'd by his too great Appetite after Sport. "The Earl of *Eſſex* having over-heated himſelf "in the Chace of a Stag in *Windſor* Foreſt, de- "parted this Life. His Death was a great Loſs "to thoſe of his Party, the Presbyterian, who, "to keep up their Spirits and Credit, procur'd "his Funeral to be celebrated with great Mag- "nificence, at the publick Charge, 5000 Pounds, "the Lords and Commons, with a great Num- "ber of Officers, accompanying him to the "Grave;" which the Marquis of *Hertford*, his Brother-in-law, offer'd to do, as did others who had born Arms againſt the Parliament: But as it was thought to be an Artifice to wheedle the *Presbyterians*, the Houſe order'd that none ſuch ſhould go with the Earl's Corpſe at his Funeral. Upon News of his Death, both Houſes in Compliment adjourn'd to the next Day. His Effigies was ſet up in *Weſtminſter* Abbey; and as the Party he oppoſed have never wanted a Set of diſorderly baſe Wretches fit for ſuch vile Purpoſes, certain Perſons, to ſhew their Loyalty, broke off the Head of the Effigies in the Night, tore his Sword, Spurs, Arms, and Eſcutcheons. Thus did the Inheritors of their noble Principles and Practices treat the Memory of the two greateſt Princes in the World, King *William* and King *George*, by defacing their Statues; and thus may all glorious Names expect to be treated when dead, by thoſe who fled every where before them when living. The Marquis of *Hertford*, or ſome one elſe, having ſeiz'd ſome Writings and Monies in *Eſſex* Houſe, the Parliament order'd them to be reſtor'd to the Earl's Executors, who were the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and Mr. Solicitor *St. John*. *Echard* informs us *Devereux* Earl of *Eſſex ended his Name*: A ſmall Error in ſuch a Hiſtory as his! Contrary to this, the Lords order'd a Writ to be ſent to Sir *Edward Devereux*, the new Viſcount *Hereford*, to ſit in Parliament, that Honour and Seat deſcending to him on the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Counteſs being diſaffected to the Parliament, they order'd 4500 Pounds, Part of his Penſion then due, to be paid to his Servants, and for Publick Uſes. They alſo voted 5000 Pounds a Year for Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Heirs. They appointed Sir *Rowland Wandeſford*, Sir *Thomas Bedingfield*, and *John Bradſhaw*, Eſq; to be Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and order'd an Ordinance to be brought in to take away Privilege from Members of Parliament as to Titles to Eſtates and Debts, reſerving only Privilege for Perſon, which was done on the Lord *Munſon*'s deſiring to wave his Privilege, and to have a Suit againſt him proceed.

A. D. 1646. *Proceedings in Parliament.*

We are now to take a View of the Affairs of *Ireland*, which could not be ſo well attended as the State of them requir'd during the War in *England*. But now the Parliament ſet themſelves to it, and appointed Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Sir *Robert King*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Roger Meredith*, and Mr. *Salway*, to be their Commiſſioners for that Kingdom, of which the Lord *Liſle* was Lieutenant; and Supplies being about to be ſent thither, the Lords acquainted the Commons by a Meſſage, that Col. *Monk*, a Priſoner in the Tower, had taken the *Covenant*, was ready to take the *Negative Oath*, and their Lordſhips conceiv'd him a fit Man to be employ'd in the Service of *Ireland*, on Account of his military Qualifications, deſiring a Commiſſion might be given him, which was agreed to with one *Negative* Voice only, Mr. *Cawley*'s, who was of Opinion not to employ a Man who had before ſo baſely deſerted that Service. *Ireland.*

The Treaty of *Ceſſation* has been ſpoken of, and of my Lord *Inchiquin*'s ſtanding out againſt it, for which he was highly extoll'd by the Parliament, and Forces were ſent to his Aſſiſtance as faſt as they could ſpare them. In the mean time the Earl of *Ormond* was empower'd by the King to conclude a Peace with the *Maſſacrers*, on Condition they would oblige themſelves to ſend over an Army to aſſiſt him againſt the Parliament of *England*. The ſupreme Council of *Kilkenny* invited the Lord *Ormond* to that City to treat, and his Lordſhip being willing to ſee his Relations and Eſtate in thoſe Parts, as alſo to expedite

A. D. 1646. expedite that Service, accepted of the Invitation, and march'd thither with about 4000 Horſe and Foot for his Guard, which by the Advice of the Lord *Mount Garret* and the ſupreme Council, were diſpers'd into Quarters in the Villages thereabouts; but Sir *Francis Willoughby*, who commanded that Party, ſuſpecting Treachery, intimated it to the Marquis, and deſir'd he might encamp in the Field, to which his Lordſhip conſented; and the Enemy being diſappointed of their Deſign to deſtroy the *Engliſh* by Surprize, reſolv'd to attempt it by Force; and all the Favour the Marquis of *Ormond* could obtain, was Notice from his Relations to ſhift for himſelf, which he did, and order'd Sir *Francis Willoughby* to return to *Dublin*; but before they could get there, the Country roſe upon them in ſuch Numbers, that if Col. *Bagnal*, Governor of *Laughlin*, had not permitted them to paſs the Bridge there, they had in all Appearance been cut off. The *Iriſh* ſeiz'd the Marquis's Plate, and whatever elſe he left at *Kilkenny*; and by this Uſage his Zeal for the Proſecution of the Treaty abating, the Earl of *Glamorgan* was commiſſion'd to proſecute it. The Lord *Ormond* had been very active in giving all manner of Oppoſition to the Parliament of *England*, having receiv'd a Commiſſion from the King to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the Room of the Lord *Liſle*, to whom however the Two Houſes continu'd that Commiſſion. It was *Ormond* who made the infamous Ceſſation with the *Iriſh* Maſſacrers: It was he, who ſent the Forces which came from *England* to aſſiſt the *Iriſh* Proteſtants back to *England* to deſtroy the Proteſtants there. He forbad the taking the *Covenant* in *Ireland*, was *Impeach'd* as a Traytor againſt the *Three Kingdoms*, diſabled of his Lieutenancy, and all Command in *Ireland*, where the Earl of *Inchiquin* and the Lord *Broghill* commanded in *Munſter*, out of which Province they drove the *Iriſh* REBELS, and wrote to the Parliament for Supplies. Thus 'tis plain, that if the *Engliſh* Forces ſent to reduce thoſe Rebels had not been recall'd by the King, but had join'd the Earl of *Inchiquin* and the Lord *Broghill*, the War in *Ireland* had been over, and the Proteſtants in Safety many Years before the Commonwealth of *England* put an End to it. One of the moſt conſiderable Actions in *Ireland*, till General *Cromwel* landed there, was that at *Sligo* in *November*, the Year preceding. The Rebels, to the Number of 2000 Foot and 300 Horſe, lay before that Town, and block'd up all the Out-Garriſons, with other Forces. Lieutenant Colonel *Sanderſon*, who commanded in *Sligo*, Capt. *Richard Coot*, and Capt. *Cole*, reſolv'd to ſally out upon them; and having given Notice of their Reſolution to Sir *William Cole* and Sir *Francis Hamilton*, they came very opportunely to their Aſſiſtance with two Troops of Horſe; and falling upon the Enemy at the ſame Time that Col. *Sanderſon* attack'd them, the *Iriſh* were ſoon put into Confuſion, and fled. The *Engliſh* had Execution upon them for five Miles, kill'd above 200, took 150 Horſe, their Arms, Tents, Baggage, Ammunition, and much Spoil. Amongſt the Slain was the Popiſh Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, in whoſe Carriage were found ſome Papers which diſcover'd the Endearments between the Court at *Oxford* and the *Iriſh* REBELS. The *Engliſh* loſt but one Man, and took 28 Officers of Note, as, *Dom. O Flaherty* Lieutenant Colonel to *Richard Bourck*, Couſin to the Earl of *Clanckard*, Lieutenant Colonel *Gerdy*, Major *Richard Bourck*, —— *O Neal*, Grandſon to Sir *Terlagh Mac Henry O Neal*, Capt. *Browne*, Brother to their famous Lawyer *Jeffry Browne*, Capt. *William O Shagniſe*, Brother to Sir *Roger O Shagniſe*, Capt. *Dillon*, Son to Sir *Lucas Dillon*, Capt. *Caſtlelogh*, the Popiſh Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, Preſident of the Province of *Connaught*, and Chief of the Supreme Council of *Kilkenny*. Among his Papers were found the Pope's Bull, and the Earl of *Glamorgan*'s Commiſſion to treat with thoſe bloody Butchers, and the execrable Treaty it ſelf made with *Richard* Viſcount *Mountgarret*, Preſident of the Supreme Council of Catholicks, *Donnogh* Viſcount *Muskerry*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, *Alex. M. Donnel*, Eſq; *Nicholas Plunket*, Eſq; *Dermot O Brian*, Eſq; *John Dillon*, Eſq; *Patrick Darcy*, Eſq; *Jeffry Brown*, Eſq; *A. D.* 1646.

Rebels routed at Sligo.

By Virtue of his Majeſty's Authority, under his Signate and Royal Signature, dated at Oxford *the* 12*th Day of* March, *in the* 20*th Year of his Reign.* *The Treaty with the* Iriſh *Rebels.*

By the *Firſt* Article, " The Popiſh Prieſts " were to be put in Poſſeſſion of all *Lands*, *Te*" *nements* and *Tithes*, to which they laid Claim, " and all Papiſts have the free and publick Ex" erciſe of their Religion.

By the *Second* Article, " They were to hold " and enjoy the Churches they had been for" merly poſſeſs'd of.

By the *Third* Article, " The Papiſts were ex" empted from the Juriſdiction of the Proteſtant " Clergy, and the Popiſh Clergy not to be mo" leſted in the Exerciſe of their Juriſdi" ction, *&c.*

All which was to be confirm'd by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*.

Theſe Papers were ſent to the Parliament by Sir *Robert King* and Mr. *Arthur Anneſley*, afterwards Earl of *Angleſey*, who was then a very zealous Parliamentarian; and it appear'd by certain Hints in ſome of thoſe Papers, that *the King's Hopes were from the* Iriſh *Nation*.

The Parliament ſent Forces from *England* to join the Lords *Inchiquin* and *Broghill* in *Munſter*, where and elſewhere in *Ireland* the Proteſtants had frequent Advantages of the *Iriſh*, but were not ſtrong enough to meet them in the Field. Sir *Charles Coot* and Sir *Robert Steward* engag'd a Party of Rebels, and ſlew 500. The Lord *Liſle* was order'd to repair to his Government with all Speed, and 1200 Pounds a Month Pay allow'd him; but the Supplies came too ſlow, and the *Iriſh*, who were apprehenſive of their coming, were induſtrious to improve the Advantage of their Numbers, before their Arrival. Major General *Monroe*, who commanded under the Lord *Inchiquin* in *Ulſter*, drew the Forces out of ſeveral Garriſons to attack the Rebels: He had about 5000 Foot and 600 Horſe. The REBELS were about twice the Number; and ſeeming to retire before him, the *Engliſh* follow'd them in too much Diſorder, and fell into their Ambuſcades, which ſo gall'd them, that they were forc'd to retreat with the Loſs of 500 Men, and moſt of their Arms and Ammunition. The Lord *Montgomery* and the Lord *Blaney* were taken. This was the greateſt Blow the Parliament's Forces receiv'd in any Engagement with the REBELS. The Two Houſes wrote to the King, then in the *Scots* Army, to ſend Order for Delivery of the Garriſons in *Ireland*; but his Majeſty anſwer'd, *If a Peace were ſettled, that would follow of courſe.* In *June* this Year the Rebels took *Roſcommon*, and put all the *Engliſh* there to the Sword. They alſo took *Bonratty*, which held out three Months,

A. D. 1646. Months, and put the *Engliſh* and *Scots* to the Sword. On Advice of which the Parliament order'd 12000 Men of their Army for the Service in *Ireland*. The Lord *Inchiquin* took *Pilborn* Caſtle, and put the *Iriſh* Garriſon to the Sword.

The Pope's Nuncio, and the moſt guilty of the *Maſſacrers*, were againſt *Glamorgan*'s Peace, as advantagious as it was for the *Iriſh*. They had no other Reaſon for it, than that the Proteſtants were to have Liberty of Conſcience for a while at leaſt. *Ormond* join'd the *Iriſh* Rebels, and they made together an Army of 20000 Men, who were to oblige all *Ireland*, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, to ſubmit to the Peace. But neither Papiſts nor Proteſtants were pleas'd with it; and as it was built on no ſolid Foundation, ſo it had no long Continuance: For the *Nuncio*'s Papiſts became ſo formidable, that *Ormond* himſelf was convinc'd it could not laſt, and that the *Engliſh* muſt either unite all their Forces, and procure farther Aſſiſtance from *England*, or the *Iriſh* Papiſts would extirpate them, as was the Intention of the *Nuncio* and his Party. *Ormond* therefore ſent Sir *Francis Willoughby* with Propoſitions to the Parliament, and to deſire Supplies of Men and Money, he having left the Rebels, and ſhut the Gates of *Dublin* againſt them. He offer'd to come to *London* in Perſon, or ſerve in *Ireland*, as the Two Houſes pleas'd, as alſo to ſurrender the City of *Dublin* to them, which the *Nuncio*'s Papiſts had very much ſtreighten'd, and thoſe with whom he had ſo lately made Peace abandon'd him. But the Supplies which the Parliament ſent arriving with their beforemention'd Commiſſioners to *Dublin*, and a Party of *Engliſh* under Sir *Charles Coote* breaking thro' the *Rebels* Army, they drew farther off from that Capital. However the Marquis of *Ormond* refus'd to deliver up the Government, under Pretence he had no Command from his Majeſty; upon which thoſe Commiſſioners went to *Belfaſt* with the Money and Men they brought from *England*. The good Lord *Digby* ſtaid all the while with the Nuncio and his Maſſacrers; and taking upon him to reprove the Pope's Miniſter for giving the *Iriſh* ſome Advice which he did not like, the *Nuncio* gave his Lordſhip the *Lye* three Times. With the Commiſſioners came Col. *Monk*, who having been before employ'd by the Parliament, deſerted their Service; and having afterwards been employ'd by the King, deſerted his Service, and will deſert two or three Services more before they make a Duke of him. Two thouſand Soldiers were now brought over, who with other Supplies kept the *Iriſh* at Bay till the Army arriv'd from *England*, and made thoſe bloody *Rebels* a dreadful Example of Juſtice and Vengeance. Sir *Roger Manley*, as weak a Writer as his Daughter was a wicked one, tells us, the King had commanded *Ormond* to deliver up *Dublin* to the Parliament, when the Nuncio's Army became prevalent; and he argues upon it with the ſame Sobriety which we meet with in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* and *Echard*'s Hiſtory; *an irrefragable Teſtimony againſt the black Calumnies of the* Engliſh *Rebels*. He modeſtly means the Two Houſes of Parliament; for they have all that Cant, and could not carry on their mighty Work without it. *Ormond* ſaid he had no Command from the King; but it will not be expected from me to animadvert on ſuch Memoir Writers as *Warwick*, *Manley*, &c. And indeed if I excus'd my ſelf from that Task with reſpect to *Echard*'s Hiſtory and that of the *Rebellion* on the ſame Account, I ſhould not be blam'd by thoſe who know their true Character. If *Ormond* had any Order, 'twas a colluſive one, nor did he ſubmit to it and quit the Government and the Capital till ſome Months after, hoping to perplex the Parliament's Affairs by his Stay there; but he had no Opportunity, ſo he left the Kingdom, paſs'd over to *England*, and thence to *France*, from whence he return'd to *Ireland*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. *A. D.* 1646.

Whitl. p. 233.

If you will believe *Wiſhart* Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, who wrote *Montroſe*'s Life, or Mr. Archdeacon, who copy'd it, the Lord *Montroſe* was a perfect *Drawcanſir*, who, as *Dryden*, an orthodox Poet, ſays, Sotland *and* Montroſe.

At once beat thoſe without *and thoſe* within.

The Accounts they give of him ſpoils the Hiſtory, which is really incredible enough of it ſelf. This *Caledonian* Hector being reinforc'd by a ſtrong Body of *Iriſh* Papiſts under *Kalketo*, the Marquis of *Antrim*'s Brother, took the Field, and with about 2000 Men beat the Lord *Elcho* and Earl of *Tullibardin* at *Tippermoor*, killing 2000, and taking as many as his own Army conſiſted of. This Battle was fought in *September*, 1644. Biſhop *Wiſhart*, as good an Authority as Biſhop *Guthry*, aſſures us, that *Montroſe*'s Men were not half the Number of *Elcho*'s; and further, that as few as they were they had no Arms, but *threw Stones at the Rebels with ſuch Activity*, that they ran away immediately. *Montroſe* then repaſs'd the *Tay*, and underſtanding the Lord *Burghley* was at *Aberdeen*, he paſs'd the *Dee*, and found him drawn up in Battle *Array*, 2000 Foot and 500 Horſe poſted on advantagious Ground, with Cannon at the Head of his Army. *Montroſe* had only 1500 Foot, 44 Horſe, and no Cannon; yet at the *Firſt Charge* the Enemy was *defeated, ſlaughter'd, routed.* I chuſe to take the Hiſtory from Sir *Roger Manley*, becauſe he takes it from the Biſhop, but it is never the truer for that. *Sanderſon*, as orthodox as the beſt of them, owns it was not at the Firſt Charge: *It was a Fight of four Hours Space equal, till* Montroſe's *Men got the Advantage.* We muſt not wonder that they contradict one another. Hiſtorians who do not make Truth their Guide will not always walk the ſame Way. As *Perth* was the Prize of the Battle of *Tippermoor*, ſo is *Aberdeen* the Prize of this Fight. After which he put on his Wings again, *and flew with incredible Speed and Diligence into* Argyle, *where having forc'd the Marquis to ſave himſelf in a Boat, he did*, what I verily believe is the trueſt Part of the Hiſtory, *deſtroy and fill the Province with Blood, Slaughter, Rapine and Fire*, to uſe *Manley*'s own good Words, for which he will ſurely have his Reward. *Nor were the other neighbouring Countries, as* Lorn *and the reſt that acknowledge the Dominion of* Argyle, *better us'd.* He then met the Marquis at *Innerlochy* with an Army thrice the Number of his own, charg'd them with ſuch Fury, that he broke their Ranks and defeated them with a great Slaughter, killing above 1500 on the Spot. The Prize of this Victory was the City of *Elgin*. He then forc'd *Hurrey*, who now again was in the Parliament's Service, to retreat, and offer'd *Bayly*, who was juſt come out of *England*, Battle; *Bayly* gave an Anſwer like a Man in his Wits to one out of them, *When I fight, it ſhall be at my own Choice, and not at another's.* After this, notwithſtanding he was deſerted by the *Gordons*, the Marquis of *Huntley* probably calling back his Sons on ſome Diſguſt at *Montroſe*'s imperious Behaviour, which was intolerable, *he march'd with incredible Speed to* Taodun, and with 150 Horſe and 600 nimble or running Footmen, he aſſaulted, took and plunder'd

A. D. 1646. the Town. Having done this, he made a Retreat of threeſcore Miles, without Sleep, without Meat, or any other Refreſhment, from *Bayly* and *Hurry*, who purſu'd him with 3000 Foot, and 800 Horſe; but as the *Presbyterians* could not live without Meat and Sleep, he got from them, and was reinforc'd by the Lord *Gordon*, a Name which in the *Huntley* Family has diſtinguiſh'd it ſelf in the Cauſe of Popery, as much as it has done in the Family of *Sutherland* in the Cauſe of the Proteſtant Religion. This Lord *Gordon* brought him 1000 Foot and 200 Horſe, and were a proper Band to join with the *Mackdonalds*, *Iriſh* Papiſts. There is no need of giving any Appellation to theſe Gentry, the Simplicity of their Names is enough to ſhew, without Epithet, what fine Heroes were employ'd in the Field, while the Earl of *Clarendon* and his Brother-Counſellors were at work in the Cabinet. The Reader will obſerve how *Montroſe* has in every one of theſe Actions made as much uſe of his Heels as his Head, Heart and Hand; That he has done a great deal of Miſchief to his Country, without doing his Maſter any Good; That he has not a Town nor a Houſe to hide in when the *Scots* Army comes up with him; That he has no Way to feed his Men but by Robbery and Rapine: Yet now it was that he wrote the King the fatal Letter, which hinder'd the Concluſion of the Treaty of Peace at *Uxbridge*. He has conquer'd from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, as he told the King; but it was ſuch a Conqueſt as the Barbarians were wont to make in the *Roman* Provinces in the *Bas Empire*, when they would ſometimes plunder the Country for 3 or 400 Miles together, and come and go as ſwift as a Tempeſt.

Montroſe being now 2000 ſtrong, fought *Hurrey* at *Alderne*, and defeated 3000 Foot and 500 Horſe, the 4th of *May*, 1645. and coming to *Alford*, where General *Bayly* lay, the Latter left his Foot at his Approach, and fled with his Horſe, who, according to Biſhop *Guthry* and Sir *Roger Manley*, could not have got off, if the Lord *Gordon* had not been kill'd. *Montroſe* was afterwards join'd by the Lord *Aboyne*, another *Gordon*, and the Earl of *Airly*, with 300 Horſe, and a numerous Recruit of Highlanders, forming in all an Army of 4 or 5000 Men, with which he reſolv'd to penetrate into the inmoſt Parts of the Kingdom, and diſperſe the Convention at *Perth*. He paſs'd the *Forth*, and incamp'd at *Kylſithe*, where he found the REBELS. If we muſt write after ſuch Hiſtorians, we muſt make uſe of their Words, or the Force and Beauty of their Hiſtories will be loſt, being 6000 Foot and 800 Horſe. *Montroſe*'s Men, animated by the old Earl of *Airly*, rais'd a *great Shout*, and the *Presbyterians* fell down as did the Walls of *Jericho* when the *Gideonites* blew their Horns: "The *Montroſians* ran upon the "Enemy, beat down ſuch as reſiſted, and "ruin'd all, ſcarce 100 of the 6000 Foot eſca-"ping, with the Loſs of 6 Men only." I have follow'd Biſhop *Wiſhart* and Sir *Roger Manley*, becauſe they will be allow'd to be two great Adorers of *Montroſe*'s Heroiſm, and here are indeed many adventurous Deeds, which were the Effects rather of Fury than Valour, for heroick Valour has always Wiſdom and Temper in its Company. Theſe Victories ſeem rather to be dreamt than perform'd: Here's not an Inch of Ground got, but what is loſt again as ſoon as it is left. *Montroſe* is no ſooner gone from *Perth*, than the States appoint their Convention there, and he has not a Garriſon in the Kingdom that could reſiſt the Covenanters a few Hours only. Yet the King in the Decline of his Fortune, was kept more in Heart by Hopes of *Montroſe*'s making his Way to him, than by any other Hope, unleſs it was from the Army of *Iriſh* REBELS. After the Battle of *Kylſithe*, *Glaſgow* and ſeveral Cities ſent Deputies to compliment the Marquis, that they might not be plunder'd and burnt, as was the Way of his War; for having no Proſpect of keeping any Place, his Buſineſs was to pillage it and ſpoil it. His Soldiers were the greateſt Robbers that ever infeſted a Proteſtant Kingdom. *Montroſe* fac'd *Edinburgh*, but did not enter it on Account of the Plague. He ſent in the Lord *Nappier* to demand the Priſoners of his Party, who were deliver'd to him; and now he receiv'd his Commiſſion to be *Generaliſſimo* of the Royal Armies in *Scotland*, after which we do not find he did any thing conſiderable; for the *Scots*, who were ſurpriz'd, but not intimidated by him, and as yet had only oppos'd him with raw Men, rais'd in haſte, ſent for *David Leſley* out of *England*, who advancing with a Body of 3000 Horſe, diſciplin'd Troops, the very Noiſe of it blaſted all the Blaze of *Montroſe*'s Glory. His Followers ſhrunk away from him, and to excuſe the entire Rout he met with at *Selkirk*, his Panegyriſts ſay he had but 500 Men left, when the Covenanters fell upon him, cut his Men to Pieces, and himſelf very narrowly eſcap'd at that Time; but ſome of his Followers were taken, as Sir *William Pollock*, Sir *Philip Nesbit*, *Alexander Ogilvie*, Col. *O Cahan*, and Col. *Laglin*, the two latter *Iriſh* REBELS, who were executed for their treaſonable Practices. The Lord *Clarendon* makes a great Merit of the King's ſending an Order to *Montroſe* to lay down his Arms, which I do not find to be ſo meritorious, for *David Leſly* had routed him before that Order came, and his future Exploits ſhew that his continuing in Arms would only have led him to a more honourable Death than the Covenanters had doom'd him to. *A. D.* 1646.

A. D. 1647. The *Engliſh* and *Scots* being agreed as to the Diſpoſal of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Parliament of *England* appointed Commiſſioners, *January* the 6th, to go to *Newcaſtle*, and receive the King and attend him to *Holmby*, a Royal Palace which they order'd for his Reſidence. Theſe Commiſſioners were the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord *Montagu*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Cooke*, Sir *Walter Earl*, *John Crewe*, Eſq; and Major General *Browne*, the Latter of chief Note for being one of the moſt deteſtable Apoſtates of thoſe variable Times. I ſhall ſay a little of him to open his Character, and prepare for what muſt be ſaid of him after the *Reſtoration*, when we ſhall find his Hands ſtain'd with the Blood of his deareſt Friends and Companions, as he now term'd them.

Some Account of Major General Browne.

His baſe Birth and Education fitted his Mind for Corruption; and tho' the Lord *Digby* did not ſucceed in his Attempt to get *Abington* from him, yet his Ear being us'd to Temptation, convey'd an Impreſſion the eaſier to him when it was offer'd a ſecond Time. Being nominated for this Commiſſion, he turn'd about to General *Ludlow*, who ſate behind him in the Houſe of Commons, and cry'd, *I will be ever true to you.* The General adds, "And truly "I then believ'd him, having met with him at "the Beginning of the War buying Horſes in "*Smithfield* for the Service of the Parliament, "where he ſpoke very affectionately concerning "this Undertaking, and ſerv'd them after-"wards very ſucceſsfully, eſpecially at *Abing-*"*ton*; but this *wretched* Man ſoon diſcover'd "the Corruption of his Nature, and the Malig-"nity that lay conceal'd in his Heart; for no

"ſooner

A. D. 1647.

" ſooner had the King found out his ambi-
" tious Temper, and caſt ſome ſlight Fa-
" vours upon him, giving him a Pair of Silk
" Stockings with his own Hand, but his low
" and abject Original and Education, a *Fag-*
" *got Seller*, became ſo prevalent in him
" as to transform him into an Agent and Spy
" for the King:" All which noble Qualities have recommended him to a Share of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Panegyricks; *He was a ſtout and diligent Commander, a Man of great Name and Intereſt.* The Parliament voted 3000 Pounds for the Charge of his Majeſty's Journey to *Holmby*, about 200 Pounds a Day, and 50 Pounds a Day for his Expence there, with the following Perſons to attend him in ordinary, as Sir *Fulk Greville*, Sir *Patrick Marel*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Harrington*, Mr. *Maxwel*, Mr. *Aſtley*, Mr. *Middleton*, Serjeant at Arms, Dr. *Wilſon*, a Phyſician, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Caryl*, Miniſters. But the two Miniſters were unwelcome to his Majeſty, who had form'd a Project to eſcape in concert with Dr. *Hudſon*, his Guide from *Oxford* to the *Scots* Camp. *Hudſon* wrote to Major General *Langhorn*, Governor of *Pembroke*, offering an immenſe Sum if he would be Aſſiſtant in that Deſign. This Letter was convey'd to Mr. *Gibb* of *Lincolns-Inn*, by him to Mr. *Price* in *Wales*, and by him to *Langhorn*; though this Offer did not operate now, it did next Year to his Shame and Confuſion. Another Project was for a Ship to lye off *Shields*, and upon the firſt Opportunity for his Majeſty to eſcape, that he ſhould embark in it for *Holland*. But the Parliament having Information of it, and Captain *Batten* being order'd to obſerve that Ship, the King ſubmitted to go with the Parliament's Commiſſioners, who arriv'd at *Newcaſtle* the 22d of *January*, and his Majeſty appointed the 24th for their Audience.

The King's Servants at Holmby.

Projects for his Eſcape.

The Lord *Pembroke*, who was no great Orator, told his Majeſty *his Children were well at St.* James's, *and they were commanded by both Houſes to attend him to* Holmby. The King put off giving them an Anſwer at that Time, and the Earl of *Lanerick* arriving from *Scotland*, with the Votes of that Parliament againſt his Majeſty's coming into that Kingdom, he told his Lordſhip and other *Scots* Lords at *Newcaſtle*, *That he came to their Army for Protection, and had it, but now he perceiv'd it would be otherwiſe*: And they being to deliver up the Garriſons he deſir'd to know how he was to be *diſpos'd of*? adding, *Go into another Room and conſider of it*, which they did, and returning acquainted the King, *that ſince his Majeſty had refus'd to take the Covenant and ſign the* Propoſitions, *they were to deliver him to the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* England: The next Day thoſe Commiſſioners waited on him for his Anſwer, who only ſaid he *ſhould not be ready for ſome Days.* And *Sanderſon* aſſures us he told the Earl of *Pembroke*, *he had bely'd him in many Things, but if this Journey pleas'd him he ſhould be much miſtaken.* *Pembroke* reply'd, *If he had the leaſt Doubt of it ſome other ſhould have come of the Errand*; *and if this his good Service diſpleas'd the King he was like to diſpleaſe him more*: To which his Majeſty anſwer'd, *The* Scots *are beholding to you for travelling ſo often on their Errands.* Six Days after the *Scots* march'd out of *Newcaſtle*, and the *Engliſh* Troops entring it as ſoon as they were gone, the Parliament Commiſſioners receiv'd the King the 3d of *February*, lodg'd in the ſame Houſe, and watch'd by Turns. They had intimated to his Majeſty their Deſign to remove to *Durham*, and he ſeem'd to comply with Chearfulneſs, but could not help this ſevere Reflection on the *Scots*, That *he was better ſatisfy'd to be with thoſe that dearly bought him than with thoſe that had baſely ſold him*; which was the Cry of the *Cavaliers* then and a long while after. Though the *Scots* were ſo far from receiving any Purchaſe Money, that they had not receiv'd their Pay. Dr. *Calamy* tells us they receiv'd but half of it; yet the Earl of *Clarendon*, Archdeacon *Echard*, *Manley*, *Sanderſon*, *Walker*, *Warwick*, *Dugdale*, *Guthry* and others as excellent for Sincerity and Truth, ſtill to be nam'd, as *Perenchefs*, *Heylin*, *Nalſon*, *Ryves*, *Symmons*, *Wagſtaff*, *Heath*, *Hollingworth*, do affirm that the *Scots* did ſell the King for ſo much Money, in as direct a Bargain as ever was made for *African* or *Sword-Blade* Stock.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners, the King in their Company, went from *Newcaſtle* to *Durham*, *February* the 8th, under Convoy of 900 Horſe, where Proclamation was made that none who had deſerted the Parliament ſhould come near his Majeſty, and one *Mungo Murray* attempting it was diſcover'd, and impriſon'd at *Nottingham*. General *Fairfax*, with many of his Officers, met the King, who at his coming ſtop'd his Horſe: The General alighted and kiſs'd his Majeſty's Hand, and then mounting, talk'd with him ſome Miles, the King giving his Excellency this Character, *That he was a Man of Honour, and had kept his Word in obſerving Articles.* However good Words he gave him now, in one of his Letters to the Queen he call'd him the Parliament's *brutiſh* General. Upon which the Conjurer *Lilly* ſeverely, if not *brutiſhly* reflected; " A moſt uncivil Term and " Epithet to beſtow upon ſo brave, ſo civil, ſo " valiant, and ſo much a Gentleman as *Fairfax* " was and is: Aſſuredly the Progenitors of the " Lord *Fairfax* were Gentlemen, and of good " Eſtates, when the Anceſtors of the *Stuarts* " were but poor Stewards to a Family in *Scot-* " *land.*" There's a great deal more of it but 'tis not ſo beautiful as to make one in Love with it. One of the above-mention'd Hiſtory Writers tells us that the People where the King came, cry'd out, *Hoſanna*, but the milder Sort *wept and fell a Propheſying.*

Gen. Fairfax *abus'd by the King.* P. 10.

The *Scots* march'd over the *Tyne* ſixteen Days before the King arriv'd at *Holmby*; from whence his Majeſty wrote a Letter to the Houſe of Lords, deſiring he might have two or three Divines out of theſe following to attend him: Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Duppa*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Lany*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *March*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Bailey*, Dr. *Haywood*, Dr. *Beal*, Dr. *Fuller*. The Parliament anſwer'd, *That all theſe Chaplains were diſaffected to the* eſtabliſh'd *Government of the Church, and had not taken the* Covenant; *but for others that had, if his Majeſty pleaſes, they ſhall be ſent to him*, which has given Occaſion for this ſeraphick Meditation in *Eikon Baſilike*; *My Agony muſt not be reliev'd with the Preſence of any one good Angel, for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and Diſcreet Divine*; ſuch as *Sheldon*, of whom I never heard any Thing better than that he took great Delight in *Hunting*, and in Archbiſhop *Laud*, or *Juxon*, whom *Whitlocke* commends as one of the keeneſt Sportſmen in *England*, and the beſt Breeder of Dogs. I ſhould not touch upon ſuch mean Particularities, as true as they are, had I not been provok'd to it by the Lord *Clarendon*'s untrue Character of *Caryl*, the Divine, whom the Parliament order'd to attend on the King,

A. D. 1647. King, and whom his Majeſty intimates to be an *evil Angel*, though his Enemies allow he had all the King's Characteriſticks of a good One, he was *Learned, Godly, Diſcreet.*

Lord Clarendon *of* Mr. Caryl.

The Earl of *Clarendon* avers he was a Man of *mean Parts, of moſt impertinent troubleſome Confidence and Importunity*, which errs as much againſt Truth as againſt Charity and good Manners. As to his Parts, *A. Wood* his bitter Enemy owns he *was in his younger Years a noted Diſputant*; and if his Parts had been ſo mean, it is not likely the honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn* would have choſen him to be their Preacher. As to his Learning, Dr. *Calamy* tells us, *He had univerſally the Character of a learned Man.* And as to his *Impertinence, his troubleſome Confidence and Importunity*, his Meekneſs and Patience were ſuch that 'twas a common Thing to compare him with *Job*, on whoſe Book he wrote a Comment, which is not excell'd by any other in any Language; though all the Lord *Clarendon*'s Characters have not ſo many Infirmities, yet there is not one but has its Share: And when the *Presbyterian* Miniſters or their Religion comes in the way, his Lordſhip, or the Doctors his Editors, loſe all Patience, and fall upon them without the leaſt Regard to Truth or Decency. What fine Notions theſe Gentlemen have of true Piety and Devotion one may ſee by the Earl's complaining that the King was forc'd to pray for himſelf; and he tells us how and where he did it; *He read the Common Prayer in his Bed-Chamber.* How many of theſe Doctors do really know no more of Divinity than that the Reading the Common Prayer Book in a Bed Chamber is as much an Act of Devotion as the divine Communication between God and a pious Soul in holy Contemplation and Prayer? This is either Cant or Enthuſiaſm with them; but they are very well read in the Rights, Prerogatives, Powers, Revenues and Dignities which are annex'd to their Doctorſhips. *The King would not allow Mr.* Caryl *ſo much as to ſay Grace*, according to Mr. *Echard*, which agrees very little with the Effuſion of the holy Spirit, ſo much affected in *Eikon Baſilike*, ſaid to be written in this and other *Solitudes*, but in Fact written in this and the next Year, by Dr. *John Gauden*, a *Covenanter*. *Manley* vouches for it, that though it was written by a *Presbyterian, it ſurpaſſes all other Books except the Bible, in Piety.* Notwithſtanding all the Care of the Commiſſioners at *Holmby* to prevent the Delivery of Papers to his Majeſty, yet Colonel *Boſvile*, formerly of the King's Party, diſguis'd like a Countryman, as the King and the Commiſſioners were paſſing over a Bridge going to the *Bowling Green* at *Harrowden*, put a Packet of Letters into his Majeſty's Hand, which the Commiſſioners obſerving, cauſed the pretended Countryman to be apprehended, and he confeſs'd the Letters came from *France*, and as he was inform'd, from the Prince, to deſire Leave that he might make a Campaign in the *French* Army under the Duke of *Orleans*. The Commiſſioners had not known of the Delivery of the Packet if a Miller, who ſtood by and ſaw it, had not cry'd out, *Nobles and Gentlemen, there's a Man gives the King Letters. Boſvile* offer'd the Miller Gold to hold his Tongue, but he would not take it: His Majeſty being deſir'd to let the Commiſſioners know the Contents of the Letters, anſwer'd, *He was not to give an Account to any Man living.*

The Royal State was kept up at *Holmby*, and the Commiſſioners made good Chear, having a plentiful Allowance. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors had Audience of the King there, to notify the Death of the Prince of *Orange*; and People flock to him to be cur'd of the King's Evil, a pleaſant Impoſition on the Populace, from the Time of *Edward* the Confeſſor, who according to *Manley* receiv'd the Gift from Heaven, to the Time of *James* the Confeſſor, and after the *Revolution*, when that good Presbyterian Mr. *Harley* took the Church into his Protection. The Parliament order'd a Declaration to be drawn, *informing the People of the Superſtition of being touch'd by the King for the Evil.* Every one has heard 100 Stories of the Cures by this Touch, which were not more talk'd of than the Cures by the Stroak of *Greatarakes* the *Stroaker* in *Lincolns-Inn Fields*, in the next Reign. The *Alderſtick*, the *Key in the Bible*, the *Ague Charm* have done the like Wonders, and had doubtleſs as much Efficacy; but the Notion was kept up after the *Reformation* by thoſe of the Prieſthood, who were for returning back again to *Popery*, under which they were in Poſſeſſion of Miracles of *Exorciſing*, *Abſolution*, &c. very beneficial to them both in Profit and Credit. *A. D.* 1647. *King's Evil.*

The Lady *Cave*, attempted as *Boſvile* had done, to deliver Letters from *France* to the King, but being alſo diſcover'd ſhe was apprehended, and *Boſvile* ſent to *Newgate*. *King's Anſwer to the Propoſitions.*

His Majeſty told the Commiſſioners he had long expected the Propoſitions to be ſent to him. As for thoſe he receiv'd at *Newcaſtle*, if there were no other to come he would ſend his Anſwer, which ſince they did not allow him a Secretary he would *ſcribble* over himſelf. The Contents were his Conſent, *That* Presbyterian *Government be ſettled for three Years*, and to *ratify the Aſſembly of* Divines, propounding a certain Number of his own Miniſters to be added to them, to conſider what Government ſhould be after the three Years. In the mean Time he and his Houſhold to be free to uſe the *Common Prayer Book*. He yielded the *Militia* for 10 Years, and after to return to him. He is not ſatisfy'd in the *Covenant*, and would have ſome of his own Miniſters ſent him to ſatisfy his Scruples. He will confirm the great Seal and all done by it, himſelf to have it for the Future as formerly. He grants what is deſir'd for the City *Militia*; interpoſes for his Party; promiſes to recal the Prince, and deſires to come to *London*. He aſſents to an Act againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts, and for educating the Children of Papiſts in the Proteſtant Religion; as alſo for Penalties againſt Papiſts, when he is ſatisfy'd what they are to be. He propoſes a general Act of Oblivion and Pardon to all on both Sides: The latter would have ſav'd Sir *Edward Hyde* and other Delinquents, whom the Parliament reſolv'd to make Examples of, as faſt as they could come at them: It was for that they drew their Swords, and the Inflexibility of the King in that Article, gave too much Reaſon to ſuſpect that he would not protect ſuch notorious Offenders ſo obſtinately, unleſs he intended ſtill to make Uſe of them or of others equally exceptionable, when he had the Power in his Hands. Theſe evil Counſellors eternally cry'd up his Majeſty's Conſtancy to his Servants, who had conſtantly advis'd him to take thoſe Meaſures which had brought this Miſery upon him, but their Hearts were harden'd againſt his Preſervation, and they had rather expoſe his Life than their own. *King's Counſellors ruin him.*

The King flatters himſelf with Hopes that after the Treaty of *Weſtphalia* was concluded, and *France* and *Spain* were reconcil'd, one or both of thoſe Kings would aſſiſt him, and his wiſe Counſellors encouraging thoſe vain Hopes very much con-

A. D. 1647. contributed to the before-mention'd Conſtancy. A Letter to him from Mr. *Aſhburnham* was intercepted, adviſing him to *forbear making an abſolute Agreement with the Parliament, for now that the Peace beyond Sea was almoſt concluded, the King might rely upon the Aid of* 40 *or* 50000 *Men*; equally ſilly and incredible; for as has been obſerv'd already, the Power of the Parliament by Land and Sea was become formidable and terrible to all the Nations around them. Was any Thing more eaſy than to imagine that the very Name of a Foreign, eſpecially a *French* Army, would have reconcil'd all Parties againſt the common Enemy? and was it a proper Time for them to invade *England*, when there was a victorious Army of 10000 Horſe and 30000 Foot ready to knock them on the Head as faſt as they landed, if they eſcap'd the victorious Fleet at Sea? Beſides, What was it to Foreigners by what Title the Government of *England* went? The Alliance was as good, if not better to them, under one Title as under another, and Nations do not uſe to go to War in earneſt about Words, when the Things are the ſame.

Diviſions between ſeveral Parties.

While the King remain'd at *Holmby* the Two Houſes of Parliament were as little at Eaſe as his Majeſty. The Lords and the major Vote of the Houſe of Commons, together with the City of *London*, were for cloſing with the King on the Terms he propos'd, with ſome Amendment as to the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the *Presbytery* and *Directory*, and ſettling the *Militia* in them for 20 Years, with ſome Security that it ſhould not afterwards be employ'd againſt the Rights and Liberties of the People. The Party in the Houſe of Commons, who thought ſuch Security was not practicable, fortify'd themſelves with the Favour of the Army, which the other Party reſolv'd to break, and began with too much Precipitation. If it be pretended that the Intrigues of the Royaliſts ſow'd the Seeds of Diviſion between the Parliament and Army, it is falſe: Thoſe Seeds were ſown by the Bigotry of ſome, and the Ambition of others: The Royaliſts had neither Heads to contrive, nor Hands to execute much Miſchief; they doubtleſs look'd on with Pleaſure, or in more homely Phraſe, with gaping Mouths, in Hopes that ſomething would drop into them. *Ludlow* tells us *the Party in the Houſe that were for betraying the Cauſe of their Country became Encouragers of ſuch Petitioners as came to them from the City of* London, *and other Places, for a ſpeedy Peace, and to ſuppreſs* Sectaries; Complaints were made againſt the Army, both Officers and Soldiers *as ſuch, who held erroneous and ſchiſmatical Doctrines contrary to the true Doctrine; and that they took upon them to preach and expound the Scripture, not being learned or ordain'd.* "Thus, ſays *Whitlocke*, "*Thoſe*, who were ſo lately in the higheſt E- "ſteem and Reſpect, *as Freers of their Country* "*from Servitude and Oppreſſion, are now by* "*the ſame People look'd on as Sectaries and* "*Oppreſſors themſelves.* Thus we may ſee the "Inconſtancy of the giddy Multitude, and the "Uncertainty of worldly Affairs. When their "Turns are ſerv'd, their Minds change. Their "beſt Friends when they relieve them, are "counted their Enemies when they are reliev'd.

Army offended.

The Lords receiv'd all theſe Petitioners very graciouſly; but the Oppoſition they met with in the Houſe of Commons gave Occaſion to doubt the Succeſs of their Petitions, the Army being offended with them. The next City Petition ſet forth *their Zeal to the Parliament and Covenant, and their Apprehenſion of the Advance of the Army, not yet disbanded, nearer the City. They pray the Army may be remov'd, and take Notice of a dangerous Petition counter to theirs, a foot in the City.* The Houſe anſwer'd, *That thoſe* Particulars *and that Petition were under Conſideration.* Mr. *Tocliday*, who was a Promoter of the counter Petition, was ſent to Jail by the Committee to whom it was referr'd. *Though many excus'd him*, according to *Whitlocke*, *it being as lawful for thoſe of one Judgment as of another, to Petition the Parliament.* Nothing could be more obvious than that this Jarring among the Parties would in Time be fatal to them; and that if they had now united heartily in Endeavours to ſettle Religion and Liberty according to their firſt Profeſſions, they might eaſily have obtain'd their Ends of the King; and that reſtleſs Faction, who by their Diviſions recover'd Strength, would never have held up their Heads againſt them any more, nor have had it again in their Power to ruin their Country, which they almoſt accompliſh'd in the two next Reigns. A. D. 1647.

The Petition from *Eſſex* deſir'd that the Soldiers quarter'd in that County, might be remov'd, and it was referr'd to the General: But the Army took great Offence at it, as a Reflection upon their Conduct; nor were they leſs offended with the Votes about their going to *Ireland*, againſt which they were preparing a Remonſtrance; but Major General *Skippon*, Colonel *Harley*, and the more moderate Party hinder'd it for the preſent, and Commiſſioners were ſent to the Army, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *John Clotworthy*, to ſee what could be done towards their Embarkation for that Kingdom: Theſe Commiſſioners met Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Field Officers at *Saffron Walden*, where it was propos'd to ſhip 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe for *Ireland*. The Officers excus'd their engaging poſitively, but ſaid, whether they went or not they would endeavour to advance that Service among thoſe under their reſpective Commands. A general Anſwer which determin'd nothing; but they afterwards came to Particulars, and deſir'd to be inform'd, 1. *Under whoſe Command they were to go.* 2. *What Regiments, Troops or Companies were to be continu'd in* England. 3. *What Aſſurance for Pay and Subſiſtence for thoſe that go to* Ireland. 4. *What Satisfaction in Point of Arrears, and Indemnity for paſt Services*, People beginning to threaten them with Proceſſes for what they had done in the *War*, againſt which it highly behov'd them to be indemnify'd. A Petition was drawn up by the Officers of the Army for the General to deliver it to the Parliament if he thought fit. 1. *For Indemnity.* 2. *For Arrears.* 3. *Againſt Preſſing to ſerve.* 4. *For Relief of Widows and maim'd Soldiers.* 5. *For Pay till disbanded.* All theſe Particulars were reaſonable, and had probably been granted ſooner without a Petition than with it; for the Parliament began to think themſelves under Direction by thoſe Army Petitions, which were rather Remonſtrances or Demands. *Cromwel* and *Ireton* encourag'd theſe Petitions behind the Curtain, that they might get the Army to be at their Beck, and reſtore the King or deſtroy him, as they thought it moſt for their Intereſt.

Cromwel *and* Ireton's *Intrigues.*

The Parliament being inform'd of this Petition, ſent to the General to uſe his Endeavours to put a Stop to it, and declar'd the good Eſteem they had of the Army, who were not to be appeas'd with ſuch Declarations. For Colonel *Harley* and Colonel *Roſſiter*, Members of the Houſe of Commons, receiv'd Letters from them, that the Petition ſhould go forward, and thoſe that refus'd to

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ſubſcribe were threaten'd to be caſhier'd. When it was ready Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Colonel *Ireton*, and Colonel *Rich*, engag'd to deliver it to the Parliament, whoſe Commiſſioners went a ſecond Time to *Saffron Walden*, to treat with the Officers; but they found none of them complying except Colonel *Harley* and Colonel *Forteſcue*: Upon which both Houſes voted, *That the Army Petition was ſet on Foot by* evil Spirits, *purpoſely to raiſe Diſtempers among the Soldiers; that they forgave what is paſt, and forbid farther Proceedings in it.* Which *Vote* was communicated to the Officers by the General; and in Anſwer to it, *They expreſs a deep Senſe of their Unhappineſs in being miſunderſtood in their clear Intention, which was no other than by way of Petition to repreſent to the General thoſe Inconveniencies which would neceſſarily befal moſt of the Army after Diſbanding. They deſir'd that as much as he thought fit of their Petition might ſubmiſſively be made known to the Houſe of Commons, and aſſur'd him they would wholly acquieſe in whatſoever he ſhould think fit to offer.* The General ſent up Colonel *Hammond*, Colonel *Lilburn*, Colonel *Pride*, and other Officers, to give the Houſe a full Account of the Buſineſs, and acquaint them that he doubted not of the Army's Obedience. But *Fairfax* knew no more of it than they told him, which was plauſible enough. The Secret lay in the Breaſts of *Cromwel* and *Ireton*. The Officers were call'd into the Houſe, where *Pride* was charg'd with reading the Petition at the Head of his Regiment, and threatning thoſe that would not ſubſcribe, which he deny'd. The Houſe requir'd the Officers to return to their Charges, and ſuppreſs it, which more irritated the Soldiery, who ſaid it was a hard Caſe that Petitions againſt them were favourably receiv'd, and their own Petition in their Defence, obſtructed. This occaſion'd their Talk of drawing to a Rendezvouz; and to prevent it the Parliament's Commiſſioners had a third Meeting with the General and Council of Officers at *Saffron Walden*, where were preſent 200 Officers. The Earl of *Warwick* earneſtly entreated thoſe of them who were appointed for *Ireland*, to go on that Service; ſetting forth the Neceſſity and Honour of it. General *Fairfax* alſo much encourag'd them to undertake it: But Colonel *Lambert* deſir'd to know what Satisfaction the Parliament had given as to *Arrears, Indemnity, Maintenance in* Ireland, *and Conduct*: Sir *John Clotworthy* reply'd, *They are all anſwer'd, except* Indemnity, *of which the Parliament will take Care, and have given Inſtructions to the Judges, not to receive any* Indictment *againſt Soldiers for Things done*, in Tempore & Loco Belli, *till an Ordinance can be brought in.* Then the Officers ask'd who was to be General? They were anſwer'd that both Houſes had appointed Major General *Skippon* to be General, and Major General *Maſſey* Lieutenant General. Colonel *Hammond* ſaid, *If they were ſure Major General* Skippon *would go, he doubted not a great Part of the Army would engage with him.* Upon which there was a Cry, *All, All*; Fairfax *and* Cromwel, *and we all go.* Not many of the Officers would then engage in that Service: On the contrary moſt of them ſign'd a Declaration in the Nature of the Petition before mention'd, and authoriz'd Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Col. *Hammond*, Col. *Lambert*, Colonel *Lilburn*, Colonel *Hewſon* and Colonel *Rich*, to act for them. There were but 7 Horſe Officers, 7 of Dragoons, and 87 Foot Officers, who undertook for *Ireland*; and the four Regiments that were quarter'd in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, abſolutely refus'd the Service; but Major *Huntington* appeas'd them and brought them into a better Temper. Such brave Men as theſe were, muſt have been proud of that Service to revenge the Slaughter of 200000 Proteſtants, if an evil Spirit rais'd by *Cromwel* and *Ireton* had not poſſeſs'd them. The Parliament however could not think they had ſo far renounc'd Subjection to them as to uſurp Superiority over them, and *voted, That the Army, Horſe and Foot, ſhould be disbanded with all convenient Speed*, and four Officers were ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, for obſtructing the Engaging for *Ireland*: But this Activity was like the Blaze of a dying Light. Some Officers in the Name of themſelves and their Fellow Officers, preſented to the Houſe a Vindication of their late Petition, ſetting forth *the great Senſe they had of ſome Miſrepreſentations lately made to the Houſe of their Actions and Intentions, by which, as it is conceiv'd, Endeavours are uſed to alienate the Houſes of Parliament from their ever truſty and obedient Army; the Accompliſhment of which would much rejoice their and the Kingdom's Enemies; they deſire the Liberty to Petiton as Soldiers now, and hereafter as Members of the Common Wealth; and that their Integrity might be vindicated from ſuch falſe Suggeſtions and Reports as had been made and rais'd againſt them, and ſuggeſted to the Houſes.*

Army Petition.

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Whitlocke obſerves, that a victorious Army out of Imployment is *very inclinable to aſſume Power over their Principals*; and this occaſion'd the Parliament's growing ſtill more eager to have them employ'd in *Ireland*, which the Army being ſenſible of, were averſe to that Imployment; and eight Regiments of Horſe enter'd into a Sort of *Aſſociation* to ſtand by one another in endeavouring to obtain Satisfaction. They choſe *Agents* out of the Troopers, two for every Regiment, who were term'd *Agitators*, and were a Sort of Committee to conſider of what was proper to be done towards obtaining their Ends: The Chief of theſe *Agitators* was one *Allen*, afterwards Adjutant General, one *Sexby*, afterwards Colonel, *Shepherd* and *Philips*, who drew up a Declaration, ſhewing the Reaſons *why they could not engage in the Service of* Ireland *under the preſent Conduct, and complaining of the many Scandals and falſe Suggeſtions that were of late againſt the Army and their Proceedings; that they were taken as Enemies, and Deſigns form'd againſt them, which would not permit them to leave the Kingdom till they were ſatisfy'd in their Expectations, and their juſt Deſires were granted. Sexby, Allen*, and *Shepherd*, brought this Declaration to Major General *Skippon*, who deliver'd it to the Houſe; and the three *Agitators* were call'd in and examin'd, touching their drawing and ſubſcribing it. They were ask'd, *Whether their Officers were concern'd in it?* and they anſwer'd, *It was drawn up at a* Rendezvous *of the Eight Regiments, and afterwards ſign'd at ſeveral Meetings by their* Agitators, *but few of the Officers knew or took Notice of it.* They were then ask'd, *Whether none of them had been* Cavaliers? and Major General *Skippon* atteſted for them, *That they had conſtantly ſerv'd the Parliament, from the Beginning of the War.* It being demanded, *What was the Meaning of ſome Expreſſions in the Petition?* they anſwer'd, *It was a joint Act of thoſe Regiments, and they could give no punctual Anſwer, being only Agents; but if they might have the Queries in Writing, they would ſend or carry them to thoſe*

Agitators *choſen by the Soldiers.*

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But this not ſatisfying, another Petition was carry'd on in the Army much to the ſame Effect as the former, only the *Agitators* obſerv'd the Order of the Parliament in directing it to their General, and deſiring him to preſent it Col. *Edward Harley*, a ſtaunch Presbyterian, Father of thoſe two ſtaunch Churchmen *Robert* and *Edward* in Queen *Anne*'s Time, told the Houſe that his Regiment was highly diſſatisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Petitioners, and ſome Members mov'd that they might be declar'd *Traytors*, alledging they were Servants, who ought to obey, not capitulate. Others were not wanting to ſuggeſt the Cauſe of theſe Diſtempers to be *Cromwel*, and that he ought to be ſecur'd; but he being advertis'd of it, went out of Town immediately, and repair'd to the Army. The Parliament appointed him, Major General *Skippon*, Col. *Ireton*, and Col. *Fleetwood*, to acquaint the Soldiers, *That the Houſe would provide for them before diſbanding, have their Arrears audited, and paſs an Ordnance of Indemnity.* *Cromwel* did not as yet ſhew himſelf a Malecontent, and acted with *Skippon* in declaring the *Votes* of Parliament to the Army; adding, *They were enjoin'd to quell all Diſtempers*, which he ſaid to aggravate Things, and hinder a Reconciliation. Some Officers deſir'd to know, *What was meant by* Diſtempers *in the Army? If Grievances, which the Soldiers had alſo Cauſe to complain of, they had then ſomething to offer, but were unwilling to declare the Senſe of the reſpective Troops, Regiments and Companies, without firſt acquainting them therewith.* They took great Offence at the *Vote*, *declaring thoſe to be Enemies, who perſiſted in the* Petition. This *Vote* was put when the Houſe was weary with long ſitting, by Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, who drew it up upon his Knee, and the Soldiery never forgave him for it. 'Twas oppos'd by ſeveral Members, who foreſaw and fear'd the ill Conſequences of it. But the Majority carry'd it and ſome other Articles, which the *Agitators* of the Army perceiv'd were preparatory to their Puniſhment, and reſolv'd to prevent it as ſoon as they could. They declar'd, *There was no* Diſtemper *in the Army, but many* Grievances; and being inform'd that the Parliament had voted to diſband all ſuch as would not engage for *Ireland*, they came to a ſudden Reſolution to poſſeſs themſelves of the Perſon of the King, and cut the Matter ſhort, by depriving them of the Means of coming to any Terms with him to their Prejudice. So they ſent Cornet *Joyce* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and an Order in Writing to take the King out of the Hands of the Parliament's Commiſſioners.

Crom-wel's double Dealing.

Vote againſt the Agitators.

Who ſeize the King's Perſon.

There were ſeveral Officers in the Army who did not approve of the Proceedings of the *Agitators*, as Sir *Robert Pye*, Col. *Forteſcue*, Col. *Greaves*, Col. *Sheffield*, Col. *Butler*, all of *Hollis*'s Party. Theſe were contented their Regiments ſhould be diſbanded. Others thought it might prove dangerous to both Parliament and Army. Theſe objected that the Latter would not ſubmit to it. Moſt of the Members who were piqued at the Army had been thrown out of their Poſts by the *Self-denying Ordinance*, and complain'd, that notwithſtanding that Ordinance, *Cromwel* and *Skippon* continu'd in their Commands, and others, as *Rich* and *Harriſon*, had been choſen Members ſince, and were admitted to ſit. *Hollis*'s Party did not directly declare againſt the Army, but pretended to eaſe the People of Taxes by diſbanding them, and once more Commiſſioners were appointed on both Sides, to try whether any Accommodation could be made. For the Parliament were the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Skippon*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Col. *White*, Mr. *Scory*, Mr. *Pury*. For the Army were Col. *Ireton*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Lambert*, and Major *Desborough*. Theſe Commiſſioners met at *Wickham*, and probably had accommodated Matters, if the Agitators had not in the mean time ſent *Joyce* to take Poſſeſſion of the Perſon of the King, which he did the 5th of *June*. The Cornet came to *Holmby* the Night before, and drew up his Troop, ſome ſay 50 and ſome 500 Horſe before the King's Lodgings, at about Eleven a Clock, and then demanded Entrance of Col. *Greaves* and Major General *Browne*, who upon this Alarm immediately doubled the Guards, and ask'd him his Name and Buſineſs. He told him his Name was *Joyce*, a Cornet in Col. *Whaley*'s Regiment, and his Buſineſs was to *ſpeak with the King.* Being ask'd, *From whom?* He ſaid, *From my ſelf; my Errand is to the King, I muſt and will ſpeak with him. Greaves* and *Browne* bad the Soldiers *Stand to their Arms, and be ready to fire at the Word.* But thoſe Soldiers finding *Joyce*'s Men were their old Companions, open'd the Gates to them, and receiv'd them as Friends. *Joyce* plac'd Centinels at the Chamber Doors of the Commiſſioners, and by the Back-Stairs, went up to the Door of the Chamber where the King lay, at which he knock'd ſmartly. The Grooms in waiting deſir'd him to forbear, the King being aſleep; but the Noiſe wak'd him, and being inform'd of the Matter, he ſaid, *He would not riſe to ſpeak with him till the Morning*, when he ſent for *Joyce*, who told his Majeſty he was order'd to remove him to the Army. The King demanded a Sight of his Inſtructions, and *Joyce* pointing to the Court-Yard where his Troop was drawn up, ſaid, *There are my Inſtructions.* His Majeſty looking out at the Window, and ſeeing them to be tall, ſtout, and well arm'd, reply'd with a Smile, *Your Inſtructions are in fair Characters, legible without ſpelling.* The Cornet then preſs'd the King to go along with him. His Majeſty told him, *He would not ſtir, unleſs the Commiſſioners went alſo. Joyce* anſwer'd coldly, *He was indifferent as to that*; and promis'd his Majeſty ſhould be civilly us'd, and his Servants and other Conveniences continu'd to him. Upon which the King conſented to go. But the the Parliament's Commiſſioners coming to him after *Joyce* was gone to his Troop, they perſwaded him to alter his Reſolution; which the Cornet perceiving when he return'd, put his Majeſty in Mind of his Promiſe, acquainting him, *That he was obliged to execute his Orders.* The King reply'd, *Since I have given you my Word, I will go with you.* But he bid the Earl of *Dumferlin*, who was preſent, tell the Parliament, *That he was taken thence unwillingly; and that tho' he might ſign to many Things,*

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Hollis's Party.

Joyce carries the King from Holmby.

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Things, being in this Condition, yet it was not to be believ'd till further Notice given them. The Commiſſioners ask'd *Joyce*, *Whether he had any Orders from the Parliament, and whether he was ſent by the General?* To which he bluntly reply'd, *No.* Two of them, Major General *Browne* and Mr. *Crew*, publickly declar'd, *That the King was forced out of their Hands.* His Majeſty went into his Coach, and the Parliament's Commiſſioners follow'd him whither *Joyce* thought fit to carry him and them; and except that the Cornet was ſomewhat blunt in his Language, the Lord *Clarendon* owns he behav'd civilly enough towards the King.

His Officers who waited on him were continu'd, and S r *Robert Pye*, a Colonel in the Army, ſupplying the Place of Equerry, rode bare before him. General *Fairfax* knew nothing at all of this unwarrantable Proceeding; and as ſoon as he did know it, he ſent Col. *Whalley*, with a Party of Horſe, to uſe all Means but Conſtraint to cauſe his Majeſty to return to *Holmby*. The King was come to Sir *John Cuts*'s at *Childerley* near *Cambridge* before *Whalley* could get up with him; and when *Whalley* would have perſwaded him to return to *Holmby*, he abſolutely refus'd it, flattering himſelf that he ſhould find better Uſage from the Army than he had found from the Parliament: So *Whalley* was only added to his Convoy; and *Joyce* frankly own'd, *That Lieutenant General* Cromwel *had given him Orders at* London *to do all he had done.*

Cromwel was return'd from the Army to the Parliament while this was doing. He at firſt diſown'd it both to the Two Houſes and the General: But the Feint did not laſt long. Both Houſes were terribly ſurpriz'd at this bold Action of *Joyce*'s. The Earl of *Clarendon* is extremely delighted with it; but his Lordſhip's Jeſts have too much Gravity in them to have too much Wit. So they are generally taken from Religion; Mr. *Marſhall was ſent for to pray with the Parliament.* The General could with great Sincerity aſſure them, *That* Joyce *acted without his Privity; That it was his and the Army's Reſolution to ſtudy to ſettle Peace and the juſt Liberties of the People; and the Parliament's ſpeedy Application to theſe, will further the diſbanding of the Army, whoſe Senſe is clear from oppoſing Presbytery, or having an* Independent *Government, or holding a Licentiouſneſs in Religion, but to leave all to the Wiſdom of the Two Houſes.* *Fairfax* meant as he ſaid, but it was not in his Power to perform it. To excuſe the taking away the King from *Holmby*, 'twas given out by the Soldiers, that the Parliament intended to have him remov'd to *London*, and to make Peace with him: It was even ſaid, that Col. *Greaves* had receiv'd Orders from them to that Purpoſe. But *Cromwel* was beforehand with them. The Stroke being ſtruck, the Parliament thought it the wiſeſt way to temporize with the Army till a better Juncture offer'd, and wrote to their Commiſſioners appointed to treat with the Army's Commiſſioners, to go to the General, and confer with him about further Satisfaction for the Soldiers. Theſe Commiſſioners met *Joyce* on the Road as he was conveying the King to *New-Market*, and one of them told the Cornet *he deſerv'd to be hang'd*; but *Joyce* was not in the leaſt ſtartled at it, and gave them to underſtand, *That he from whom he receiv'd his Orders, was able to protect him in the Execution of them.* When *Cromwel* came to the Army, which he had promis'd the Parliament to bring to Reaſon, he repreſented to *Fairfax*, that nothing could have been done of greater Advantage to the Army and their Generals, to the Church and State, than what *Joyce* had been doing; That the King was on the Point of making an Accommodation with the Parliament, who had determin'd to ſend Col. *Greaves* to fetch him; and if *Joyce* had not fetch'd him, there would have been an End of both Officers and Army, and all the Pains they had taken for the Publick Good, would not only have been uſeleſs, but criminal. Theſe Reaſons appeas'd the General, and *Cromwel* had others which appeas'd the King, to whom he promis'd the beſt Services that were in his Power, not without Intimation that he would procure him better Terms than had yet been propos'd by the Parliament, which he confirm'd with much outward Reſpect and Ceremony, and the King really thought his Condition was alter'd for the better.

A. D. 1647.

Cromwel *deceives the King.*

Fairfax *impos'd upon.*

During theſe Tranſactions, the City of *London* petition'd again, *That all honourable Means may be us'd to avoid ſhedding of more Blood; That Satisfaction might be given to the Army; That the Covenant may be kept, and his Majeſty's Perſon preſerv'd; That the Parliaments of* England *and* Scotland *may have Acceſs to him; That* Ireland *may be relieved, and the Ordinance to prevent Tumults and Dangers to the Parliament and City be removed*; which was immediately order'd, and the Petitioners had the *heartieſt Thanks the Houſe could expreſs for their conſtant Affections to the Parliament*; who order'd an Ordinance to be brought in for making void the Declaration againſt the Army, who had appointed a general *Rendezvous* at *Triploe Heath* near *Cambridge*, which probably was the Occaſion of the laſt Ordinance: But whatever the Parliament did, the Army took no more Notice of it than they thought fit. Colonel *Sands*, Col. *Devereux*, and Col. *Wiltſhire*, coming to the Houſe, inform'd them, that meeting with a Major lately come from *Triploe Heath*, he told them the Army was *upon their Advance, and the Horſe would be here To-morrow by Noon.* The Sheriffs and Common Council came to the Houſe ſoon after, with a Letter ſent from the Army to the ſame Purpoſe as the Major ſaid, which threw both Parliament and City into the moſt terrible Conſternation. Now they fear that their *Votes* were *Brutum fulmen*, againſt an armed Power, whom they had irritated, and could not appeaſe, without ſubmitting to be directed by them, and permitting them to ſhare in the Sovereignty. True enough it is, they were both out in their Politicks. The Cavaliers were the Common Enemy; they had ſubdu'd them indeed, but there was no Security that they ſhould not again be able to re-act their Tyranny. The King always underſtood himſelf to be the *Law*, and the People knowing that the Conſtitution was monarchical, were eaſily impos'd upon to believe that his Counſels were the *Laws*. 'Twas neceſſary to have his Conſent to thoſe Bills that were moſt likely to ſecure the Rights and Liberties of the People againſt future Invaſions; and there was no Likelihood of his conſenting to ſuch Acts, while Parliament and Army were both courting him to be of their Party. The Parliament were ſincere in their good Diſpoſitions towards him, after Proviſion was made for their Security. Part of the Army thought as they did. Major General *Fincher*, Major *Alſop*, Major *Huntington*, and many other Officers, expreſs'd their Readineſs to fall in with the Parliament's Meaſures, and were ſo forward as to ſeparate from their Brethren who were of the Party of *Agitators*; but this

Sepa-

A. D. 1647. Separation hurt the Cauſe they intended to ſerve, for their Places were preſently fill'd up by *Cromwel*, who govern'd *Fairfax*, with Men fit for his Purpoſe, and the Army Party made ſtronger and more imperious. The General to Appearance ſeem'd compliable with the Parliament, but *Cromwel* had ever ſome Reaſons or other to lead him contrary to his Intentions. *Fairfax* order'd a general Rendezvous at *Royſton*, where the Parliament's Commiſſioners were preſent, and it was reſolv'd to go from Regiment to Regiment to have their Reſolution as to Compliance with the *Votes* for *Ireland* and Disbanding. They began with the General's own Regiment, and were ſo ill ſatisfy'd with their Succeſs, that they went no farther, for they cry'd *No* to all their Queries, and added *Juſtice, Juſtice*. Nor were they without their Partiſans, who procur'd Petitions from ſeveral Counties, as *Eſſex* and *Norfolk*, *that they might not be disbanded*. After the Rendezvous, the Army, to ſhew they were in earneſt, drew nearer to *London*; and the Citizens, who had new modell'd their Militia to defend the Parliament and themſelves, began to be apprehenſive that ſuch Defence would ſtand them in little ſtead againſt 30000 Horſe and Foot, fluſh'd with Victory. The *Train'd Bands* were order'd out on Pain of Death; but alas! the moſt ſerviceable of them had ſerv'd in the Army; and tho' Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, General *Maſſey*, and other Officers who were Members of Parliament, promis'd to head them, tho' ſeveral hundred Soldiers who had deſerted with their Commanders on the Diviſions between the Parliament and Army, were in a Readineſs to join them, yet the Terror of *Cromwel's* Approach diſpirited both the *Train'd Bands* and *Citizens*. The Shops were ſhut up, and thoſe who had been active in getting Petitions and Votes againſt the *Army*, were more afraid of them than ever they had been of the *Cavaliers*. The Common-Council, with Approbation of both Houſes, ſent a Deputation to the Army to treat with the General and Officers, about a right Underſtanding between them and the City. The Parliament ſent Sir *Thomas Widdrington* to the General with a Letter, deſiring him not to advance nearer *London*; but he was come near St. *Alban's* before *Widdrington* deliver'd his Letter; and he told him, he doubted not he ſhould ſend ſuch Reaſons for the Soldiers advancing as would ſatisfy both Houſes, whoſe Panick increas'd ſo much, that they ſaid and unſaid, did and undid Things, as they were hurry'd on by Fear and Confuſion. They ſent for the Militia of *Weſtminſter* to come and guard them: They might as well have ſent for the Veſtry of St. *Margaret's*! However, upon the Appearance of theſe Train'd Bands under Capt. *Falconbridge* and Capt. *White*, they recover'd themſelves a little, and made a bold Order, *That the General be requir'd to deliver the Perſon of the King to ſuch Perſon as both Houſes ſhall appoint*, who were their Commiſſioners in the Army, and Col. *Roſſiter's* Regiment was order'd to be his and their Guard. But the Army were as buſy as the Parliament, and ſent ſeveral haughty Demands to them; the Fruit of which was, that Eleven of their Members, *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major General *Maſſey*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Col. *Walter Long*, Col. *Edward Harley*, *Anthony Nichols*, Eſq; be ſuſpended. The Charge againſt them was ſign'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the other Officers: The General being led on ſo far by *Cromwel*, without conſidering whither he was leading him, which he conſider'd much too late. The Charge was, for *obſtructing the Buſineſs of* Ireland, which they had moſt vigorouſly forwarded, and the Soldiers had themſelves oppos'd, *for acting againſt the Army*, which was their juſt Endeavour to keep them within their due Obedience, *for being againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Subject*. The Army now had gotten the King's Phraſe, who in all his Declarations, and Meſſages, reproach'd them with acting againſt the *Laws*, for *obſtructing Juſtice*. No-body can tell what they meant by that. After the reading of the Charge, the Members ſeverally made ſome Defence, and deſir'd to be brought to a ſpeedy Trial: But this Charge was follow'd by a Declaration from the Army, deliver'd by Col. *Scrope*, Col. *Okey*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Pride*, and five Captains, *Berry*, *Clark*, *Carter*, *Rolph*, and *Sexbie*; deſiring, *That the Perſons impeach'd be ſuſpended till they are brought to Trial*; *That no Forces be rais'd, and none drawn together, with Deſign to begin another War with the Army*. With which the Parliament comply'd. The Eleven Members found the Houſe of Commons too hot for them, and abſented themſelves. Mr. *Hollis* went to *France*, and return'd not till after the Reſtoration. Sir *Philip Stapleton* went to *Calais*, but was not permitted Entrance into the Town, being ſuſpected to have the Plague. *Glyn* was ſo conſcious of his Innocence, that he ſtood it out, and demanded Trial; but the Army not having prepar'd Matter for it, the Houſe, to pleaſe them, expell'd him, and committed him to the Tower. *Nichols* was order'd into Cuſtody, but he made his Eſcape from the Meſſenger. *Maynard* was impeach'd of High Treaſon, and impriſon'd in the Tower. *Maſſey* went beyond Sea; and the reſt of the Eleven Members retir'd to their Eſtates in the Country, and concern'd themſelves no more in publick Affairs, with which the Army were content. The Common-Council of *London*, who lately would be ſatisfy'd with nothing leſs than having the *Militia* of the City put into their Hands, and who talk'd of raiſing Men to defend them againſt the Army, chang'd their Tone a little, on the Report of their Commiſſioners, whom they had ſent to the General, and voted a Letter to him, with Leave of the Parliament, to acquaint him that no Forces ſhould be rais'd againſt the Army, and that they would move the Parliament for Money to pay them. *Cromwel's* Enemies gave him all Advantages againſt them they could, by their ill Conduct: For to detain the Soldiers Pay after they had ſerv'd them ſo faithfully and ſo ſucceſsfully, was univerſally condemn'd as ungrateful as well as unjuſt; yet ſuch was the Hatred of the *Hollis* Party to that of the Army, that they added Inſolence to their Injuſtice and Ingratitude, and talk'd of them always as Enemies, taking not one regular Step to reconcile Matters, which might eaſily have been accompliſh'd by paying the Officers and Soldiers well, giving them good Words, and gradually diſperſing them by ſeparate Services in *Ireland*, and other Places where they might be employ'd or disbanded at Pleaſure. But they were blinded by Pique and Paſſion, and a vain Hope of Support by the City and the *Scots*. The laſt Declaration brought from the Army was follow'd by another: 1. *That the Houſes may be purg'd of ſuch as ought not to ſit there.* 2. *That the Perſons who had abus'd the Parliament and Army may be ſpeedily diſabled from doing the like.* 3. *That ſome Time may be ſet for the Continuance of this and future Parliaments.* 4. *That Proviſion be made that future Parliaments may not be diſſolv'd at the King's Pleaſure.*

A. D. 1647.

The Eleven Members withdraw.

Houſe comply with the Army.

London *afraid of the Army.*

Eleven Members of Parliament impeach'd.

A. D. 1647.

ſure. 5. *That the Right of* Petitioning *may be aſſerted.* 6. *That Publick Juſtice may be ſatisfy'd, by making Examples of the worſt of excepted Perſons,* ſuch as Mr. *Hyde*; and, *That a general Act of* Oblivion *may paſs.*

Whitlocke tells us, that theſe Declarations were generally drawn up by Col. *Ireton*, who held the Pen for his Party, and having been bred in the *Inner Temple*, had acquir'd good Knowledge in the Laws, as had alſo Col. *Lambert* by the like Education. *Ludlow*, tho' a Republican in Principle, did not like the mutinous Proceedings of the Army, it being viſibly done with Deſign to ſubject the Civil to the Military Power, which he abhorr'd. The Army having their Head Quarters at *Maidenhead*, *Ludlow* went thither to viſit the Officers, and particularly *Ireton*, the Commiſſary General, who ſuſpecting that theſe Things might occaſion Jealouſies of them in *Ludlow* and others of their Friends in the Houſe, deſir'd him to be aſſur'd of their ſtedfaſt Adherence to the Publick Intereſt, and that they intended only to diſpenſe with ſuch Things as were not material, in order to quiet the reſtleſs Spirits of the *Cavaliers*, till they could put themſelves into a Condition of ſerving the People effectually. We have hinted that the *Militia* of *London* was ſettled by an Ordinance in the Management of the Presbyterians, who were very induſtrious in compleating their Companies: but, as we have alſo hinted, this gave Offence to the Army; and *Fairfax* on the 10th of *June* ſent a Letter to the Parliament, *That the Militia of* London *might be put into the Hands of Perſons that were better affected to the Army*; which was done, and the Ordinance revers'd two Months after 'twas made. This ſo diſguſted the City, that a Petition was preſented by 1000 Apprentices, ſetting forth, *That the Command of the Militia of the City was the Birth-right belonging to them by* Charters *confirm'd in* Parliament, *for Defence whereof they had adventur'd their Lives as far as the Army. They deſir'd the* Militia *may be put again into the ſame Hands in which it was put with the Parliament's and City's Conſent,* by the before-mention'd Ordinance. Some of theſe Apprentices were ſo rude as to ruſh into the Houſe of Commons, keeping the Door open, and their Hats on, crying out, *Vote, Vote*; in which arrogant Poſture they ſtood till the Votes paſs'd as they would have them. In the Evening, *July* 26. ſome of the Common-Council came down to the Houſe, and underſtanding that the Apprentices had forc'd the Speaker and the Members to put the Queſtion for repealing the Ordinance, they order'd them to diſperſe, which they did immediately. This Petition was got by the Management of *Hollis*'s Party, and ſo were ſeveral others too tedious to repeat. Contrary Petitions were procur'd by the Army Party, and both Parties had always Hands ready to ſubſcribe to what they would have them. Thus the Parliament were held in continual Amuſement, ſometimes by the City, ſometimes by the Army. They could not pleaſe both, nor themſelves; and in this Perplexity Men of leſs Capacity than the Earl of *Clarendon*'s moſt capable Counſellors might have taken ſome Advantage for the King, if their Wiſdom had been ſo great as their Zeal, or their Care of their Maſter in any Compariſon with their Care of themſelves.

Diviſions in the City.

The Houſe of Commons grew pretty thin at this Time, becauſe many of the moſt able Members appear'd the leſs there, for that they reſented the Uſurpations upon them by the City and Army, who were perpetually making Demands and giving Directions. There were Commiſſioners appointed by the Army, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Col. *Ireton*, Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Harriſon*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Hammond*, and Major *Rainsborough*, to treat with the Parliament's Commiſſioners concerning the Parliament's Votes, and the Army's Petitions. The Army had their Head Quarters at *Reading*, and the King was lodg'd at *Cauſham*, the Lord *Craven*'s Seat, near that Town.

We left his Majeſty at *Royſton*, from whence he mov'd with the Army to *Hatfield*, where two of his Chaplains, Dr. *Hammond* and Dr. *Sheldon*, were admitted to attend him, and great Ceremony was obſerv'd towards him by the Officers. Some of them went ſo far as to give out, *That they intended to eſtabliſh his Majeſty in his juſt Rights*; which good News was ſent to the Queen and Prince of *Wales* in *France*; and tho' Mr. *Hyde* was with them to ſearch into the Depths of every Stratagem of their Enemies, yet he was ſo impos'd on by the Artifices of the Officers, that he counſell'd the ſending away Sir *Edward Ford*, Brother-in-law to Commiſſary General *Ireton*, into *England*, to ſound the Deſigns of the Army, whether or no they did really intend to reſtore the King to the full Exerciſe of the Sovereign Power, for which they were themſelves now contending with the Parliament. Sir *John Berkley* follow'd *Ford* on the ſame hopeful Errand, as did alſo Mr. *William Legg*. They both landed at *Haſtings*, and being on their Way towards *London*, were met by Sir *Allen Appſley*, who had been Lieutenant Governor to Sir *John Berkley* at *Exeter*, and by whom he underſtood that he was ſent to him from *Cromwel* and other Officers of the Army, to put him in Mind of ſome Diſcourſe which Sir *John* had with Col. *Lambert* at a Conference on the Surrender of *Exeter*, wherein *Berkley* took Notice of the bitter Invectives of thoſe of the Army againſt the King's Perſon; and preſuming that ſuch Diſcourſes were encourag'd in order to prepare Mens Minds to receive an Alteration of the Government, he had ſaid it was not only a moſt wicked, but difficult Undertaking, if not impoſſible, for a few Men, not of the greateſt Quality, to introduce a popular Government againſt the *King*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and the Genius of the Nation, accuſtom'd to Monarchy for ſo many Ages; adviſing *Lambert* and the other Officers, that ſince the Presbyterians, who had begun the War upon divers ſpecious Pretences, were diſcover'd to have ſought their own Ends, by which Means they had loſt almoſt all their Power and Credit, the *Independent* Party, who had no particular Obligations to the Crown, as many of the *Presbyterians* had, would make good what the *Presbytery* had only pretended to, and reſtore the King and People to their juſt and ancient Rights, to which they were oblig'd both by Prudence and Intereſt, there being no Means under Heaven more likely to eſtabliſh themſelves, and obtain as much Truſt and Power as Subjects are capable of; whereas if they aim'd at more, it would be accompany'd with a general Hatred and their own Deſtruction. Sir *Allen* added, he had Orders to let Sir *John Berkley* know, that tho' to this Diſcourſe of his they then gave only the Hearing; yet they had ſince found by Experience, that all, or the moſt part of it, was reaſonable, and that the Officers were reſolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already paſt, that *Cromwel* and the Officers deſired he would preſent them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be a Suitor to them in their Names, not to condemn them abſolutely, but to ſuſpend their Opinions of them and their Intentions,

The Cavaliers *ſtir up the* Independents.

A. D. 1647. tions, till their future Behaviour had made full Proof of their Innocence, of which they had already given ſome Teſtimonies to the World; and that when *Berkley* had done this Office he would return to *England* to be an Eye Witneſs of their Proceedings.

If this Relation, taken from a Manuſcript written in Sir *John Berkley*'s own Hand be true, the Advice given the Independents to make themſelves Maſters of the Army and Parliament, came from the *Cavaliers*, and conſequently to them may more reaſonably be imputed the Death of the King than to the *Presbyterians*, who always adviſ'd the quite contrary: For if *Cromwel* had not hearken'd to *Berkley*, the Army had never uſurp'd the Power of their Maſters the Parliament; and had they never uſurp'd it, the King had never been put to Death. His Majeſty was then at *Hatfield*, and the Parliament, the major Vote, being ſtill *Presbyterians*, voted that he ſhould be remov'd to *Richmond*, and that they would ſend the Propoſitions for Peace, reduc'd to Bills; but the Army, very ſenſible of what was intended by it, declar'd againſt his Majeſty's being remov'd to *Richmond*, at which the King took great Offence, and when after his reſolute inſiſting upon it he was remov'd to *Windſor*, he would not paſs by the Army's Head Quarters at *Maidenhead*, nor ſee the Officers in his Way. The Parliament to ſweeten the Army a little, voted, *That they do own this Army as their Army, and will make Proviſion for their Maintenance and Pay*, which had ſo good Effect, that the Head Quarters were remov'd from *Uxbridge* to *Wicomb*, and thence to *Maidenhead*, and thence to *Reading*, as is above mention'd. While his Majeſty lay at *Cauſham*, he was viſited by the *Elector Palatine*, with Conſent of the Parliament, who at the Requeſt of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, voted that the Earl of *Northumberland* ſhould attend the King with his Children at *Cauſham*, and ſee them ſafe back again to the Palace of St. *James*'s, where they were lodg'd. The General removing his Head Quarters to *Aylesbury*, his Majeſty was remov'd to *Woburn*, and thence to *Latimers*, within the Eye ſtill of the Army, who had admitted the Duke of *Richmond* as well as Dr. *Sheldon* and Dr. *Hammond*, to wait on the King, but the Parliament ſent an Order to diſmiſs them; and the General wrote a Letter to the Parliament, complaining of the late Petition of the Apprentices, and the Force put upon them by mutinous Aſſemblies, inſinuating that it was neceſſary he ſhould bring the Army to Town, to free them from ſuch Inſults; which being rumour'd in the City, the Citizens were at firſt ſpirited by *Hollis*'s Party to ſtand to their Defence; Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Maſſey* and Major General *Points* appear'd among them, and offer'd to command their *Militia*, and new rais'd Men. The Army Party in Parliament finding Things were come to an Extremity, and that it would fare ill with them if they ſtaid longer at *London*, where all Things for a while tended to a Rupture with the Soldiery, left the two Houſes, and put themſelves under the Protection of General *Fairfax*, who order'd a General Rendezvous of the Army on *Hounſlow Heath*, where were preſent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Kent*, the Lord *Grey* of *Werke*, the Lord *Howard*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and the Lord *Say*, and ſix Lords more with the Earl of *Mancheſter*, their Speaker: There were alſo preſent about 100 Members of the Houſe of Commons, with their Speaker, Mr. *Lenthal*, and both Speakers with their Maces as in full Parliament, the Army being drawn up in Battalia. The General accompany'd with the Lords and Commons took a Review of them riding along the Line from Regiment to Regiment. The Soldiers made great Acclamations, crying, *Lords and Commons, and a free Parliament.* His Highneſs the Prince Elector came alſo to the Army, who were ſtill more provok'd by the Proceedings of thoſe Lords and Commons who remain'd at *Weſtminſter*, and call'd themſelves the Parliament of *England*, as indeed they were the major Vote in both Houſes. The Lords choſe the Lord *Hunſdon*, and the Commons *Henry Pelham*, Eſq; for their Speakers, and then proceeded to vote, 1. *That the King ſhould come to* London. *That the Militia of the City have Power to raiſe what Forces they think fit. That they chooſe a Commander in Chief, and other Officers:* Accordingly the Common Council made Choice of Major General *Maſſey*, and their Forces, Trained Bands, Auxiliaries, and Reformades were muſter'd in St. *James*'s *Fields*. In the mean Time the General enter'd into Communication with the Members of both Houſes, and then at his Head Quarters wrote to the City, *That he was tender of them; but laying to Heart thoſe unparallel'd Paſſages of entring the Houſe of Commons, and compelling the Members to vote; he is ſenſible of his Obligations to the Parliament, and that the Army are reſolv'd, what other Neglect ſoever hath been, for their Security to uſe their beſt Endeavours, as God ſhall enable them, for the Preſervation of the Parliament from Violence. Graveſend* Blockhouſes were ſecur'd for the Army, and the *Borough* of *Southwark* fell off from the City in this Conteſt. Moſt of the Eleven impeach'd Members retook their Seats in the Houſe of Commons, and Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Maſſey*, and Major General *Points*, continu'd Liſting of Reformades for the Defence of the City. The Citizens were even ſo bold as to publiſh a Declaration *againſt the Armies fetching away the King from* Holmby; *againſt Breach of Privilege with Reſpect to the impeach'd Members. For delivering the King out of the Hands of the Army*, &c. We ſee that this Party are loſt to all Politicks: They fire with Powder only, and will not be able to keep themſelves together a Minute on News of the Army's advancing; yet they voted, *That the Ordinance which puts the Command of all Land Forces under Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *does not give him Power over the Militia.* And thus have they erected a new General, Major General *Maſſey*, and a new Army, the *London* Train'd Bands, Auxiliaries and Reformades, with a Commiſſion equal to General *Fairfax*'s; and it is not owing to their Prudence if theſe two Armies do not renew the War. For the People of *Southwark* petitioning the Common Council that they might not be liſted under *Points* or *Maſſey*; ſome of the Train'd Bands fell upon the Petitioners in *Guild-Hall Yard*, cruelly hack'd and diſpers'd them. The Army advancing to *Colnbrook*, his Majeſty was lodg'd at *Stoke Abbey*. Col. *Rainsborough* was ſent on *Kingſton* Side, with a Brigade to aſſiſt the well affected in the *Borough* of *Southwark*. The next Head Quarters were at *Iſleworth*; and *Maſſey*'s Scouts meeting ſome of the Parliament's at *Brentford*, there was a ſmall Skirmiſh, in which the Citizens had the worſt of it, which much appall'd the moſt reſolute of them in the Council at *Guild-hall*, where when the leaſt good News came, the City was *One and All*; but when Intelligence was brought that the Army was on the March, the Cry was loud to *Treat, Treat, Treat*, and at laſt both the Common Council and Council of *Mili-*

The Parliament divide.

Part go to the Army.

Part ſit at Weſtminſter.

The Perplexity of the City.

A. D. 1647. *Militia*, agreed to ſend a Letter to the General, beſeeching him *that there might be a Way of Compoſure*. He demanded to have the Forts on the Weſt Side of *London* immediately deliver'd up to him, for he was coming to Town with thoſe Members of both Houſes of Parliament who had been driven thence by the Violence of the mutinous Multitude, which was preſently comply'd with, and the next Day, being the 6th of *Auguſt*, the Army march'd to *London*. At *Hide Park* Corner the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met the General, and congratulated him on the late Compoſure between the Army and City. Then he proceeded towards *Weſtminſter* in the following Order: Firſt, Colonel *Hammond*'s Regiment of Foot, then Colonel *Rich* and Colonel *Cromwel*'s Regiments of Horſe. Then the *General* on Horſeback with his Life-Guard, then the *Speakers* and Members of the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons in Coaches. Colonel *Tomlinſon*'s Regiment of Horſe brought up the Rear. The General was accompanied with many Officers and Gentlemen, and every Soldier had a Laurel Branch in his Hat. As they paſs'd by *Charing Croſs* the *Common Council*, who ſtood there, ſaluted them, and in the new *Palace Yard*, *Weſtminſter*, the General alighted, and the Lords and Commons went to their ſeveral Houſes. The Lords ſent for Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and *gave him Thanks for his good Service in reſtoring the Members of Parliament*. A Chair was plac'd for him in the Houſe of Commons, and with much Importunity he was prevail'd upon to ſit in it while the Speaker *gave him Thanks for his great and faithful Services, and in particular, for reſtoring the Members of both Houſes to their former Freedom and Privileges*. An Ordinance paſs'd immediately, to make him *Conſtable* of the *Tower*; and another to make void all Acts done by ſome Lords and Gentlemen, Members of both Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, when the *Speakers* and Members were driven away by Tumults. The next Day the *General* and Army, Horſe and Foot, with a gallant Train of Artillery, march'd through the City of *London* in ſo orderly and civil a Manner, that not the leaſt Offence or Prejudice was offer'd by them to any Man, either in Word, Action or Geſture, as they marched along, which confuted the Surmiſes of ſome of their Enemies, that the Deſign of the Soldiers was to plunder the City. The General quarter'd at *Croydon*, and the Army in *Kent*, *Surrey*, and *Eſſex*. He took Poſſeſſion of the *Tower*, turn'd out the Trained Bands, and put Colonel *Pride*'s Regiment of Foot into it. The Tone of the City is now ſtrangely alter'd. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, came to the *Tower*, to wait on his Excellency, where Alderman *Gibbs* made a Speech to him, *To thank him and his Army for their Love and Care of the City, and to invite him and his Officers to dine at* Guildhall, which he excus'd on Account of *the great Affairs with which he and his Officers were at preſent taken up*. They preſented him with a Baſon and Ewer of Gold, of a thouſand Pounds value. A Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to examine the Force put upon the two Houſes by the Apprentices, and find out the chief Actors. The latter were ſet on by *Hollis*'s Party, who whether to eſtabliſh Presbytery excluſive of all other Denominations, or to advance themſelves by making their Peace with the King, encourag'd Tumults as much as before the Civil War, and ſeem'd diſpos'd rather to ſacrifice the promis'd Security againſt future Tyranny, than not to have their Revenge on thoſe that promoted the *Self-denying Ordinance*, by which ſo many of them were diſplac'd. They puſh'd their Reſentments ſo far, that ſome of them, as *Maſſey*, *Brown*, *Anneſley*, &c. turn'd rank *Cavaliers*, and their Bigotry and Ambition did certainly deprive the Nation of the good Settlement which muſt have been the Conſequence of their Union with the Army. The Committee before mentioned voted that Sir *John Gayer*, Lord Mayor, Alderman *Bunce*, Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Cullum*, and Alderman *Adams*, were Actors in the late Force put upon the Parliament, for which they were impriſon'd and impeach'd of *High Treaſon*. The ſame Impeachment was order'd againſt Lieutenant Colonel *Chapman*, Lieutenant Colonel *Bains*, Captain *Muſgrave*, Mr. *Malory* a Miniſter; and of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors againſt Colonel *Vaughan*, Colonel *Lawrence*, Colonel *Hooker*, Captain *Jones*.

Army enter London.

A. D. 1647.

His Majeſty was removed to *Oatlands*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Head Quarters were at *Hampton*, from whence the Army ſent a Remonſtrance to the Parliament, requiring the Purging the Houſe, by ſecluding all the Members who acted and voted when the Speakers and other Members were driven away by the Tumult of the Apprentices; in which Remonſtrance General *Fairfax* concurr'd as well as *Cromwel*, and this *Purge* was the Beginning of the Revolution which made the Cataſtrophe of the other ſo tragical. The *City Militia* which had been the Occaſion of this Buſtle, was put into the Hands of the old Commiſſioners, whom the *Hollis* Party had turn'd out, as Alderman *Pennington*, Alderman *Wollaſton*, Alderman *Atkins*, Alderman *Warner*, Alderman *Fouke*, Alderman *Gibbs*, Alderman *Ven*, Alderman *Allen*, Alderman *Foot*, by which 'tis evident, that the Party in the City which ſided with the Army, were not the beggarly Rabble, as the Earl of *Clarendon* repreſents them, but the moſt wealthy Citizens and Magiſtrates, and that their Opponents were in Truth a Faction ſpirited up by the eleven Members to promote Deſigns which they durſt not own, and therefore pretended to have nothing at Heart but the Purity of Religion, and Uniformity of Worſhip and Diſcipline.

Purge.

City Militia *alter'd.*

I muſt confeſs this Party to me are worſe than the *Cavaliers*. They had by their Clamours and Intrigues brought on the Civil War for Redreſs of Grievances, and now they might have had every Grievance ſo effectually redreſs'd, as not to be in any Danger of being renew'd again, they out of Pique about Places and Penſions fall off from the Common Cauſe, and would have deſtroy'd that Army on which entirely depended not only the Well-being, but the very Being of the Parliament, from whom the Nation expected *Liberty* and *Security*.

Hollis's *Party worſe than the Cavaliers.*

His Majeſty from *Oatlands* was remov'd to *Sion*, when the Army's Head Quarters were at *Putney*, and ſoon after to *Hampton Court*, where the Princes and Princeſſes, his Children, were admitted to him, when and as often as he pleas'd. The Nobility were allow'd their Viſits, and his Houſhold was ſettled in ſo much Order, that there was no Appearance of any Want either in Expence or Ceremony. It was inſinuated to the King, that he was indebted for all theſe good Offices to *Cromwel* and *Ireton*. The Houſe of Commons impeached the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Maynard*, the Lord *Berkley*, of High Treaſon, who were put into ſeveral Priſons, but upon their Submiſſion and Repentance they were diſcharg'd, and the Impeachment dropt. The

The King at Hampton-Court.

A. D. 1647. Forts and Lines caſt up for Defence of the City were demoliſh'd, and the Party which had given Offence to the Army were ſo humbled that they durſt not ſhow themſelves, otherwiſe than in ſnarling Pamphlets, as no *Merlin*, no *Mercurius Bellum Hibernicale*, &c.

During theſe Commotions the Propoſitions of Peace ſtopt in both Houſes, and the King diſcover'd on all Occaſions his good Wiſhes to the Party of *Hollis*, who had voted his Return to *London*. Theſe Sentiments hinder'd him from giving Ear to the Whiſpers of *Cromwel*'s Creatures, that he might expect the beſt Services from him. *Ireton* taking Notice of the Change of his Majeſty's Temper, with reſpect to the Army, whom he at firſt careſs'd, told him, *Sir, You have an Intention to be Arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the Parliament.* His Majeſty finding himſelf courted on all Hands, became ſo confident of his Intereſt, as to think himſelf able to turn the Scale. And in theſe Sentiments Sir *John Berkley* found him when he deliver'd the Queen's Letters to him, with Permiſſion from *Cromwel*, who had confirm'd what Sir *Allen Appeſley* had told him, with this Addition, *That he thought no Man could enjoy his Life and Eſtate quietly unleſs the King had his Right*, which he ſaid the Army had already declar'd to the World in general Terms, and would more particularly very ſpeedily, by Propoſitions which ſhould comprize *Royaliſts*, *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, as far as they were conſiſtent with one another, Sir *John Berkley* endeavour'd to perſwade the King to diſſemble with the Army, and permit Mr. *Peters* to preach before him, to converſe freely with the Officers, and cajole the *Agitators*, whoſe Intereſt encreas'd. But this good Advice, which certainly would have ſav'd him, made no Impreſſion upon his Majeſty.

Deceiv'd ſtill by Cromwel. *Ludlow* tells us, *Cromwel* ſaid, *Never Man was ſo abus'd as he in his ſiniſter Opinion of the King, who he thought was the moſt Upright and Conſcientious Man in the Kingdom. That the Independents had infinite Obligations to him; for not conſenting to the Propoſition ſent to him at* Newcaſtle, *which would have totally ruin'd them, and which his Majeſty's Intereſt ſeem'd to invite him to.* Concluding with this Wiſh, *That God would be pleas'd to look upon him according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards the King.* But his Majeſty firmly believing *Cromwel* talk'd after this Rate from a Neceſſity he and the Army had of him, ſlighted all theſe good Offers: And notwithſtanding the Myſteries on which the Lord *Clarendon* founds this Part of *Cromwel*'s Hiſtory, it is certain he had not as yet form'd any Deſign againſt the Perſon of the King, whoſe Miſtake concerning him prov'd ſo fatal. His Majeſty was wont to ſay, when any mention was made of *Cromwel* and the Army, *They can do nothing without me*; which Opinion was the more reaſonable in Appearance, for that ſome of the *Agitators* came to Sir *John Berkley*, and expreſs'd their Jealouſy that *Cromwel* was not ſincere with the King, deſiring that if *Berkley* found him falſe they might be acquainted with it, and they would endeavour to ſet him right, either with or againſt his Will. Major *Huntington* was a Confident of *Cromwel*, and therefore entruſted with the Command of the Guard about the King, yet he was ſo well convinc'd of his Patron's Intentions to ſerve his Majeſty, that to do the King what Service he could, he brought two General Officers to Sir *John Berkley* to aſſure him, that the King was univerſally deſir'd by the Army, and *Cromwel* and *Ireton* were great Diſſemblers, and not real; but the Army was ſo bent upon it at preſent, that thoſe two Generals durſt not appear otherwiſe. They proteſted, that however Things might happen to change, and what ſome others might do, they would for ever continue faithful to the King. They told Sir *John*, that Propoſitions were drawn up by *Ireton*, wherein *Epiſcopacy* was not requir'd to be eſtabliſh'd, nor any of the King's Party wholly ruin'd, nor the *Militia* to be quite taken away. They adviſ'd, that his Majeſty would with all Expedition agree to them, while the Army was in this Diſpoſition, which they could not be ſure would laſt always. This Matter went ſo far, that Sir *John Berkley* had a Conference with *Ireton* himſelf, in which they debated the Propoſitions a whole Night, and *Berkley* alter'd two of the *Articles* in the moſt material Points, but upon his endeavouring to alter a Third, about excluding Delinquents from Pardon, Mr. *Hyde* always one, *Ireton* ſaid, *There muſt be a Diſtinction made between the Conquerors and thoſe that had been beaten, and he himſelf ſhould be afraid of a Parliament where the King's Party had the major Vote.* He conjur'd him, as he tender'd the King's Welfare to endeavour to procure his Conſent to the *Propoſitions*, that they might with more Confidence be offer'd to the Parliament, and all Differences be accommodated. *Cromwel* and *Ireton* did not forget themſelves in the private Articles; we are told *Cromwel* was to be made Earl of *Eſſex*, and Vicar General of *England*, as *Cromwel* Earl of *Eſſex* was in *Henry* the VIII's Reign, and *Ireton* was to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Ireton treats with Berkley.

Upon the whole, we have no Reaſon to believe, but that this Relation is true, and that in caſe his Majeſty had comply'd with theſe Propoſitions, the Army would have oblig'd the Parliament to paſs them. *Whitlocke* ſays, *The King's* Biſhops, *always unfortunate to him*, perſwaded him againſt what he was *inclin'd in his own Judgment to have agreed to, and ſo ruin'd him and themſelves.* Contrary to this, the Earl of *Clarendon* aſſures us, he was never inclin'd to agree to any Thing againſt Epiſcopacy. It is in vain to take Notice of the various Petitions preſented to the two Houſes, they are ſo numerous and ſo oppoſite to each other. The Borough of *Southwark* petitions, *That the Houſes might be purg'd of ſuch as aſſiſted in the late Tumults.* The City of *London*, where thoſe Tumults were hatch'd, petition the ſame. The like do the Counties of *Somerſet*, *Oxon*, *Bucks*, *Hartford*, &c. Thus we ſee again, that the *Purge* attributed to, and accompliſh'd by *Pride*, as will be ſeen hereafter, was not only the Deſire of the Army but of the People. Both Houſes of Parliament agreed, that in the Settlement of Church Government and Worſhip, Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be allowed to all Perſons, except *Papiſts*, and thoſe that us'd the *Common Prayer*. The Houſe of Commons voted, *That a Period ſhould be put to this Parliament*, within a Year after his Majeſty had paſs'd the Bills that were form'd out of their Propoſitions, and that the King *ſhould be reſtor'd to his Rights, to his Queen and Children.* Theſe *Votes* did not ſatisfy the Army, whoſe Council of General Officers ſent a Paper to the Parliament, directing how future Elections, Times of Seſſion, and Adjournments ſhould be regulated. They offer'd other Regulations, and took upon them to direct the two Houſes in their Proceedings towards the Settling of the Nation, which made the Parliament the more deſirous of coming to Terms with the King, without their Interpoſition. *Cromwel* ſaw this, and in all his Conferences with Sir *John Berkley*,

Parliament favour the King.

A. D. 1647.

appear'd moſt zealous for a ſpeedy Agreement to *Ireton*'s Propoſitions, which were lower than the Parliament's in the Articles of *Epiſcopacy* and the *Militia*. He wiſh'd Sir *John* would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow Principles, always intimating, he doubted the Army would not perſiſt in their good Intentions towards the King. When thoſe Propoſitions were preſented to the King, he was much diſpleas'd with them, expecting from the Diſcourſe he had had with the Officers, that they would have been ſtill lower. His Majeſty ſaid, *If they had any Intention to come to an Accommodation, they would not impoſe ſuch Conditions on him.* To which Sir *John Berkley* anſwer'd, *That he ſhould rather ſuſpect they deſign'd to abuſe him if they had demanded leſs, there being no Appearance that Men who had through ſo many Dangers and Difficulties acquir'd ſuch Advantages, would content themſelves with leſs than was contain'd in thoſe Propoſitions, and that a Crown ſo near loſt was never recovered ſo eaſy as this would be, if Things were adjuſted upon theſe Terms.* The Articles the King objected to were, 1. *The Excluſion of 7 Perſons*, Mr. *Hyde* always one, *from Pardon.* 2. *The Incapacitating any of his* Party *from being elected Members of the next enſuing Parliament.* 3. *The leaving Church Matters unſettled*, that all but *Papiſts* and *Laudeans* might have Liberty of Conſcience. When Arguments were us'd to his Majeſty for his Compliance, he breaks away from *Berkley* and others, ſaying, *Well, I ſhall ſee them glad e'er long to accept of more equal Terms.*

Berkley perſwades the King to comply with the Army.

About this Time Mr. *John Aſhburnham* arriv'd from *France*, to the King's great Contentment, and his Inſtructions referring to Sir *John Berkley*'s, which they were to proſecute jointly, Sir *John* gave him what Light he could into the State of Affairs, but he ſoon departed from the Methods propos'd by Sir *John Berkley*, and entirely complying with the King's Humour, declar'd openly, *That having always us'd the beſt Company, he could not converſe with ſuch ſenſeleſs Fellows as the Agitators.* That if the Officers could be gain'd there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own Army, and he would wholly apply himſelf to them. Upon this there grew a great Familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the Guards that waited on the King in Turn with *Huntington*, which produc'd a cloſe Correſpondence with *Cromwel* and *Ireton*. With theſe Encouragements, and others from the Presbyterian Party, the Lord *Lauderdale*, and ſeveral of the chief Citizens of *London*, aſſuring the King, *They would oppoſe the Army to the Death*, he was ſo much elevated, that when the Propoſals were ſent to him, and his Concurrence humbly deſir'd, he, to the great Aſtoniſhment not only of *Ireton*, but even of his own Party, entertain'd them with very ſharp and bitter Language, ſaying, *No Man ſhall ſuffer for my ſake, I repent of nothing ſo much, as that I paſs'd the Bill againſt the Earl of* Strafford, *and the* Church *muſt be eſtabliſh'd according to Law.* To which thoſe of the Army reply'd, That it was not their Work, and that *his Majeſty had already conſented to the Abolition of Epiſcopacy in* Scotland. The King ſaid, *I hope God has forgiven me that Sin*, repeating frequently theſe and the like Words; *You cannot be without me. You will fall to Ruin if I do not ſuſtain you.* This Manner of Courage was obſerv'd with the utmoſt Amazement by many Officers of the Army, who were preſent, and at leaſt in Appearance were Promoters of the Agreement. Sir *John Berkley* taking Notice of it, look'd with much Wonder upon the King, and ſtepping to him, ſaid in his Ear, *Sir, You ſpeak as if you had ſome ſecret Strength and Power which I do not know of, and ſince you have conceal'd it from me, I wiſh you had done it from theſe Men alſo.* Upon this his Majeſty recollected himſelf, and began to ſoften his former Diſcourſe, but it was too late, for Colonel *Rainsborough*, who of all the Army ſeem'd the leaſt to deſire an Agreement, having obſerv'd theſe Paſſages, went out from the Conference, and haſten'd to the Army to inform them what Entertainment their Commiſſioners and Propoſitions had found with the King. Sir *John Berkley*, to allay this Heat, demanded of *Ireton*, and the reſt of thoſe Commiſſioners, *What they would do if the King ſhould conſent? Ireton* reply'd, *We will offer them to the Parliament for their Approbation.* His Majeſty having thus bid Defiance to the Army, thought it neceſſary to bend all his Force againſt them, eſpecially to ſtrengthen their Enemies in the Parliament, to which End the Apprentices Petition was contriv'd, and the *Militia* in *London* new modell'd, but when it appear'd that the Citizens could not defend themſelves againſt the Parliament, and that the King, notwithſtanding the Votes for his coming to *London* by the Lords and Commons, who remain'd at *Weſtminſter* when the Speakers went to the Army, would not be able to carry his Point by that Party, his Majeſty was well adviſ'd to write a Letter to the General and Officers before it was known that *London* would ſubmit, to renew the *Propoſitions*, but he would not ſign it till after three or four Debates, which loſt one whole Day's Time. At laſt Mr. *Aſhburnham* and Sir *John Berkley* going with it, met with Meſſengers from the Officers to haſten it. But before they could come to *Sion Houſe* the City Commiſſioners were arriv'd, and the Letter was out of Seaſon, for coming after it was known with what Difficulty it was obtain'd, and that Matters were like to be adjuſted between the Parliament and Army, it loſt both its Grace and Efficacy. Notwithſtanding all which, the Officers being reſolv'd to do what they could, propos'd, while the Army was in the very Act of giving Thanks for their Succeſs, that they ſhould not be too much elevated with it, but keep ſtill to their former Engagements with the King, according to the *Propoſitions*, which was reſolv'd upon, but that Reſolution, broken by the Indiſcretion and Precipitancy of ſome of the General Officers, who to ingratiate themſelves with the King, gave all Liberty to the *Cavaliers*, and made Speeches in his Behalf in the Council of War at *Putney*. Some of the ſame Party did the like in the Houſe of Commons, where one of them ſaid, *He thought God had blaſted their Counſels for their Severity to the Cavaliers.* The *Agitators*, who ſuſpected that thoſe Officers were bargaining for themſelves, complain'd to *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, that their Doors were open to *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham*, when they were ſhut to them. *Cromwel* was ſtartled at their Complaint, and deſir'd thoſe two Gentlemen to forbear coming to him, at leaſt not ſo publickly, for he ſhould not be ſafe in his Quarters if they did. His Majeſty now was ſo complying with the Army, that he refus'd the *Propoſitions* which the *Scots* Commiſſioners preſented to him, being thoſe that were deliver'd at *Newcaſtle*, with ſome Alterations relating to *Scotland*, and demanded a perſonal Treaty. *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and many of their Party in the Houſe of Commons, ſpoke for it, but contrary to their Expectation, found a vigorous Oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceiv'd a Jealouſy of their private Agreement

Aſhburnham ſpoils all.

King changes his Conduct.

A. D. 1647. with the King, and were now confirm'd in it; the Suſpicion of them growing ſo ſtrong, that they were accounted Betrayers of the Cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their Friends in the Parliament: By which it appears, contrary to the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, that *Cromwel* had not as yet ſuffer'd his Ambition to aim at the King's Death and his own Soveraignty. The *Agitators* complain'd openly againſt them in the Council of War at *Putney*, ſaying, Since the King had rejected their *Propoſitions*, they were not engag'd any further to him; and that it was not juſt to ſacrifice the general Good to the Intereſt of particular Perſons; but they ought now to conſult their own Safety, and that of the Commonwealth. That having the Power devolv'd upon them by the Deciſion of the Sword, to which both Parties had appeal'd, and being convinc'd that Monarchy was inconſiſtent with the Proſperity of the Nation, they reſolv'd to uſe their Endeavours to reduce the Government of *England* to the Form of a *Common-wealth*. This was the firſt Time that this Party in the Army declar'd themſelves for a Republick; and it ſtruck ſo great a Terror into *Cromwel*, that he and his Creatures thought it neceſſary to draw the Army to a general *Rendezvous*, pretending to engage them to adhere to their former Propoſitions, but indeed to bring the Army into Subjection to him and his Party, that ſo they might make their Bargain by them, deſigning if they could carry this Point at the Rendezvous, to diſmiſs the Council of *Agitators*, to divide the Army, and to ſend thoſe to the moſt remote Places who were moſt oppoſite to them, retaining near them ſuch only as were fit for their Purpoſe. This Deſign being diſcover'd by the *Agitators*, amongſt whom Col. *Rainsborough* had the principal Intereſt, they us'd all poſſible Induſtry to prevent the general Muſter, which was appointed to be at *Ware*. *Cromwel* repreſented this their Oppoſition to the King, as a Deſign to break of all Agreement with him, and proteſted it was not in his Power to undertake for his Security in the Place where he was, aſſuring him of his real Service, and deſiring the *Lord to deal with him and his according to the Sincerity of his Heart towards his Majeſty*. Some adviſ'd the King to go to *London* and appear in the Houſe of Lords: To this it was anſwer'd, That the Army being Maſters of the City and Parliament would undoubtedly ſeize his Perſon again; and if there ſhould be any Blood ſhed in his Defence he would be accus'd of beginning a new War, which if he had not begun even the Army would not probably have thought of putting an End to it by his Death. Others counſell'd him to quit the Kingdom, againſt which the King objected, that the Rendezvous being appointed for next Week, he was not willing to quit the Army till that was over; becauſe if the ſuperior Officers prevail'd, they would be able to make good their Engagements; if not they muſt apply themſelves to him for their own Security. 'Twas alſo propos'd that he ſhould conceal himſelf in *England*; but that was thought unſafe, if not impoſſible. Some mention'd *Jerſey* for a Place of Retreat; but there were no Ships ready to convey him thither. At laſt his Majeſty reſolv'd to go to the *Iſle of Wight*, being, as is moſt probable, recommended thither by *Cromwel*, who as well as the King had a good Opinion of Col. *Hammond*, the Governor there.

Common-Wealth talk'd off.

King makes his Eſcape.

To this End his Majeſty ſent for Mr. *William Legg*, Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, requiring them to aſſiſt him in his Eſcape, for which Horſes were laid at *Sutton* in *Hampſhire*. On the following Day, *November* the 10th, Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* waiting with Horſes, the King with Mr. *Legg* came out towards the Evening, and being mounted, they deſign'd to ride through *Windſor Foreſt*, his Majeſty their Guide, but they loſt their Way; and the Night proving thick and ſtormy, and the Roads bad, they could not reach *Sutton* before Break of Day, and his Majeſty would not ſtay there, being inform'd the County Committee was there ſitting by Order of Parliament. The King went to *Titchfield Houſe*, a Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*'s, and ſent Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, to Colonel *Hammond*, with the Copy of the Letter he left on the Table in his Chamber at *Hampton-Court*.

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That Liberty, the Thing now generally pretended and aim'd at, was as neceſſary for Kings as any other. That he had a long Time endur'd Captivity and Reſtraint, hoping it might tend to the Settlement of a good Peace; but finding the contrary, and the Unfixedneſs of the Army, and new Guards ſet upon him, he had withdrawn himſelf.

That whereſoever he ſhould be he would earneſtly labour the Settlement of a good Peace, and to prevent the Effuſion of more Blood; and if he might be heard with Honour, Freedom and Safety, he would inſtantly break through his Cloud of Retirement, and ſhew himſelf ready to be Pater Patriæ.

CHARLES *REX.*

With this he ſent two other Letters he had lately receiv'd, one without a Name, expreſſing great Fears and Apprehenſions of the ill Intentions of the *Republican* Party againſt him; the other from *Cromwel*, much to the ſame Purpoſe, with this Addition, *That a new Guard was deſign'd the next Day to be plac'd about his Majeſty, conſiſting of Men of real Principle*. *Echard*, who knew as little of theſe Matters as any Man that ever pretended to know them, aſſures us, that this Relation of *Cromwel*'s private Treaty with the King is *told by his Majeſty's Enemies with much Confidence, but with little Authority*. One would wonder how theſe Words *much Confidence and little Authority* could drop from that Pen; for this Account was really written by Sir *John Berkley* himſelf, one of the King's beſt Friends, in a MS. which General *Ludlow* receiv'd at *Geneva* of *Berkley*'s own Hand writing, which MS. is mention'd by the Lord *Clarendon*: Yet *Echard* adds, *After a careful Search, we can find nothing to ſupport* or indeed to countenance ſuch a Story *among the moſt authentick Writers: Ludlow*, a much more *authentick* Writer than any of his moſt *Authenticks*, of Genius, Quality, Fortune and Spirit, ſuperior to the moſt noble of them, if *Anceſtry* gives Quality, tells us upon his Honour, that Sir *John Berkley* left that MS. in the Hands of a Merchant at *Geneva*, where he ſaw and read it. If Falſities were not ſo common with this Hiſtorian, there would hardly be any Confidence ſteady enough to ſupport ſuch a one as this. The King ſent a Letter to Colonel *Hammond*, by *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham*, wherein after he had expreſs'd his Diſtruſt of the levelling Part of the Army, and the Neceſſity lying upon him to provide for his own Safety, he aſſur'd him, "That he did not intend to deſert the Intereſt of "the Army, and had choſen him of all the Of- "ficers to put himſelf upon him, whom he "knew to be a Perſon of good Extraction, and "though engag'd againſt him in the War, yet "without any Animoſity to his Perſon, to which "he

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" he was inform'd he had no Averſion. That " he did not think fit to ſurprize him, and " therefore had ſent theſe two Gentlemen to ad- " vertiſe him of his Intentions, and to deſire his " Promiſe to protect him and his Servants to the " beſt of his Power, and if it ſhould happen " that he was not able to do it, then to oblige " himſelf to leave them in as good a Condition " as he found them." With theſe Inſtructions Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* went to the *Iſle of Wight*, and met the Governor, Col. *Hammond*, on the Road between *Carisbrook Caſtle* and *Newport*: When they had told him their Errand, he cry'd out in a Sort of Aſtoniſhment, *Oh Gentlemen! You have undone me in bringing the King into this Iſland; if at leaſt you have brought him. If you have not, pray let him not come, for that between my Duty to his Majeſty, and Gratitude to him, upon this freſh Obligation of Confidence, and the Diſcharge of my Truſt to the Army, I ſhall be confounded.* The two Gentlemen told him, the King intended a Favour to him and his Poſterity, in giving him this Opportunity ſo highly to oblige him, and that it was not at all inconſiſtent with his Relation to the Army, who had ſolemnly engaged themſelves to the King; but if he thought otherwiſe his Majeſty would be far from impoſing his Perſon upon him. The Governor reply'd, *If the King ſhould come to any Miſchance, what would the Army and his Majeſty ſay to him, that had refus'd to receive him.* They anſwer'd, *You have not refus'd him, for he is not come to you.* Colonel *Hammond* ſeem'd ſomewhat ſatisfy'd, and deſir'd to know where the King was, wiſhing that he had thrown himſelf abſolutely upon him. The two Generals did not like this Heſitation, but *Aſhburnham* fearing his Majeſty might be diſcover'd before they had come to any Concluſion with the Governor, took him aſide, told him where he was, and prevail'd with him at laſt to declare, he believ'd the King rely'd upon him as a Perſon of Honour and Honeſty, and therefore he did engage himſelf to perform whatſoever could be expected from a Perſon ſo qualify'd. *Aſhburnham* reply'd, *I will ask no more.* Then ſaid the Governor, *Let us all go to the King and acquaint him with it.* When they came to *Cowes Caſtle*, where a Boat lay to carry them over, Colonel *Hammond* took Captain *Basket*, Governor of that Caſtle with him, and order'd a File or two of Musketeers to follow them in another Boat. Upon their Arrival at *Titchfield* Houſe, *Aſhburnham* leaving Sir *John Berkley* below with Colonel *Hammond* and Captain *Basket*, went up to the King, and gave him an Account of what had paſt between the Governor and him, adding, *Hammond is come with us, to make good what he has promis'd.* At which the King ſtriking his Hand upon his Breaſt, cry'd, *What have you brought* Hammond *with you! Oh, you have undone me, for I am by this Means made faſt from ſtirring.* *Aſhburnham* then told him, *If he miſtruſted* Hammond *he would undertake to ſecure him.* His Majeſty reply'd, *I underſtand you well enough, but if I ſhould follow that Counſel, it would be ſaid, and be believ'd, that he had ventur'd his Life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. It is now too late to think upon any Thing but going through the Way you have forc'd upon me, but I wonder how you could make ſo great an Overſight.* At which Expreſſion *Aſhburnham* having no more to ſay, wept bitterly. In the mean Time Colonel *Hammond* and Captain *Basket* beginning to be impatient of their long Attendance below in the Court, Sir *John Berkley* ſent a Gentleman of the Earl of *Southampton*'s to deſire the King and Mr. *Aſhburnham* to remember they were below. About half an Hour after his Majeſty ſent for them up, and before Colonel *Hammond* and Captain *Basket* had kiſs'd his Hand, he took Sir *John Berkley* aſide, and ſaid to him, *Sir* John, *I hope you are not ſo paſſionate as* Jack Aſhburnham. *Do you think you have follow'd my Directions? Berkley* anſwer'd, *No indeed, but it is not my Fault, as Mr.* Aſhburnham *can tell you if he pleaſe.* It was now too late to take other Meaſures, and the King received Colonel *Hammond* very cheerfully, who repeated to him what he ſaid before, which was no Promiſe, for as he was intruſted by the Parliament, it was not conſiſtent with a Man of Honour and Honeſty, in any wiſe to betray that Truſt, or to give his Majeſty any other Protection than was ſuitable to his Diſcharge of it. Colonel *Hammond* conducted the King, and the Gentlemen who were with him to *Cowes*, and the next Morning his Majeſty went with him to *Carisbrook Caſtle*, being met on the Way by ſeveral Gentlemen of the Iſland, by whom he underſtood that the Iſlanders were unanimouſly for him, and that if *Hammond* did not anſwer his Expectations, it would be eaſy for him at any Time to make his Eſcape, which Information was like what had been too often given the King ſince his Misfortunes came upon him, very ill grounded both in Fact and in Reaſon.

Berkley *and* Aſhburnham's *Diſcourſe with Col.* Hammond

The King in the Iſle of Wight.

The Earl of *Clarendon* is angry with Colonel *Whalley* for putting a Force upon his natural Temper in his Cruelties to the King, the Colonel being by Nature *rude* and *brutal, and his Majeſty every Day receiv'd Billets or Letters of wicked Deſigns upon his Life*, which put him upon Thoughts of eſcaping from the Army. The Letter which he left for Colonel *Whalley*, ſhews what a faithful Painter the Lord *Clarendon* is.

Colonel Whalley,

I Have been civilly us'd by you and Major Huntington. *I cannot but by this parting Farewel, acknowledge it under my Hand, as alſo do deſire your protecting my Houſhold Stuff and Moveables of all Sorts, which I have left behind me in this Houſe. I aſſure you it was not the Letter you ſhow'd me to Day that made me take this Reſolution, nor any Advertiſement of that kind, but I confeſs that I am loath to be made a cloſe Priſoner under Pretence of ſecuring my Life. So being confident that you wiſh my Preſervation and Reſtitution,*

I reſt your Friend,
Charles Rex.

The firſt News the Parliament had of the King's Eſcape was by a Letter from Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, who about an Hour after it was known, that his Majeſty had withdrawn himſelf from *Hampton Court*, wrote to the Parliament, *That the King was this Night expected at* Supper, *and the Commiſſioners entring his Chamber with Colonel* Whalley, *found his Cloak careleſly caſt on the Ground, by the Way into the Entry Chamber that leads to the back Stairs, and down into the Vaults to the River ſide.* As neither Parliament nor Army was in the Secret of his Eſcape, they were both terribly alarm'd at it, and the more for that each was afraid of the others coming to a ſeparate Agreement with him, and conſequently jealous of every Step that was taken. The Houſe of Commons read *Cromwel*'s Letter early the next Morning, and voted, *That it ſhall be Loſs of Eſtate and Life for any one to detain the King's*

A. D. 1647. *Perſon, and not to diſcover it to both Houſes of Parliament.* Colonel *Whalley* brought them the Letter his Majeſty left upon the Table, and to excuſe himſelf, inform'd them that *Aſhburnham* had broken his Parole of Honour with him, that the King ſhould not leave the Army without his Privity and Conſent. Great Search was made for his Majeſty in the City of *London*, where it was reported he had conceal'd himſelf, and Meſſengers were ſent every Way in queſt of him. But no News came till a Letter arriv'd from Colonel *Hammond* giving an Account of his Majeſty's having put himſelf upon him in the Manner before related. "At which he being "exceedingly ſurpriz'd did not know at firſt "what Courſe to take, but weighing the great "Concernment that the Perſon of the King is "to the Settlement of the Peace of the King-"dom, he thought it his Duty to the King, the "Parliament and Kingdom, to uſe the utmoſt "of his Endeavours to preſerve his Perſon from "any horrid Attempt with which he had been "threaten'd, and to bring him to a Place of "Safety, where he may be alſo in a Capacity of "anſwering the Expectation of the Parliament "and People in the Settlement of the preſent "Diſtractions." They receiv'd another Letter from Captain *Basket*, and order'd Rewards to the Meſſengers who brought them. They alſo order'd a Letter of Thanks to Colonel *Hammond*, who a Day or two after wrote them, *That he caus'd a Mutiny of the Gentry of the Iſland, who expreſs'd their Readineſs to preſerve his Majeſty's Perſon, and to obey the Authority of Parliament*; which ſhews that my Conjecture was right as to the Unanimity of the Iſland in the *Cavalier* Cauſe, *That he had given Order to reſtrain any from going out of the Iſland, or coming in, without Paſſes, or being examin'd.* He deſir'd Accommodations for his Majeſty, and 5000 *l.* was order'd him, which he complain'd of as too little, and had the former Allowance of 50 Pound a Day continu'd beſides that advanc'd Money. Meſſengers were ſent to the *Iſle of Wight*, to bring up Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and Col. *Legg*, but Col. *Hammond* excus'd the not Delivery of them, in a Letter to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, ſubmitting, however, to the Pleaſure of the Parliament if his Excuſe was not thought ſufficient. His Majeſty had not been a Week at *Carisbrook* before he had himſelf drawn up a Meſſage for the Parliament. Wherein in the firſt Place, he again *refus'd to aboliſh Archbiſhops, Biſhops*, &c. which however he conſented to afterwards in his Treaty with the *Scots*, for renewing the Civil War. The King *avows he is ſatisfy'd in his Judgment, that this Order was plac'd in the Church by the Apoſtles themſelves.* That is, that Bp. *Timothy* and Bp. *Titus* were Lords Temporal as well as Spiritual', had *Miters*, *Croſiers*, *Chancellors*, *Spiritual Courts*, *Manors*, &c. for if the King and his Chaplains had meant nothing elſe by Epiſcopacy, but *Preaching*, *Praying*, *Ordaining* and *Super-intending* in Eccleſiaſtical Government, the whole Body of the *Presbyterians* would gladly have been govern'd by primitive Biſhops, as ſettled in Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s Reduction. His Majeſty however conſents, that the *Presbyterian* Religion be eſtabliſh'd for three Years, and in the mean Time the Divines at *Weſtminſter*, with 20 of his own Nomination, to determine as to Church Government after the three Years are expir'd, and then Toleration to ſcrupulous Conſciences to be granted to all Perſons, except Papiſts, Atheiſts, Blaſphemers, and all thoſe that do not ſay the *Athanaſian Creed*, which all that do ſay it do ſo perfectly underſtand. His Majeſty gives the Power of the *Militia* to the Parliament, during his Reign; and alſo that of the Diſpoſing of the great Officers of State and Privy Counſellors, for the ſame Term, which were certainly very large Conceſſions, and ſuch as ought to have given Satisfaction to reaſonable Men. And probably they would have ſatisfy'd every one, had not new Provocations ariſen by a new War, and the Minds of the People been more and more imbitter'd by the deſperate Attempts of the *Cavaliers* and their Abettors. The King having no Anſwer to this Meſſage in 10 Days, ſent another to remind the Parliament of it, and a *perſonal Treaty*. But the Parliament had reſolv'd to have their Propoſitions turn'd into *Acts*, and paſs'd, before they conſented to the King's coming to *London*. And it is to be noted, that the four Propoſitions which were agreed to be ſent to him, had their Riſe in the Houſe of Lords, and conſequently could not be the Contrivance of the Republican Party to obſtruct the Peace. The four Bills for the King to paſs, were, 1. *A Bill for Settling the Militia of the Kingdom.* 2. *A Bill for calling in all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations, againſt the Parliament, and thoſe who adher'd to them.* 3. *A Bill that thoſe Lords who were made after the great Seal was carry'd to* Oxford, *ſhould be incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Peers.* 4. *That Power be given to the two Houſes of Parliament to adjourn as they ſhall think fit.* Which Bills being paſt, they agree to a perſonal Treaty for the reſt of the *Propoſitions*. His Majeſty wrote a Letter to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, informing him, *He had appointed a Copy of his Letter to the Parliament when he left* Hampton Court *to be deliver'd him, and now had ſent him a Copy of his laſt Meſſage to both Houſes from the* Iſle of Wight, *in order to the Settlement of a good Peace. He deſires him to employ his Credit with them*, that Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Oldiſworth*, and Dr. *Hammond*, may be protected in coming to him. The Houſe of Lords appointed the Earls of *Kent*, *Northumberland*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, and *Salisbury*, to be their Commiſſioners, to carry the four Bills to the King. The Commiſſioners for the Commons were, Mr. *Bulkely*, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin*, Mr. *Kemp*. And the *Scots* Commiſſioners having preſs'd very much to have the Propoſitions more accommodated to their Nation and the Covenant; they were anſwer'd, *That Bills paſt both Houſes were not to be alter'd; and that the Parliament were reſolv'd to ſend away their Commiſſioners, deſiring the* Scots *Commiſſioners to ſend their Propoſitions at the ſame Time*, inſtead of which they proteſted againſt the Bills, and preſs'd for a perſonal Treaty with ſo much Vehemence, that it was ſuſpected they intended to make the Refuſal of it a Pretence for another War, about which they were then privately treating with the King; and doubtleſs, their flattering him with Hopes of Deliverance by the Aſſiſtance of that Nation, very much obſtructed the King's ſpeedy Compliance with the Parliament. The Commiſſioners arriving at the *Iſle of Wight* on the 24th of *December*, preſented the four Bills to the King, who ſaid, *He was aſſur'd they did not expect a preſent Anſwer, but he would take them into Conſideration, and give his Anſwer in a few Days*; which immediately daſh'd all Hopes of any Succeſs from this Commiſſion, the Commiſſioners having but four Days allow'd them to ſtay for the Anſwer. The *Scots* Commiſſioners had probably been conſulted, for preſently after they preſented a *Proteſtation* againſt the four Bills to the King, *in the Name of the whole*

A. D. 1647.

Parliament's Propoſitions.

Parliament's Commiſſioners.

King's Conceſſions.

Carry four Bills to the King.

A. D. 1647.

whole Kingdom of Scotland; upon which his Majeſty founded his Anſwer to them, *That ſince the* Scots *Commiſſioners diſſented from them, it was not poſſible for him to give ſuch an Anſwer as might be the Foundation of a laſting Peace, and no Suffering and no Peril ſhould induce him to conſent to any one Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace ſhould be concluded.* To which End he again earneſtly urges a *Perſonal Treaty*. It was a wild Imagination to hope for Reſtitution by a *Scots* Army, for which *Cromwel* and his Party had a hearty Contempt. Yet, as wild as it was, it hinder'd the King from paſſing the Four Bills, as *Echard* himſelf confeſſes; and *Ludlow* owns, that thoſe who were for ſetting him aſide, dreaded his paſſing them, *it being viſible*, ſays he, *that had he been reſtored to the Throne, he might eaſily have gratify'd his Friends, and reveng'd himſelf upon all his Enemies*. But the Delinquents were ſo afraid of their Necks, and the Clergy of their Power and Revenues, that whatever Diſpoſition his Majeſty was in to do any thing for his own Safety, they always found ſome Means or other to fruſtrate it in Conſideration of their own; and now they adviſe him to come to Terms with the *Scots*, who in ſuch Caſe engag'd to bring an Army into *England* to join with the *Presbyterians* and *Royaliſts* for his Reſtitution.

The King falls in with the Scots.

Inſurrections for him.

Several ſmall Enterprizes were ſet on foot in and about *London*, in *Wales*, and in the *North*, with the ſame View; all which put together admitted a Glimmering of Light thro' a very dark Cloud of Adverſity; and by this falſe Light did thoſe weak Counſellors conduct his Majeſty to the tragical End of all his Miſeries.

The Lord *Clarendon* takes a great deal of needleſs Pains, and waſtes Abundance of fine Words and round Periods, to ſhew the *Monſtrouſneſs* of the King's Treaty with the *Scots*, and the *infamous Conceſſions*. How courtly it is! But the *Courtier* is loſt in the *Delinquent*, and the Apprehenſion he was in of perpetual Exile abroad, or a ſhorter Fate at home, has thrown thoſe two handſome Epithets, *monſtrous* and *infamous*, into his Oratory. The King, in a Word, oblig'd and bound himſelf down by all the Sanctions of a Treaty, *To confirm the Solemn League and Covenant by Act of Parliament*; *To confirm alſo Presbyterian Government*, *The Directory of Worſhip*, and *The Aſſembly of Divines at* Weſtminſter, the very ſame whom the ſame Earl calls *infamous*, *vicious*, and *ignorant*, for three Years, and then to ſettle theſe Things for ever as ſhould be agreed upon by that Aſſembly of Divines, to which Twenty of the King's Nomination ſhould be added, and a Number from the Kirk of *Scotland*; which proving as plainly as Proof can render a Thing, that his Majeſty had given up Epiſcopacy for ever, With what Front can it be ſaid that he dy'd a *Martyr* for it? Let a Man have the leaſt Foreſight imaginable, and the greateſt Degree of Stupidity next to Bigotry or Idiotiſm, could he not have aſſur'd himſelf, that the Aſſembly of Divines, with 40 or 50 zealous Kirkmen from *Scotland*, would have been much too hard in a Vote for Dr. *Sheldon* and 19 more ſuch Doctors, whom the King was to name. Here the Earl of *Clarendon* labours like a Stag in the Toils, the more he ſtruggles, it faſtens him the more; he is faſt in the Argument, and knowing that the Cauſe is given up, and the Martyrdom for the Church entirely loſt, he ſtrives to avoid and evade it, he ſtrives hard againſt a very ſimple Fact, and would come off the ſame Way which the *Roundheads* always urg'd the King would take to clear himſelf of all Treaties, by alledging the *Conceſſions were extorted by the* Scots. There was no need of Honour to hinder an Hiſtorian's concealing ſuch an Argument; a little Diſcretion and Temper would have done it, for it confirms beyond Diſpute what ever the Parliamentarians ſaid of the Inſecurity and Inſincerity of the King's Treaties. Whenever any ingenuous Perſon has a Mind to object to this Paſſage, he ſhall find that I could eaſily have lengthen'd it ſeveral Pages, and have ſhewn that the Lord *Clarendon* was himſelf ſenſible that this Treaty of the King's with the *Scots*, knock'd all the Zeal for Church and Churchmen on the head: And what was extraordinary beyond Conception in this Treaty, his Majeſty oblig'd himſelf to pay the very Money with which the Parliament bought him, and which was never paid, tho' ſuch Clamour has been made by ſtaunch Writers and Thinkers againſt that Bargain and Sale. This Treaty for a new Invaſion of *England*, and a new vain unaccountable War, was ſolemnly ſign'd at *Carisbroke* Caſtle while the Parliament's Commiſſioners were there, with the Four Propoſitions; and what can be more evident than that the King reſolv'd to argue as the Earl does, that thoſe *Conceſſions*, and all Conceſſions which hinder'd his Return to arbitrary Power, ſhould be declar'd extorted, when he could maintain ſuch a Declaration? *Ludlow* informs us, that the *Scots* Treaty was manag'd chiefly by Dr. *Gough* a Popiſh Prieſt in *London*, in Concert with the Earls of *Loudon*, *Lanerick*, *Lauderdale*, Sir *William Fleming*, and others, on the Part of the *Scots*; and that while the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Commiſſioners were at one and the ſame Time at *Carisbroke* Caſtle walking with the King, they obſerv'd him to throw a Bone before two Spaniels that follow'd him, and to take great Delight in ſeeing their conteſting for it, which ſome of them thought to be intended by him to repreſent the Bone of Contention he had caſt between the Two Nations; a Piece of ſuch ſuperficial undiſguis'd Politicks, that if both Nations had not been infatuated with mutual Prejudices, they would have ſeen and avoided it. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s Reflections on the Treaty with the *Scots*, and the Conduct of the Presbyterians and Independents, agree as much with the Facts, as Things can agree which are made on Purpoſe for them, and are as agreeable to Truth as Dreams and Viſions. I could with a great deal of Pleaſure divert my ſelf and the Reader with them, but I have not Room, and am afraid I have already too much offended the Gravity of Hiſtory, which the Earl maintains amidſt as much Mirth as is produc'd by a Man's believing he is impoſing on another, when he is all the while himſelf impos'd upon. One Paſſage ſhall ſerve for all: *The* Scots *Army in* England *did as much againſt the King as the Parliament*. The *Scots* were beaten at *Marſton Moor*, where the Parliament's Army obtain'd the Victory. The Parliament's Army obtain'd all the other Victories without the *Scots*, and took all the Towns except two or three on their own Borders; *yet they took themſelves to have equal Merit with the* Engliſh. One would indeed think the King and the wiſe Counſellors took them ſo, or this fatal Treaty had not been enter'd into, which gave the Parliament Army a very ſignal Opportunity of ſhewing how equal the *Scots* were to the *Engliſh* in the Merit of the War, when *Cromwel* with 8 or 9000 *Engliſh* routed and diſpers'd above 20000 Horſe and Foot, which were rais'd to ſupport this notable Treaty. The King's Anſwer to the Four Bills was deliver'd to the Parliament's Commiſſioners ſealed up, at which the Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the principal Commiſſioner, took

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Clar. *Vol.* I. *p.* 106.

King begins new War.

P. 112.

Offence,

A. D. 1647. Offence, alledging they were requir'd by their Inſtructions to bring an Anſwer, and they knew not whether the Contents of that Paper were an Anſwer or not; and when they had their next Audience of the King, the Lord *Denbigh* ſaid, *I have been your Ambaſſador, and in that Employment would never have deliver'd any Letter without a preceding Sight of it.* His Majeſty ſaid, *I have employ'd twenty Ambaſſadors, and none of them ever dar'd to open my Letters:* But underſtanding that what the Earl of *Denbigh* ſaid was the Senſe of the other Commiſſioners, he told them, *Well then I will ſhew it you, on Condition you will promiſe not to acquaint any one with the Subſtance of it before you have deliver'd it to the Parliament.* To which they conſenting, he deſir'd the Company might withdraw. The Commiſſioners propos'd that Governor *Hammond* might be permitted to ſtay, which the King was not willing to allow; but not thinking it convenient to refuſe it, he gave way, and by this Means the Governor as well as the Commiſſioners came to underſtand that the King had wav'd the Intereſts both of the Parliament and Army to cloſe with the *Scots* againſt both of them. The Impreſſion which the Diſcovery of theſe Things made upon the Governor was ſo great, that before he departed from *Carisbroke* to accompany the Parliament's Commiſſioners to *Newport*, he gave Orders for a ſtrict Guard to be kept in his Abſence, and at his Return commanded the Gates to be lock'd up, and the Guards to be doubled, ſitting up himſelf with them all Night, by which the King's intended Eſcape was obſtructed. The next Morning he order'd his Majeſty's Servants to remove, not excepting Dr. *Hammond* his own Kinſman, who taking Leave of the King, acquainted him that there was a Frigate ready to take him aboard. The Removal of the King's Servants, and the obſtructing his Eſcape, made a great Noiſe; and one *Burley*, a diſcarded Sea-Officer, caus'd a Drum to be beaten to draw People together and reſcue the King; *but*, ſays *Ludlow*, *there were few beſides Women and Children that follow'd him, having but one Musket amongſt them, ſo that the King's Servants thought not fit to join them.* *Whitlocke* adds, *The Mayor of* Newport *where* Burley *beat his Drum, and the Inhabitants, ſhew'd their Affection to the Parliament, and were thank'd for it.* Now, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*, *the whole Iſland fell into the Mutiny under Capt.* Burley, *of a good Family*; they ſaid, *They would not endure to ſee the King ſo us'd:* Every Word of which is invented, as is what follows. *That the King's own Servants, thoſe very Servants that had been put out of the Caſtle, quieted the People.* The Ground we walk on is all as rotten as this, and every Step we take gives Way under us! *The* poor Gentleman, *the honeſt* Tarpaulin, *paid dear for his ill-adviſed Loyalty*, the Term he gives to the Drum-beating; *and the Parliament without Delay*, above three Weeks after, *ſent down a Commiſſion of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *with an* infamous *Judge*, Wylde, a Gentleman of as good Extract and as great Fortune, of better Practice in the Law, and of as fair Character in Morals, as Mr. *Hyde*, who ſo ſcurrilouſly uſes him, and ſo falſly repreſents the Fact; *whom they made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for this Service*, whereas he was not made Lord Chief Baron till nine Months after; Whit. *p.* 337. *who caus'd poor* Burley *to be indicted of High Treaſon.* He did not cauſe it. The Parliament order'd *Burley* to be try'd by a Commiſſion of 290. *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and *the Jury found him guilty.* A *pack'd Jury*, according to the Hiſtorian, that he may be out in every Word of his Hiſtory. *Upon which their Judge condemn'd him, and the honeſt Man was forthwith executed.* *Whitlocke* ſays, *Judgment was given againſt him, but Execution reſpited.* I defy all Readers of Hiſtory to produce any Paſſage in any Hiſtory, from *Herodotus* to *Echard*, which teems with Falſities like this; and what follows is as teeming, and for Want of Wit, excites Indignation rather than Mirth, for there is not the leaſt Appearance of Conſcience in it; and a Man who was capable of writing at that Rate, was well qualify'd to palm ſo many Sham-Plots on the World as were contriv'd after the Reſtoration, when many honeſt Men were *hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with all Circumſtances of Barbarity and Cruelty*, with which he charges the Execution of *poor honeſt Burley*, tho' not one of them did ever offer to beat a Drum. *A. D.* 1647.

The King's *Negative* being return'd to the Four Bills, it was debated in Parliament, *Jan.* 3. The Debate was begun by Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Burgeſs for *Bridgwater* in *Somerſetſhire*, whom a Member of the ſame Parliament calls *Jack Pudding* to *Prideaux* the Poſtmaſter. *Wroth* ſpoke to this Purpoſe: Bedlam *is appointed for Madmen, and* Tophet *for Kings. Our Kings of late have carry'd themſelves as if they were fit for no Place but* Bedlam. *My humble Motion ſhall conſiſt of three Parts.* 1. *To ſecure the King, and keep him cloſe in ſome Inland Caſtle, with ſure Guards.* 2. *To draw up Articles of* Impeachment *againſt him.* 3. *To lay him by, and ſettle the Kingdom without him. I care not what Form of Government you ſet up, ſo it be not* Kings *and* Devils. C. W. *p.* 69. Sir Tho. Wroth's Speech.

Commiſſary General *Ireton* ſpoke after him: *The King has deny'd Safety and Protection to his People by denying the Four Bills. Subjection to him is but in Lieu of his Protection, which being deny'd, they may well deny any more Subjection to him, and ſettle the Kingdom without him. This is what is now expected. After ſo long Patience, we ſhould now ſhew our Reſolution, and not deſert thoſe valiant Men who have engag'd for us beyond all Poſſibility of Retreat, and will never forſake the Parliament, unleſs the Parliament forſake them firſt.* The Debate continu'd with great Warmth from Nine a Clock in the Morning to Seven at Night; and when the Houſe was ready for the Queſtion, Lieutenant General *Cromwel* ſtood up and ſaid, *It is now expected the Parliament ſhould govern, and defend the Kingdom by their own Power and Reſolutions, and not teach the People any longer to expect Safety and Government from an* obſtinate *Man, whoſe Heart God has harden'd. Thoſe Men, who have defended the Parliament from ſo many Dangers, will defend them therein with Fidelity and Courage againſt all Oppoſition. Teach them not, by neglecting your own and the Kingdom's Safety, in which their own is involv'd, to think themſelves betray'd, and left hereafter to the Rage and Malice of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they have ſubdu'd for your Sake, and therefore are likely to find his future Government of them inſupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Juſtice, leſt Deſpair teach them to ſeek their Safety by ſome other Means than adhering to you,* [Here he put his Hand on his Sword] *who will not ſtick to your ſelves; and how deſtructive ſuch a Reſolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge.* Here's an Energy that's truly *Roman*. Yet the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* repreſent *Oliver*'s Language as the Dregs of Enthuſiaſm and Cant. The Queſtion being put, *That no farther Addreſſes ſhould be*

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be made to the King, or any other Perſon, without the Leave of the Houſe, and that if any preſum'd ſo to do, they ſhould incur the Guilt of High Treaſon. The Houſe divided upon it, and it was carry'd in the *Affirmative*, by juſt 50 Voices, *Yea's* 141, *Nay's* 91. The King's Condition was now worſe than ever; for in the Midſt of the laſt Deſpair he exaſperated the Powers that had him in their Cuſtody by Double-dealing, treating with the *Parliament* for *Peace*, and with the *Scots* for *War*, at the ſame Time. The Folly of which Counſels was as apparent as the Danger of them.

Vote for no farther Addreſſes to the King.

The ſame Day the Houſe voted to revive the *Committee of Safety*, held at *Darby Houſe*, by which Title it ſometimes went. This Committee was firſt eſtabliſh'd by an Ordinance the 7th of *February*, 1643. and *Scots* Commiſſioners were joyn'd with the *Engliſh*, to act as a *Council of State*, but under the Name of a *Committee of Safety*, which had been laid down for ſome Time, and was now reviv'd: The Members were, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *William* Lord *Say and Sele*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *John* Lord *Roberts*, *William Pierrepoint*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Vane*, ſen. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Armine*, Sir *Arthur Haſſelrigg*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; Sir *John Evelyn*, *Samuel Brown*, Eſq;

Committee of Safety.

When the Vote for *Non Addreſſes* was ſent to the Lords it paſt a hot Debate, and upon a Diviſion there were 10 to 10; but the Majority on a ſecond Thought gave it the Affirmative; and the Army ſent a Declaration, *January* the 15th, to thank the Parliament for paſſing that Vote. The Houſe of Commons wrote a Letter the Day before to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, to ſend a convenient Number of Foot to garriſon *White-hall*, and a Party of Horſe to quarter in the *Mews*.

Several Counties ſent Addreſſes of Thanks to the Parliament, for the Vote of *no Addreſſes* to the King, particularly *Somerſetſhire*, guided then by *Prideaux*, Poſt-maſter General, a very *fierce Republican*, who got a great Eſtate by his Zeal againſt the Church and Churchmen: *Prideaux* employ'd Col. *Pyne* in this Buſineſs, and the *Somerſetſhire* Addreſs; after thanking the Parliament *promis'd to live and die with them and the Army*. But the Addreſſers were ſo aſham'd of what they had done, that moſt of them retracted it in a counter Addreſs.

About this Time the Parliament reſtor'd the Earl of *Pembroke* to an Office, of which he had been unjuſtly depriv'd. Upon the King's making a Garriſon of *Oxford*, the Marquis of *Hertford* was remov'd, and the Lord *Pembroke* made Chancellor of that Univerſity. One cannot read what the Earl of *Clarendon* writes on this Occaſion without Pity. The Earl of *Pembroke* was *contented to be imploy'd as Chancellor, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the Univerſity, notwithſtanding which, out of the extream Weakneſs of his Underſtanding, and the miſerable Compliance of his Nature, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be made a Property*, &c. One can think no other by the Hiſtory, but that the Author was as well born as *Hampden*, and as rich as *Northumberland*, by the Air that is given it from one End to the other. The great Quality of the Earl of *Pembroke* cannot defend him from Libel. This ſame Earl of *Pembroke* was regularly choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity ſeven Years before, on the Reſignation of *Laud*, and moſt irregularly turn'd out of his Office by the King's Command, two Years after. Thus it appears he was only now reſtor'd to what he had been unjuſtly deprived of; and the inſolent and daring Oppoſition he met with from thoſe very Doctors who had choſen him *Chancellor*, ſhows how *devoted they were to Duty and Obedience*, for which the Earl of *Clarendon* ſo much flatters them, or elſe for chooſing himſelf their Chancellor ſome Years after; though he himſelf too was turn'd out in a few Years, being, as *A. Wood* ſays, *accus'd of divers Crimes*. In ſpeaking of the Univerſity he ſpeaks of the Covenant, againſt which he aſſures us the Convocation of *Oxford* publiſh'd Reaſons *ſo invincible, that no Man, no not the Aſſembly of Divines then ſitting at* Weſtminſter, *and forming a new Scheme of Religion, ever ventur'd to anſwer it*. If this had been true, theſe Reaſons would have had better Luck than any which were ever publiſh'd by *Convocations*. I have as much Contempt for the *Covenant* as the Hiſtorian or any of his Admirers, though not for the ſame Reaſons: The Severity, Formality, and Subſcription render it contemptible to me; ſo does the Force it puts upon the natural Liberty which every Man has and will have in the Way of Thinking. I would have *Subſcription* abandon'd to thoſe that never had any Thing on their Side but *Coercion*. The Falſity of the Aſſembly being then on a new Scheme of Religion, is as abſurd as malicious; for that Synod made not the leaſt Alteration in Matters of Faith and Doctrine which are only religious, though the Hiſtorian thinks that *Diſcipline* is only religious. He alſo aſſures us they were then ſitting about a *Catechiſm*, which they had preſented to the Parliament two or three Years before. The Truth is, the Covenant was eſtabliſh'd by a Law; and the Legiſlators would have been greater Fools than their Enemies, if they had ſuffer'd the Aſſembly, or any one elſe to enter into Diſputation about it with the Doctors of *Oxford*, who could not but have the laſt Abhorrence for a Law which would deprive them of all the Honours and Emoluments, to which their Doctorſhips intitled them, ſo they prov'd the Covenant to be *full of Illegality, Wickedneſs and Perjury*: They might as eaſily have prov'd it to be full of *Brimſtone* and *Fire*. His Lordſhip telling us very gravely, that the Gates of Hell were never open'd wider than when Biſhop *Wilkins* was made Warden of *Wadham*, and Biſhop *Reynolds* Dean of *Chriſt-church*. King *Charles* II. ſolemnly took that Covenant no leſs than three Times. They plac'd in the Room of the learned, couragious and loyal *Heads of Houſes, Fellows and Scholars*, *A. Wood* adds, *Trencher Scrapers*, factious Presbyterians, according to the Lord *Clarendon*. *A. Wood* draws their Pictures with more Likeneſs and as much Malice; *They had mortify'd Viſages, puling Voices, Eyes lifted up, Hands lying on their Breaſts, ſhort Hair, quirpo Clothes, and Looks like Prentices*. This *Wood* is the wittieſt of them all, as the Hiſtorian is the moſt florid. *A. Wood* too tells us, *Hell was broke looſe*. Before they came to *Oxford*, *there was no Place in* England *ſo happy in Obſervance of religious Ceremonies*; *but after the* factious *Presbyterians came, there appear'd nothing but Confuſion and Darkneſs*; there being nothing in the World ſo illuminating as *Altars*, *Tapers*, &c. The Earl proceeds, *Theſe* factious Presbyterians *ſow'd the Seeds of Ignorance, Prophanation, Atheiſm and Rebellion*.

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Some of the firſt who took Degrees after the Earl of *Pembroke* was reſtor'd to the Chancellorſhip, and the Covenant was eſtabliſh'd, were, *Charles Dormer*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, *James Her-*

Degrees taken in Oxford, and by whom.

A. D. 1647. *Herbert*, Eſq; *John Herbert*, Eſq; the Lord *Pembroke*'s Sons, Sir *William Cobbe*, *William Tipping*, Eſq; *John Cartwright* of *Ayno* in *Northamptonſhire*, Eſq; *John Dolben*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, Dr. *Ward*, afterwards Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Wallis*, Sir *Peter Pett*, Sir *William Petty*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *John Baber*, Dr. *Benjamin Parry*, afterwards Biſhop of *Oſſory*, Sir *Thomas Honeywood*, Dr. *Lewis Atterbury*, Dr. *Ironſide*, afterwards Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Dr. *Cartwright*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *John Rotherham*, Dr. *Hopkins*, afterwards Biſhop of *London Derry*, Dr. *Fowler*, afterwards Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Dr. *Stratford*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Dr. *Hall*, afterwards Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Dr. *Iſaac Barrow*, Dr. *Robert South*, Sir *Nathaniel Bond*, *Joſeph Keble*, Eſq; Dr. *Ralph Bathurſt*, Dr. *John Conant*, Dr. *John Mapletoft*, Dr. *Windebank*, Sir *Robert Southwel*, *John Locke*, Eſq; Dr. *Williams*, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Lower*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Sir *William Glynne*, Dr. *Pettis*, Dr. *Woodford*, Dr. *Whitby*, Dr. *Hall*, afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*, Dr. *Huntington*, afterwards Biſhop of *Kilmore*, Dr. *Sprat*, afterwards Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Addiſon*, Dr. *Lamplugh*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, Dr. *Tully*, Dr. *Cumberland*, afterwards Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Gauden*, afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Meriton*, *Abraham Cowley*, Dr. *Pope*, Dr. *Cave*, Dr. *Crew*, afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Kidder*, afterwards Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Turner*, afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*, Dr. *Parker*, afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*, Sir *William Trumbal*, Sir *Nicholas Staughton*, Sir *Thomas Millington*, &c. I might have ſwell'd this Liſt to a great Bulk, if I would have remembred all the eminent Names that took the Covenant in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; but I choſe rather to mention thoſe that will be allow'd to be as good Churchmen as the Lord *Clarendon*, than thoſe that may be thought to favour the reform'd Religion as profeſt, in *Scotland*, *France* and *Holland*, &c. There are not Men more eminent for Learning, Quality, Piety and Genius, in the Hiſtory of that Univerſity; yet the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms, that *Ground was unskilfully cultivated that Weeds grew up, that poiſonous Seeds were ſown*; that all the Governments were tyrannical, and as his Lordſhip and *A. Wood* handſomely phraſe it, *Hell was broke looſe, and Hell Gate wide open'd.*

Now let us read ſome of the Names that took Degrees in this Univerſity, when King *Charles* the Iſt. was there in Perſon, when the *Learned*, *Couragious*, and *Loyal*, were its Ornaments, and the full *Obſervances* of *Ceremonies* its Glory, according to our two moſt excellent Hiſtorians. *Edward Shireburn*, Eſq; *Edward Windham*, Eſq; Capt. *Roger Sanders*, Mr. *Anthony Lightfoot*, Capt. *John Miller*, Sir *Francis Chalk*, Mr. *William Jay*, *Charles Whittaker*, Eſq; Dr. *Edward Buck*, Dr. *William Croot*, Mr. *John Gurgany*, Sir *Henry Moody*, Sir *Troylus Turberville* a Papiſt, Capt. *John Merret*, Dr. *George Morley*, Dr. *Edward Wolley* Biſhop of *Clonfert*, Mr. *John Lakenby* a Papiſt, Mr. *John Douch*, Mr. *Martin Lewillyn*, Mr. *William Joyner* Papiſt, Sir *John Lamb*, *William Killingtree*, Eſq; and a greater Number more, Men of equal Worth and Eminence. The Truth is, every Word which the Earl of *Clarendon* and *A. Wood* ſay of the Ignorance and Confuſion in the Univerſity, after the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Viſitation without Ground, may with good Ground be ſaid of it before that Viſitation; *A. Wood* himſelf owns as much: "Notwithſtanding the chief Members of the Univerſity had "put up a Petition to his Majeſty againſt the "promiſcuous conferring of Degrees, and the "Danger that the Univerſity was like to fall into, if ſome Remedy in that Matter was not taken; as namely, That the ſolemn Arts and "Sciences would be deſtroy'd, the Fountains "of the Univerſity dry'd up, hopeful Scholars "be diſcourag'd, and the Univerſity diſhonour'd; yet nevertheleſs his Majeſty recommended the ſame Sort of Perſons:" By which it appears, that even while the King was on the Spot, the Confuſion and Darkneſs thicken'd; the Arts and Sciences were in Danger of being deſtroy'd, and the Univerſity was diſhonour'd ſeveral Years before the *Pembrokian* Viſitation. So unhappy is the Lord *Clarendon* in his Hiſtory, as to be moſt fierce againſt the Parliamentarians in thoſe Caſes, where his Friends themſelves gave the moſt Offence. He takes no Manner of Notice that by the Articles for the Rendition of *Oxford*, that Univerſity was ſubjected to this Viſitation, but goes on declaiming againſt the Injuſtice of it, when it was a Condition of their being taken to Mercy.

Cavalier Doctors.

The Univerſity of *Cambridge* was all along within the Parliament's Juriſdiction, as being the Capital of the *Eaſtern Aſſociation*; and therefore they ſent the Earl of *Mancheſter* thither, almoſt as ſoon as the Ordinance paſt for taking the *Covenant*, to tender it to the Heads, Fellows and Scholars of that Univerſity: He took with him his two Chaplains, Mr. *Aſh*, and Mr. *Good*, who have very hard Words given them for accompanying him in that Miſſion, which was to adminiſter the *Covenant* to the Members of the Univerſity, and to remove ſuch as would not comply, many of whom were in Arms againſt the Powers that impos'd that Oath on them as the beſt Security they could take for their peaceable Behaviour. The Conteſt was left to the Deciſion of the Sword, between King and Parliament. His Majeſty in the Beginning of the War bid very fair for the Succeſs of it; and the Academicks were afraid that their taking the *Covenant* would hinder their Church Preferments, which are the Inducements to their very hard Studies; ſo moſt of the Maſters, Fellows, and Scholars refus'd it; and ſome took it, as Dr. *Edward Rainbow*, afterwards Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Dr. *Thomas Bamburg*, Dr. *Thomas Eden*, Dr. *Richard Love*, Maſter of *Bennet* College: And the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Behaviour is much commended for his Mildneſs; but the invincible Obſtinacy of the Maſters, ſuch as *Coſens*, *Stern*, *Cumber*, was ſo well imitated by the Youngſters, that great Numbers refus'd to obey the Ordinance. Moſt of the Heads were outed of their Headſhips, and yet the Lord *Mancheſter*'s two Chaplains, as we read in *Fuller*, were complain'd of, *That their over Remiſneſs would obſtruct Reformation both in Church and Univerſity*. The Alterations made on this Occaſion are as follow,

Cambridge viſited.

Maſters put out.	Colleges.	Maſters put in.
Dr. *John Coſens*,	1. *Peterhouſe*,	Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*,
Dr. *Thomas Paske*,	2. *Clare* Hall,	Dr. *Ralph Cudworth*,
Dr. *Benjamin Laney*,	3. *Pembroke* Hall,	Mr. *Richard Vines*,
Dr. *Thomas Badgcroft*,	4. *Caius* College,	Mr. *Dell*,

A. D. 1647.	Maſters put out.	Colleges.	Maſters put in.	*A. D.* 1648.
	Dr. *Samuel Collins*,	5. *King's* College,	Dr. *Benjamin Whichcot*,	
	Dr. *Edward Martin*,	6. *Queen's* College,	Dr. *Herbert Palmer*,	
	Dr. *Ralph Browrigg*,	7. *Katherine* Hall,	Dr. *William Spurſtow*,	
	Dr. *Richard Sterne*,	8. *Jeſus* College,	Mr. *Timothy Young*,	
	Dr. *William Beale*,	9. *St. John's* College,	Dr. *John Arrowſmith*,	
	Dr. *Thomas Comber*,	10. *Trinity* College,	Dr. *Thomas Hill*,	
	Dr. *Richard Holdſworth*,	11. *Emanuel* College,	Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*,	
	Dr. *Samuel Ward*,	12. *Sidney* College,	Dr. *Richard Minſhall*.	

If one could break in upon Decency with as much Pleaſure as does the Author of the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, one might offer the Compariſon, and demand whether the Univerſity loſt any Thing by the Exchange, in taking *Cudworth*, *Arrowſwith*, *Whichcot*, *Palmer*, *Tuckney*, *Minſhall*: The Names of the other are before the Reader, and thoſe of them whoſe Characters are moſt known, make up what is otherwiſe wanting in Bigotry and Zeal.

I do not enter into the Detail of Parliamentary Proceedings, having not Room for them within my Compaſs, eſpecially conſidering what Sir *Simons D'Ewes* ſays, *That the* Orders *and* Ordinances *of this Parliament, in Bulk and Number did not only equal, but exceed all the* Laws *and* Statutes *made ſince the Conqueſt*. I ſhall inſert one of their Orders, becauſe it ſhews us how impartial and upright the Earl of *Clarendon* is in repreſenting this Parliament as a Company of *Neroes* and *Diocleſians*, who perſecuted the Clergy of the Church as the *Pagans* did the *Chriſtians*, and turn'd them out of their Livings to beg and ſtarve; whereas by a Law they made Proviſion for the Wives and Families of ſuch Clergymen who choſe rather to quit their Benefices than worſhip God as the Proteſtants do abroad.

Die Jovis, Nov. 11, 1647.

Order'd,

THAT the Wives and Children of all ſuch Perſons as are, or have been, or ſhall be ſequeſter'd, by Order of either Houſe of Parliament, ſhall be comprehended within the Ordinance, *that allows the* fifth Part *for Wives and Children, and ſhall have their* fifth Part *allow'd unto them; and the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequeſtrations, and the Committee of plunder'd Miniſters, are requir'd to take Notice hereof, and yield Obedience hereunto accordingly.*

H. ELSING,
Cler. Dom. Com.

But when the Lord *Clarendon* procur'd that charitable Act, which turn'd out 2 or 3000 *pious, worthy Divines*, as Mr. *Locke* calls them, there was not one Penny allotted to them, their Wives and Children, nor any Allowance for any Layings out and Improvements, but they muſt all Starve or Subſcribe; and I can very well remember, that great Numbers of Families, as well Laity as Clergy, were beggar'd by infamous Proceſſes in Spiritual Courts, purely for Conſcience ſake, and preſuming to have more Religion than their Neighbours.

A. D. 1648. *Levellers.* We have mention'd the Diviſions and Diſturbances in the Army, occaſion'd by the *Agitators*, and now there grew out of them another Party, who were call'd *Levellers* by Way of *Deriſion* only, for what is ſaid of their being againſt all Degrees of Honour or Riches, and levelling the Count with the Cobler is falſe. They were for a *Commonwealth*, and that not being to be accompliſh'd without the Death of the King, and Renouncing all the Royal Family; thoſe *Fanaticks* firſt enter'd into thoſe wicked Counſels, which were afterwards ſo wickedly executed. Col. *Rainsborough*, Col. *Harriſon*, Col. *Eyre*, Major *Scot*, Lieut. Col. *Lilburn*, Capt. *Reynolds*, Capt. *Bray*, were the chief Movers in this Levelling *Party*, which had infected 9 Regiments of Horſe, and 7 Regiments of Foot, who beſides their Officers, had a Council of *Agents* to manage their Affairs, and they were ſo bold as to require the Parliament *to diſſolve themſelves in a Year's Time, and to alter the* Method *of Elections to* Biennial *Parliaments*, and otherwiſe, that it be declar'd, that *the King's Conſent is not neceſſary in paſſing of Laws*, the firſt direct Attack upon the Royal Authority; that *Liberty of Conſcience* be eſtabliſh'd, Popery and Prelacy excepted; that Birth and Place do not *confer any Exception to the Law*; whence they were term'd *Levellers*, and not for their Hatred to Titles and Offices, Major General *Harriſon*, and Col. *Rainsborough*, having as much Gallantry that way as *Waller* or *Hollis*. This Party publiſh'd two ſmart Pamphlets, one call'd, *The Caſe of the Army*, which was voted *to be deſtructive to the Privileges of Parliament, and the fundamental Government of the Kingdom*. The other entituled, *The Agreement of the People*. And at the general Rendezvous at *Ware*, ſeveral Regiments diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by Papers in their Hats with that Inſcription. General *Fairfax* ſpoke ſeverely to thoſe and the other Regiments; and to give a Check to this mutinous Spirit, order'd Col. *Eyre* and Major *Scot* to be committed. In *Lilburn*'s Regiment there was but one Captain left, all the reſt being driven away by the Mutineers, and the remaining one, Capt. *Bray*, complied with them, for which General *Fairfax* order'd him to be ſeiz'd at the Head of the Regiment. He alſo call'd a Council of War, before which ſeveral of the Offenders were brought, of whom 3 were condemn'd to be ſhot, and one of them executed at the Head of *Lilburn*'s Regiment, which ſo terrify'd the reſt, that they promis'd to be more obedient for the future; and Col. *Harriſon* and Col. *Rainsborough*'s Regiments ſaw their Errors and ſubmitted. Col. *Rainsborough*, who had been order'd to command the Fleet as Vice-Admiral, was requir'd to clear himſelf of this Mutiny before he went to Sea, and Major *Scot* to give an Account of his Conduct. But this did not hinder a Repreſentation to the General, under the Hands of Col. *Lilburn* and his Officers, *Acknowledging and promiſing their Obedience due to him, and praying him to mind the Parliament of conſidering and reſolving thoſe Things which have been preſented to them from the Army; and as ſoon as the neceſſary great Affairs firſt to be ſettled ſhall be tranſacted, that a Period may be ſet to this Parliament.* Whitlocke tells us, "'Twas thought a Piece of high Aſ- *Inſolence of the Soldiery.*
"ſumption in the Army, ſo often and ſo earneſt-
"ly to preſs the Diſſolving of that Authority un-
"der which themſelves had ſo highly acted.
"But ſome of the Officers were ſuppos'd to have
"Hopes of coming in themſelves to be Members
"of Parliament upon new Elections, and ſome
"were thought to act upon better Principles of
"the Nation's Freedom, by not being ſubject-

A. D. 1648.

" ed too long to the ſame Perſons in Autho-
" rity."

Cromwel's Art and Diſſimulation.

The Part that *Cromwel* acted at this Juncture was very artful; he had at firſt play'd behind the Curtain, and ſet on the *Agitators*, without appearing in their Agency; but when he was treating with the King he drop'd them as utter Enemies to that Treaty, and at the laſt mentioned Rendezvous declar'd himſelf ſo openly againſt them, that he rode up to one of the mutinous Regiments, accompany'd with his Officers, and ſeeing the Papers in their Hats, commanded them ſternly to throw them away, which they not obeying, he immediately ſhot one of them dead on the Spot, and order'd others to be ſeiz'd and brought to Trial. When he return'd to the Parliament he valu'd himſelf much on this Service. He had not long before countenanc'd the Army in Oppoſition to the Parliament, who were about treating with the King; and now that Treaty is, as he thinks, in his own Hands, he oppos'd the Agency, and labour'd to obſtruct it, pretending his ſo doing was only in order to keep the Army in Subjection to the Parliament, who being very deſirous to have this Spirit ſuppreſs'd in the Army by any Means, not only approv'd what he had done, but gave him their Thanks for it. To which, ſays *Ludlow*, *I gave as loud a No as I could though ſingle.* The King then was in Treaty with the *Scots* Commiſſioners, as has been related, which made him refuſe the four Bills which *Cromwel*'s Party in the Houſe had promoted, as the Ground-work of the Agreement he was to make with the King, whom Col. *Hammond* prevail'd with to ſend Letters of Compliment to *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, congratulating their Succeſs againſt the *Agitators*, and conjuring them by their Engagements, their Honour and Conſcience, to agree with him, and not expoſe themſelves to the fantaſtick Giddineſs of the Mutineers in the Army. Sir *John Berkley* carry'd theſe Letters, and had Orders to explain his Majeſty's Sentiments further *viva voce*.

King's Trial firſt propos'd.

The Governor had before ſent his Chaplain Mr. *Troughton* on the like Meſſage to the Generals, and as Sir *John* was going to the Head Quarters, then at *Windſor*, he met *Troughton* about *Bagſhot*, who acquainted him, he had no good News to carry to the King, the Army having taken new Reſolutions touching his Perſon. Riding a little further he met with Cornet *Joyce*, who told him, he was aſtoniſh'd at his Deſign of going to *Windſor*, for that the general Council of *Agitators* there had declar'd for bringing the King to a Trial, and their Declaration was likely to ſucceed. Sir *John* coming to *Windſor* deliver'd his Letters to the General, who order'd him to withdraw, and after half an Hour's Attendance he was call'd in, and told in a ſtern Manner, *That they were the Parliament's Army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the King's Motion about Peace, but muſt refer thoſe Matters and the King's Letters to their Conſideration.* *Cromwel* and *Ireton* receiv'd him very coldly, and ſhew'd him the Letter which *Troughton* brought from Col. *Hammond* with a diſdainful Smile. At Midnight he had a private Conference with another General Officer, ſuppos'd to be Scout-Maſter-General *Watſon*, who ſaid, *You know that I and my Friends engag'd our ſelves to you, that we were zealous for an Agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo we were abus'd. That ſince the Tumults in the Army we did miſtruſt* Cromwel *and* Ireton, *of which I inform'd you, and come now to tell you that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolv'd, notwithſtanding our Engagement, to deſtroy the King and his Poſterity; to which End* Ireton *has made two Propoſitions this Afternoon; one, That you ſhould be ſent Priſoner to* London. *The other, That none ſhould ſpeak with you on Pain of Death; and I do now hazard my Life by doing it. The Way deſign'd to ruin the King is to ſend* 800 *of the moſt diſaffected in the Army to ſecure his Perſon, and then to bring him to a Trial, and I dare think no further. This will be done in* 10 *Days, and therefore if the King can eſcape let him do it as he loves his Life.* He then told him the Reaſon of this Change, which was, that notwithſtanding the pretended Suppreſſion of the *Mutineers*, the Agitators had ſtill two Thirds of the Army in their Intereſt, and had told *Cromwel* and *Ireton* they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole Army to their Senſe, and if all fail'd they would ſeparate from the reſt, and join with any who would aſſiſt them in the Deſtruction of thoſe that ſhould oppoſe them, upon which *Cromwel* and *Ireton* argu'd thus; if the Army divide the greater Part will join with the Presbyterians, and will in all likelihood prevail to our Ruin, by forcing us to make our Applications to the King, wherein we ſhall rather beg than offer any Aſſiſtance, which if the King ſhall give, and afterwards prevail, if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promiſe our ſelves. The Concluſion was, that in caſe they could not bring the Army to their Senſe, it would be beſt to comply with them, a Schiſm being utterly deſtructive to both. In purſuance of this Reſolution *Cromwel* bent all his Thoughts to make his Peace with the Party that was moſt oppoſite to the King, acknowledging, as he knew well how to do on ſuch Occaſions, *That the Glory of this World had ſo dazled his Eyes, that he could not diſcern clearly the great Works that the Lord was doing.* He ſent comfortable Letters to the Mutineers who were in Cuſtody, aſſuring them nothing ſhould be done to their Prejudice, and by theſe and the like Arts he perfected his Reconciliation.

Cromwel *and* Ireton's *Reaſons for it.*

King contrives to eſcape.

His Majeſty was well adviſ'd by *Berkley* to make his Eſcape as ſoon as poſſible, and the Queen had ſent a Ship to lie off the *Iſle of Wight* to that Purpoſe, which ſhe earneſtly preſs'd, but the King was determin'd to finiſh the Treaty with the *Scots* firſt, and that obliging him to deny the four Bills, Col. *Hammond* ſuſpected he would not have done it without ſuch Intentions, upon which he took ſo much Care of the Guard about him, that no Opportunity offer'd, and the *Scots Invaſion*, and the *Inſurrections of* England, in a word the ſecond *Civil War* begun by the King's Agents, having not the leaſt Probability of ending otherwiſe than it did, in the Deſtruction of all that engag'd in it, the Death of the King is again chiefly to be imputed to raſh and weak Counſellors, who put him upon appealing again to the Sword, which had before decided the Cauſe againſt him. In common Policy there were but two Ways to ſave his Life, after the fatal Reſolution taken at *Windſor* was known, either frankly to paſs the four Bills, and fall in with both Parliament and Army, or to make his Eſcape, which his evil Counſellors had render'd impracticable, by delaying his Agreement with the two Houſes, who were ſo provok'd by his rejecting their Bills, that they came to the beforemention'd *Vote*, of making no further Addreſſes to him. *Coke* gives another Turn to the Alteration of *Cromwel*'s Mind as to his concluding with the King, and that it was occaſion'd by a Letter one of his Spies intercepted from his Majeſty to the Queen, wherein he told her, *That tho' he aſ-*

His falſe Steps.

ſented

A. D. 1648

He dissembles with Cromwel.

sented to the Army's Proposals, yet if by assenting to them he could procure Peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwel, *than now he was the Head that govern'd the Army*; which is agreeable enough with what *Oliver* said in Parliament, *That the King was so great a Dissembler, and so false a Man, that he was not to be trusted.* He alledg'd many Particulars, and *E-*

Ech. *chard* very wisely tells them too, as if there was no Truth in them, "That while the King so-"lemnly profess'd that he referr'd himself whol-"ly to the Army, and depended only upon "them for composing the Kingdom's Distracti-"ons, at the same Time he had secret Treaties "with the *Scots* Commissioners how he might "embroil the Nation in a new War, and destroy "the Parliament, the Lords concurr'd with the "Commons in the Vote of *No more Addresses*, "on the 17th of *January*." *Echard* calls this a *surprizing Vote*, one of his insipid Epithets, there being no Surprize in it at all; and in the Declaration publish'd by the Parliament to justify that Vote, he tells us, *They loaded the King with lending Ships to the* French *King to reduce* Rochel, *with a Design to bring over* German *Horse, with grinding the People by* Loans, Privy Seals, Coat *and* Conduct Money, Patents, Monopolies, *and that one Compendium of Slavery* Ship Money; every Syllable of which is as true as Truth it self, and so is what follows; *With torturing Mens Bodies by Whipping, slitting Noses, cutting off Ears, burning Cheeks, filthy Imprisonments, with lording it over Souls by the Oath* ex Officio, *Excommunications, Ceremonies, Articles, New Canons, and Canon Oaths; with a scandalous Declaration for dissolving the Parliament in* 1640. *with writing Letters to the Pope, with an unparallel'd Way of coming to the House of Commons*, &c. Every one is by this Time satisfy'd what a very small Historian this same Mr. *Echard* is, and yet see how erect is the Look of his History! *This* Declaration, *and their* Grand Remonstrance, *are the original mighty* Libels *from which the whole Swarm of* little Libellers *seem to have since copy'd.* There is no need of appealing to him, because his Judgment and his Evidence will not be much minded; but I appeal to every the least Dabbler in History, even less than himself, whether every Tittle of that Declaration is not Fact, and whether the Parliament had not Reason to say, as they did, *We could give many Reasons more, why we will make no more Addresses.* He thinks he has something on his Side when he quotes Mr. *Hollis*, who hated *Cromwel* as much as Mr. *Hyde* did, and had been persecuted by the Independent Party more than Mr. *Hyde* had been by the Presbyterians, which gives one good Reason to suspect he had more Regard to Pique and Revenge than to Sincerity and Impartiality, and steer'd by such another Compass as the Lord *Clarendon* did. The above-mention'd Declaration was drawn up by Mr. *Fiennes* with much Asperity, 'tis true, but with as much Truth: It charges his Majesty with rejecting all Offers of Accommodation after six several Applications to him, and the Charge is well enough grounded. The Lords agreeing with the Commons in the Vote for no more Addresses, the Council of the Army declar'd, *That they resolv'd to endeavour to preserve the Peerage, and the Rights of the Peerage of* England, *notwithstanding any Scandal upon them to the contrary.* Among the rest who spoke against the *surprizing Vote*, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*, was Sir *John Maynard*, who was then a Prisoner in the *Tower*;

Whitl. p. 270, 271, 277. Voted the 7th of *September*, 1647. *That Sir* John Maynard *be discharg'd from being a Member* *ber of the House, and be committed to the Tower during the Pleasure of the House*; and further, *That an Impeachment of* High Treason *be drawn up against him.* On the 8th of *September Sir* John Maynard *was sent to the* Tower; and on the 28th of *October, Impeachments against the* 7 *Lords were argu'd upon, and an Impeachment against Sir* John Maynard. Thus we find him fast in the *Tower*, and under an Impeachment for High Treason. But granting that it was the Pleasure of the House that he should be at Liberty to practise the Law in *Westminster-Hall* in Term-time, he had been expell'd the House of Commons four Months before the Vote for Non-Addressing past, on the 3d of *January*; and besides, he was remanded to the *Tower* before the Declaration past: Yet the Lord *Clarendon* has not only restor'd him to his Seat in the Parliament House, but made a Speech for him, and assures us *he spoke it with Vehemence, and that his Argumentation made a great Impression upon all Men who had not prostituted themselves to* Cromwel. Is it not great Pity that this good *Argumentator* was all the while in the *Tower*, and arguing with the Lords, by a Paper he sent them from thence, *against their being competent Judges of him, who ought to be try'd by a Jury.* But what is most pleasant in this Piece of History is, that his Lordship tells us, *Maynard*, a Prisoner in the *Tower* for High Treason, and expell'd the House, was so disgusted at the Parliament for not hearkening to him, that he withdrew, *and came no more to the House in very many Months*, nor could he come without Leave of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, nor had he any Business there, *having been discharg'd from being a Member of* Whitl. p. *the House* at the same Time that Serjeant *Glyn* 270. was. I have digress'd the longer on this Passage in the *History of the Rebellion*, because it will convince every one, that the same Imagination which could take a Man out of Prison, place him in the Parliament House, and make a Speech for him, must work finely when it is giving Beauty or Deformity to a Picture. The Historian taught *Echard* to labour his Matters with Epithets, as this *monstrous Declaration*, this *monstrous Determination*, produc'd the *Second War*, the People were so generally offended with it; whereas the second War was produc'd by the King's Treaty with the *Scots*, and the Intrigues of the Presbyterians and Royalists, who were now alike afraid of the Army. The first Rumour of a Revolt from the Parliament came from *Wales*, where Major General *Langhorn*, who had been very serviceable to them, was seduc'd from their Service by the Temptations and Offers of certain Agents for the King. The General having some Suspicion of his holding Correspondence with the *Cavaliers*, order'd Col. *Fleming* to relieve Col. *Poyer*, Governor of *Pembroke* Castle, who was in the Secret with *Langhorn*; but *Poyer* refus'd to deliver it, and the Parliament pass'd on the 4th of *March* an Ordinance for reducing the Castle, and bringing *Poyer* and his Adherents to Justice. Orders were sent to Major General *Langhorn* to disband his Forces, but the Soldiers would not obey them, suppos'd to be encourag'd in their Disobedience by *Langhorn*, who soon after declar'd himself, and seiz'd the Parliament's Commissioners who were sent to disband his Army.

A. D. 1648.

In the mean time there was a very dangerous Tumult in the City of *London*; it began in *Moorfields*, about *Tipling* and *Gaming*, on *Sunday, April* the 9th, contrary to that Ordinance which suppress'd the impious Book of *Sports*. The Rabble set upon and overpower'd the Train'd Bands about *Finnesbury*, from thence

A. D. 1648. they went to *White-Chapel*, where they ſeiz'd the Colours of a Company of Foot. Others went to *Smithfield*, and ſome to *Whitehall*, but the Horſe-Guards diſpers'd them. Next Day, the 10th of *April*, they increas'd, ſurpriz'd *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, took the Keys, went to the Lord Mayor's, and took thence a Drake, in which Action ſome of them were ſlain. They remov'd the Drake to *Ludgate*, and became ſo numerous, that the Lord Mayor left his Houſe, and remov'd to the *Tower*. Their Number ſtill increaſing, they were very earneſt to get Arms. They broke open a Houſe in *Milk-ſtreet*, and other Houſes, to arm themſelves with the Weapons they found there. They poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Magazine at *Leadenhall*, beat up Drums, and cry'd out, *For* God *and King* Charles. The General, now Lord *Fairfax* by the Death of his Father, call'd a Council of War, where the Queſtion was put, Whether they ſhould hazard the Two Regiments at the *Meuſe* and *Whitehall*, or ſtay for more Force? And it was agreed, rather than delay the Buſineſs, which muſt needs be dangerous, and hazard much Blood, they would engage with thoſe two Regiments only. Accordingly the next Morning the Two Regiments enter'd the City at *Alderſgate*, and march'd to *Leadenhall*, where they attack'd the Mutineers, who fir'd their Drake, wounded Capt. *Merriman* and his Lieutenant, and kill'd a Woman. The Soldiers wounded ſeveral of the Rabble, and a Waterman who ſhot off the Drake was kill'd. Many of the Rout were apprehended, and the reſt diſpers'd themſelves. The City Gates were ſet open, and all Things quiet before Ten a Clock in the Morning. 'Tis very ſurprizing that a Perſon who has no greater Share of Common Senſe than Mr. *Echard* has, ſhould pretend to Wit as he does: *Theſe young Perſons with Stones and Clubs took the Colours from the Train'd Bands, and in a childiſh Bravery marching into the Street, frighted* Warner *the preſent Lord Mayor.* Fairfax *entring with ſome Regiments of Horſe and Foot, eaſily diſpers'd them, becauſe no great Man would undertake to be their General. The Citizens were forc'd to raiſe* 1000 *Pounds for a Gratuity to the Two Regiments*, juſt now it was ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot, *their new Deliverers.* There's nothing ſo ridiculous as a Man's pretending to be witty without Wit. *Theſe young Perſons* were *other People and Malignants*, as well as Apprentices, according to *Whitlocke*; and the ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot *only a ſmall Part of the Army, who behav'd themſelves with much Gallantry and Reſolution againſt a great Multitude of Men*, not Boys and Girls, as in *Echard*; *and it was no ſmall Happineſs to the Parliament that this Inſurrection was well quieted, which in thoſe Times of Diſcontent and Diſtraction, if it had not been ſo ſoon appeas'd and nipp'd in the Bud, might have prov'd of moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Parliament and all their Friends.* *Whitlocke* afterwards reflects thus gravely upon it: "We may "take Notice of the Inconſtancy of worldly Af- "fairs: When that Parliament and their Army "had ſubdu'd the Common Enemy, then they "quarrell'd amongſt themſelves, the Army a- "gainſt the Parliament. When they were pretty "well pieced together again, *as upon the Votes* "*for Non-Addreſſes*, then the Apprentices and "others make an Inſurrection againſt the Par- "liament and Army." Theſe are the Reaſonings of a wiſe and ſober Man, and inſtead of ſuch Wiſdom and Sobriety, the Archdeacon preſents us with Drollery and Grimace. The City petition'd the Parliament for a Thankſgiving on Occaſion of their Deliverance from the late Tumult. They humbly thank'd the General and the Committee of the *Militia* for their great Care and Pains in ſuppreſſing it. We have mention'd what the Earl of *Clarendon* ſays of the miraculous Effects of the Parliament's *monſtrous* Declaration and *monſtrous* Determination, that it made them univerſally deteſtable. The firſt Inſtance of it in true Hiſtory, is the Addreſs of the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury in *Hampſhire*, *wherein they acknowledge the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of the Parliament, in the Votes of no further Addreſſes to the King.* The next is the Addreſs which Sergeant *Weld* brought from the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury of the County of *Somerſet*, where the Earl told us they were *Cavaliers* to a Man, excepting two Gentlemen, wherein they acknowledge *the great Care and Pains of the Parliament for the Peace of the Nation, particularly in their late Votes touching the King, deſiring the Judges to return their humble Thanks to the Parliament.* This is the Univerſality of the People's Deteſtation of thoſe *Monſtroſities* which the Earl talks of. The *Somerſetſhire* Grand Jury complain of *Malignants, Apoſtates, and Neutrals*; *of Alehouſes, of Cavaliers being in Offices, and practiſing as Counſellors and Attornies.* The Occaſion of Complaint as to Perſons in Offices, Counſellors and Attornies, has continu'd there ever ſince; and indeed it is a crying Grievance, as clothing Inſolence and Oppreſſion with the Robe of Authority and Law.

A. D. 1648.

Whitl. p. 290.

P. 300.

Addreſſes to the Parliament.

Tumult in London.

Whitl. p. 298.

The Storm gathering in *Scotland* was ſoon perceiv'd. The Parliament's Commiſſioners at *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Aſhhurſt*, Mr. *Stapleton*, and Colonel *Birch*, ſent Information that the Parliament in *Scotland* had appointed a *Committee of Danger* preparatory to their Deſign of invading *England*, from whence came Capt. *Wogan*, a Revolter from the Parliament, with about 400 Horſe, and was follow'd by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and other Delinquents, who ſtaid in *Scotland* till the *Scots* Army march'd for *England*, againſt which the Earl of *Argyle* and ſeveral Lords proteſted. The Parliament's Commiſſioners demanded to have *Wogan* and the Delinquents deliver'd up, but the *Scots* gave no ſatisfactory Anſwer to them in that and all other Demands.

About this Time the Earl of *Kent* and the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, and *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; whoſe Memorials are ſo uſeful to me in detecting the Falſities in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, were appointed Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal. The Lord *Pawlet* was order'd to be try'd for killing one *Henry Illery*, on whoſe Widow the Parliament beſtow'd 100 *l.* Dr. *Clark*, Dr. *Exton*, and Dr. *Doriſlaus*, were made Judges of the Admiralty. Sir *Oliver Cromwel*'s Compoſition was remitted for his Kinſman Lieutenant General *Cromwel*'s ſake; and the Lords acquainted the Commons at a Conference, that the Duke of *York*, with the Duke of *Glouceſter* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, being together playing in a Room after Supper by themſelves, the Duke of *York* privately ſlip'd from them down the Back Stairs, without Cloak or Coat, in his Shoes and Stockings, by Way of the Privy Garden, having got a Key of the Door, by which he eſcap'd thro' the Park, and could not be found, none of his Servants who attended him being miſſing. 'Twas ſuppos'd that he went off by private Inſtructions from his Father, tho' it is not eaſy to diſcern the Wiſdom of it, the Duke having a Princely Allowance from the Parliament, who were better able to keep him than thoſe he had recourſe to;

Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.

Duke of York eſcapes.

A. D. 1648. and as his Perſon was very ſafe, under the Care of the Noble Earl of *Northumberland*, ſo the Merit of conveying him away, which the Earl attributes to one Col. *Bampfield*, was not conſiderable enough to deſerve ſo much Room in his Hiſtory. In the mean while Col. *Poyer* increas'd in Strength: Col. *Powel* was come into him: Sir *Nicholas Keymis* had ſeized *Chepſtow* Caſtle, with ſome *Welch* Gentry and Peaſantry, whoſe Underſtandings were of the ſame Size with that valourous Knight's, of the ſame Order with him of *Mancha*. Major General *Langhorn* had put himſelf at the Head of a greater Parcel of ancient *Britons*, againſt whom Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was order'd to march with two Regiments of Horſe and three Regiments of Foot. Col. *Horton*, who commanded the Parliament's Forces in *South Wales*, publiſh'd a Declaration to ſatisfy the Country People as to the Parliament's Proceedings in disbanding *Langhorn*'s Forces, to eaſe them of free Quarter, and of the Danger *Poyer* had brought them into; but *Whitlocke* ſays the *Welchmen* did not underſtand what he ſaid. *Keymis* had not been long poſſeſs'd of *Chepſtow* Caſtle before he was beſieged by Col. *Herbert* and Col. *Horton*, who with about 3000 Horſe and Foot of the Parliament's Forces, met Major General *Langhorn*, Major General *Stradling*, Col. *Powel*, and other Revolters and Cavaliers, to the Number of 8000 Men, attack'd and routed them. *Stradling* was taken Priſoner, *Langhorn* wounded, many ſlain, 26 Captains and 100 Subalterns and 3000 Soldiers taken, with their Colours and Arms. The Parliament had beſtow'd Lands to a good Value on the ungrateful *Langhorn*, which were now given to Col. *Horton*. Mr. *Elkenhead* and Mr. *Parker*, two Lawyers, were made Judges to try the Mutineers in *Wales*, and their Leaders were ſent up to *London* to be try'd by a *Council of War*. Thus was another Civil War begun, and Blood ſpilt, with no more Proſpect of Succeſs, than if *Sacheverel*'s Mob ſhould have attack'd the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army; and every reaſonable Man muſt with Indignation behold a Company of Deſperadoes involving their Country in new Miſeries out of Pique and Revenge. Theſe Doings were not likely to make Men have more Compaſſion for the King's calamitous Condition. The *North Welchmen* were to have riſen at the ſame Time with the *South*, and the Lord *Clarendon* vouches for the Lord *Byron*, that he had *diſpos'd all* North Wales *to be ready*. How this agrees with *Whitlocke*? The Counties of *Flint*, *Denbigh*, and *Montgomery*, the beſt half of all *North Wales*, *enter'd into an Aſſociation* for ſecuring thoſe Counties againſt the Enemy, for which the Parliament order'd them *hearty Thanks*. The Earl of *Clarendon* muſters thoſe Mutineers every where to the greateſt Advantage, tho' they are ſo ſoon to be reduc'd and ſhip'd off to *America*, where they liv'd better than ever they had done before. He gives a notable Account of a notable Inſurrection in *Kent*, carry'd on by *Roger L'Eſtrange*, who made this Government this Requital for ſaving him from the Gallows. He was chief Counſellor to one *Hales*, who went by the Name of Squire *Hales*, and expected to be General to the *Kentiſh Gentlemen*, as the Lord *Clarendon* calls them; but *Whitlocke* calls them *Kentiſh Rioters*, *whoſe Intention was to plunder*, which they executed with the greateſt Outrage where they had the Power: But upon General *Fairfax*'s moving towards them with ſeven Regiments of Horſe and Foot, the *Rioters* would have enter'd into a Treaty, which he refus'd, ſaying, *he knew no Authority* they had to appoint Commiſſioners; and truly the beſt Authority they had was *Roger L'Eſtrange*'s Warrant, as the Lord *Clarendon* owns, and yet they became ſo formidable, that he aſſures us, they had Horſe and Foot enough *to meet any Army that was like to be brought againſt them*, tho' as numerous as they were, theſe Gentry were then running away as faſt as they could run from General *Fairfax*, who indeed had not ſo many Men, but thoſe he had were old Soldiers, and the Rioters a Crew got together rather to rob than to fight. They barricaded a Bridge which led to *Graveſend*, but were driven from it by Major *Husbands*; and *Whitlocke* tells us of whom this Royal Army conſiſted, of Peaſants, Farmers, and *London* Prentices, with ſome Knights, Gentlemen and Cavaliers. The General came up with them at *Maidſtone*, and, after a very warm Engagement, forc'd his Way into the Town, kill'd 200 of the Mutineers, took 1400 Priſoners, and 400 Horſe. Thoſe of them that were left made towards *London* under their General the Lord *Goring*, now Earl of *Norwich*, for the Royaliſts could riſe in Title, tho' they ſunk in Fortune. Their main Hope was, that the City of *London* would have favour'd them, but the Citizens had been too lately mortify'd to venture again on ſuch a rotten Bottom; and General *Fairfax* having order'd a Body of Horſe to keep cloſe to their Rear while he came after them ſlowly, the Lord *Goring* ſlip'd over to *Eſſex* Side with about 500 *Rioters*, or, as the Lord *Clarendon* words it, *young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Families*, who had been too young to *appear before*, and now were not likely to grow much older. Sir *Richard Hardreſs*, with about 2000 more *Kentiſh* Rioters, had laid Siege to *Dover* Caſtle, and taken the Block Houſes; but upon the Approach of Sir *Michael Liveſay* and Col. *Rich*, he rais'd the Siege and fled. The firſt Action by which *Goring* and his Army diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in *Eſſex*, was the ſeizing Sir *William Hicks* at *Bow*, and plundering ſome Gentlemens Houſes. Sir *Charles Lucas* had been very active in that County, and the Lord *Capel* in *Hertfordſhire*, and, with as many more Rioters as they could raiſe, they join'd *Goring*, whoſe Numbers, by the Junction of the *Suffolk* Men, exceeded General *Fairfax*'s, who, not without much Trouble, paſs'd over from *Graveſend* to *Eſſex*, having quieted the County of *Kent*; and *Goring* with his Company, got into *Colcheſter*, where *Fairfax* had them ſafe enough; and the boaſted Defence of that Town was occaſion'd purely by that General's Humanity and good Conduct to ſave Mens Lives, and the Effuſion of Blood. He knew they would be obliged to ſurrender without Storm for want of all Sorts of Proviſions, and he was reſolv'd it ſhould be at Diſcretion, which ſpun out the Siege to a greater Length than was uſual with that Army. There were ſo many of the *Rioters*, that *Fairfax* did not think fit to attack them before the Forces which were gathering in *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and the Aſſociated Counties, came up. General *Ireton* compar'd the Town and thoſe therein to a great Beehive, and the Parliament Army to a ſmall Swarm of Bees ſticking on the Outſide of it. But the more the Enemy were, the ſooner would the Proviſions be ſpent, and Reinforcements came daily to *Fairfax*. The *Scots* being about to enter *England*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* ſeiz'd *Berwick*, and Sir *Thomas Glemham* and Sir *Philip Muſgrave* took *Carliſle*. There was a Deſign to ſeize *York*, but it was prevented by the Folly and Raſhneſs of ſome *Cavaliers* in that City, who miſtaking a Troop of Parliament Horſe for ſome of *Langdale*'s Company, cry'd out, *King Charles*, and ſo were diſcover'd and ſuppreſs'd.

Colonels Langhorn, Poyer, *and* Powel.

Langhorn *routed.*

Kentiſh *Inſurrection.*

Colcheſter *Siege.*

A. D. 1648. Major General *Lambert*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* had about 3000 Men in the *North*, on the Borders of *Scotland*, which were ſcarce ſufficient to hinder the Countries joining with *Langdale*; but being join'd by four Regiments of Foot, and two of Horſe, they ſhut up *Langdale* and *Muſgrave* in *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, and diſpers'd a Regiment of new rais'd Men, which *Langdale* himſelf was marching to *Carliſle*. While theſe Mutinies were tranſacting in theſe Parts, Dr. *Hudſon*, to ſerve the Cauſe in the Field as well as the Pulpit, got a Company together in *Lincolnſhire*. For theſe Doctors having plac'd the Eſſence of Religion in *Manors*, *Titles*, *Prerogatives*, *Powers*, and other worldly Matters, could with as much Decency fight as preach for them. Col. *Waite* overtook *Hudſon* and his Military Rabble near *Stamford*, fell upon them, kill'd him and others of his Company, took ſome of the principal Mutineers to be made Examples, and diſcharg'd the reſt.

Dr. Hudſon *killed.*

Sir *John Owen* laid Siege to *Carnarvon* Caſtle, in *North Wales*, wherein were Col. *Maſon* and Col. *Mitton*. *Owen* hearing that Col. *Carter*, and Lieut. Col. *Twiſſelden* were coming from *Cheſter*, to the Relief of *Maſon* and *Mitton*, drew off from the Siege. The Number of his Men was about equal to that of *Carter*'s, and both Parties meeting, the Parliament's Forlorn was forc'd to a diſorderly Retreat. The Enemy purſu'd with their whole Body upon the Reſerve of the Parliament's, who receiv'd their Charge; and after a hot Diſpute, routed them. Capt. *Taylor* ſingly encounter'd Sir *John Owen*, after he had broken his Sword upon his Head clos'd with him, diſmounted and took him Priſoner; upon which his Party immediately fled. About 30 of them were kill'd, and 80 taken Priſoners, ſeveral of them Perſons of Diſtinction. After the Rout of *Langhorn*, the Royaliſts retreated to *Pembroke*, and defended it againſt *Cromwel* himſelf for a few Days; but upon offer of Conditions, the Soldiers oblig'd their Officers to ſurrender, and *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, *Powel*, *Matthews* and *Bowen* were ſent Priſoners to *London*, to take their Trial, for the Blood they had ſpilt in this chimerical Inſurrection. *Cromwel* was in haſte to give the *Scots* a Meeting, or he would not have given ſo good Terms to the *Welſhmen*, who were permitted to return to their Homes.

Earl of Holland *riſes.*

There was another doughty Enterprize of the Earl of *Holland*'s, who had receiv'd a Commiſſion from the King to be General of as many Men as he could get together in ſo hopeful a Cauſe. Indeed *Whitlocke* calls it a *raſh Action*, and ſpeaks of ſome Diſcourſe between the Earl of *Holland* and himſelf before he attempted it. His Lordſhip ſaid, *Peoples Hearts were generally ſet on a Perſonal Treaty; and he did believe if a conſiderable Party ſhould ſhew themſelves in Arms for it, they would ſoon riſe to a great Body, and be able to bring the Parliament to Reaſon.* He was anſwer'd, "The Parliament's Army is a fram'd Bo-
"dy of old Soldiers, proſperous in their Acti-
"ons, and well provided of all Things neceſ-
"ſary; and it will be a raſh and deſperate At-
"tempt for any to imagine to make Head againſt
"them, and raiſe a new Body. There is no Truſt
"to be given to Peoples Minds or Promiſes in
"ſuch Deſigns: They will not ſtir except they
"ſee the Tide turning, and ſome precedent Suc-
"ceſs, which cannot be in this Caſe; but thoſe
"who ſhall adventure upon ſuch Buſineſs, will
"certainly be loſt in it. The Earl of *Holland*
"argu'd earneſtly to the contrary, *and how*
"*honourable, juſt and pious a Thing it would*
"*be to reſcue our Country from the Miſery and*
"*Slavery they are now under, eſpecially if it*
"*were done by thoſe who in the Beginning had,*
"*perhaps, too much Hand in the bringing theſe*
"*Streights upon us.*" The Reply was, "It would
"be worſe in thoſe Men than in any others;
"for that it would be look'd upon in them as
"*Breach of Faith and Treachery* to thoſe who
"had before intruſted them." For he had engag'd in it at firſt, and deſerted the Parliament to ſerve the King at *Oxford*, where he was ſoon weary of the Management, and return'd a Penitent to *London*, publiſhing a Declaration, *that he left the King becauſe he ſaw* Iriſh Rebels *ſo eminently favour'd by him.* In this heroick Action join'd the young Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, in Gratitude for the Parliament's taking off the Sequeſtration of the Duke's Eſtate on Account of his Minority, when he firſt engag'd with the King. The Diſcourſe between the Earl of *Holland* and Mr. *Whitlocke* confirms what I have obſerv'd of the Timerity and Raſhneſs of every one of theſe Undertakings, which were no farther conſiderable to the Parliament, than as they diſturb'd the publick Peace, and poſtpon'd the Settlement of the Nation, and the Service of *Ireland*; yet the Earl of *Clarendon* gives Importance to the leaſt Stir on the Side of his Party; and now he informs us, that both the Parliament and Army were apprehenſive of the Lord *Holland*'s Motions, which at the ſame Time they deſpis'd ſo much as to know of the very Day and Hour of his ſetting out with 100 Horſe, and yet made no Attempt to ſtop him in *London*. The Earl of *Holland* intended to poſſeſs himſelf of *Reygate* in *Surrey*; but Major *Gibbon*, and a Part of Col. *Riches* Horſe enter'd the Town the Day before, which cut off his Communication with the Malecontents in *Kent*. The Earl retreated towards *Kingſton*, and was purſu'd by the Parliament's Forces, who took ſeveral of his Men Priſoners between *Ewel* and *Nonſuch*; the reſt haſten'd their March towards *Kingſton*; but being overtaken by the Parliamentarians, a hot Skirmiſh enſu'd, in which the Lord *Francis Villiers*, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was ſlain, and the Earl of *Holland*'s Band routed; the Remainder fled over *Kingſton Bridge* to *Harrow on the Hill*, and were hunted ſeveral Ways by ſeveral Parties of the Parliament's Troops; the greater Number of them kept with the Earl of *Holland*, who got as far as St. *Neots*, intending probably for *Colcheſter* or the *North*, if the Enemy would have given him Time; but Col. *Scrope*, who quarter'd at *Hertford*, and had Intelligence of *Holland*'s Flight, purſuing him, his Forlorn came up with the *Cavaliers*, attack'd and routed them, before the main Body enter'd the Town. The Duke of *Buckingham*, with 60 Horſe eſcap'd into *Lincolnſhire*, and went beyond Sea. The Earl of *Holland* was taken in his Chamber; and the reſt of his Followers were made Priſoners, by which *Scrope*'s Men were enrich'd with Plunder, there being many Gentlemen in their Company, as the Earl of *Peterborough*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Col. *Skemiſher*, Col. *Howard*, Col. *Legg*, Lieut. Col. *Goodwin*, Major *Holland*, Major *Stepkin*, and 100 others. Col. *Dalbier*, who deſerted the Parliament, and Mr. *Digby*, Son to Sir *Kenelm*, were kill'd. Pray mind how the Earl of *Clarendon* repreſents the killing of them; *Whether out of former Grudges, or that they offer'd to defend themſelves, was not known*; whereas it was notoriouſly known that they fought, and were routed according to *Sanderſon*. The Lord *Andover* who was in this Party, made his Eſcape, but was taken

And is ſubdu'd.

as

A. D. 1648.

as he was about tranſporting himſelf to *Holland*: And thus we have clear'd the Country of theſe Troopers.

Ships revolt to the Prince of Wales.

The Induſtry of the King's Friends had got them ſome Intereſt at Sea as well as at Land; and Col. *Rainsborough* being ſent to command the Fleet in the Room of the Earl of *Warwick*, the Seamen taking Offence at it, and *Batten* Vice-Admiral offended alſo at *Rainsborough*'s being put over his Head, revolted to the Prince of *Wales* with ſeven or eight Men of War. The Seamen having put *Rainsborough* aſhoar, ſail'd with the revolted Ships to *Holland*, and the Parliament to humour the Revolters, voted that the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould again be Lord High Admiral, upon which his Lordſhip going down to the Fleet, kept the other Ships from revolting, and oblig'd the Prince, who was in the *Downs*, to return with great Expedition to the Coaſts of *Holland*, whether *Warwick* purſu'd him, it is thought, with too much Reſpect, conſidering the two Fleets were at War. The Earl of *Clarendon* makes the moſt of this Revolt of the Fleet, and throws the City of *London* into a terrible Panick on the Prince's coming into the *Downs*; though the Expedition amounts to no more than the taking a Cloth Ship, and a Sugar Ship, a Ranſom of 12000 Pounds from *London*, and a Quarrel about dividing the Spoil.

Scots *Invaſion.*

The Duke of *Hamilton*, who had been kept ſo long in Priſon by the King's Order, without ſufficient Proof of the Charge againſt him, and was diſcharg'd by the Parliament when their Forces took the *Mount* in *Cornwall*, having by his Intereſt and Intrigues in *Scotland*, prevail'd with the Convention of Eſtates to raiſe an Army and make him General of it, he undertook to redeem the King from his Captivity, as Knights of Romance were wont to go on Adventures to deliver Captives from enchanted Caſtles. This Army conſiſted of 20000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe, well accommodated with all Neceſſaries. The *Kirk* did not approve of this Undertaking, and refus'd to give it their Bleſſing, as having no Proſpect of a good Iſſue, when it was to protect ſuch Men as *Langdale*, *Muſgrave*, *Morris*, *Goring*, *L'Eſtrange*, *Keymis*, *Owen*, and others, the moſt inveterate Enemies to the true Reform'd Religion, as they term'd it in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Calendar* was made Lieutenant General of this Army, under whom commanded Major General *Middleton*, as General of the Foot, Gen. *Bayly*, Major Gen. *Maſſey*, and other Officers, who had ſerv'd the Parliament well, came now on this Service, but their Succeſs chang'd with the Cauſe; and Men who fought well out of Principle, ſeldom fight as well out of Pique or for Pay. *Monroe*, who had commanded the Proteſtant Forces in *Ulſter*, was ſent for to join Duke *Hamilton*, the reducing the *Iriſh* Rebels being not now judg'd ſo neceſſary a Work as the reſtoring of Epiſcopacy in *England*. The *Scots* Presbyterians muſt have been Mirrors of Stupidity, if they flatter'd themſelves that the King and the Biſhops would ever have eſtabliſh'd the Presbytery in *England*, or if they did eſtabliſh it, that ſuch an Eſtabliſhment would laſt a Minute longer than till it was in their Power to deſtroy it. I do not make uſe of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Obſervations on the ill Conduct of the *Scots* Army, nor ſhall I rack my Invention to find out Excuſes for their being beaten; they might have ſeen, if they had had Eyes, that *Cromwel* and the Parliament Generals had either a very great Contempt of them, or intended to draw them as far forward into the Country as they could, that they might have the more Difficulty to get out of it again, and that in both Caſes they made ſure of beating them whenever they could come at them, which was very mortifying to an Army, which the Arch-deacon's Biſhop *Guthry* ſays, *Was the greateſt and beſt furniſh'd that ever* Scotland *ſent forth.* *A. D.* 1648.

Cromwel, after the Reduction of *South Wales*, reſolv'd to join *Lambert*, though 300 Miles off, and give Battle to thoſe gallant Invaders. *Lambert* was therefore order'd to keep them in play till *Cromwel* came up, which he did very well, by skirmiſhing with the *Scots* daily, and ſending timely Intelligence of their Advances, *Lambert* fell upon *Langdale*, who had join'd the *Scots* with 2000 *Engliſh*, within 2 Miles of *Preſton*, and routed him, and *Cromwel* entring the Town, charg'd the *Scots* in the Streets, which the Parliament's Forces clear'd of the Enemy, who were put into Diſorder, many ſlain, and many more taken Priſoners. Duke *Hamilton*, with moſt of the *Scots* Horſe and Foot, retreated over the Bridge, and the Parliament's Horſe and Foot following them, after a warm Engagement they were beaten from the Bridge. *Cromwel*'s Men ſtill purſuing the *Scots* poſſeſs'd the Bridge over *Darwent*, and a few Houſes. The Enemy drew up within Musket Shot of them, but Night coming on they march'd off, having had about 1000 kill'd, and 4000 taken. The Duke retreated with 8000 Foot and 4000 Horſe. *Cromwel* follow'd him with 3000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe and Dragoons, and skirmiſhing with him at *Wiggan*, took Major General *Vandruske*, Col. *Hurrey*, and Lieut. Col. *Ennis* Priſoners. The Enemy march'd haſtily towards *Warrington*, and made a Stand at a Paſs, which was diſputed with great Reſolution on both Sides for 2 or 3 Hours, at laſt *Cromwel* beat them from their Poſt, kill'd 1000, and took 2000 Priſoners. The *Scots* poſſeſs'd the Bridge at *Warrington*, but upon *Cromwel*'s Approach he receiv'd a Letter from Lieutenant General *Bayly* deſiring to capitulate, which being agreed to, the Terms were for him and his whole Body to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War; accordingly 4000 Men and Arms were taken, and Duke *Hamilton*'s Infantry entirely ruin'd. The Duke with 3000 Horſe made towards *Nantwich*, where the Gentlemen of the County took 500 of them, and Lieutenant General *Cromwel* ſent an Expreſs to the Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Edward Read*, to gather all the Strength they could and purſue the Enemy, which they did, and overtook the Duke at *Utoxeter* in *Staffordſhire* with about 2000 Horſe, who were fatigu'd and tir'd, and expecting *Cromwel* to be nearer at Hand than he was, deliver'd themſelves up to the Lord *Gray*, Col. *Waite*, and the other Parliament Officers, who ſent them Priſoners to *Aſhby de la Zouch*, and the other *Scots* Generals were elſewhere confin'd in order to be examin'd by whoſe Invitation they came into *England*, for now the Parliament Army was ſo near the End of their Buſineſs, it was rational to think that a Time of Payment was approaching, when thoſe that had given them ſo much Trouble, and occaſion'd a ſecond Loſs of ſo much Blood, was to be accountable for it. The evil Counſellors who hinder'd the Negotiations for a Peace, to ſave themſelves and the Biſhops, had been great Fomenters of the *New Civil War*, and when they are brought to Puniſhment the Parliament, according to *Clarendon* and *Echard*, were ſatiating their Thirſt of Blood. The *Committee of Safety* which ſat at *Derby Houſe* to take Care of the Affairs of the Commonwealth, had Orders to make Inquiſition for the chief Agents and Movers in the *Scots* Invaſion, and the ſeveral Inſurrections in *England*. To this Committee was given Power to ſuppreſs all

Langdale *defeated.*

Duke Hamilton *routed.*

Duke Hamilton *routed and taken.*

A. D. 1648.

A. D. 1648. all Tumults and Inſurrections, and to that Purpoſe to raiſe Forces as they ſaw Occaſion. Had the evil Counſellors conſider'd the King's Danger as much as they did their own, or had their Conſiderings been as weighty as the Lord *Clarendon* would have us believe, ſuch Attacks on the Supream Power then in being, as was that of the *Committee of Safety*, would have pointed out to the laſt dreadful one on the Sovereign, and have ſoften'd their hard Hearts to a Compliance with the Parliament's Propoſitions of Peace. *Echard* tells us, that after *Cromwel* had routed *Hamilton*'s Army, he had *Carliſle* and *Berwick* deliver'd up to him, and then he enter'd *Scotland*, whereas he enter'd *Scotland* at the Invitation of the Marquis of *Argyle* and his Party, and *Berwick* and *Carliſle* were deliver'd, and *Monroe* tranſported himſelf into *Ireland*, by Command of that Marquis and the governing Power in *Scotland*, who came to an Agreement with *Cromwel* about ſettling the Government. Another Convention was call'd, who condemn'd the Proceedings of the laſt Aſſembly, and the Miniſters declaim'd againſt the late Expedition as *ſinful*. A Day of Humiliation was appointed to implore God's Pardon, and the chief Agents, particularly the Lord Chancellor *Loudon*, made his Recantation and Submiſſion with Tears. There could not be a more monſtrous Mixture than the *Kirk* Faction with the Cavaliers. What *Milton* ſays of the Generation between Sin and Death, has produc'd nothing more horrid and unnatural, yet *Echard* took no Notice of it, and now the Birth is deſtroy'd, he only jeſts aukwardly on the Uſe of ſcriptural Phraſes in the Language of thoſe Presbyterians, who complimented *Cromwel* as their Deliverer, and he laying his Hand on his Breaſt, *Return'd as good Scripture*, ſays the Reverend Hiſtorian, *demurely looking on their grave Countenances, and ſmiling to ſee what Idiots he had made of theſe Politicians at their own ſanctify'd Weapons*. Every Word of which is as falſe as it is profane and inſipid; nor is what follows truer, that there the Marquis of *Argyle* and *Cromwel concerted concerning the Ruin of the King, and Extirpation of Monarchy, and the very Form of the future Regicide*. The moſt ancient and honourable Houſe of *Argyle*, as illuſtrious for their Love and Services to their Country, as for their Nobility and Anceſtry, have not been ſpar'd by *Echard*, though at the Expence of Truth and good Manners. This Charge here is ſo notoriouſly falſe, that the Lord Marquis was at his Trial clear'd by his very Enemies of being concern'd in the King's Death, as we read in *Burnet*. Every one knows, and Sir *John Berkley* in his M.S. acknowledges, that the Ruin of the King was concerted at a Council of Officers at *Windſor*, ſeveral Months before *Cromwel* went to *Scotland*, and if there was no Reſpect among them to Truth, there ſhould have been more Decency obſerv'd towards ſo great a Name as that of *Argyle*, but the Miſchief of it is, the Marquis was a *Presbyterian*, and the Archdeacon obſerves Decorum and Truth alike, when he ſhews his laudable Zeal for the *Laudean* Prelacy, which he and his Heroes would have maintain'd at all Ventures, and matter not what Sacrifices they made to it. His Account of the Surrender of *Colcheſter* is worthy all his other Accounts, and has not one Blemiſh of Sincerity. I have taken Notice, that the Lord *Fairfax* being deſirous to ſpare the Lives of the Soldiers both within and without the Town, made a Blockade of it, and there were few Actions as long as it laſted but Skirmiſhes and Picquerings. The Lord General was reſolv'd to ſtarve them, and this gave Occaſion to *Echard* to extol the Bravery of the Cavaliers in eating Horſes, Dogs, and Cats, rather than ſubmit to be executed, they having no Hopes of better Conditions than at *Mercy*. The Behaviour of *Goring*, *Lucas*, &c. had been very barbarous and daring in this mad Enterprize. *Lucas* broke his Parole to the General in taking Arms againſt him, whoſe Priſoner he was, and therefore, as *Whitlocke* ſays, *not capable of Command or Truſt in martial Affairs*, yet ſo ſturdy, that when the Lord General having Intelligence that the Soldiers and Townſmen were hinder'd from ſurrendering purely by the Obſtinacy of their chief Commanders, ſent the latter a Summons; *Lucas* ſaid, *If any more Letters came of that Kind they would hang up the Meſſenger*. But he was more ſturdy *when he put to Death with his own Hand ſome of the Parliament's Soldiers in cold Blood*, as we read in *Whitlocke*. The Lord *Goring* when he firſt came to *Chelmsford*, ſeiz'd Sir *William Maſham*, Mr. *Barnardiſton*, and the Committee of *Eſſex* ſitting there, carry'd them with them to *Colcheſter*, and made them Partakers of the Hardſhips of the Siege, notwithſtanding the Parliament had offer'd the Lord *Capel*'s Son, Col. *Legg*, and many other Gentlemen of like Quality, in Exchange for them, and had a hundred to one in their Cuſtody for ſuch Uſes. But theſe Men of Wiſdom and Honour wanted Diſcretion and Generoſity, or they would not in their deſperate Circumſtances have carry'd away Members of Parliament, or if they had carry'd them away, they would not have us'd them unhandſomely, nor have refus'd to exchange them, when the Parliament had it in their Power to make Numbers ſuffer the like Extremities which the Committee Men ſuffer'd in *Colcheſter*, from whence *Goring* turn'd out the Women, and expos'd them to the Fire of *Fairfax*'s Men, who ſpar'd them as much as they could, and the General let the Cavalier Commanders know, that if they did not take them in again, *they ſhould be anſwerable for their Blood*. When at laſt they were compell'd by Famine to deliver up the Town, as was the Lord *Fairfax*'s Intention, his Lordſhip would give them no other Terms than *Quarter for their Lives*, at the Entrance of the Parliament's Forces, but not to exempt them from Execution by *Martial* or other Law. Accordingly General *Fairfax* being poſſeſs'd of the Town, held a Council of War, who condemn'd Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn*, to be ſhot, *for Satisfaction to Military Juſtice*, as the Lord General wrote the Parliament, *and in Part of Revenge, for the innocent Blood they had caus'd to be ſpilt, and the Trouble, Damage, and Miſchief they had brought upon the Town, the County, and the Kingdom*. Inſtead of ſuch Reaſoning, the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon launch out into Panegyricks on *Lucas*, *Liſle*, and *Gaſcoyn* an *Italian* Papiſt. Sir *Roger Manly*, as ſober and judicious an Author as the beſt of them, aſſures us, *The Stone Sir* Charles Lucas *and Sir* George Liſle *fell upon, being ſprinkled with their Blood, could not be cleanſed of it, but continues ſtill a Monument of this horrid Impiety*. What admirable Hiſtorians they be!

A. D. 1648.

Colcheſter *taken.*

The Earl of *Clarendon* affirms, *the News of this bloody Reſolution* reaching the Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Loughborough*, and the other Priſoners of Quality, they wrote a Letter to the General that they might be ſhot with them, which is extremely probable. *The two Knights being thus murder'd, and the bloody Sacrifice made*, the *Italian* Papiſt Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn* was ſav'd, and the Earl gives us as notable a Rea-

Lucas *and* Liſle *ſhot.*

A. D. 1648.

ſon as is given in his Hiſtory for many other Things: The Council of War were afraid as ſoon as they knew who he was, one of the Great Duke's Subjects, that the Great Duke would have ſuffer'd Reprizals on their *Friends and Children who travell'd into* Italy, *who might pay dear for it for many Generations.* The Marquis *Palcotti*, an *Italian* of much greater Quality, and Brother to an *Engliſh* Dutcheſs, was hang'd here a few Years ago, but No-body was afraid of travelling into *Italy* after it. Such Fact and ſuch Argument tally to a Nicety. The Lord *Goring*, the Lord *Capel*, Lord *Loughborough*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Abraham Shipman*, Sir *John Watts*, Sir *Lodowick Dyer*, Sir *Henry Appleton*, Sir *Donart Strutt*, Sir *Hugh Onelly*, Sir *Richard Maleverer*, were put into ſeveral Priſons; and by this Liſt we ſee what Force there is in another of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Reaſons: The Council of War condemn'd Sir *Bernard Gaſcoyn*, only that being a Knight, it might make three of that Order Examples. We ſee there were Knights enough beſides him; but the Truth is, he being a Papiſt, they thought it juſt that he ſhould be an Example to the *Romaniſts*, and ſpar'd him only becauſe he had done and could not do ſo much Miſchief as *Lucas* and *Liſle*. The General having ſettled that Town, *Yarmouth* and all the County of *Suffolk*, which began to be in a little Motion on the late Appearance of the Prince's Fleet on that Coaſt, return'd to his Head Quarters at St. *Alban*'s; and thus were all the Inſurrections entirely ſuppreſs'd in about 4 Months Time, except *Pomfret* Caſtle, which, as has been obſerv'd, was ſurpriz'd by the Treachery of one *Morris*, formerly a Parliament Officer, and the Weakneſs of the Governor, who plac'd entire Confidence in *Morris*. That Deſerter ſhew'd again how well he deſerv'd the fine Character that is given him by *Echard*, in contriving and executing a Deſign to aſſaſſinate Col. *Rainſborough* in his Lodgings at *Doncaſter*, one of the braveſt Things the Cavaliers have to boaſt of in the firſt or ſecond *Civil War*.

The laſt Commotions had given Spirit to the *Hollis* Party in the Houſe of Commons. The Officers and Soldiers were buſy in ſubduing their Enemies, and in their Abſence Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sergeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Walter Long*, impeach'd Members, retook their Seats in the Houſe of Commons, but were ſoon forc'd to quit them. Several Counties were put upon petitioning for a *Perſonal Treaty* with the King, as the only ſure Method of curing the preſent Diſtempers. The City of *London*, who had a Set of Petitioners *Pro* or *Con* always ready, was not backward on this Occaſion, but preſented a Petition to the ſame Purpoſe. 1. *That the King may be free from Reſtraint.* 2. *Invited to a Treaty.* 3. *The Armies disbanded, and the Self-denying Ordinance be effectually obſerv'd*, every Article of it ſtruck at the victorious *Cromwel*, his Party, and Principles. *Cromwel* had not then beaten the *Scots*, nor were the other Riſings ſuppreſs'd, which embolden'd thoſe that wiſh'd well to them to ſpeak their Minds the more freely; and now the Two Houſes reſolve again, *That a Meſſage be ſent to the King, to acquaint him, that they deſire a Treaty with his Majeſty in what Place of the Iſle of* Wight *he ſhall appoint.* The Lords choſe the Earl of *Middleſex*, and the Commons Major *Bulkley* and Sir *John Hippeſley* to go to the King on this Meſſage.

London *Petition againſt* Cromwel.

Parliament ſend to the King to treat.

His Majeſty had liv'd in much Solitude ſince the laſt Commiſſioners left the Iſland; he expected great Things from the *Scots*, and from every one elſe that had undertaken to do any thing for him; it being his Misfortune that his Counſellors and chief Agents were never deficient in Promiſes and Schemes, however they fail'd in Performances. It was now during his Confinement in *Carisbroke* Caſtle, according to *Echard*, that he finiſh'd *Eikon Baſilike*. The modeſt Author does not ſay, *It is ſaid*, *It is thought*, but affirms poſitively, *Here he compleated his celebrated Book*, which he never began. There is not ſo good Evidence for any one hiſtorical Fact, as for Dr. *Gauden*'s writing that *celebrated Book*, which I muſt confeſs I never read with thoſe Emotions that are attributed to the Readers of it by certain Enthuſiaſts. For as I am well acquainted with this King's Reign, and have been taught by the Lord *Clarendon* that it was full of *Male-Adminiſtration*, there would be ſome Penitence, ſome Sorrow for it, were the Author's Sentiments really ſo devout and pious as is there affected. The Language, as far at leaſt as I am capable of judging, is entirely *Clerical*, and not in the leaſt agreeable to King *Charles*'s Manner in his Meſſages and Declarations, moſt of them drawn by himſelf, in a cloſe ſuccinct Stile; whereas that of *Eikon Baſilike* is redundant and declamatory, and as little becoming the Majeſty of a Prince, as a Caſſock would become a crown'd Head. To hint one Thing only; The moſt pious Prayer in the Book, ſtil'd a *Prayer in Time of Captivity*, is taken almoſt Word for Word from the Prayer of *Pamela*, to a *Pagan* Deity, in *Pembroke*'s Arcadia, a *Romance*. Edit. 1647. p. 248. But there is no need of Conjecture where the Proof is ſo plain. Dr. *Walker*, a pious Divine of our Orthodox Church aſſures us, that Dr. *Gauden* gave him the original Book, in his own Hand Writing, to convey it to the Preſs, and that he actually gave it to one *Peacock*, who deliver'd it to *Royſton*, the King's Printer. The Earl of *Angleſey* left a Writing ſign'd by him, to undeceive the World, and inform them who it was that wrote *Eikon Baſilike*.

Eikon Baſilike.

" KING *Charles* II. and the Duke of *York*, " did both (in the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, 1675. when I ſhow'd them in the " Lords Houſe the written Copy of this Book, " *Eikon Baſilike*, wherein are ſome Corrections " and Alterations written with the late King " *Charles* the Firſt's own Hand) aſſure me, that " this was none of the ſaid King's compiling, " but made by Dr. *Gauden*, Biſhop of *Exeter*; " which I here inſert for the undeceiving others " in this Point, by atteſting ſo much under my " Hand,

ANGLESEY.

Dr. *Gauden*, as the Reverend Dr. *Walker* informs us, acquainted him with the Deſign of writing the Book before he wrote it, ſhew'd him the Heads of ſeveral Chapters, and ſome of the Diſcourſes, asking him his Opinion of it after Peruſal; Dr. *Walker* reply'd, *It will be much for your Reputation, Honour and Safety; but I ſtick at the Lawfulneſs of it*, as a pious Divine muſt neceſſarily do, ſaying, *How can you ſatisfy your ſelf in ſo impoſing on the World:* *Gauden* anſwer'd, *Look on the Title, 'tis the* Portraiture, *&c. and no Man draws his own Picture.* *Walker* ſome Time after ask'd *Gauden*, *If the King had ever ſeen the Book*, which the Reverend Hiſtorian avers was *inconteſtably prov'd to be his own writing by a Cloud of Witneſſes.* To which Dr. *Gauden* reply'd, " I know " it certainly no more than you, but I us'd my " Endeavours that he might; for I deliver'd a " Copy of it to the Marquis of *Hertford*, when " he went to the Treaty at the *Iſle of Wight*, " and

State Tracts, Vol. 3. p. 755. *and* Seq.

A. D. 1648. " and entreated his Lordſhip if he could obtain " any private Opportunity, that he would deliver " to his Majeſty, and humbly deſire to know his " Pleaſure concerning it :" But the Violence which threaten'd the King haſtening ſo faſt, *Gauden* ventur'd to print it, and never knew what was the Iſſue of his ſending it. He told *Walker*, He could not certainly ſay King *Charles* II. knew that he wrote the Book, becauſe he never took expreſs Notice of it ; but added he, *I take it for granted he does know it, and am ſure the Duke of* York *does, for he has often ſpoke of it to me, and own'd it as a ſeaſonable and acceptable Service.* Dr. *Walker* concludes, " Mrs. *Gauden*, the Biſhop's Wife, " Mr. *Gifford*, who tranſcrib'd the Copy that was " ſent to the *Iſle of Wight*, and my ſelf, believ'd " Dr. *Gauden* wrote it, as much as we could " believe any Thing ; and when we ſpake of it " in his Preſence or in his Abſence, did it with- " out the leaſt Doubt of his having wrote it, " being as much aſſur'd of it as poſſible we " could be of any Matter of Fact : And 'tis un- " accountably ſtrange that all we who had the " beſt Reaſon and faireſt Opportunites to know " the Truth, ſhould all be deceiv'd or impos'd " upon, which we were to the higheſt Degree " imaginable if Dr. *Gauden* wrote it not. Then mentioning the Printing of it, he tells us, he had ſix of the firſt Impreſſion given him by Dr. *Gauden* for his Trouble in the Matter, *one of which*, to uſe his own Words, *I have ſtill by me.* Fact is not capable of plainer Evidence, eſpecially as it ſtands corroborated by Dr. *Burnet*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who wrote thus of it ; " In " the Year 1673. in which I had a great Share " of Favour and free Converſation with the then " Duke of *York* ; as he ſuffer'd me to talk very " freely to him about Matters of Religion, and " as I was urging him with ſomewhat out of " his Father's Book, he told me, *That Book* " *was not of his Father's writing* ; that the " Letter to the Prince of *Wales* was never " brought to him, and that Dr. *Gauden writ* " *it*, who after the Reſtoration brought the " Marquis of *Hertford*, then Duke of *Somerſet*, " and the Earl of *Southampton*, to the King " and the Duke, and both *Somerſet* and *South-* " *ampton* affirm'd Dr. *Gauden* wrote it. That " the Earl of *Southampton* ſhew'd it to the King " at the *Iſle of Wight* Treaty, who read it and " approv'd of it as containing his Senſe of " Things ; upon this the Duke of *York* told " Dr. *Burnet*, that though *Sheldon* and the other " Biſhops oppos'd *Gauden*'s Promotion, becauſe " he had taken the *Covenant* ; yet the Merits " of that Service carry'd it for him." The learned Prelate adds, *There has been a great deal of diſputing about this Book ; ſome are ſo zealous for maintaining it to be the King's, that they think a Man falſe to the Church that denies it to be his :* Dr. *Burnet* of the *Charter-houſe* expreſs'd to a Perſon of Honour, now living, his Suſpicion, that the Book was not the King's writing, and *Lilly* beſides ſaying, that he *doubted it*, a little after it came out, adds ſeveral Reaſons for it, which I think are not wanted. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* takes Notice with what View it was written, and why held in ſo much Adoration by the King's Friends *The Piety of the Prayers made all People cry out againſt the Murder of a Prince who thought ſo ſeriouſly of all his Affairs in his Meditations before God :* And was it not very likely that ſuch Piety and Meditations ſhould co-operate with the Treaty with the *Iriſh* Rebels, with the Treaty with the *Scots* for the ſecond *Civil War*, with the Variety of Inſurrections in all Parts of the Kingdom, and the Blood that was ſpilt in them, and with his Majeſty's arduous Deſire, and frequent Contrivances to make his Eſcape from his Impriſonment : The latter miſcarrying, and in Part by the Diligence of an Officer of the Garriſon, one Major *Rolph*, an *Agitator*, the Royaliſts charg'd him with a Deſign to aſſaſſinate the King ſome how or other. I don't wonder that the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* exert themſelves on this *monſtrous* Plot, though there is not a Word of Truth in it ; nor that Sir *Roger Manly*, another fair Gentleman-like Author, call'd *Rolph*, *Parricide* and *Villain* ; but the Wonderment is, that the Lords ſhould give ſo much Credit to *Osborn*, who inform'd againſt *Rolph* as to commit him to Priſon ; *Osborn* was in the Depth of the Contrivance for the King's Eſcape : The Iron Bar of his Majeſty's Window was fil'd through ; and *Larrey* ſays, the King had his Head out of the Window, when he heard a Noiſe, which oblig'd him to go to Bed again ; it was *Hammond* the Governor, who having had Notice of the Plot from *Rolph*, who had encourag'd *Osborn* to engage in it, ran thither to ſee what was doing : The King had not Time to clear himſelf of the Window, ſo he ſlip'd into Bed, where *Hammond* found him, and ſearching, perceiv'd the Bar of the Window was cut ; *Rolph* diſcovering it, gave Information, upon which *Hammond* chang'd and doubled the Watch, leaving no Hopes of eſcaping. *Lilly* bought the *Saw*, and ſent it to the King as is ſaid elſewhere more at large. However, *Osborn* turns the Plot againſt *Rolph*, and gives Evidence that the latter had concerted his Majeſty's Eſcape with *Osborn*, that he might murder him when he attempted it. The Earl and Arch-deacon put on grave Faces to cry out againſt the Horror of this Conſpiracy, and the Wickedneſs of the Parliament, *who had no Mind to have the Matter examin'd*, Hiſt. Reb. *but the Clamour of the People was ſo great, that after many Delays*, they voted *Rolph* ſhould be tried at *Wincheſter*, and *thither they ſent their Serjeant* Wyld, *to be the ſole Judge of that Criminal, before whom the major Part of the ſame Jury, who found Capt.* Burley *guilty, was impannel'd for the Trial of* Rolph. This is a teeming Paſſage, and has many Births to deliver of the *Chimera* Kind. *Sanderſon*, who will be allow'd to be as good a Churchman as the Earl or the Archdeacon, owns the King did not believe *Osborn*'s Informations, which is confirm'd by *Whitlocke :* " His Majeſty declar'd to divers " of his Party, and wiſh'd them to declare it to " others, that the Governor Col. *Hammond*, was " a Man of Honour and Truſt, and had carried " himſelf civilly and reſpectfully to him ; that " *Osborn* had unjuſty and ungratefully aſpers'd " the Governor ; for Col. *Hammond* was charg'd " by *Osborn*, as well as *Rolph*." And as touching *the Preſervation of his Perſon from Poiſon or any ſuch horrid Deſign, the King ſaid he was ſo confident of the Honeſty and Faithfulneſs of the Governor, that he thought himſelf as ſafe in his Hands as if he were in the Cuſtody of his own Son.* I wiſh I could be as confident of the Honeſty and Faithfulneſs of the Hiſtorians. It could not well be the ſame Jury that found *Burley* guilty, which was impannel'd for *Rolph* ; *Burley*'s being a *Petty Jury*, and *Rolph*'s the *Grand Jury*, who found the Bill againſt him *Ignoramus* ; and his Indictment never came to the *Petty Jury* ; tho' the Earl remembers the Speech the *infamous Judge* Wyld, as he decently terms him, made to them. The Parliament was ſo far from endeavouring to ſink the Matter as his Lordſhip avers that they order'd the Evidence *Osborn*

P. 13.

Rolph *acquitted.*

A. D. 1648. had given againſt *Rolph*, to be immediately printed. Col. *Hammond* wrote to them, deſiring that *Osborn*'s Charge againſt *Rolph* may come to a ſpeedy Hearing, it reflecting ſo highly upon the Army and upon him, and being an horrid Scandal, of which he clears himſelf, Mr. *Rolph*, and all the Officers; but inſtead of clearing them, the Lord *Clarendon* lays the Charge home againſt not only *Rolph*, but the Houſe of Commons, who were ſenſible of the Plot, but would have ſcreen'd the Plotter, and have prevented his being brought to a Trial, had it not been *for the Clamour of the People*, who really made no Clamour at all, nor believ'd a Word of the Charge given by *Osborn* againſt *Rolph*, who was committed by the *Lords* without any Cauſe, as the Commons ſaid, and *that they found Reaſon to clear him*. They alſo order'd him 150 Pounds *for his unjuſt Impriſonment*. And ſo far was the King or *Hammond* from believing any Thing of the Charge againſt *Rolph*, that he was afterwards, as *Sanderſon* himſelf acknowledges, appointed the chief Officer in the Guard of his Majeſty's Perſon.

Whit. 323.

1103.

It behov'd the Parliament to make what Diſpatch they could with the Treaty, that it might be concluded before the Army was at Leiſure to interpoſe in it; and it behov'd the King to iſſue it as faſt as he could for the Safety of his Perſon and Government, both ſtruck at by the Army; yet an unſeaſonble Debate about *Biſhopricks* is ſtarted, and the Peace delay'd on that Account ſo long, that the Soldiery had Time to break off the Treaty, and bring their wicked Purpoſes to paſs; for no farther can any good *Engliſhman* go with the Parliament in this Quarrel, than the laſt *Iſle of Wight* Treaty; and no farther do I in the leaſt juſtify the Proceedings of the Parliamentarians, than while they were free, eſpecially from all Military Force. After the Soldiery had garbled the Houſe, the Power was uſurp'd, and illegal, and this illegal uſurp'd Power, and no other proceeded againſt the King. However, the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* and *Echard*'s Accounts of it are ſo full of Ribaldry and Falſity, that they make even this very bad Matter ſtill worſe than it was.

Treaty voted.

The firſt Propoſal of the *Treaty* came from the Lords, who ſent down theſe Votes to the Commons. *That the Vote againſt further Addreſſes be recalled. That ſuch Perſons and Servants as his Majeſty ſhall ſend for, be admitted to wait on him. That the Place of Treaty be* Newport, *in the* Iſle of Wight. *That the Inſtructions to Col.* Hammond *for ſafe keeping the King be recall'd. That five Lords and ten Commoners be nam'd Commiſſioners*: To which the Houſe of Commons concurr'd, and new Inſtructions were ſent to *Hammond*, *Auguſt* the 25th. *That the King be remov'd to* Newport. *That he be in the ſame Condition and Freedom as at* Hampton Court. *That no Perſon who had been in Arms againſt the Parliament, nor no excepted Perſon nor Foreigners be admitted to be near him. That his Majeſty paſs his Royal Word not to go out of the Iſland during the Treaty, nor twenty Days after.* The Parliament had the Fleet and the City of *London* on their Side; and the *Scots* would have given them what Aſſiſtance they could; but all that was little in the Ballance againſt a victorious Army, at the Diſpoſal of two of the beſt Heads of thoſe Times, *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, which Conſideration ſhould have quicken'd the Counſels that tended to Peace. Col. *Hammond* gave his Majeſty the Liberty of the Iſland on his Parole; and the Parliament order'd a liberal Allowance for his Expence. His Chaplains were allow'd to attend him; and Sir *Peter Killegrew* was ſent with a Letter, and the laſt Votes of both Houſes inclos'd; to which his Majeſty return'd the following Anſwer:

A. D. 1648.

My Lord and Mr. Speaker,

" I Have receiv'd your Letter of the 25th Pre-
" ſent, and Votes, which though not ſo
" full as I could wiſh, for the perfecting of a
" Treaty; yet becauſe I perceive by what you
" have done, that I am in ſome Meaſure fit to
" begin one; ſuch is my inceſſant and earneſt
" Deſire to give a Peace to theſe my diſtracted
" Dominions, as I accept the Treaty, and there-
" fore deſire that ſuch five Lords and ten Com-
" mons, as my Two Houſes ſhall appoint, be
" ſpeedily ſent, fully authoriz'd and inſtructed
" to treat with me, not doubting what is now
" wanting, will at our Meeting, upon Debate,
" be fully ſupply'd, not only to the Furtherance
" of this Treaty, but alſo to the conſummating
" of a ſafe and well grounded Peace;

So I reſt, your Friend,

CHARLES *REX.*

With this Letter his Majeſty ſent a Liſt of ſuch Perſons as he deſired might attend him.

Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Colonel *Titus*, Capt. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Creſcet*, Mr. *Firebrace*, Mr. *Anſtie*.

George Kirke, Eſq; *James Leviſton*, Eſq; *William Murray*, Eſq; *John Aſhburnham*, Eſq; Col. *William Legg*, Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

Mr. *Hugh Henn*, Mr. *Humphry Rogers*, Equerries.

Mr. *William Levett*, Sir *Edward Sydenham*, Mr. *Ro. Terwhit*, Mr. *John Houſdon*, Pages of the Back Stairs.

Mrs. *Wheeler* Laundreſs, and Maid Servants.

Mr. *Richard Parſons* Groom of the Chamber.

Thomas Davis Barber.

Peter Newton and *Clement Kinnerſley*, Houſekeepers.

To theſe were added,

Thomas Lewin, *George Murray*, Coachmen.

Alexander Skewe, *Edmund Foſter*, Grooms.

George Karr, Sumpter of the Robes.

Francis Ruſſel, Farrier.

William Morgan, Surveyor of the Stable.

Thomas Manley, Surveyor.

Dr. *Harvey*, Dr. *Wedderburne*, Phyſicians.

Mr. *Humphry Painter*, Chirurgion.

Mr. *Blakeſtone*, Mr. *Pye*, Mr. *Bourne*, Meſſengers.

Of theſe the Parliament reſolv'd, *Sept.* 2. that Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *William Legg*, be not admitted to go to the King, to attend him during the Time of the Treaty, Mr. *John Aſhburnham* ſtanding in the firſt Exception from Pardon, and Mr. *William Legg* being under Reſtraint.

Though this Treaty was Perſonal, yet ſeveral Lords and Biſhops were permitted to attend the King in it, as

Duke of *Richmond*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Earl of *Southampton*, the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, the Biſhop of *London*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Biſhop of *Exeter*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

And the following Divines,

Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, Dr. *Turner*, Dr. *Haywood*, Dr. *Ferer*, Dr. *Morley*.

Civilians.

Sir *Thomas Ryves*, Dr. *Duck*.

Lawyers.

Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Robert Holburn*, *Jeffrey Palmer*, Eſq;

A. D. 1648. Esq; *John Vaughan*, Esq; *Thomas Cooke*, Esq;

Clerks and Writers.

Sir *Edward Walker*, Mr. *Philip Warwick*, Mr. *Nicholas Oudart*, Mr. *Charles Whittoms*.

The Commissioners appointed by the Parliament were,

Parliament's Commissioners.

The Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Middlesex*, Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Viscount *Say*, Lord *Wenman*, *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; *William Pierrepoint*, Esq; Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *Harbottle Grimston*; *Samuel Brown*, Esq; *John Glyn*, Esq; Sir *John Potts*, *John Crew*, Esq; *John Bulkly*, Esq;

Ministers.

Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Marshal*, Dr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Caryl*.

Secretaries to the Commissioners.

Robert Blackbourn, Esq; *Edmund Warcup*, Esq;

The Place Newport *in the* Isle of Wight.

The House where the Treaty was carry'd on was Sir *William Hodges*'s at *Newport*, but before the Parliament's Commissioners arriv'd there,

Petition against King and Lords.

a Petition was presented to the House of Commons from Thousands of well affected Persons in and near *London*, on the 12th of *Sept.* wherein they gave Reasons why they first assisted the two Houses, and set forth what they expected, *That the Parliament would have made good the* Supremacy *of the* People *from all Pretences of negative Voices either in King or Lords. That they would have done Justice upon the capital Authors and Promoters of the former or late Wars*, &c. They could hardly speak plainer against the King's Person, the Monarchy and Peerage. And it was apparent enough that these Thousands of well affected would have the Army to stand by them, so they were formally thank'd, and not due Care taken to close with the King before the Petitioners had a Strength to back their Petition, as was done 2 or 3 Months after.

On the 12th of *Sept.* the Parliament kept a Day of publick *Humiliation*, for a Blessing on the Treaty of Peace, and the King and his Houshold did the same on the 18th, his Majesty drawing up himself the Form of Prayer to be us'd on that Occasion, with the Common Divine Service. The King wrote to the Parliament for blank Passes to be sent by *Richard Parsons* to *Scotland*, for Commissioners from thence, which the two Houses would not grant. His Majesty's Letter ends thus, *From our Court at* Newport *in the* Isle of Wight, *this 8th of* Sept. 1648. so that he did not look upon himself as in a Prison but as in his own Palace; and certainly Matters might now have been happily accommodated, had the Laity been a greater Majority in his Counsels. The two Houses refus'd Passes to the Lord *Carnegie* and Sir *Alexander Gibson*, but granted one for Sir *James Carmichel*. After Sermon the Commissioners, who arriv'd at *Newport* the 15th of *Sept.* went to the King, the Earl of *Northumberland* told him *they were come to treat.* His Majesty said, *I am glad of it, and desire God to perfect this blessed Work. I profess I am in Charity with all of you, and not willing to seek Revenge against any, nor give Occasion of Delay.* Then the Commissioners presented three Bills to his Majesty, *for Religion, the Militia, and Recalling his Majesty's Proclamations.* In the Preamble of the latter the Parliament *laid the Bloodshed upon him*, which the King desir'd might be respited till the End of the Treaty. His Majesty agreed to recall *all Declarations against the Parliament. To settle the Militia in the two Houses for* 20 *Years. To leave* 37 *Delinquents to be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. To revoke all Commissions given to raise Men in* Ireland, *and leave the Management of that War to the Parliament. To abolish Archbishops; and that the Bishops, who remain provisionally should not exercise Authority, Jurisdiction, or Ordination, but with the Advice and Assistance of the Ministers. That the Presbyterian Government should be established for* 3 *Years, at the End of which the Assembly of Divines*, his Majesty naming 20 *more, should determine the Case of Church Government for the future.* By which as much of Episcopacy was given up as any reasonable and honest Presbyterian ever did, or ever ought desire. And to say after all this, that the King was a Martyr for the *Church*, seems to be the most egregious Nonsense that ever was offer'd for Argument or Fact.

King's Concessions.

Three Days after the opening of the Treaty the Commissioners wrote to Mr. *Lenthall* the Speaker for a Remittance of 4000 Pounds to *Southampton*; Mr. *Crescet*, who had the Care of the Houshold, having inform'd them, that he could not maintain his Majesty and their Officers at the usual Allowance, and they said, the *Honour of the Parliament would suffer without it.* The foot the Commissioners treated upon were the Propositions presented at *Hampton Court.* The Time allow'd for the Treaty was 40 Days. The Demands and Answers to be in writing, and nothing that was not so to be binding, nor till the whole Treaty was concluded. *Scotland* was not included in this Treaty.

On the 25th of *Sept.* a Week after the Opening of the Treaty, his Majesty consented to the first Proposition, to vacate all Oaths, Declarations and Proclamations against the Parliament, and to indemnify all their Actions in the War, which the King acknowledges *they were necessitated to undertake in their just and lawful Defence.* His Majesty the 9th of *October*, *confirm'd the Calling and Sitting of the Assembly of Divines*, consented to the *Directory of Worship* instead of the Common Prayer, which he consented *should be taken away out of all* Churches *and* Chapels. He yielded up the *Militia* for 20 Years. He agreed to the Payment of the Parliament's Debts, to disable all the Lords he had made since the Lord *Littleton* carry'd away the Seal, to sit in the House of Peers.

During this Treaty the Parliament receiv'd Letters from Colonel *Michael Jones* in *Ireland*, giving an Account of the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond* in that Kingdom, with a Commission to conclude a Peace with the Rebels, at the very Time that the King was treating with the Parliament to carry on the War against them. There was also this Letter of *Ormond*'s to the Chief of the *Irish* Massacrers intercepted.

AFTER our very hearty Commendations, being arriv'd in this Kingdom qualified with Power to treat and conclude a Peace with the Confederate Roman Catholicks, *or such as shall be deputed and authorised by them in that Behalf, we have thought fit by these our Letters to desire you, to make the same known to the Assembly now at* Kilkenney; *as also, that in pursuance of the Paper of the 13th of* May *last, deliver'd to their Commissioners at St.* Germains, *we expect to receive from them by Persons fully authorised to treat and conclude, such Propositions as they shall think fit, at our House at* Carrick, *whether we intend to remain for the better Accommodation, and more speedy Dispatch of this Affair, as soon as we shall be advertised*

A. D. 1648.

by you of the Time, when we ſhall expect them there, which we deſire may be with all convenient Expedition. We remain at Cork, *this 4th of* October, 1648.

Your very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

To our loving Friend Sir Richard Blake, *Chairman of the Aſſembly of the* Confederate Roman Catholicks *at* Kilkenny.

I deſire the Reader to compare this Letter, wherein *Ormond* tells the *Maſſacrers*, he is qualified by the King's Commiſſion to treat and conclude a Peace, with what the King told the Parliament's Commiſſioners at *Newport* the 1ſt of *November*, about a Month after *Ormond*'s Letter was written. He declar'd, *That ſince the firſt Votes for the Treaty at the* Iſle of Wight, *he hath not tranſacted any Affairs concerning* Ireland *but with thoſe Commiſſioners.* Now the Vote for that Treaty was the 29th of *July*, 1648. and *Ormond* communicated the Commiſſion he had to treat with the *Iriſh* Rebels to their Chairman at *Kilkenny* about 9 Weeks after. It cannot be ſaid the King did not treat, but *Ormond* treated, becauſe whatever a Prince's Plenipotentiary does by his Warrant, the Prince in Effect does it himſelf. And notwithſtanding the very great Encomiums on this King's Integrity, in *Clarendon* and *Echard*, it is certain there's great Reaſon to object to it. *Lilly*, who was not the more a Fool for his being a *Conjurer*, in the vulgar Acceptation of the Word, ſays of him, *He had much of Self-ends in all he did, and a moſt difficult Thing it was to hold him cloſe to his own Promiſe, ſo that ſome foreign Princes beſtow'd on him the Character of a moſt falſe Prince, and one that never kept his Word, unleſs for his own Advantage.* Again, *Though in a Time of Parliament he often promis'd to redreſs any Grievances, yet the beſt Friend he hath cannot produce any one Act of Good for his Subjects done by him in the Vacancy of a Parliament.* I wiſh there had been no Reaſon for him to ſay what he does a little too coarſely. How does this agree with that ſtrict Piety and Devotion for which the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* and *Echard* pay this Prince ſo much Adoration.

Obſerv. p. 11. *K.* Charles *keeps not his Word.* p. 57.

The Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, with his wonted Simplicity and Sincerity, introduces two Divines, Dr. *Spurſtow* and *Jenkins*, of whom neither was then preſent, or not authoriſed ſo to be, arguing with his Majeſty about Epiſcopacy; *They urg'd the common Allegations, that Biſhops and Presbyters in the Scripture Language ſignify'd one and the ſame Thing*, intimating, that the Argument was the worſe for being common and ſcriptural; *that if the Apoſtles exerciſed a larger Juriſdiction, it had been granted them as Apoſtles.* The *Presbyterians* could not ſay that; for the Apoſtles could not exerciſe ſo large a Juriſdiction; they could not impriſon, levy Money by diſtreſs, or have any temporal Juriſdiction under Pagan Emperors and Kings. The Earl and the *Laudean* Prelates, if they know any Thing at all of Hiſtory Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, muſt know, that the Powers of the Earth were declar'd Enemies to Chriſtianity, and made no Grant of temporal Authority to the Apoſtles or their Succeſſors till the *Roman* Empire became Chriſtian. *The King*, ſays the Hiſtorian, with exemplary Gravity, *preſs'd them with thoſe Texts of Scripture which have been conſtantly urg'd by thoſe who maintain the* Jus Divinum *of Biſhops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Chriſtian Churches for fifteen Hundred Years.* Did the King prove by Scripture, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Archbiſhops or Biſhops, had Chancellors, Spiritual Courts, Temporal Baronies, Palaces, Lordſhips, &c. when there was not one of them known, when one of them could not be known in the Chriſtian Church. Indeed the Caſe is very different now, for thoſe temporal Baronies, Palaces, Lordſhips, &c. are annexed to Dioceſes by the Laws of the Land, and are as much the Dioceſan's legal Poſſeſſions as Right can give legal Poſſeſſion to any one. But this argues not that it was exactly ſo from the Beginning, which is all that is controverted. The Hiſtorian again as notably as before, *The Government of all Chriſtian Churches could not but be by themſelves acknowledged to be by Biſhops*; yes ſuch Biſhops as *Titus and Timothy*, praying, preaching, ordaining, and ſuperintending Biſhops. Biſhops then travell'd a foot from one Dioceſe to another in the Exerciſe of what the Hiſtorian terms their *larger Juriſdictions*. He proceeds, *The Commiſſioners reliev'd their ill manner'd Clergy*, which is ſpoken with a great deal of good Manners, conſidering it is not true, for their Clergy behav'd with as much Decency as their Oppoſites. Dr. *Seaman*, Maſter of *Peter Houſe, Cambridge*, for nothing will go down with theſe dignify'd Perſons but ſome Dignity, was the Divine who handled this Argument, and was a Divine of as great Eminence for Controverſial Learning as any of that Age; his Majeſty *own'd his ſingular Ability in this Controverſy.* Yet the Earl adds, *His Majeſty with wonderful Acuteneſs fully anſwer'd all their Arguments; not anſwer'd*, but *fully anſwer'd*, whereas he did not anſwer one of them, and it cannot be anſwer'd till thoſe Men can prove Impoſſibilities, which they do as often attempt as any Men ever did. The King ſaid, *Calvin* and *Beza, and moſt learned Men of the Reform'd Religion, approv'd of* Epiſcopal Government, but the King did not ſay what Sort of Epiſcopal Government. They approv'd of praying, preaching, ordaining, and ſuperintending, without temporal Prerogatives, Powers, Principalities, Dignities, &c. It was at this Time and Place that Archbiſhop *Uſher* preſented the King with his *Reduction of Epiſcopacy*, which fully anſwer'd every Argument made uſe of in favour of the *Laudean* Prelacy, by ſhewing how it was to be reduc'd to the Primitive, the Archbiſhop declares, *That the* Presbyters *had a Hand not only in delivering the Doctrine and Sacraments, but alſo in the Adminiſtration of the Diſcipline of the Church with the Biſhop, who was the chief Preſident, ſtil'd by* Tertullian, Summus Sacerdos. *The reſt of the Diſpenſers of the Word and Sacraments were join'd in the common Government of the Church.* Pope *Cornelius*, or *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, always conferr'd with the *Presbytery* in the Exerciſe of Church Diſcipline; *and the Preſence of the Clergy was thought ſo requiſite in Matters of Epiſcopal Audience, that it was concluded in the Council of* Carthage, *that the Biſhop might hear no Man's Cauſe without the Preſence of the Clergy, which was inſerted in the Canons of* Egbert, *Archbiſhop of* York *in the* Saxon *Times, and afterwards into the Body of the* Canon Law *it ſelf.* You ſee how fully the King *anſwer'd* all the Arguments of the *Presbytery*. Archbiſhop *Uſher* then directs his Majeſty how he might have proceeded in the Alteration of Church Government without wounding his Conſcience. "True it is, "that in our Church this Kind of Presbyterian "Government has been long diſus'd, yet ſeeing "it

Seaman. *Epiſcopacy aſſerted.*

A. D. 1648. " it ſtill profeſſeth that every Paſtor hath a " Right to rule the Church, from whence the " Name of *Rector* alſo was given at firſt to him, " and to adminiſter the Diſcipline of Chriſt as " well as to diſpenſe the Doctrine and Sacra- " ments, and the Reſtraint of the Exerciſe of " that Right proceedeth only from the Cuſtom " now received in this Realm. *We remember* " *what the Earl ſaid, that it was not from* " Cuſtom *but* Jure Divino *prov'd by Texts of* " *Scripture.* No Man can doubt but by another " Law of the Land this Hindrance may be well " remov'd; and how eaſily this ancient Form of " Government, by the united Suffrages of the " Clergy might be reviv'd again, and with what " little ſhew of Alteration." *He proceeds to ſet forth*, &c. which was the ſame Way of arguing us'd by the Parliament's Commiſſioners: *Whatſoever was not of divine Inſtitution might be very lawfully alter'd; for it had its Original form Men, it might by Men be chang'd or revers'd. That* Epiſcopacy, *as it was eſtabliſh'd in* the Church of *England, was not that* Epiſcopacy *that was mention'd in Scripture, and that therefore the Laws which ſupported it, might be juſtly taken away.* I do verily believe that the Archdeacon does not know this to be the true State of the Caſe, and that tho' he has written an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, he knows no more of it than he appears to know of the Hiſtory of *England* during the Reigns of the Royal Houſe of *Stuart*, tho' he has written that alſo. He tells us, 'tis no Matter after whom, ſince it is falſe, that the King was much better vers'd in the Argument of Church-Government than Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Dr. *Seaman*, &c. That *Jenkins* and *Spurſtow* were like a Couple of Bull-Dogs *let looſe upon his Majeſty*, when neither *Spurſtow* nor *Jenkins* were Aſſiſtants to the Parliament's Commiſſioners; *yet* Spurſtow *very plainly and fiercely told the King, he would be damn'd if he did not aboliſh* Epiſcopacy; which beſides that Dr. *Spurſtow* did not ſay it, is ſo contrary to the Character of that Divine, full of Meekneſs and Moderation, as to bear the Falſity in the Front of it. *Dr.* Spurſtow, ſays Dr. *Calamy, was a Man whoſe Converſation was innocent, chearful, and very acceptable, of a very peaceable Diſpoſition.* It is very pleaſant to ſee how the rigid Eccleſiaſtical Writers endeavour to glew their temporal Honours and Emoluments to the ſpiritual Function, and how they ſtrive to make thoſe Things the Eſſence of Religion which have not the leaſt Relation to the Doctrine of Chriſt. If they would ſay that the Laws of the Land give the Eccleſiaſticks as good a Title to their Dignities and Revenues as the Laicks have to their Eſtates, they would, as I have often obſerv'd, talk reaſonably, and nothing could be ſaid to them but what Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſays; but to pretend that they have a divine independent Right to their Prerogatives and Lordſhips, is an Inſult on common Senſe.

The rare Hiſtory which *Echard* takes from two rare Hiſtorians, *Walker* and *Wagſtaff*, whoſe Names I hardly ever before heard of, being all ſecret and ſuſpected, I leave it where I found it; but this Saying of the King's is very orthodox and politick; *I will hold out till I make ſome Stone in this Building my Tomb-Stone, and ſo I will do by the Church of* England; and ſo is this other, which could not but endear him to the *Laudeans*; *The concurrent Opinion of the Clergy*, as to *Sacrilege, is a much better Information to my Conſcience, than any Law of the Land can be*; which I do not believe the King ever ſaid, it being ſo contrary to Reaſon and Juſtice. *Sacrilege*, if underſtood to be ſtealing the *Chalice* or *Pulpit-cloth*, is doubtleſs to be abhorr'd by all Men; but to alienate Lands from one Religious Uſe to put them to another, or from a particular to a general Intereſt by the Laws of the Land, may be as well call'd *Sodomy* as *Sacrilege*. Theſe Men buttreſs up their Cauſe with Subſtantives and Adjectives, ſuch as *Schiſm, Sacrilege, Rebellion, Sedition, Factious, Fanatical*, and the like. *Echard* tells us of a kind of a Hiſtory of this Treaty, written by his Majeſty for the Uſe of the Prince, and of ſeveral other Papers drawn up by the King with great Exactneſs; but neither himſelf, nor *Walker* his Original, could think juſtly enough to obſerve, as Biſhop *Burnet* does, *King* Charles I. *minded little Things too much, and was more concern'd in the drawing of a Paper, than in fighting a Battle.* Had theſe Men been capable of thinking juſtly, they would not have written Hiſtories, they would have better examin'd their Abilities and Intentions, and have left it to *Ruſhworth* and *Whitlocke* to convey the Truth to Poſterity, and if they had ſo done, this Hiſtory had been needleſs. While his Majeſty and the Parliament's Commiſſioners were thus buſied in Debates about Biſhops and Biſhops Lands, the Army were as buſy in ſuppreſſing the Inſurrections; and having done that Work, their Council took into Conſideration who was the Author of the firſt and ſecond War, and who was to be accountable for the innocent Blood which had been ſpilt. They conſider'd it with great Formality, but *Cromwel* and *Ireton* had before determin'd that Matter among themſelves and their Creatures. It muſt be confeſs'd that the Lord *Fairfax*, however he ſhew'd himſelf cool in the Affair afterwards, was now as warm in it as either of theſe two Generals; for the Commiſſioners of the Army having drawn up a Remonſtrance, it was deliver'd to the Houſe of Commons by Col. *Ewer* and ſeven other Officers; *That the King be brought to Juſtice, as the capital Cauſe of all*; and *Fairfax* wrote a Letter to the Parliament, deſiring that *Remonſtrance* might have a *Preſent Reading*. The Paper ſet forth the King's Miſcarriages, his double and dilatory Proceedings in Treaties, particularly that now on foot. The Army deſir'd, *He might no more come to Government, nor to* London; *That Delinquents be puniſh'd*; *That the Prince and Duke of* York *be ſummon'd in by a Day, and if they do not come, be declar'd Traitors.* The Duke of *Glouceſter* not being nam'd, it gave occaſion to ſurmiſe that the Army intended to chooſe him King, for the early Affection he ſhew'd to the Proteſtant Religion, which neither of his two elder Brothers did at that Time much care for, nor he himſelf afterwards; *That no King be hereafter admitted but upon Election.* This Petition was preſented the 20th of *November*, and it was too viſible that the Parliament would be oblig'd to comply with the Army; yet the Diſpute about *Epiſcopacy* goes on ſtill at the Iſle of *Wight* with as much Alacrity as if his Majeſty was in no Danger at all. There were ſo many Prelates and Doctors with him, that one would have hop'd ſome of them would have preferr'd his Preſervation to that of their own Preferments, and have adviſ'd him to do as he was adviſ'd by Archbiſhop *Uſher*. The *Remonſtrance* occaſion'd a high Debate, which was at laſt adjourn'd, to the great Diſlike of the Army, and much more, when the further Conſideration of it being put to the Vote, it was carry'd in the Negative by 90 Voices, which are the Number of the *Secluded Members*, ſo much talk'd of in Hiſtory. The Army's Remonſtrance having been preſented to the Parliament, they diſpatch'd Col. *Ewer*

A. D. 1648.

Council of the Army's Remonſtrance.

A. D. 1648. *Ewer* to the Isle of *Wight* with Orders to Col. *Hammond* to give up that Government and the Custody of the King to *Ewer*, and himself to attend the General at his Head Quarters at *Windsor*. The Commons hearing of it, voted that *Hammond* should continue in both those Charges; but the late Governor thought it the wiser Way for him to obey his General; and so delivering up his Prisoner and his Government to Col. *Ewer*, he waited upon his Excellency, who, to prevent his Return to the Isle, put him under a Sort of Arrest, from which he was not immediately discharg'd, tho' the Parliament had written to him to suffer *Hammond* to return to the Isle of *Wight* in the same Quality as he left it. The Reverend Historians conceal the King's Attempt to escape from *Carisbroke* Castle, that there may be no Excuse for the Parliament's Officers confining him more strictly; but *Lilly*, who was the very Person that bought the Saw for him to cut the Iron Bars, at the Request of Mrs. *Whorwood* before-mention'd, writes thus:

King endeavours to escape from Carisbroke.

" His Majesty laid his Design to escape out of " Prison by sawing the Iron Bars of his Chamber " Window, a small Ship was provided and anchor'd not far from the Coast to bring him " into *Sussex*; Horses were also provided to " carry him through *Sussex* into *Kent*, that so he " might be at the Head of the Army under " *Goring*. Lady *Whorwood* came to me and " acquainted me herewith. I got *G. Farmer*, " an ingenious Lock-Smith in *Bow-Lane*, to " make a Saw, which I sent, with some *Aqua-fortis* besides. His Majesty in a small Time " did his Work. The Bars gave Liberty for " him to go out. He was out with his Body till " he came to his Breast, but then his Heart fail- " ing, he proceeded no farther. When this was " discover'd, as soon after it was, he was nar- " rowly look'd after, and no Opportunity could " be devis'd to enlarge him." The Remonstrange was follow'd with a Declaration from the Army, complaining, *That they are wholly rejected; That they should rejoice if the Majority of the House of Commons would become sensible of the Destructiveness of the late War, and would exclude from Communication in their Councils all such corrupt and apostatiz'd Members as have obstructed Justice*, &c. *They desire that so many of them as God had kept upright, would by Protestation or otherwise acquit themselves from such a Breach of Trust, and would withdraw from such as persist in the Guilt thereof, as having materially the chief Justice of the Kingdom remaining in them, and they shall adhere to them, and be guided by them, and that they are drawing to* London *for these Ends*, &c. plainly intimating, that if they did not themselves exclude the Members against whom they had Exceptions, it should be done by the Army when they came to *Westminster*.

Oliver Cromwel continu'd still to act by his Instruments, and did not as yet publickly appear against the Person of the King more than *Fairfax* did. I find him at a Place call'd *Knottingley* at this very Time, as by the following Letter, which being under his own Hand, will be of Importance enough to excite the Reader's Curiosity.

SIR,

I Suppose it is not unknown to you how much the Country is in Arrear to the Garrison of Hull, *as likewise how probable it is that the Garrison will break, unless some speedy Course be taken to get them Money, the Soldiers at this Present being ready to mutiny, as not having Money to buy them Bread, and without Money the stubborn Towns-People will not trust them for the Worth of a Penny. Sir, I must beg of you, that as you tender the Good of the Country, so far as the Security of that Garrison is mention'd, you would give your Assistance to the helping of them to their Money which the Country owes them. The Governor will apply himself to you either in Person or by Letter. I pray you do for him herein as in a Business of very high Consequence. I am the more earnest with you, as having a very deep Sense how dangerous the Event may be of their being neglected in the Matter of their Pay. I rest upon your Favour herein, and subscribe my self,*

SIR,

Your very humble Servant,

Knottingley, Nov. 25. 1648. O. CROMWELL.

For my Noble Friend Thomas St. Nicholas, *Esq*;

A. D. 1648.

General *Fairfax* wrote to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, That he was marching to *London* in Pursuance of the late Remonstrance and Declaration, and for preventing Disorder, desir'd 40000 Pounds, Part of their Arrears due from the City, to be got ready, which the House of Commons desir'd also, but wrote to his Excellency, *That it was their Pleasure he do not remove the Army nearer to* London, which the General took no Notice of, but march'd directly thither, and took Quarters for himself and his Army in *Whitehall*, St. *James*'s, the *Meuse*, *York House*, and other vacant Houses, and in the Villages near the City; and the Parliament receiv'd Letters from the Isle of *Wight*, that the King was remov'd to *Hurst* Castle, on the Neck of Land projecting from *Hampshire* to that *Isle*. The Parliament voted, *That the seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner to* Hurst *Castle, was without the Advice and Consent of the House*; and the next Day, after having debated it all Night, they voted, *That his Majesty's Concessions to the Parliament's Propositions, are sufficient Grounds for settling the Peace of the Kingdom.* This Vote past the 5th of *December*. Three Days after the Army had taken Quarters all around them, yet such was the Spirit of the *Presbyterians* in the Two Houses, that, in Defiance of so great a military Power, they declar'd against the Violence of the Army with respect to the King's Imprisonment, and the threaten'd Proceedings against his Person. How ingrate, how infamous are the vile Reflections of those Eccleiastical Writers and Preachers, who charge the *Presbyterians* with the Death of the King, which they clear'd themselves of in this so solemn and so dangerous a Manner? 'Tis probable most of the rural Priesthood do not know this, their Knowledge being not always too extensive; but the Archdeacon, and some historical Doctors that have intimated as much in their Writings and Preachments, do know this, and yet, contrary to their Knowledge, declaim against the *Presbyterians* as King-killers, which it is hop'd they did or will repent of before they give in their last Account at the tremendous Day of accounting.

Fairfax marches to London.

King's Concessions voted sufficient.

On the next Day after this bold Vote, Col. *Rich*'s Regiment of Horse, and Col. *Pride*'s Regiment of Foot were set as Guards on the Two Houses, and the City Train'd Bands discharg'd. Thus in Reality the Parliament were Prisoners to the Army, and whatever they did afterwards was by Constraint, and consequently null. *Pride* drew

Force on the Parliament.

A. D. 1648. drew up ſome Companies of Foot in the Court of *Requeſts*, upon the *Stairs*, and in the *Lobby*, and as the Members ſtood to enter the Houſe, the Colonel ſeiz'd upon thoſe whoſe Names were written in a Paper he held in his Hand, and whom he was directed to ſometimes by one of the Door-Keepers, and ſometimes by the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*. As faſt as he ſeiz'd them, they were carry'd away, ſome to the *Queen's Court*, ſome to the *Court of Wards*, and other Places, by Warrant from the General and the Council of Officers. The Members thus carry'd away were Sir *Robert Harley*, Col. *Edward Harley*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *John Meyrick*, Sir *Martin Liſter*, Lord *Wenman*, Mr. *Knightley*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, Mr. *Francis Gerrard*, Mr. *Swinſin*, Sir *Edward Partridge*, Mr. *Crew*, Sir *Edward Stephens*, Mr. *Butler*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Mr. *Bulkley*, Major General *Maſſey*, Mr. *Walker*, Mr. *Robert Pye*, Mr. *Pelham*, Col. *Leigh*, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Mr. *Lane*, Mr. *Doderidge*, Mr. *Wheeler*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Boughton*, Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Commiſſary *Copley*, Col. *Strode*, Mr. *Prieſtley*, Sir *Simonds D'Ewes*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Thomas D'Acres*, Sir *Thomas Soam*, Mr. *Drake*, Major General *Browne*, Mr. *Clement Walker*.

Col. *Harriſon* and Sir *Hardreſs Waller* were very active in this Force put upon the Parliament, who had ſtill a Majority ſufficient to declare againſt it, and ſent their Sergeant at Arms to acquaint thoſe Members, *It was the Pleaſure of the Houſe that they ſhould forthwith attend their Service*; but the Officers, who were plac'd as Guards upon them, took no Notice of it. A Committee was ſent to the General, Sir *John Evelyn*, Col. *Birch*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Mr. *Pierrepoint*, Mr. *Aſhhurſt*, and Mr. *St. John*, to confer with him, and maintain a good Correſpondence between them. The Lord *Fairfax deſir'd Time to adviſe with his Council of War about his Anſwer*. The ſame Committee was order'd to attend the General again for it, but inſtead of an Anſwer, Col. *Axtel* and Col. *Whalley* brought to the Houſe a Paper, entituled, *The Propoſals and Deſires of the Army*; wherein they complain, *That having formerly impeach'd* Denzil Hollis, *Eſq*; Lionel Copley, *Eſq*; *Major General* Maſſey, *and other Members, of Treaſon, who had been expell'd the Houſe, and their Seats ſupply'd by new Elections; yet the Faction having taken Advantage of the Abſence of ſeveral Members in the Publick Service during the late Inſurrections, and others who through Tumults could not ſafely attend, thoſe that were ſo impeach'd had been re-admitted to ſit and vote as formerly; That Major General* Browne, *now Sheriff of* London, *had with the ſaid impeach'd Members invited the* Scots *to invade this Kingdom, and they as Adherents to the* Scots *had been voted to be Traytors; yet theſe Confederates, and other treacherous Members, to the Number of* 90 *and odd, did by their Counſels and Votes endeavour to hinder the Houſe from declaring againſt their confederate Invaders. They deſire that Major General* Browne *be ſecur'd, and the reſt of the ninety odd Perſons excluded the Houſe; and the Votes declaring* the King's Conceſſions *to be a ſufficient Ground for Settlement of Peace, notwithſtanding the Inſufficiency and Defect of them, be recall'd. Echard* ſays, *The Soldiers deny'd Entrance into the Houſe to* 160 *Members more, whereupon the reſt of the* Presbyterian *Party being terrify'd with the Uſage of their Fellow Members, declin'd the Houſe, leaving it in the Poſſeſſion of about* 150. He has repreſented this Houſe of Commons as a pack'd Aſſembly of about 150 Members in other Parts of his Hiſtory, and there are now 50 ſeiz'd, 160 deny'd Entrance, 100 at leaſt ſuppos'd to decline, and 150 left? So coherent is this exact Hiſtorian with his own as well as with other Hiſtories. *Whitlocke* informs us, that ſeveral of the *ſecluded* Members offering to enter the Houſe, *they were forbidden, becauſe ſome Matters were to be debated concerning themſelves*; and it has ever been the Practice for Perſons to withdraw while what is in Debate concerns them. The Parliament voted *to take the Army's Remonſtrance and Propoſals into Conſideration*. But that did not hinder the ſending Col. *Dean* with two Regiments of Foot and ſome Troops of Horſe into the City, to ſeize the Money in *Haberdaſher*'s Hall, *Weaver*'s Hall, and *Goldſmith*'s Hall, of which his Excellency acquainted the Lord Mayor beforehand, and gave his Reaſons for ſo doing; "Be- "cauſe they had not paid their Arrears of the "Aſſeſſment, nor furniſhed the Money which he "deſir'd of them; and the Army had by Order "of Parliament quarter'd in ſeveral Counties on "thoſe who did not pay the Aſſeſſment till the "ſame was paid, that yet if the City would ad- "vance the 40000 Pounds, Part of their Arrears, "the Soldiers ſhould not be further trouble- "ſome to them.

'Twas at this Time that the Scandal aroſe of turning St. *Paul*'s Church into a Stable, according to *Sanderſon*; but tho' it can be prov'd that the Cavaliers turn'd ſeveral Churches to as beaſtly Purpoſes, if Slaughter and Blood may be ſo deem'd; yet *Whitlocke* aſſures us, *The Foot were quarter'd in private Houſes, and the Horſe in the Inns*, of which there were enough to take in the Horſe without ſetting up Mangers in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*. A Party of theſe Soldiers by Miſtake went to the *Exciſe-Office* to ſeize the Money there, for which having no Order, the General recall'd them, and wrote a Letter to the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe to excuſe it, his Intention being only to oblige the City of *London* to pay the Arrears due from them to the Army, and not to take any Part of the Publick Treaſure appropriated to other Uſes. They took 28000 Pounds out of *Weaver*'s Hall, and the Parliament repaid it. The General and Council of Officers had an Addreſs preſented them, of the Nature of the former, call'd *The Agreement of the People*, which was a Scheme of future Government ſuppos'd to be drawn up by *Ireton*, and put it entirely in a Repreſentative of 300 Members, to be choſen after a new Method, *and this Parliament to be diſſolv'd in* April *next. Officers and Malignants to be incapable of electing or being elected*, &c. The next Day the 12th of *December* the Houſe voted, *That the* Vote *for revoking the Order of diſabling the Eleven Members, and re-admitting them into the Houſe when a Charge of ſo high a Nature lay againſt them, was unparliamentary, and of dangerous Conſequence, and was now made null.* They alſo voted, *That the* Vote *of this Houſe concurring with the Lords to take off the former* Vote, *which forbid any more Addreſſes to the King, was highly diſhonourable to the Proceedings of the Parliament, and apparently deſtructive to the Good of the Kingdom*: Alſo, *That the* Vote *of* Non-Addreſſes *ſhall ſtand; and that the* Vote *for Revocation of them, and that for a Perſonal Treaty with the King in the* Iſle of Wight, *were highly diſhonourable to the Proceedings in Parliament, and apparently deſtructive to the Good of the Kingdom.* In the mean

The Agreement of the People.

Vote of Non-Addreſſes confirm'd.

A. D. 1648. Time the *ſecluded Members*, who were about 140, by Force or Voluntary in diſguſt for the Excluſion of their Brethren, publiſh'd a *Pamphlet*, entitled, *A ſolemn Declaration of the Members ſecluded the Houſe by the Army, that all Acts, Ordinances, Votes and Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons ſince the Secluſion of the Members and Continuance of the Armies Force upon it, are no way Obligatory, but null and void.* The Parliament *voted* it "to be *falſe*, *ſcandalous*, "and *ſeditious*, tending to deſtroy the Govern- "ment; and that all who had a Hand in it ſhall "be uncapable of any Office or Truſt, or to be a "Member of Parliament, and that every abſent "Member before he ſit ſhall diſavow the ſame." Mr. *Prynn* was the ſuppos'd Author of it; but *Hollis*, *Brown* and the reſt of them, approv'd of it. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was now the viſible Head of the Majority in Parliament, and Court was made to him accordingly. He took up his Lodging in *White-hall*, and lay in one of the King's richeſt Beds. The Lord *Fairfax* acquieſced in all his Counſels, inſomuch that when the Houſe ſent to him that a Charge might be brought in concerning the ſecluded Members, he anſwer'd ſullenly, *The Buſineſs is of great Concernment; and I believe the Houſe will not expect a preſent Anſwer from me, but I will prepare it as ſpeedily as I can; and in the mean Time deſire the Houſe not to trouble themſelves to ſend any more to me about it*: But the ſame Day ſixteen of the ſecluded Members were ſet at Liberty by his Order to ſit again in the Houſe if they pleas'd, and ſo might others of them have done, but they neglected their Duty, and gave *Cromwel*'s Majority the better Opportunity to execute what he had moſt wickedly contriv'd, though as yet he did not appear in it, but ſeem'd to be as much *Republican* as *Vane* or *Ludlow*: Mr. *Lenthal* the Speaker, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and Mr. *Whitlocke* had a Meeting the next Day, *December* the 21ſt, to confer about the preſent Affairs, and particularly the Actions of the Army. *Cromwel* was very earneſt for a Settlement of the Commonwealth, and deſir'd Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Mr. *Whitlocke*, to draw up a Form of that Settlement, to endeavour to bring the Army into ſome fitter Temper, and to have the *ſecluded Members* readmitted, which Form was to be preſented to the Houſe, and the Council of the Army. They with much difficulty undertook the Buſineſs, and at the Speaker's Houſe three or four Days after met with ſeveral Gentlemen to conſult further about the Settlement, *That all might not be left to the Sword*; but here they were left by *Cromwel*, whoſe Majority having voted to bring the King to a Trial, he reſolv'd to terminate that bloody Affair firſt, and to talk of a Settlement afterwards. When it was debated the 23d of *December* to bring the King as *the greateſt Delinquent to Juſtice*, 'twas objected even in this Houſe of Commons, "That he was not capable "of being ſo brought by his Subjects, but by "God alone: That having ſubdu'd him and "his Party, there was no need of any Thing "further, than to ſecure the Parliament from "their Enemies riſing againſt them any more, "and that might be done without bringing the "King to any judicial Trial:" A Thing not read of in any Hiſtory; whether that may be ſo or not, we will leave to *Milton*, who however has as much Heat as Argument on this Subject; but as the Parliament did not allow their entring into a War to be *Rebellion*, ſo ſurely the King's taking Arms againſt Tumults and Inſurrections could not be *Treaſon*. Both King and Parliament ſtrenuouſly deny'd that either of them began the War. If it was not the King, the Guilt of the Blood lay not at his Door; If it was the King, which his Majeſty and all his Hiſtorians do utterly deny; yet what Judicatory could call him to Account? The Lords rejected the Ordinance for his Trial with Indignation, and even that Ordinance was irregularly obtain'd by unheard of Force put upon the Parliament, under the Power of the Soldiery. The Lords *Negative* is as Fundamental a Part of the Laws of *England* as the Commons *Affirmative*; and there can be no Law without their joint Conſent; therefore every Act of the governing Powers, from *Pride*'s Purge to the Death of the King, is illegal, barbarous and tyrannical, and well deſerves an Anniverſary of *Humiliation*, if ſo many of the ſmaller Clergy did not make ſuch a ſcandalous Uſe of it, as to aſſert Falſities for Truths in the moſt ſolemn Places, and defile Divine Service with Invectives againſt the *Preſbyterians*, whom they injuriouſly charge with the Death of the King; whereas they only in Form and in a Body proteſted boldly againſt it, as will be prov'd hereafter; and I leave it to the Reader whether Ignorance is an Excuſe for ſo much Malice and Injuſtice, and they have nothing elſe to plead for it.

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Secluded Members Proteſtation againſt the Parliament.

Is illegal.

Clergy miſrepreſent the Preſbyterians.

Fairfax *againſt them.*

Trial of the King debated.

William Lilly, who kept a Sort of Correſpondence with the King by Means of Mrs. *Whorwood*, informs us, "That about *September* the "Parliament ſent their Commiſſioners with "Propoſitions unto him into the *Iſle of Wight*, "the Lord *William Say* being one. The Lady "*Whorwood* comes again to me from the King, "or by his Conſent to be directed: After Peruſal of my Figure, I told her the Commiſſioners would be there ſuch a Day; I ſelected "a Day and Hour when to receive the Commiſſioners and Propoſitions, and as ſoon as the "Propoſitions were read to ſign them, and make "haſte to come up to *London*, the Army being "then far diſtant, and the City enrag'd againſt "them. He promis'd he would ſo do. That "Night the Commiſſioners came, and old *Say* "and his Majeſty had private Conference till "One in the Morning. The King acquaints "*Say* with his Intention, who clearly diſſwaded "him from ſigning the Propoſitions, telling him "they were not fit for him to ſign; that he had "many Friends in the Houſe of Lords, and "ſome in the Houſe of Commons; that he "would procure more, and that they would "frame more eaſy Propoſitions. This Flattery "of this unfortunate Lord occaſion'd his Majeſty "to wave the Advice I and ſome others that "wiſh'd his Proſperity had given, in Expectation of that which afterwards could never be "gain'd. The Army having ſome Notice hereof, from one who had an Eye upon old *Say*, "haſted unto *London*, and made the Citizens "very quiet; and beſides the Parliament and "Army kept a better Correſpondency afterwards "with each other." King *Charles* ſaid of this *William Lilly*, *That he underſtood* Aſtrology *as well as any Man in* Europe, and never the fitter for that to make him a Counſellor. *Say* was to have been Lord Treaſurer, and his Son *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Secretary of State, if his Scheme had ſucceeded. If this Account be true then as has been already hinted, his Majeſty was not ſo entirely devoted to Prelacy, as to be a Sacrifice for it; and 'twas in Expectation of what Lord *Say* would do for him, that he defer'd cloſing with the Parliament till the Army interpos'd and would not let him.

How the Iſle of Wight Treaty miſcarry'd.

P. 63.

While the Treaty was going forward at the *Iſle of Wight*, the *Cavaliers*, as if under a Fatality to deſtroy themſelves and their Maſter, gave

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gave new Provocations by the moſt execrable and bloody Attempt that ever happen'd in a Chriſtian Country, if ſuch Aſſaſſins deſerve the Name of Chriſtians. Col. *Rainsborough* had been order'd to command the Blockade of *Pomfret Caſtle*, ſurpriz'd by the Traytor *Morris*; and Sir *Henry Cholmley*, who had that Commiſſion from the Committee of *Yorkſhire*, thinking himſelf injur'd, complain'd to the Parliament, who had in Conſideration ſome Means to ſave the Honour of Sir *Henry*, and content Col. *Rainsborough*; the Latter, while the Affair was in Diſpute, took up his Quarters at *Doncaſter*, and having no Enemy nearer than *Pomfret*, he thought himſelf ſo ſecure that there was not ſo ſtrict Guard kept as was convenient: *Morris* having Notice of it ſent 40 Horſe in the Night from *Pomfret* to *Doncaſter*, where they kill'd the Centinel, and three of the *Bravoes* advancing into the Town, ask'd for Col. *Rainsborough*'s Lodgings, which being directed to, they went up Stairs to his Chamber Door, the Colonel a Bed, and ſaid they had a *Letter from Lieutenant General* Cromwel; Col. *Rainsborough* roſe, and open'd the Door to them, expecting ſuch a Letter that Morning, and preſently the three *Pomfret* Soldiers fell upon him, ſhot him into the Neck, into the Heart, and gave him other Wounds, tho' one of them had been ſufficient to murder him, leaving him dead upon the Place, and making their Eſcape without any Alarm given. Thus *Whitlocke* tells the Story, and as he is us'd to ſpeak Truth, one may believe him ſooner than the Author of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, who is us'd to ſpeak the contrary. The Parliament highly reſented this barbarous Act; and every generous Mind deteſted it, and the Doers of it. Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was directed to take ſpecial Care that the Murder of Col. *Rainsborough* be ſtrictly examin'd into. This deteſtable Murder is repreſented in the *Hiſtory* as a gallant Action, and the Author is in great Pain for the Murderer *Morris*, who had deſerted the Parliament Service, and by Treachery got Poſſeſſion of *Pomfret Caſtle*, abuſing the Confidence the Parliament's Governor, Col. *Cotterel* had in him, ſo far as to let him lye in the ſame Bed, by which Means he got an Opportunity to ſeize both him and the Caſtle; *Morris* telling him he ſhould take Courage, for he *would get him the King's Pardon*. A pretty Fellow to get Pardon for others, who was ſo near the Gallows himſelf. This Deſerter is a Man of Gallantry, Honour, Loyalty and Truſt in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*; and 'tis to be ſuppos'd the Reader will judge of the other Characters there by *Morris*'s, whom *Lambert* ſoon after beſieg'd, with particular Inſtructions to ſecure the Murderers, if poſſible, that they might have the Reward due to ſuch Criminals. The Hiſtorian then tells us a Romantick Story of the Defence thoſe Aſſaſſins made, how many of them fought their Way through *Lambert*'s Army, and that of the ſix who were to be deliver'd up to Puniſhment by the Articles of Surrender, every one made his Eſcape, as it was permitted them to do, by Battle or otherwiſe, in ſo many Days, all which is Invention to honour the Memory of thoſe Cavalier Worthies, who did indeed make their Eſcape ſome how or other; but poor *Morris*, as the ſame Author ſtiles him, being afterwards taken in *Lancaſhire*, was hang'd for the Murder, with one Cornet *Blackburn*, another of the Murderers, whom for that Merit the Hiſtorian makes a Lieutenant Colonel. There is a Judgment attach'd to the Death of *Morris*; they hung him in the Place *where he had before done good Service for the* REBELS.

Col. Rainsborough *murder'd.*

About the ſame Time a Petition was deliver'd to the General at St. *Alban's* for *Juſtice upon the principal Invaders of their Liberties, namely the King*: 'Twas ſign'd by the Officers of Col. *Ingoldsby*'s Regiment, and is the firſt that ſpoke ſo plain, which is the more remarkable, becauſe Col. *Ingoldsby* is excus'd by the Lord *Clarendon* as to the Guilt of the King's Death. The Perſons to be excepted out of the Indemnity Act, had the Treaty been accompliſh'd, were at laſt reduc'd to ſeven only; the Lord *Digby*, the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Judge *Jenkins*, Sir *John Winter*, and Sir *Francis Dodington*; Sir *John Winter* was afterwards chang'd for Sir *John Biron*; this ſmall Exception was another Provocation to the Army, who had demanded Juſtice againſt a very great Number of Delinquents, that the Confiſcations might go to diſcharge the Arrears due to them. The County of *Somerſet* ſent up ſuch a Petition as that of *Ingoldsby*'s Regiment, which was deliver'd by Sir *Thomas Wroth*, whom *Echard* contemptuouſly calls one *Wroth*. True it is, the fierce Party in the Houſe of Commons proſecuted their Deſign againſt the King with great Eagerneſs, and thoſe of a contrary Opinion, as *Widdrington*, *Whitlocke*, *Pierrepoint*, *Popham*, &c. durſt not oppoſe the others, knowing that they ſhould be preſently ſecluded the Houſe if they did ſo, or that any Oppoſition would be to no Purpoſe. Thus they remain'd paſſive till the odious Buſineſs was over. The fierce Party in the Houſe were ſo conſcious of the Foulneſs of it, that they endeavour'd to throw it upon the Army, as moſt proper for ſuch Workmen to do ſuch unheard of unwarrantable Work, and for irregular Men to do an irregular Thing: But the Officers ſaw through their Deſign, and reſolv'd they ſhould openly avow and ſhare in it at leaſt, if they would not take it all to themſelves; and in truth they found too many forward enough to engage in it, inſomuch that it was carry'd by Vote in the Houſe of Commons, to *name a Committe of thirty eight Perſons, to conſider of drawing up a Charge, and for that Purpoſe to receive all Informations and Examinations of all Witneſſes for Matters of Fact againſt the King, and all other Delinquents that may be thought fit to be brought to condign Puniſhment.* The Houſe now did not conſiſt of above 200, and there were hardly ſo many preſent when this Vote paſt; yet the Majority for it was not great, about 20; the reſt of the Members, though they were Republicans, not being for proceeding judicially againſt the King, but for confining him in ſome ſafe Place, and taking the Government to themſelves as a Common-wealth. This terrible Vote paſt the 23d of *December*, and two Days after the formidable Committee was appointed, Mr. *Smith* their Clerk came to Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and Mr. *Whitlocke*, Commiſſioners in *Chancery*, with a Meſſage requiring both of them to attend the Committee that Day, to give them Advice in ſome Matters of Importance; they both knew what the Buſineſs was; and *Whitlocke* ſaid, *He was reſolv'd not to meddle in the Trial of the King, it being contrary to his Judgment as he had declar'd in the Houſe.* Sir *Thomas Widdrington* told *Smith*, he *was of the ſame Opinion, and would have no Hand in it*; but *he knew not whether to go to be out of the Way, that the Committee might not know whether to ſend to him.* When *Smith* was gone, *Whitlocke* ſaid to *Widdrington*, *My Coach is ready, and I was this Morning going out of Town, purpoſely to avoid this Buſineſs, if you pleaſe to go with me you may be quiet at my Houſe in the Country till all is over, and I ſhall be glad of your Company*, ſo they both went

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Ingoldsby's Regiment demand Juſtice againſt the King.

So does the Somerſetſhire *Addreſs.*

A Committee to draw up a Charge againſt the King.

Whitlocke *and* Widdrington *refuſe to be concern'd in it.*

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went accordingly. The Committee having prepar'd the Charge reported it to the Houſe, *That* Charles Stuart *had acted contrary to his Truſt in departing from the Parliament, ſetting up his Standard, making War againſt them, and thereby been the Occaſion of much Bloodſhed and Miſery to the People, whom he was ſet over for good, that he gave Commiſſions to* Iriſh Rebels, *and ſince was the Occaſion of a* ſecond War, *and had done contrary to the Liberties of the Subjects, tending to the Deſtruction of the fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.* This ſtrange Experiment was introduc'd, as moſt Things were in thoſe precious Times, with a Day of Faſting and Humiliation, when Mr. *Watſon* a Presbyterian Miniſter whom I well remember in the Reign of King *James* II. to be under a ſevere Proſecution for his Religion, preach'd before the Houſe of Commons, and when the Queſtion was put, Whether he ſhould have their Thanks for it, 'twas carry'd in the *Negative*, becauſe he did not acknowledge the Parliament. Does not the Reader perceive what *King Killers* the *Presbyterians* then were? And how honeſt thoſe Writers and Preachers are, who repreſent them, and inveigh againſt them as ſuch. *Cromwel*'s Majority was ſo angry with Mr. *Watſon*, that it was put to the Vote, Whether there ſhould be any more *ſet Faſts*? But it drop'd for the ſake of Mr. *Brook* and Dr. *Owen*, two other Miniſters, who were more grateful to the Army, as the Army was more grateful to them.

Charge againſt the King.

While Preparations were making for his Trial, his Majeſty was remov'd from *Hurſt* Caſtle, where he liv'd in a moſt diſconſolate Condition, and wrote this Verſe of *Ovid* with his Diamond in one of the Windows;

Qui decumbit Humi non habet unde cadet.

Fall'n to the Ground he can no lower fall.

a reaſonable Reflection, unaffected and natural, ſhort, like the Reflections of Miſery, and not wordy, like the Sentiments in *Eikon Baſilike*, which are the more Suſpicious, becauſe Paſſion is an Enemy to Words. Grief never declaims, though it is always complaining, and *Sighs*, as 'tis ſaid that Book was intended to be call'd, cannot be breath'd out in round Periods of 10 and 12 Folio Lines. Col. *Ewer*, who brought the King from *Carisbrook* to *Hurſt* Caſtle, continu'd Governor there with the Charge of his Majeſty's Perſon, and though there is a mighty Clamour made about the *Inſalubrity of the Air*, yet *Whitlocke* very particularly obſerves, *that his Majeſty had his Health there*, and all good Accommodations, till he was again remov'd to *Windſor* Caſtle. Col. *Harriſon* came to *Hurſt* Caſtle for him with his Regiment of Horſe, and having receiv'd him of Col. *Ewer*, he went into his Majeſty's Coach, and rode with him all the Way to the greater Grief of the Earl of *Clarendon*, becauſe he did not keep *off his Hat*, after the Parliament had voted, that the *Knee and other Ceremonies to the King ſhould be forborn.* On the 21ſt of *December* they came to *Wincheſter*, where as *Sanderſon* and *Echard* tells us, the *Honourable Mayor* and *Aldermen* met him at the Town's End, and after a Speech preſented him with their Mace. Col. *Harriſon* gave the honourable Mayor to underſtand, *That by the Act of no* Addreſs to the King *their* Worſhips *were all* Traytors, which threw them into ſuch a Panick, that though they promis'd never to do ſo any more in Terms moving enough to create Pity, yet they could not get out of their Heads the Puniſhment which is due to Treaſon. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, that Col. *Har-*

The King remov'd to Windſor Caſtle.

Mayor of Wincheſter *frighted.*

A. D. 1648.

riſon was much given to *praying* and *preaching*, which being ſuch merry Things with him, I wonder his Lordſhip ſhould give way to them when his Majeſty was leading to Deſtruction. Another Remark is, that though he was a Butcher's Son, yet as a Colonel of Horſe and Major General, *he was very reſpectful to the King, and kept himſelf bare*, which contradicts what I ſaid of his keeping on his Hat; but as I took it from Sir *Roger Manly*, and think one Authority as good as the other, the Matter muſt be left to the Reader. As the King and the Major General rode together in the Coach, his Majeſty expreſs'd himſelf apprehenſive of ſome ill Deſign againſt him, by hurrying him away thus from the *Iſle of Wight*, and from one Place to another. But the Major General aſſur'd him the Parliament abhorr'd any Thoughts of Proceeding againſt him otherwiſe than in an open Manner, which had been intimated to the King before, and made him very deſirous to make his Eſcape when 'twas too late to attempt it, which Col. *Harriſon* ſhew'd he was apprehenſive of, and was the more diligent to prevent it. The Lady *D'Aubigny* had brought herſelf into Trouble by her correſponding with the Cavaliers at *Oxford*, during her Reſidence at *London* in the firſt War; and 'twas talk'd that ſhe ſhould be try'd for it. She had lately marry'd the Lord *Newburgh*, who liv'd in the little Park at *Bagſhot*, which his Majeſty was wont to take great Delight in, and now expreſs'd a great Deſire to dine with that Lord and Lady at the *Lodge* there. *Harriſon* did not at all like it, but the King ſhewing he would not be hinder'd, unleſs it was by force, the Colonel gave way to it, and conſented that his Majeſty ſhould ſend a Servant to let the Lady *Newburgh* know he would dine with her; for that Lord and Lady held private Correſpondence with him by a Cypher concerted between them, and had given him Notice, that he would be ſent for from *Hurſt* Caſtle, adviſing him to find ſome Way that he might dine at the *Lodge*, and if he could, to lame his Horſe, that he might take another out of the Lord *Newburgh*'s Stables, where was kept one of the fleeteſt in *England*, on which he might mount, and if he could get out of the Company that encompaſs'd him, he might poſſibly, by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe, and his own Skill in the moſt obſcure Ways in that Foreſt, convey himſelf to another Place, and ſo to others, where good Horſes were laid for him. But Colonel *Harriſon* was the moſt improper Man in the World to be impos'd upon by a ſmall Deſign; he order'd a Party of Horſe to get to *Bagſhot* before them, and ſearch all the *Lodge*, and all the Avenues, and the fleet Horſe being juſt then lam'd by a Stroke, the King would not venture upon another, ſo this hopeful Project came to nothing.

The King's Deſign to eſcape.

The Lord *Clarendon* beats the *Drum Eccleſiaſtick* very often, and now he informs us, *That the Preachers*, who had at firſt been moſt furious for the War, *now preach'd as furiouſly againſt all wicked Attempts and Violence againſt the Perſon of the King, and fooliſhly urged the Obligation of the Covenant*, there is ſo much Wiſdom in his Lordſhip's Hiſtory, that one may be ſure when he ſays a Thing is *fooliſh*, that it is ſo, *for the Security of his Perſon.* All the Reaſon they had to be ſuch Fools was in the Words of the Covenant it ſelf, Article 3d, *We ſhall with the ſame Sincerity, Reality and Conſtancy, in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority.* The other Articles of the Covenant had been obtain'd

A. D. 1648. by the King's Conceſſions to the *Scots*, and at the *Iſle of Wight*. The War he had begun was ended, the Cauſes of it remov'd by thoſe Conceſſions; and that War to bring Delinquents to Juſtice, and defend their juſt Rights, is declar'd to be lawful by the Parliament, which brought in this King's Son, therefore there remain'd no Obligation ſo ſtrong upon them by the Covenant, as the *Preſervation of the King's Perſon*; for though the *Reſiſtance* they gave him was a main Cauſe of his preſent Calamity, yet it cannot be ſaid ſo much to have involv'd him in it, as the evil Counſels of thoſe evil Counſellors, whom to the laſt he ſo obſtinately protected againſt Juſtice.

A. D. 164⅘. On *New Years Day* the Names of the Commiſſioners for the Trial of the King were reported to the Houſe. *Whitlocke* informs us, "They "were ſome of the Lords and Commons, Officers "of the Army, Aldermen, and Commanders in "*London*, and ſome Gentlemen from the Coun-"ties, in all 150 Perſons." But they could not get above 70 or 80 to go through the Drudgery of this wicked Work, and not one of the Peers who were named did meddle in it. Theſe Proceedings were founded on this Vote, *That the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament do declare and adjudge, That by the fundamental Laws of this Realm, it is Treaſon in the King of* England, *for the Time to come, to levy War againſt the Parliament and Kingdom of* England. 'Tis ſtrange they ſhould put in for *the future*, when their Army could as well have ſupported the Vote, had they ſaid, *it always was, is, and ever ſhall be, Treaſon*. There would have been as much Law in it as in their wording of it. This Vote being ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence by the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, they rejected it *Nemine Contradicente*, 17 Lords being preſent, unleſs ſome Heſitation in the Lord *Say* may be term'd Oppoſition. The Earl of *Pembroke* hearing his Name was inſerted in the Liſt of Commiſſioners for the King's Trial, he loudly exclaimed againſt it, and refuſed to act, as did the Lord *Fairfax*, though I can ſee no manner of Reaſon for it, after he had contributed ſo much to that Trial, by ſuffering *Pride*'s Purge to paſs, and recommending the Army's Remonſtrance to the ſpeedy Conſideration of the Parliament, wherein they deſir'd, that the capital Delinquent might be brought to Juſtice. If he could not have hinder'd *Cromwel*'s acting as he did, he might have let him act by himſelf, and his diſcountenancing the Force put upon the Parliament would have gone a great way in preventing it, conſidering what a great Majority the *Presbyterians* had in the Houſe before the *Purge*. The Lords adjourn'd for 10 Days, to perplex the Matter as much as lay in their Power, but the Commons voted, *That all their Members, and others appointed to act in any Ordinance, wherein the Lords are join'd with them, ſhall be impower'd and injoin'd to ſit, act, and execute in the ſaid ſeveral Committees, notwithſtanding the Houſe of Peers join not with them*. They order'd, *That the Ordinance for the Trial of the King, and the declaratory Vote from which the Lords diſſented, and which was intended for both Houſes, ſhall now be by the Commons only*; and turning themſelves into a grand Committee, they reſolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*,

Vote for Treaſon in the King.

Vote againſt the Peers.

Republican Votes.

1. "That the People, under God, are the "Original of all juſt Power.

2. "That the Commons of *England* aſſem-"bled in Parliament being choſen by, and re-"preſenting the People, have the ſupreme Au-"thority of the Nation.

3. "That whatſoever is enacted, and decla-"red for Law by the Commons in Parliament, "hath the Force of Law, and all the People of "this Nation are included thereby, although the "Conſent and Concurrence of the King, and "Houſe of Peers, be not had thereunto.

A. D. 164⅘.

Thus was kingly Government aboliſh'd before the King was put to Death, for which only Forms were wanting, but ſuch Forms as turn'd *Juſtice* into *Farce*. On the 6th of *January* the Ordinance for the Trial of the King paſs'd, and the *Scots* Commiſſioners ſent a Letter to the Parliament, preſſing *for Unity of Counſels between the two Kingdoms, and that they would not proceed to try and execute the King till the Advice of that Nation was had*. But it is not ſtrange that neither the Parliament or Army paid any Deference to their Interpoſition, which they ſo ill deſerv'd of them by their late invading the Kingdom in a hoſtile Manner; and it was not likely their Arguments would ſucceed, when they had before try'd their Arms in vain.

Kingly Government aboliſh'd.

The King being brought to *Windſor* was delivered to the Governor, Colonel *Whichcot*, by Colonel *Tomlinſon*, who commanded the Troop that guarded him after Colonel *Harriſon* left them. The King appear'd to be pretty well ſatisfy'd with his Removal from *Hurſt* thither; he liv'd more at eaſe, and was more chearful, having ſo little Intelligence, or Apprehenſion of what was doing againſt him, a few Days before his Removal thence to the laſt Stage of his Life, that he ſaid, *He doubted not but within 6 Months to ſee Peace in* England, *and in caſe he was not reſtor'd by his Subjects in* England, *he ſhould be righted from* Ireland, Denmark, *and other Places*. A very unſeaſonable Diſcourſe in ſuch a Place, and before ſuch Company.

King at Windſor Caſtle.

Whitl. p. 361.

I can't imagine what Occaſion there was for this Falſity in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, it gives no Strength to the Party the Author eſpouſes, nor Credit to his Cauſe: *When the Day came to which the Houſe of Lords adjourn'd, they found their Doors all lock'd*. That was not all, *They found their Doors faſten'd with Padlocks*; when in truth, their Doors were as they us'd to be, and when the Day came they enter'd their Houſe, according to *Whitlocke*, *and paſt ſeveral Ordinances. They debated the laſt Votes about the Trial of the King, and the publiſhing ſomething to ſatisfy the People, upon what Grounds they rejected the Ordinance for his Trial*. But they had enough offended the Parliament and Army already, and ſo they came to no Reſolution. The ſame Day Sergeant *Dendy*, Sergeant at Arms to the Houſe of Commons, and now acting as ſuch to the Commiſſioners for trying the King, rode into *Weſtminſter* Hall with the Mace on his Shoulder, Officers attending, and ſix Trumpets, all on Horſeback, and Guards of Horſe and Foot in the *Palace Yard*. The Trumpets ſounded in the middle of the Hall, and the Drums beat in the *Palace Yard*, after which Proclamation was made, to give Notice, *That the Commiſſioners for Trial of the King would ſit to Morrow, the 10th of* January, *and that all thoſe that had any Thing to ſay againſt him might then be heard*. Sergeant *Dendy* made the ſame Proclamation at the *Old Exchange*, and in *Cheapſide*. The Parliament voted, *That the Style of any one particular Perſon, ſhould not be inſerted as the Style of any common Writ, or otherwiſe, for the Time to come. That the preſent Great Seal ſhould be broken, and a new one forthwith made. That the Arms of* England *and of* Ireland *ſhall be engraven on one Side of the new Great Seal, with this Inſcription*, The Great Seal of England. *That on the other Side of the* Seal *ſhall be the*

King's Trial proclaimed.

A new Great Seal voted.

A. D. 164⅛. *Sculpture of the Houſe of Commons, with theſe Words engraven on that Side.* In the firſt Year of Freedom, by God's Bleſſing reſtor'd, 1648. The Figures and Inſcriptions were the Contrivance of Mr. *Henry Marten*, a famous Member of this Aſſembly. At the next Meeting of the Commiſſioners for the King's Trial, they choſe Sergeant *Bradſhaw* to be their Preſident, Mr. *Steel* to be their *Attorney General*, Mr. *Cook* their *Solicitor General*, and appointed Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Ask* to draw up and manage the Charge. They alſo took to themſelves the Name of

The High Court of Juſtice.

John Bradſhaw, Eſq; Preſident; the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, the Lord *Mounſon*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *John Bowcher*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Ludlow*, Col. *Purefoy*, Col. *Harvey*, Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *Horton*, Col. *Hammond*, Col. *Scroop*, Col. *Harriſon*, Col. *Pride*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Ewer*, Col. *Stapely*, Col. *Downs*, Col. *Dean*, Col. *Goffe*, Col. *Lillburn*, Col. *Walton*, Col. *Wayte*, Col. *J. Temple*, Col. *Peter Temple*, Col. *Tomlinſon*, Col. *Venn*, Col. *Moore*, Col. *Roe*, Col. *Laſſells*, Col. *Titchburne*, Col. *Berkſtead*, Col. *Okey*, Col. *Hutchinſon*, Alderman *Pennington*, Alderman *Andrews*, Alderman *Scot*, *Peregrine Pelham*, Eſq; *John Liſle*, Eſq; *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; Mr. *Francis Allen*, *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; *John Challoner*, Eſq; *John Allured*, Eſq; *Henry Smith*, Eſq; Mr. *Humphry Edwards*, Mr. *John Fry*, *William Cawley*, Eſq; *Gregory Clement*, Eſq; *Henry Wallop*, Eſq; Mr. *Nicholas Love*, Mr. *Vincent Potter*, *John Carew*, Eſq; *William Say*, Eſq; *Simon Mayne*, Eſq; *Daniel Blagrave*, Eſq; *John Dixwell*, Eſq; *Thomas Wogan*, Eſq; Mr. *John Blakeſton*, Mr. *Gilbert Millington*, *William Heveningham*, Eſq; *Henry Marten*, Eſq; Mr. —— *Dove*, *Auguſtine Garland*, Eſq; *John Jones*, Eſq;

Officers attending the Court.

Mr. Recorder *Steel*, Attorney General.

Mr. *John Cook*, Solicitor General.

Dr. *Doriſlaus*, Sergeant *Ask*, to draw up the Charge, and manage it.

Col. *Humphrey* Sword Bearer.

Col. *Fox*, Captain of the Guard of Partizans.

Mr. *Phelps*, Mr. *Broughton*, Clerks to the Court.

Mr. *Dendy*, Sergeant at Arms.

Wolfred Payne, *Radley Powell*, —— *Hull*, Meſſengers.

Iſrael King, Cryer.

There were many others nam'd in the Commiſſion who refus'd to act, and ſit in Judgment, though they are crowded into ſome Liſts.

William Lenthal, Eſq; Speaker, Lord *Fairfax*, General, Major General *Skippon*, Colonel *Desborough*, Col. *Duckenfield*, Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Maynwaring*, Col. *Overton*, Col. *Rigby*, Col. *Sydney*, Col. *Rowland Wilſon*, Col. *Fenwick*, Sir *William Alliſon*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Godfrey Boſvile*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Sir *Thomas Honeywood*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *William Roberts*, Sir *Peter Temple*, Sir *John Barrington*, Sir *William Maſham*, *Phil.* Lord *Liſle*, Alderman *Fowkes*, Alderman *Atkins*, Mr. *Berners*, Sergeant *Thorp*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Boon*, Mr. *Corbet*, Mr. *Fagg*, Sergeant *Nicholas*, Mr. *Hill*, Mr. *Skinner*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Nelthorp*, Mr. *Nutt*, Mr. *R. Salway*, Mr. *H. Salway*, Mr. *Weaver*, Mr. *Mildmay*, Mr. *Lawry*, Mr. *Gourdon*, Mr. *Darley*, Mr. *Burrel*, Mr. *Aiſlabie*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Gratwick*. A. D. 164⅛.

Some there were who ſat a Day or two out of Curioſity, or as one would hope, with good Intention to do the King Service, for as ſoon as they found that their Fellow-Commiſſioners were reſolv'd Men, and that there was no going back if they ſat longer, they deſerted the Commiſſion, and appear'd no more among the Commiſſioners, as the Lord *Mounſon*, Lord *Grey*, Sir *John Danvers*, Col. *Laſſells*, Col. *Harvey*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, *Henry Wallop*, Eſq; *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; Mr. *Fry*, Mr. *Dove*; though *Echard* aſſures us, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Sir *John Danvers*, and both of the *Temples*, ſtay'd to the laſt of the Trial, and ſat when Sentence was given.

High Court of Juſtice.

On the 13th of *January* the High Court of Juſtice ſat for the Trial of the King. The Names of the Commiſſioners being call'd over, thoſe that were abſent were ſummon'd to make their Appearance, which ſome of them evaded, and others, particularly Col. *Rowland Wilſon*, poſitively deny'd. They agreed that the Place of Trial ſhould be *Weſtminſter* Hall, at the End where the Courts of *Chancery* and *King's Bench* are kept, both which were thrown into one, and the Term was adjourn'd 14 Days on account of the Preparation for the Trial. Some Members of the Houſe of Commons mov'd, that the Ordinance for Adjournment of the Term ſhould be ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, but the Majority oppos'd it, as a waving of their own Authority, they having paſs'd an *Act* for it without the Lords, who on the 18th of *January* ſent down an Ordinance which they had paſt, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Clarendon* had put Locks and Padlocks on their Doors to ſhut them out of their Houſe, to the Commons for their Concurrence. It was to the ſame Effect as to the Adjournment of the Term, but the *Commons* laid it aſide; as this Ordinance was to forward the Trial of the King; and as the Lords ſat after the High Court of Juſtice was at work, it ſhews that their Lordſhips would have continu'd to ſit if the Commons would have let them, tho' they abhorr'd all the Steps that were taken for putting the King to Death.

On the 19th of *January* the King was brought from *Windſor* to St. *James's*, by Order of the *High Court*, where Mr. *Hugh Peters* waited upon him; and his Majeſty deſiring one of his Chaplains might attend for his Satisfaction in ſome Scruples of Conſcience, Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, was order'd to go to him the next Day. Col. *Tomlinſon* continu'd to command the Guard about his Majeſty, who, as *Echard* writes, was *a Man of better Breeding* than Colonel *Harriſon*, but behav'd with greater Rudeneſs and Barbarity. The Earl of *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon's Hiſtories of the enſuing Tragedy, are ſo larded with Untruth and Libel, that it takes off much of the Horror which the bloody Action naturally excites. *Echard* introduces it with a State of the Nation, written by a *conſiderable Writer*, whoſe Name however he is aſham'd of, and ought to have been aſham'd of his Writing, made up of *Presbyterians*, *Rebellion*, *Malignants*, *Rebels*, *Epiſcopacy*, *Rebellions*, *vileſt Inſtruments*, *rotten Members*, *Traytors*, *Eſſex*, *Tower Hill*, *Covenant*,

A. D. 164⅛. nant, *Stalking Horse*, *Almanacks*, *Blasphemy*, *Sedition*, *Madness*, *City of London*, *Calvinism*, *Levites*, *Rabshekahs*, *Caterpillars*, *Locusts*, &c. He says he writes down all these peaceable Things that he *may take a little rest*, though a sensible Man might as well sleep in a Hurricane.

On *Saturday* the 20th of *January*, the Commissioners of the *High Court of Justice* met in the *Painted Chamber*, and proceeded thence to the Court erected for them in *Westminster* Hall; the President, Sergeant *Bradshaw*, had the Sword carry'd before him by Col. *Humphry*, the Mace by Sergeant *Dendy*, and 20 Gentlemen attended as his Guard of Partizans, commanded by Col. *Fox*. After an *O Yes*, and Silence made, the Act of the Commons for sitting of the *Court* was read, an Act of no more Validity than if it had been made by the Clerk who read it, for those Commons were not the Parliament of *England*, no, not the House of Commons of *England*, the much greater Number of the Members being driven out, and kept out by the Soldiers. When the Court was call'd, 60 of the 150 Commissioners appear'd and answer'd to their Names. The King was brought from St. *James*'s to *Whitehall*, and from thence by Water, guarded by Musketeers in Boats, to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s House near *Westminster* Hall, and from thence to the Bar of the Court, attended by Col. *Tomlinson* and Col. *Hacker*, the former afterwards knighted, and the latter hang'd in the next Reign. Thirty Officers and Gentlemen waited with Halberts behind his Majesty's Chair of Crimson Velvet within the Bar. The Commissioners were all cover'd, and so remain'd. The King also kept his Hat on, and paid no Reverence to these pretended Judges, most of whom, as Soldiers, were wont to wear Helmets and Head-pieces, but now they charg'd their Sovereign bare fac'd, arm'd with the Civil and Military Power of *England*, which they so highly abus'd and dishonour'd, putting the most daring Affront on the very Name of Justice. *Echard* assures us, that the President *Bradshaw* was so afraid of being knock'd on the Head, notwithstanding his two Guards of Partizans, and Halberdiers, and 3 or 4000 Horse and Foot surrounding the Hall of Justice, *that he wore a thick high Crown'd Bever Hat, lin'd with plated Steel, to ward off Blows*, and that this *Hat*, as much a Nonentity as it apparently is, is kept as a Rarity in the *Musæum* in *Oxford*, as well to shew the Sagacity as the Loyalty of that *famous University*. This high crown'd Hat did not at all become his scarlet Robe, his crimson Velvet Chair of State, his Desk before it with a crimson Velvet Cushion, prepar'd for his *judicious Loll*, the like of which I have seen in other Places, as Emblems of Authority and Gravity. The Judges knew full well that the King would not submit to such an illegal Tribunal. They knew if he had submitted it would have been of no use to him; for if he had escap'd with Life, that insolent and tyrannical Attempt to try him for it, could not have gone off with Impunity. They had, it is true, got Witnesses enough to prove the King had been in several Actions where much Blood was spilt, and no doubt there were Thousands who could prove, that they had seen him in Arms at *Edgehill*, *Brentford*, *Newbury*, *Naseby*, &c. But that was not the Case, if the King began the War, of which they were not, and could not be proper Judges, being all of them Parties; he was not then accountable to that Court. If he did not begin the War, every Action which he was in was in his own Defence, and the Blood shed not to be laid at his Door. Instead of talking reasonably upon it, the Earl of *Clarendon*, Sir *Roger Manly*, and Archdeacon *Echard*, declaim in the Stile of the *Fish-Market*, *Rogues*, *Rebels*, *Hellish Rogues*, *Incarnate Devils*, *Pettifoggers*, *Brewers*, *Carmen*, *Coblers*, *Goldsmiths*, *Impudent*, *Execrable*, *Impious*, *Nonsense*, *Imperious*, *Impiously Impious*, *Barbarians*, *Miscreants*, *Butchers*, *Bloody Keepers and Slaughterers*, *Enthusiasticks*, *Fanaticks*, and a great deal more of it, with such a Confusion of Rage and Ribaldry, as turn this truly tragical Scene, which plainly told dissolves the most obdurate Mind with Compassion and Tenderness, into railing and raving. To shew a just Resentment is natural, but to bellow and foam at the Mouth shews that these Men had some other Wound besides that which was given the Publick. I shall follow *Whitlocke*'s Relation of the King's Trial, who must be better acquainted with it than any one of these Historians.

A. D. 164⅛.

Whitlocke.

The President made a short Speech to the King, acquainting him with the Cause of his bringing thither in order to his *Trial*, upon a Charge against him by the Commons of *England*, which was then to be read, and his Majesty to give his Answer to it. The King offer'd to speak before reading of the Charge. And when Mr. *Broughton* the Clerk began to read it, his Majesty interrupted him, saying, *I am not intrusted by my People, they are mine by Inheritance*, as *Ludlow* words it, who was present, but it is an odd way of wording it; and if one was Heir to *Cattle* or *Swine* it could not be more coarsely worded. After this Interruption the Charge was read, by which he was charg'd by the "Name of *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, as guilty of all the Blood that had been "shed at *Keinton*, *Brentford*, *Newbury*, and "other Places where he had been present in "Arms against the Parliament, and other Par-"ticulars very large." The King paus'd at the Reading of the Charge, and after it was read, demanded of the President, "By what lawful "Authority he was brought thither." He was answer'd, as *Harry Marten* now directed, "In "the Name and Authority of the Commons in "Parliament assembled, and the good People "of *England*." *Cromwel* had told the Commissioners, that the King would certainly make that Demand, and *Marten* immediately help'd them to that Answer. The King reply'd, "He "saw no Lords there, which should make a "Parliament, including the King." He agreed, "That the Kingdom of *England* was Hereditary and Successive, and he should betray his "Trust if he acknowledg'd or made Answer to "them, for that he was not convinc'd that they "were a lawful Authority." As most true it is, they were not, and the King could not acknowledge them without betraying his Trust. Besides, he had as good have pleaded Guilty as have pleaded at all, for plead or not plead he was sure to be condemn'd and to suffer, and this Formality of a Trial was an Aggravation of the Injustice and Barbarity. The President having requir'd his Majesty again and again to answer, and being always refus'd, as the Court expected, the King was remanded to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s House, and thence to St. *James*'s; while *Cromwel* and his Companions went to *Whitehall* to keep a *Fast* together, which most of them must do with the greatest Impiety and Hypocrisy; for though probably *Ludlow*, *Scroop*, and other *Republicans*, might really believe what they had voted to be true, *that the Original of just Power was in the People*, and that the Arguments us'd by *Milton* were sufficient to satisfy their Consciences, I say, tho' in this case Commonwealth's Men might be so far deluded, as to think they

King's Trial.

The Charge.

were

A. D. 164⅝. were doing a ſolemn Act of Juſtice, and that it was their Duty to implore the Aſſiſtance and Bleſſing of the Almighty, yet *Cromwel* and his Emiſſaries, who were no *Commonwealth's Men*, muſt be the greateſt Hypocrites that ever diſſembled with God and Man, in praying for the aboliſhing of what they call'd one Tyranny, on Purpoſe to ſet up a worſe in the Place of it.

Before *Cook* the Solicitor began to read the Charge, the King held up his Cane, and laid it ſoftly upon *Cook*'s Shoulder three Times, bidding him *Hold*; and before that, when the Names of the Commiſſioners were to be call'd over, the Firſt in the Act being the Lord *Fairfax*, and no Anſwer made, he was call'd again, when a ſhrill Voice from one of the Boxes where the Ladies were, was heard, ſaying, *He has more Wit than to be here*; and afterwards when the Charge was read, *In the Name of all the good People of* England, the ſame Voice cry'd, *No not the tenth Part of them*, which I believe was true. This ſurpriz'd and offended both the Court and Officers, who order'd Inquiſition to be made whence and from whom was that Voice, threatning to ſhew their Reſentment, but not to let fly at the Lady, as *Echard* and other ſuch Writers affirm. Upon Inquiry, it was found to be the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who ſpoke thus, and ſhe was perſwaded to leave the Place after having given ſuch Offence. *Manly* informs us ſhe ſaid *the tenth Part* only, *Echard* that it was *the hundredth*. He cannot help magnifying and diminiſhing, as he fancies it is for the Glory of his Cauſe. The King leaning on his Cane, the Head made of Gold fell off on a ſudden, which it might very well do by his Majeſty's leaning upon it with more Weight than uſual, conſidering what Attention he might give to the Proceedings of the Court; and yet *Echard* tells us that Incident *made ſo great Impreſſion on the King's Mind, that he could not help diſcovering it to Biſhop* Juxon, *and neither he nor the Biſhop could diſcover how it happen'd*, tho' methinks the Diſcovery was not very difficult. The Reverend Hiſtorians take Notice of the falling off of the Top of his Majeſty's Cane, and tell us that the Commonwealth's Men were ſo brutal, none of 'em would ſtir to take it up, which he was forced to do himſelf. Another notorious Falſity! For *Lilly*, who was then preſent, ſays, *I ſaw the Top of his Staff unexpectedly fall off to the Ground, which was taken up by Mr.* Ruſhworth. It was urged to the King, when he inſiſted ſo much on the *Authority of the Court*, "That the Commons aſ-
" ſembled in Parliament could acknowledge no
" other Sovereign but God, for that upon his
" and the People's Appeal to the Sword for the
" Deciſion of their reſpective Pretenſions, Judg-
" ment had been given for the People, who
" conceiv'd it to be their Duty not to bear the
" Sword in vain, and had appointed this Court
" to make Inquiſition for the Blood that had
" been ſhed in this Diſpute.

On *Monday* the 22d of *January* the Court met again, and Mr. *Cook*, Solicitor General, mov'd, "That whereas the Priſoner had refus'd
" to make Anſwer to the Charge againſt him;
" That now he might be directed to make a po-
" ſitive Anſwer, either by Way of Confeſſion or
" Negation; which if he ſhall refuſe to do,
" That the Matter of the Charge might be taken
" *pro Confeſſo*, and the Court might proceed ac-
" cording to Juſtice." The Preſident then requir'd the King to anſwer to the Charge againſt him by the *Commons of England*. The King confeſs'd, "When he was laſt here he made
" Queſtion of their Authority, and ſhould have
" ſatisfy'd himſelf with the Proteſtation he then
" made againſt the Legality of the Court." But *A. D.* 164⅝. he ſaid, "It was not his Caſe alone that he ſtood
" for, but the Freedom of all the People of
" *England*; for if they without Law may make
" or alter Law, no Subject can be ſafe for his
" Life, or any thing that he calls his own." Then he ſaid, "He would give his Reaſons why in
" Conſcience, and the Duty he ow'd to God firſt,
" and his People next, for the Preſervation of
" their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, he con-
" ceiv'd he could not anſwer, till he were ſatis-
" fy'd of the Legality of it.

Preſident "Sir, I muſt interrupt you, which
" I would not do, but that what you ſay is not
" agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court:
" You appear as a Priſoner before this Court,
" and are not to diſpute their Authority, but to
" give a punctual Anſwer to the Charge.

King. "Sir, By your Favour, I do not know
" the Forms of Law; I do know Law and Rea-
" ſon: Though I am no Lawyer profeſs'd, but
" I know as much Law as any Gentleman in
" *England*; and therefore, under Favour, I do
" plead for the Liberties of the whole People
" of *England* more than you do; and there-
" fore if I ſhould impoſe a Belief upon any
" without Reaſons given for it, it were unrea-
" ſonable; but I muſt tell you, that by the Rea-
" ſon that I have, as thus informed, I cannot yield
" unto it.

Preſident. "Sir, I muſt interrupt you; you
" may not be permitted: You ſpeak of Law
" and Reaſon, it is fit there ſhould be Law and
" Reaſon, and there is both againſt you. Sir, the
" Vote of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament is
" the Reaſon of the Kingdom, by Law you ſhould
" have rul'd and reign'd. Sir, you are not to
" diſpute our Authority: You are told it again
" by the Court. Sir, it will be taken Notice of
" that you ſtand in Contempt, and your Con-
" tempt will be recorded.

King. "I do not know a King can be a De-
" linquent; let me tell you they may put in
" Demurrers againſt any Proceedings as legal;
" and I demand that, and to be heard with my
" Reaſons. If you deny that, you deny Rea-
" ſon.

Preſident. Sir, you have offer'd nothing to
" the Court. I ſhall ſpeak ſomething to you,
" the Senſe of the Court. Sir, neither you,
" nor any Man, are permitted to diſpute that
" Point: You are concluded, you muſt not de-
" mur to the Juriſdiction of the Court: If you
" do, I muſt let you know, that they over-rule
" your Demurrer. They ſit here by the Autho-
" rity of the Commons of *England*, and all your
" Predeceſſors and you are reſponſible to them.

King. "I deny that, ſhew me one Prece-
" dent.

Preſident. "You ought not to interrupt while
" the Court is ſpeaking to you. This Point is
" not to be debated by you, neither will the
" Court permit you to do it. If you offer it by
" Way of Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the
" Court, they have conſider'd of their Juriſdi-
" ction, and do affirm their own Juriſdiction.

King. "I ſay, by your Favour, that the Com-
" mons of *England* were never a Court of Judi-
" cature: I would know how they came to
" be ſo.

Preſident. "Sir, You are not permitted to go
" on in that Speech and theſe Diſcourſes.

Then the Clerk of the Court read this aloud:

"*Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, you have
" been accus'd on the Behalf of the People of

A. D. 164⅞. " *England* of *High Treason*, and other Crimes; " the Court have determin'd that you ought to " answer the same.

King. " I will answer the same as soon as I " know by what Authority you do this.

President. " If this be all you will say, then " Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner, " take Charge of him back again.

King. " I do require that I may give in my " Reasons why I do not answer, and give me " Time for that.

President. " 'Tis not for Prisoners to re- " quire.

King. " Prisoners, Sir, I am not an ordinary " Prisoner.

President. " The Court hath consider'd of " their Jurisdiction, and they have already af- " firm'd their Jurisdiction. If you will not an- " swer, we shall give Order to record your De- " fault.

King. " You never heard my Reasons yet.

President. " Sir, your Reasons are not to be " heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. " Shew me what Jurisdiction, where " Reason is not to be heard?

President. " We shew it you here, The Com- " mons of *England*; and the next Time you are " brought you will know more of the Pleasure " of the Court, and it may be their final Deter- " mination.

King. " Shew me wherever the House of " Commons were a Court of Judicature of that " kind?

President. " Serjeant, take away the Pri- " soner.

King. " Well, Sir, remember that the King " is not suffer'd to give in his Reasons for the " Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

President. " Sir, you are not to have Liberty " to use this Language. How great a Friend " you have been to the Laws and Liberties of " the People, let all *England* and the World " judge.

King. " Sir, under Favour, it was for the Li- " berty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject, " that ever I took to defend my self with Arms; " I never took up Arms against the People, but " for the Laws.

President. " The Command of the Court " must be obey'd; no Answer will be given to " the Charge.

King. " Well, Sir.

Then the Officers guarded the King back again to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s House.

As he went out of the Court down the Stairs, he said, *He was not so much troubled for any of the Blood that had been shed, as for the Blood of one innocent Man, the Earl of* Strafford. Indeed his Majesty had not so great Concern upon him on that score as he gave out, especially if what we are told is true, that having receiv'd a List of the Slain at *Edgehill* Fight, some Days after at *Oxford* he call'd for a Comedy of *Ben. Johnson*'s.

Westminster-Hall was very much crowded every Day of the King's Trial, and some who sate on the Scaffolds did not forbear to exclaim aloud at the Proceedings of the Court, and the irreverent Usage of the King by his Subjects, insomuch that the Court was interrupted, and the Officers and Soldiers had much to do to quiet the Ladies and others. It was indeed a preposterous Business, which could not be seen without Indignation, *Bradshaw* perpetually commands the King to answer, the King perpetually refuses it. *Bradshaw* knew his Majesty would not and could not own the Authority of an unlawful Court, and the King knew it would signify nothing as to his Safety if he had own'd it. A. D. 164⅞.

The next Day, *January* 23. the *High Court of Justice* sate again, and Mr. *Cook* the Solicitor mov'd, " That whereas the Prisoner, instead of " giving Answer to the Charge against him, did " still dispute the Authority of the Court; That " according to Law, if a Prisoner shall stand as " contumacious in Contempt, and shall not give " an issuable Plea, Guilty or Not Guilty, where- " by he may come to a fair Trial, that as by " an implicit Confession it may be taken *pro* " *Confesso*, as it hath been done to those who " deserved more Favour than the Prisoner, and " that therefore speedy Judgment be pronounced " against him.

" *President*. " Sir, you have heard what is mo- " ved by the Council in Behalf of the Kingdom " against you. Sir, you may well remember; " and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, " what dilatory Dealing the Court hath found at " your Hands. You were to propound some " Questions; you had our Resolution upon " them. You were told over and over again, " that the Court did affirm their own Jurisdi- " ction; that it was not fit for you, nor for " any other Man, to dispute the Jurisdiction of " the supreme and highest Authority of *Eng- " land*, from which there is no Appeal, and " touching which there must be no Dispute; " yet you did persist in such Carriage as you gave " no manner of Obedience, nor did you acknow- " ledge any Authority in them, nor the high " Court that constituted this Court of Justice. " Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that " they are very sensible of these Delays of yours, " and that they ought not, being thus authoriz'd " by the supreme Court of *England*, to be thus " trifled withal; and that they might in Justice, " if they pleas'd, and according to the Rules of " Justice, take Advantage of these Delays, and " proceed to pronounce Judgment against you. " Yet nevertheless they are pleas'd to give Di- " rections, and on their Behalf I do require you, " that you make a positive Answer to this Charge " that is against you. Sir, in plain Terms, (for " Justice knows no Respect of Persons) you are " to give your positive and final Answer in plain " *English*, whether you are guilty or not " guilty of these Treasons laid to your " Charge.

" *King*. (*After a little Pause*) " When I was " here Yesterday, I desir'd to speak for the Li- " berties of the People of *England*; I was in- " terrupted: I desire to know yet whether I " may speak freely or not?

" *President*. " You have had the Resolution of " the Court upon the like Question the last Day, " and you were told, that having such a Charge " of so high a Nature against you, your Work " was, that you ought to acknowledge the Juris- " diction of the Court, and to answer your " Charge. Sir, if you answer to your Charge, " which the Court gives you leave now to do, " tho' they might have taken Advantage of your " Contempt, yet if you be able to answer your " Charge, when you have once answer'd, you " shall be heard at large, make the best Defence " you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from " the Court as their Command, that you are not " to be permitted to issue out into any other Dis- " courses till such Time as you have given a po- " sitive Answer concerning the Matter that is " charg'd upon you.

A. D. 1643.

King. " For the Charge, I value it not a " Ruſh: It is the Liberty of the People of *Eng-* " *land* that I ſtand for; for me to acknowledge " new Laws that I never heard of before. I that " am your King, that ſhould be an Example to " all the People of *England*, to uphold Juſtice, " to maintain the old Laws: Indeed I do not " know how to do it. You ſpoke very well the " firſt Day I came here on *Saturday*, of the Ob- " ligations that I had laid upon me by God to " the Maintenance of the Liberties of my Peo- " ple; the ſame Obligation you ſpoke of, I do " acknowledge to God that I owe to him and to " my People, to defend, as much as in me lies, " the ancient Laws. Therefore until that I may " know that this is not againſt the fundamental " Laws of the Kingdom, by your Favour, I can " put in no particular Anſwer. If you will give " me Time, I will ſhew you my Reaſons why I " cannot do it, and thus ———

Here being interrupted, he ſaid,

" By your Favour, you ought not to interrupt " me. How I came here I know not, there's no " Law for it, to make your King your Priſoner. " I was in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of " the Kingdom, that was the known ——— " Two Houſes of Parliament, that was the Re- " preſentative of the Kingdom; and when that " I had almoſt made an End of the Treaty, " then I was hurried away, and brought hither, " and therefore ———

Here the Preſident ſaid,

" Sir, you muſt know the Pleaſure of the " Court.

King. " By your Favour, Sir ———

Preſident. " Nay, Sir, by your Favour, you " muſt not be permitted to fall into theſe Diſ- " courſes, you appear as a Delinquent, you have " not acknowledg'd the Authority of the Court, " the Court craves it not of you; but once more " they command you to give your poſitive An- " ſwer. Clerk, do your Duty.

King. " Duty, Sir! ——

Then the Clerk read a Paper, requiring the King to give a poſitive and final Anſwer, by Way of Confeſſion or Denial of the Charge.

King. " Sir, I ſay again to you, ſo that I " might give Satisfaction to the People of *Eng-* " *land* of the Clearneſs of my Proceedings, not " by Way of Anſwer, nor in this Way, but to ſa- " tisfy them that I have done nothing againſt " that Truſt that hath been committed to me, I " would do it; but to acknowledge a new " Court againſt their Privileges, to alter the " fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you " muſt excuſe me.

Preſident. " This is the third Time that you " have publickly diſavow'd this Court, and put " an Affront upon it; but how far you have " preſerv'd the Liberties of the People, your " Actions have ſpoke it: But truly, Sir, Mens " Intentions ought to be known by their Acti- " ons, you have written your Meaning in bloody " Characters throughout the Kingdom. But, " Sir, you underſtand the Pleaſure of the Court. " Clerk, record the Default. And, Gentlemen, " you that took the Charge of the Priſoner, take " him back again.

King. " I will ſay this one Word more to you: " If it were my own Particular, I would not ſay " any more to interrupt you.

Preſident. " Sir, you have heard the Pleaſure " of the Court, and you are (notwithſtanding " you will not underſtand it) to find that you " are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guards, the People crying *Juſtice*, *Juſtice*, to Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, where he lay, and the Commiſſioners adjourn'd to the Painted Chamber, which was their uſual Place of Meeting.

A. D. 1643.

On the 24th of *January* the High Court of Juſtice meeting again in the Painted Chamber, ſent an Uſher to *Weſtminſter-Hall* to tell the People there aſſembled, that the Court was buſied in examining Witneſſes relating to the Charge againſt the King, and ſhould not ſit in *Weſtminſter-Hall* that Day, but that all Perſons appointed to be there were to appear on further Summons. *Echard* very merrily deſcribes the Witneſſes, *Wretched impertinent Fellows, of mean Condition and profligate Lives, ſcarce one of them a Gentleman.* As for Inſtance, after his own Liſt:

William Cuthbert of *Potrington* in *Holderneſs*, Gent. *William Brayne* of *Wixall* in the County of *Salop*, Gent. *Gyles Joyce* of *Wellington* in the County of *Salop*, Gent. *John Uniſon* of *Damorham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. *John Moore* of *Cork* in *Ireland*, Gent. *Thomas Rawlins* of *Hanſlope* in the County of *Bucks*, Gent. *Samuel Burden* of *Lineham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent. *Henry Gooche* of *Gray's-Inn*, Gent. *&c.*

But as the Facts to be prov'd were the King's being in Arms, does that wiſe Hiſtorian think the *High Court of Juſtice* could want Witneſſes of all Qualities to prove them, after ſo many Battles and Sieges, wherein above 200000 Men were at ſeveral Times engag'd with him. No doubt they took the firſt that offer'd, and it was not a Work that Men of the moſt Honour would be forward in.

On the 25th of *January* the Court met again in the *Painted Chamber*, and examin'd Witneſſes to prove the *Setting up of the* Standard *by the King at* Nottingham. The Witneſſes were *Robert Lacy* Painter, *Samuel Lawſon* Malſter, *Thomas Whittington* Cordwainer, all of the Town of *Nottingham*; and ſeveral others ſwore, *They ſaw the King in ſeveral Fights with his Sword drawn.* What *Echard* tells us of the Conſultation about the Manner of the King's Death, is both falſe and incredible: *Some were for hanging, drawing, and quartering; ſome for hanging him in his Crown and Robes.* I can't imagine where he pick'd up ſuch pitiful Materials for his *Hiſtoriography*. His Invention is too poor to furniſh it, as wretched as it is, and there is not a Word of it in all the Writers I have met with.

On the 26th of *January* the Council publiſh'd the Heads of the Charge againſt the King, to prepare People to receive the Sentence they had reſolv'd to pronounce the next Day. 'Twas expreſs'd thus:

" That *Charles Stuart* being admitted King " of *England*, and therein intruſted with a li- " mited Power to govern by and according to " the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe; " and by his Truſt being obliged, as alſo by his " Oath and Office, to uſe the Power committed " to him for the Good and Benefit of the Peo- " ple, and for the Preſervation of their Rights " and Privileges;

" Yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked Deſign to " erect and uphold himſelf in an unlimited ty- " rannical Power to rule according to his Will, " and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties " of the People, yea, to take away and make " void the Foundations thereof, and of all Re- " dreſs and Remedy of Miſgovernment, which

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" by the fundamental Conſtitution of this King-
" dom, were reſerved on the People's Behalf,
" in the Right and Powers of frequent and ſuc-
" ceſſive Parliaments as national Meetings in
" Council.

" He the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, for Accompliſh-
" ment of his Deſigns, and for the protecting
" of himſelf and his Adherents in his and their
" wicked Practices, to the ſame Ends hath trai-
" terouſly and maliciouſly levy'd War againſt the
" preſent Parliament, and the People therein
" repreſented; then they nam'd *Nottingham*,
" *Beverley*, and other Places where Fights were.

And then go on,

" That he hath cauſed and procured many
" Thouſands of the free People of the Nation to
" be ſlain, and by Diviſions, Parties and Inſur-
" rections within this Land, and by Invaſions
" from foreign Parts endeavour'd and procur'd
" by him, and by many other evil Ways and
" Means. His giving Commiſſions to his Son
" the Prince, and other REBELS and Re-
" volters both *Engliſh* and Foreigners, and to
" the Earl of *Ormond*, and to the *Iriſh* RE-
" BELS and Revolters aſſociated with him,
" from whence further Invaſions upon this Land
" are threaten'd, upon the Procurement, and on
" the Behalf of the ſaid *Charles Stuart*.

" All which wicked Deſigns, and evil Practi-
" ces of him the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, have been,
" and are carry'd on for the advancing and up-
" holding of the perſonal Intereſt of his Will and
" Power, and pretended Prerogative to himſelf
" and Family, againſt the publick Intereſt,
" common Right, Liberty, Juſtice and Peace,
" of the People of this Nation, by and for whom
" he was entruſted as aforeſaid; by all which it
" appeareth, that he the ſaid *Charles Stuart*
" hath been, and is the Occaſioner, Author and
" Contriver of the ſaid unnatural, cruel and
" bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the
" Treaſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils,
" Deſolations, Damages and Miſchief to this
" Nation, acted or committed in the ſaid Wars,
" or occaſioned thereby.

Upon this Charge, and the King's Default of Plea being recorded, Solicitor *Cook* demanded of the Court, that they would proceed to Judgment, accordingly the Matter came into Debate in the *Painted Chamber*, and after ſome Arguments pro and con, it was reſolved there, *That the King as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy, ſhould be condemned to Death, by ſevering his Head from his Body*; and this Sentence was order'd to be engroſs'd, that it might be read the next and laſt Day of the *Trial*.

King condemn'd.

On the 27th of *January* the High Court of Juſtice ſat in *Weſtminſter* Hall; the Preſident, for the greater State of the Buſineſs array'd in Scarlet. *Echard*, and the common Writers take the Robe to be put on as a Symbol of the bloody Sentence, as if *Bradſhaw* had been honeſt enough to have thought there was more Blood in it than in other Sentences of Death; the Commiſſioners were for the moſt part in their beſt Array, and after they were call'd over, about 68 then preſent, the King came in with his former Attendance, and in his wonted Poſture, with his Hat on. As he paſt by into the Hall a Cry was made, *Juſtice, Juſtice, Execution, Execution*, by ſome Soldiers and others of the Rabble. *His Majeſty deſir'd to be heard.* The Preſident anſwer'd, *that he muſt hear the Court*, and then declar'd their Intentions to proceed againſt the Priſoner, but offer'd that he might ſpeak ſo it were not Matter of Debate. The King ſaid, *A haſty Judgment was not ſoon recall'd.* The Preſident enumerated the Priſoner's ſeveral Contempts and Defaults. Yet notwithſtanding they did allow he ſhould be heard what he had to ſay in defence of himſelf, as to the Charge againſt him; his Majeſty reply'd, " If he had any Reſpect to his Life
" more than to the Peace of the Kingdom, and
" the Liberty of the Subject, he certainly
" ſhould have made a particular Defence, for by
" that at leaſt he might have delay'd an ugly Sen-
" tence which he believ'd would paſs upon him.
" But now having ſomething to ſay that concerns
" both, he deſir'd before Sentence to be heard
" in the *Painted Chamber* before the Lords and
" Commons: He inſiſted that this Delay could
" not be prejudicial to them. And if they re-
" fus'd this he proteſted, that thoſe fair Shews
" of Liberty and Peace were pure Shews, and
" that they would not hear their King. *Bradſhaw*
" told him, That this was declining the Juriſdicti-
" on of the Court which was ſupreme, and tend-
" ed to ſet up another, or a co-ordinate Juriſdi-
" ction, in Derogation of the Power whereby
" the Court ſat, and to the manifeſt Delay
" of their Juſtice." The King anſwer'd, That
" if he did not ſay any Thing before the Houſes,
" but what was for the Peace of the Kingdom,
" and Liberty of the Subject, then the Shame
" ſhould be his." The King's vehement urging of this Point, which *Ludlow* intimates, was with Deſign to reſign his Kingdom to his Son, had ſuch effect upon the Court, particularly Colonel *Downs*, Col. *Harvey*, Col. *Walton*, and Mr. *Cawley*, that they prevail'd with them to adjourn to the *Court of Wards*, and conſider his Majeſty's Propoſal. Col. *Downs* there objected againſt the Validity of the Witneſſes, according to *Echard*'s moſt authentick Memoirs, as if Witneſſes could poſſibly be wanting for Facts done in the Face of 20 or 30000 Men, but *Cromwel* brow-beats him, and threaten'd him with *favouring his old Maſter*. Several of the Commiſſioners preſs'd to ſatisfy the King's Deſire, and give him a Hearing in the *Painted Chamber*, but it was carry'd in the Negative by the major Vote; upon which Col. *Harvey*, Lord *Mounſon*, and others before-mentioned, went away in diſcontent, and never ſat with them afterwards. When the Commiſſioners return'd to the Court in *Weſtminſter* Hall, the King was told, that they could not agree to his Demand.
" That they were met there as a Court of Juſtice
" commiſſionated by the Parliament, of whoſe
" Authority they were fully ſatisfy'd, that by
" their Commiſſion they were not authoriſed to
" receive any Propoſals from him, but to proceed
" to the Trial of him. That in order thereto
" his Charge had been read to him, to which if
" he had pleaded, the Council for the Common-
" wealth were ready to prove it againſt him.
" That he had thrice demurr'd to the Juriſdi-
" ction of the Court, which Demurrer the Court
" had over-rul'd and regiſter'd, in order to pro-
" ceed againſt him as if he had confeſs'd the
" Charge, and that if he had any Propoſitions
" to make, it was proper for him to addreſs to
" the Parliament, and not to them." His Majeſty inſiſted on his former Deſire. " He con-
" feſs'd it was a Delay, but a Delay of very
" great Importance for the Peace of the King-
" dom, which he look'd upon as much as his
" own Perſon, therefore he requir'd them, as
" they would anſwer it at the dreadful Day of
" Judgment, that they would conſider it once
" again." *Bradſhaw* reply'd, " They had con-
" ſider'd it fully already, and were ready to pro-
" ceed to Sentence if he had nothing more to
" ſay."

A. D. 1643. " ſay." The King anſwer'd, *That he had nothing more to ſay, and deſir'd what he ſaid might be enter'd.* I have by me the Argument which *Cook* the Solicitor had prepar'd in caſe the King had pleaded; and though I know little of Law Matters, yet I can ſee plain enough there is as much Law Learning in it as the Subject would bear, and as much forcible Eloquence as in any of the Speeches in the *Hiſtory of the Grand Rebellion*, which was made by the Hiſtorian, who ſpeaks very contemptibly of *Cook* not only as he was the Parliament's Lawyer, but as he was a Lawyer. The Subject is indeed ſhocking and terrifying to the laſt Degree, but it will ſerve to ſhew how wicked Men may become, even in Judgment as well as Intereſt and Paſſion.

It begins thus,

Coke's *Anſwer to the King's Plea.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

MY Lord Preſident, and this High Court, erected for the moſt comprehenſive, impartial, and glorious Piece of Juſtice, that ever was acted and executed on the Theatre of England, *for the Trying and Judging of* Charles Stuart, *whom God in his Wrath gave to be a King to this Nation, and will, I truſt, in great Love, for his notorious Prevarications and Blood-guiltineſs, take him away from us.*

The horrid Impiety of it makes one tremble, and there is nothing can reconcile one to the hearing of it, but the reflecting that in a few Pages more we ſhall find the Man who ſpeaks it brought to Account himſelf for this Wickedneſs, and receiving his Reward.

As this muſt be far from a delightful Subject to moderate Perſons, ſo I ſhall inſert but little of it. He proceeds,

Before I ſpeak of the War it will be neceſſary for the Satisfaction of rational Men, to open and prove the King's wicked Deſign, wherewith he ſtands charged. Now that he had from the Beginning of his Reign ſuch a Deſign and Endeavour ſo to tear up the Foundations of Government, that Law ſhould be no Protection to any Man's Perſon or Eſtate will clearly appear by what follows.

By his not taking the Oath ſo fully as his Predeceſſors did, that ſo when the Parliament ſhould tender good Laws to him for the Royal Aſſent, he might readily anſwer, that he was not oblig'd by Oath to confirm, or corroborate the ſame.

By his diſhonourable and perfidious Dealing with his People at his Coronation, when he ſet forth a Proclamation, that in Regard of the Infection then ſpread through the Kingdom, he promis'd to diſpenſe with thoſe Knights that by an old Statute were to attend at the Coronation, who were thereby requir'd not to attend, but did notwithſtanding in a few Months after take the Advantage of their Abſence, and rais'd a vaſt Sum of Money out of their Eſtates at the Council Table, where they pleading the ſaid Proclamations for their Juſtification, they were anſwer'd, that the *Law* of the Land was above any *Proclamation, like that Tyrant*, who when he could not by Law execute a Virgin, commanded her to be deflower'd and then put to Death.

By his altering the Commiſſions and Patents to the Judges, who having heretofore had their Places granted to them ſo long as they ſhould well behave themſelves therein; he made them but during Pleaſure, that ſo if the Judges ſhould not declare the Law to be as he would have it, he might remove them, and put in ſuch as ſhould not only ſay but ſwear, if need were, that the Law was as the King would have it. A. D. 1643.

At the Cloſe he ſays,

Upon all which Premiſes, May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I do humbly demand and pray the Juſtice of the High Court; and yet not I, but the innocent Blood that hath been ſhed in the three Kingdoms demands Juſtice againſt him. The Blood is vocal, and cries aloud, &c.

For my ſelf, I bleſs God, I have not ſo much Fear as comes to the thouſandth Part of a Grain. It is for a Cain *to be afraid, that every Man that meets him will ſlay him. I am not much ſolicitous whether I die of a Conſumption or by the Hand of* Ravilliac's, *I leave that to my heavenly Father; If it be his Will that I ſhall fall by the Hands of Violence*, it is the Lord, let him do what he pleaſeth. *If my Indentures be given in before the Time of my Apprenticeſhip be expir'd, and I be at my Father's Houſe before it be Night, I am ſure there is no Hurt in all this. If I have but ſo much Time left, I ſhall pray my Father to forgive the Murderer; the Blood of Chriſt can waſh away Sins of the deepeſt Stain: But know this, ye that have contriv'd any deſperate Intentions againſt thoſe honourable Juſtices, who have made you Free-men, unleſs you will return to* Egypt; *if God in Wrath to you and Love to any of his People ſhould ſuffer you to imbrue your Hands in any of their innocent Blood, either you will repent or not; if you repent, it will coſt you ten Times more Anguiſh and Grief of Heart than the Pleaſure of the Sin can cauſe Delight; if you repent not, it had been better for you, you had never been born*, &c.

The Preſident as uſual made a Speech before paſſing Sentence, which *Echard*, ſo good a Judge of ſuch Things, ſays, *was long and inſolent, that he miſapply'd Law and Hiſtory, taking up and wreſting whatever he thought fit for his Purpoſe.* I do verily believe he has ſo done, but I do ſay the Archdeacon knows too little of Hiſtory or Law to be a proper Judge of it. *Ludlow*, who heard the Speech, writes thus of it.

Preſident Bradſhaw's Speech when he pronounc'd Sentence againſt the King.

" Then the Preſident enlarg'd upon the horrid
" Nature of thoſe Crimes of which he had been
" accus'd, and was now convicted, declaring
" that the only juſt Power of Kings was deriv'd
" from the Conſent of the People, that whereas
" the People had invited him to ſee their Laws
" put in Execution, he had endeavour'd through-
" out the whole Courſe of his Reign, to ſubvert
" thoſe good Laws, and to introduce an arbitra-
" ry, tyrannical Government in the Room of
" them; That to cut off all Hopes of Redreſs,
" he had attempted from the Beginning of his
" Reign, either wholly to deſtroy Parliaments,
" or to render them only ſubſervient to his own
" corrupt Deſigns; that though he had conſent-
" ed, the publick Neceſſities ſo requiring, that
" this Parliament ſhould not be diſſolv'd, but by
" an Act of themſelves, he had levied War againſt
" them, that he might not only diſſolve them,
" but by the Terror of his Power for ever diſ-
" courage ſuch Aſſemblies from doing their Du-
" ty. That in this War many Thouſands of the
" good People of *England* had loſt their Lives;
" that in Obedience to what God commanded,
" and the Nation expected, the Parliament had
" appointed this Court to make Inquiſition for
" this Blood, and to try him for the ſame: That

" this

A. D. 1647.

" his Charge had been read to him, and he re-
" quir'd to give an Anſwer to it, which he ha-
" ving thrice refus'd to do, he acquainted him
" that the Court would proceed to Sentence."
The Preſident ſaid further in his Speech, "That
" by Law Kings were accountable to their
" People, and to the Law, which was their Su-
" perior; and he inſtanc'd in ſeveral Kings who
" had been depos'd and impriſon'd by their
" Subjects, eſpecially in the King's native
" Country, where, of 109 Kings, moſt were de-
" pos'd, impriſon'd or proceeded againſt for
" Miſ-government; and his own Grandmother
" remov'd, and his Father, an Infant, Crown'd.
" He exhorted him to think ſeriouſly of the
" Crimes of which he had been guilty, and to
" purge himſelf of them by Repentance."
At the End of his Speech he commanded the Clerk, Mr. *Phelps*, to read the Sentence, which recited the Charge; *for all which Treaſons and Crimes, the Court does adjudge that he the ſaid* Charles Steuart, *as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, *and publick Enemy, ſhall be put to Death by ſevering of his Head from his Body. Echard* ſays, *While the Preſident was pronouncing this*, which by the way he did not pronounce, *the King was obſerv'd, with a ſort of Smile, to lift up his Eyes to Heaven, as appealing to the Divine Majeſty.* He deſir'd to be heard, but it would not be permitted, being after Sentence; and as he return'd through the Hall, there was another Cry, *Juſtice and Execution.* 'Tis very probable the Soldiers were ſet on by Lieutenant Colonel *Axtell*, and other fierce Officers to make this Clamour, and that a Rabble was plac'd there on purpoſe; for 'tis moſt certain that the Nation in general abhorr'd this Action and the Actors; and I cannot write of it without Tremour; but it always naturally leads me to the melancholy Reflection on thoſe proud avaritious Counſellors, who kept the King ſo many Days in conteſting the Point of Biſhops and Biſhopricks at the *Iſle of Wight*, as gave the Army Time to draw to a Rendezvous, and break off a Treaty, which if it had not been for that Conteſt, might have ended happily, long enough before *Cromwel* was at Leiſure to interpoſe in it, and King and Parliament having come to an Agreement, and the Army it ſelf being divided, the Soldiery muſt have comply'd with it. I deteſt this Injuſtice and Cruelty ſo much, that I can almoſt fall in with the Ribaldry and Rage of *Echard*, *Manly*, *Sanderſon*, and other ſuch Writers; and tho' they talk with equal Nonſenſe and Fury I can bear it at this Time, and throw aſide *Milton* againſt *Saumaiſe*, as hating to hear even a Pretence to Senſe and Reaſon upon a Subject which I think is not capable of it, a Way of judging which I will not obſerve in any other Caſe, and cannot indeed be allowable in any other. This is moſt true, that the moſt publick, earneſt and unfeign'd Endeavours were us'd by the *Presbyterians*, and eſpecially by their Miniſters, to prevent the King's Trial and Death; and as *Echard* had the following Hiſtory before him, in Dr. *Calamy*'s Abridgment of *Baxter*'s Life, he ſhew'd his very great Candor and Sincerity in ſinking of it, and is there in all Pagan Hiſtory a Parellel for the Baſeneſs, Ignorance and Ingratitude of thoſe of his Brethren, who on the Anniverſary for the King's Death, in Cathedrals and other Churches, charge the whole Body of the *Presbyterians* with the Guilt of it? Mr. *Calamy* and other Miniſters waited on the Lord *Fairfax*, and earneſtly ſollicited him to declare himſelf, and reſcue the King; but his Trouble had ſo diſcompos'd him that he could not be argu'd with; and the Army carrying every Thing before them; the Miniſters publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein they ſet forth,

The Presbyterians earneſtly endeavour to ſave the King.

A. D. 1647.

Their Miniſters Declaration againſt his Death.

" That they appear'd at firſt for the Parli-
" ament, on the Propoſitions and Orders of the
" Lords and Commons, *June* the 10th, 1642.
" for bringing in of Money and Plate, wherein
" they were aſſur'd it ſhould be no otherwiſe
" employ'd than to maintain the *Proteſtant*
" *Religion*, the *King's Authority*, his Perſon
" in his royal Dignity, the free Courſe of Ju-
" ſtice, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the
" Kingdom, and the Privileges of Parliament,
" againſt any Force which ſhould oppoſe them.
" That they were wholly unſatisfy'd with the
" Proceedings, ſince the Excluſion and Impri-
" ſonment of the Members of the Houſe of Com-
" mons, and held themſelves bound in Duty to
" God and Religion, the King, Parliament and
" Kingdom, to profeſs before God, Angels and
" Men, that they verily believ'd the taking a-
" way the Life of the King in the Way of Trial,
" then depending, was not only not agreeable
" to any Word of God, the Principles of the
" Proteſtant Religion (never yet ſtain'd with
" the leaſt Drop of the Blood of a King) or the
" fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom, but
" contrary to them; as alſo to the Oath of Allegi-
" ance, the Proteſtation of *May* 5, 1641. and the
" *ſolemn League and Covenant*; from all which
" or any of which Engagements, they knew not any
" Power on Earth able to abſolve them or o-
" thers. At laſt they warn'd and exhorted, in
" the Name of the great God, all that belong to
" their Charges and Miniſtry, to keep cloſe to
" the Ways of God, the Rules of Religion, the
" fundamental Conſtitution, and Government of
" the Kingdom, not ſuffering themſelves to be
" ſeduc'd from it, by being drawn to ſubſcribe
" the late Models or *Agreement of the People*,
" which directly tended to ſubvert the funda-
" mental Government, and to mourn bitterly
" for the Sins of all Degrees of Men, and beg
" of God that he would reſtrain the Violence of
" Men, that they might not dare to draw upon
" themſelves and the Kingdom the Blood of
" their Sovereign." This was ſubſcrib'd by, *Cornelius Burgeſs*, D. D. William Gouge, *D. D. Edmund Stanton*, D. D. Thomas Temple, *D. D.* George Walker, *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. Jeremy Whitaker, *Daniel Cawdrey*, *William Spurſtow*, D. D. *Lazarus Seaman*, D. D. *Simeon Aſh*, *Thomas Caſe*, Nicholas Proffet, Thomas Thorowgood, Edward Corbet, Henry Roborough, John Downham, *Arthur Jackſon*, *James Nalton*, *Thomas Cawton*, Charles Offspring, *Samuel Clark*, Joſeph Wall, Francis Roberts, *Matthew Haviland*, Samuel Bolton, *John Sheffield*, William Harriſon, *William Jenkyn*, John Viner, Elidad Blackwell, John Croſſe, *John Fuller*, *William Taylor*, Peter Witham, Francis Peck, Chriſtopher Love, John Wallis, *D. D. Thomas Watſon*, William Wickins, *Thomas Manton*, D. D. *Thomas Gouge*, *William Blackmore*, Robert Mercer, Ra. Robinſon, *John Wells*, Jacob Tice, Paul Ruſſel, John Glaſcock, *Benjamin Needler*, John Stileman, *Joſhua Kirby*, Thomas Whately, Nathaniel Staniforth, Joſias Bull, Arthur Barham, Jonathan Lloyd, *Steven Watkins*, John Devereux.

Of theſe all that are in *Italick* were turn'd out of their Livings as ſoon as this King's Son, *Charles* II. was reſtor'd, only for being *Presbyterians*, and moſt of the others were dead before it, or they had alſo met with the ſame Gratitude and Juſtice. One of them, Mr. *Chriſtopher Love*, ſuffer'd Death for endeavouring that King's

A. D. 164⅛. Reſtoration; and another of them, Mr. *William Jenkyns*, was condemn'd for the ſame Endeavours, but repriev'd to die in *Newgate* afterwards, only for being a *Presbyterian*. And let us make our ſolemn Appeal to Poſterity, what Sort of Mortals theſe muſt be, as to Senſe, Charity and Humanity; for as to Religion, they can apparently be of none, that have paſt Sentence of Damnation in their Sermons, on all theſe Miniſters and their Brethren, for killing this very King, whom with ſo much Boldneſs and Truth they labour'd to ſave: Here they publickly proteſted againſt the *King's Trial*, againſt the *Agreement of the People*, in Defiance of that victorious Army, who were Authors of both; and how they are thank'd for it we may hear every *Thirtieth* of *January*, not from Vicars and Curates only, in obſcure Villages, but from Doctors and Dignitaries, in Cities and Univerſities, whoſe Knowledge or whoſe Conſcience muſt be very extraordinary.

Whitlocke makes a judicious Reflection on the Behaviour of ſome Perſons towards the King after Sentence. "Here we may take Notice of the "abject Baſeneſs of ſome vulgar Spirits, who ſee-"ing their King in that Condition, endeavour'd in "their ſmall Capacity, further to promote his "Miſery, that they might a little curry Favour "with the preſent Powers:" Some of the very ſame Perſons were afterwards as clamorous for Juſtice againſt thoſe that were the King's Judges, as his Majeſty foretold they would be, when they cry'd *Juſtice* and *Execution*. The Judges of the High Court of Juſtice, who were preſent and ſtood up to ſhew their Aſſent, when Sentence paſt on the King, were:

Serjeant *Bradſhaw* Preſident, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; Sir *John Bowchier*, *William Say*, Eſq; *William Hevéningham*, Eſq; Alderman *Pennington*, *Henry Marten*, Eſq; Col. *Purefoy*, Col. *Barkſtead*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, *John Blakiſton*, Eſq; *Gilbert Millington*, Eſq; Sir *William Conſtable*, Col. *Ludlow*, Col. *Hutchinſon*, Sir *Michael Liveſey*, Col. *Titchburn*, Col. *Roe*, Col. *Scroop*, Col. *Dean*, Col. *Okey*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Goffe*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; Col. *Ingoldsby*, *John Carew*, Eſq; *John Jones*, Eſq; *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; *Francis Allen*, Eſq; *Peregrine Pelham*, Eſq; *Daniel Blagrave*, Eſq; Col. *Walton*, Col. *Harriſon*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Pride*, Col. *Ewers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Col. *More*, *John Alured*, Eſq; *Henry Smith*, Eſq; *Humphry Edwards*, Eſq; *Gregory Clement*, Eſq; *Thomas Wogan*, Eſq; Sir *Gregory Norton*, Col. *Ven*, Alderman *Scot*, Alderman *Andrews*, *William Cawley*, Eſq; Col. *Stapely*, Col. *Downs*, Col. *Horton*, Col. *Hammond*, *Nicholas Love*, Eſq; *Vincent Potter*, Eſq; *Auguſtus Garland*, Eſq; *John Dixwell*, Eſq; *Symon Mayne*, Eſq; Col. *Fleetwood*, Col. *J. Temple*, Col. *P. Temple*, Col. *Waytes*, Col. *Lilburn*, *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq;

Echard. The Author of the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, to make theſe poor Wretches poorer than they were, upbraids them with their Obſcurity, and ſays the King knew but two of all his Judges before the Troubles, Sir *John Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Mildmay*. He cannot help it, though the Speaking Truth here could not much mend the Matter. The Lord *Mounſon* and Mr. *Holland* were his Domeſtick Servants before the Troubles: And *Larry* tells us, that *Mounſon*, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, and *Danvers*, did not ſit the laſt Day of the Trial.

A. D. 164⅛. I have often wonder'd why it was that his Majeſty made Choice of Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, to aſſiſt him in his Devotions, when he was preparing for Death, having ſuch able Men as Dr. *Sanderſon* and Dr. *Hammond* among his Chaplains. Whatever Diſcourſes I have met with of Dr. *Juxon*'s, ſeem to me the moſt cold and lifeleſs; and in the laſt Hours there could not be too much Piety and Fervour. The Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* do not over abound in ſuch Sort of Senſibility, and therefore they ſpeak as well of this Biſhop's Devotion as of Biſhop *Uſher*'s, or Biſhop *Hall*'s. But many Years after I had made this Obſervation; the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Memoirs told us, Juxon *did the Duty of his Function with a dry Coldneſs, which could not raiſe the King's Thoughts*; and *Ludlow* relates it ſtill with more Contempt. *Adjutant General* Allen *was ſent to acquaint Dr.* Juxon *with the King's Condition, and Deſires that he might attend him. The Doctor being altogether unprepar'd for ſuch a Work, broke out into theſe Expreſſions*; God ſave us, What a Trick is this, that I ſhould have no more Warning, and I have nothing ready; *but recollecting himſelf a little, he put on his Scarfe and his other Furniture, and went with him to the King, where having read the Common Prayer, and one of his old Sermons, he adminiſter'd the Sacrament to him, not forgetting to uſe the Words of the Confeſſion ſet down in the Liturgy, inviting all thoſe that truly repent to make their Confeſſions before the Congregation, tho' there was none preſent but the King and himſelf.* If any Thing could give one Offence againſt the Uſe of that excellent Form, it would be this miſerable Inſtance; that a grave Doctor and Biſhop ſhould have Recourſe to the ordinary Form in the moſt extraordinary Caſe that ever happen'd in divine Worſhip, and when it was hardly poſſible for a thinking Man to conſider the Condition his Majeſty was in without pouring out his Soul to Almighty God in his Behalf. If General *Ludlow* tells us the Truth, this is the ſaddeſt Effect which the too common Uſe of a holy Thing ever produc'd.

Biſhop Juxon's Devotions with the King.

The *High Court of Juſtice* appointed a Committee, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Harriſon*, Col. *Dean*, and Col. *Okey*, to inſpect the Poſts about *Whitehall*, for a convenient Place for the Execution of the King, who having made their Report to them, it was agreed that a Scaffold ſhould be erected for that Purpoſe near the *Banquetting-Houſe*, and Orders given to cover it with Black. The ſame Day that Sentence paſt, Dr. *Juxon* preach'd the old Sermon *Ludlow* mentions, in the King's private Lodgings at *Whitehall*; and his Majeſty would not admit any one to his Preſence, except his Children, that he might not be diſturb'd in his Contemplations. His Electoral Highneſs, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, and Earl of *Southampton*, having got Leave, deſir'd to ſee him, and came to his Bed-chamber Door, but was told by Mr. *Herbert*, his Groom, that his Majeſty deſir'd them not to take it ill, but he could not then ſee them. Two or three Hiſtoriographers inform us, that theſe noble Lords offer'd to lay down their Lives to ſave the King's; and I do verily believe theſe Lords would chearfully have done it; though I cannot believe they ever offer'd it, as being too abſurd for ſuch Noblemen to offer what could not be accepted according to the Senſe of the Men in Power; for the Death of an innocent cannot ſatisfy for the Crimes of a guilty Perſon, as they impudently and injuriouſly ſtil'd his Majeſty.

A. D. 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

The Barbarity of the Treatment his Majesty met with is a Scandal to Christianity, and one would think 'twas impossible to make it worse than it was; yet the Writers on the same Side with *Echard* have so done, at the Expence of Truth and Credibility. *For some Nights*, says one of 'em, *a Guard of Soldiers was kept within his Chamber, who with talking, clinking of Pots, opening and shutting of the Door, and taking Tobacco there, (a Thing very offensive to the King's Nature) should keep him watching, that so by distempering and amazing him with want of Sleep, they might the easier bring him to their Terms.* From this worthy Author *Echard* borrows the pretended Proposal of the *Grandees of the Army*, who are feign'd to tender to the King a Paper Book on the 28th of *January*, with Promise of Life, and some Shadow of Regality, if he would subscribe it, and agree to *Pass an Act of Parliament for keeping on foot this Army, with Power to recruit and increase it to* 40000 *Horse and Foot*, &c. which being really never propos'd to him, there is no Need of repeating his Majesty's Answer. This faithful Historian says, *The King lay at* Whitehall *the Day on which Sentence pass'd, and* Sunday *Night so near the Place appointed for the Separation of his Soul and Body, that he might hear every Stroke the Workmen gave on the Scaffold, where they wrought all Night. This was a new Device to mortify him*; and this is the honest Way of Writing in the *History of the Rebellion*, *Manley*, &c. Whereas, in Truth, the King, as *Echard* tells us, was remov'd to St. *James*'s two or three Hours after Sentence; and *Ludlow* assures us, that the *Banquetting House* was not appointed for the Place where the Scaffold should be erected till the next Day, *Monday* the 29th of *January*. These Historiographers matter not either Probability nor Credibility, and the Archdeacon is Master of their Manner. Himself owns that the King and the Bishop of *London* were left by themselves in Acts of Devotion; but the Historian he copies from tells us, *The Parliament appointed* John Goodwin *of* Coleman-street, *the* Balaam *of the Army, that curseth and blesseth for Hire, to be Superintendent both over King and Bishop, so that they could hardly speak a Word together without being overheard by the long schismatical Ears of black-mouth'd* John. Tho' every Word of this too is false, yet the Politeness and Eloquence carries it off, and there being such a History written by so exact, so fine, and so orthodox an Author, there was no need of the *History of the Rebellion*, and but little of the Archdeacon's, whose Story about Col. *John Cromwel*'s bringing another Paper-Book to Lieutenant General *Oliver Cromwel* from the States of *Holland*, to write what he would in it, to be confirm'd by King and Prince, if he would save his Majesty's Life, having no better Authority than the other Paper Book to the King, and being not within the Bounds of the *Probable* and *Credible*, shall be left where it is. The King's refusing the Prayers of Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Dell*, and Mr. *Goodwin*, all whom he dismiss'd according to *Echard*, is very grateful to him; and the laying the Burthen of his Conscience on Bishop *Juxon* only, is recommended as a Piece of Christian Heroism. However, those Ministers, and all the *Presbyterian* Ministers, did pray for him, as they were in Duty bound, and particularly one Mr. *Cawton*, a *Presbyterian* Minister, pray'd for him so heartily, that the *Grandees* threw him into Prison, and he has no Thanks for it from the Archdeacon.

Hist. Indep. *p.* 109.

p. ib.

The Interview between the King and his Children the Day before Execution is so moving, that there is not a tragick Scene in any Drama which can affect one like it. The Tenderness of it is exquisite, and much easier to be conceiv'd, or to be felt, than to be express'd. They were not long together, but long enough to be near Dissolution in Grief and Tears. His Majesty kiss'd the Princess *Elizabeth*, and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, whenever she saw him, 'twas his Father's last Command, *That he should no more look upon* Charles *as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Sovereign; That they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies.* The King added, *Sweetheart, you'll forget this.* She reply'd, *No never while I live shall I forget it*; and pouring forth a Deluge of Tears, promis'd to write down the Particulars. The King took the Duke of *Glouceſter*, then in the ninth Year of his Age, upon his Knee, saying, *Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head.* Upon which Words the young Prince look'd very stedfastly on him: *Mark, Child, what I say, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps make Thee King; but, mark what I say! you must not be a King so long as your Brothers* Charles *and* James *do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy Head too at last; and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them.* The young Prince with a Sigh said, *I will be torn to Pieces first.* Which falling so unexpectedly from a Lad, made his Majesty rejoice exceedingly. The following Relation is what the Princess *Elizabeth*, then in the 14th Year of her Age, wrote down as she promis'd.

A. D. 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

King's Discourse with his Children.

" What the King said to me the 29th of *January*, 1648. being the last Time I had the " Happiness to see him. He was glad I was " come, and altho' he had not Time to say much, " yet somewhat he had to say to me which he " had not to another, nor did he leave in Writing, because he fear'd their Cruelty was such, " as that they would not have permitted him to " write to me. He wish'd me not to grieve and " torment my self for him, for that would be a " glorious Death that he should die, it being " for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and " for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. " He bid me read Bishop *Andrews*'s Sermons, " *Hooker*'s Ecclesiastical Polity, Bishop *Laud*'s " Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me " against Popery. He told me he had forgiven " all his Enemies, and hop'd God would for- " give them also, and commanded me and all " the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive " them. He bid me tell my Mother that his " Thoughts had never stray'd from her, and that " his Love should be the same to the last. " Withal, he commanded me and my Brothers " to be obedient to her, and bid me send his " Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Si- " sters, with Commendations to all his Friends. " So after he had given me his Blessing, I took " my Leave. Further, he commanded us all " to forgive those People, but never to trust " them, for they had been most false to him, " and to those that gave them Power, and fear'd " also to their own Souls, and desir'd me not to " grieve for him, for he should die a Martyr, " and that he doubted not but the Lord would " settle his Throne upon his Son, and that we " should be all happier than we could have ex- " pected to have been if he had liv'd; with " many other Things which at present I cannot " remember.

ELIZABETH.

His

A. D. 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

His Majeſty ſaid to the Duke of *Glouceſter* as before, and commanded him *to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.* He then gave them all his Jewels except the *George* he wore, kiſs'd them, embrac'd them, and parted from them in an Emotion, which muſt affect every one with Sorrow ſomething like it.

Fifty-nine or ſixty of the Judges ſign'd the Warrant for the King's Execution. They are the ſame who ſate when Sentence paſs'd, excepting *William Heveningham*, Eſq; Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *Francis Allen*, Eſq; Alderman *Andrews*, Col. *Hammond*, *Nicholas Love*, Eſq; who were either abſent, or refus'd to ſign it. The Warrant was directed to Col. *Francis Hacker*, Col. *Huncks*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Phayer*, and to every of them. This Tragedy is interrupted in *Echard* with an idle Story told to him by a *Yorkſhire* Woman, the Forgery of which is naked and undiſguis'd. There was a Cabal of *Papiſts* and *Anabaptiſts* who met at one *Wandesford*'s Houſe in the City of *London*, to conſult about the King's Execution. *Ruſhworth* the Hiſtorian and *Lilly* the Almanack-maker are the Heads of this Cabal, and they alſo ſent a Paper Book to the King for him to ſubſcribe, taking upon himſelf the *Guilt of all the Bloodſhed in the War*; in which Caſe they, *Lilly* the Almanack-maker, *Ruſhworth* the Hiſtorian, and the Lord *Baltimore* a Papiſt, *would ſet him upon his Throne again*. Tho' this Story is ſo very fooliſh, yet it is related by him with as much Gravity as if it was true. Is it not very likely that *Lilly* the Conjurer ſhould be ſo weak as to pick out *Wandeſford*'s Houſe, who was a Cavalier, to carry on ſuch a *Cabal* in? And had not *Ruſhworth* 100 Friends in the City in whom they could confide, and in whoſe Houſes they might have met? The Gentlewoman from whom he had this lamentable Tale dy'd in the Year 1705. and his Chronology is to confirm it.

Warrant for Execution.

Lilly the Almanack-maker cabals for the King.

The Execution of the King.

On the Morning of the dreadful Day, *January* the 30th, the King roſe very early, and call'd up Mr. *Herbert*, who lay by his Bed-ſide on a Pallat. Biſhop *Juxon* came to him ſome Time after, and perform'd Divine Service, reading the 27th of St. *Matthew*, the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Paſſion. The King ſuppoſing it had been ſelected on Purpoſe, as his Majeſty might well think, and not that the Biſhop would take the Run of the Day on ſo extraordinary an Occaſion, thank'd the Biſhop for his ſeaſonable Choice, but that Prelate undeceiv'd him; *It was the Leſſon appointed by the Calendar for the 30th of* January. Having taken the bleſſed Sacrament, and had Notice by Col. *Hacker*, *That it was Time to go to* Whitehall, *where his Majeſty might have ſome further Time to reſt*, the King came out with the Biſhop and Mr. *Herbert* about Ten a Clock. He walk'd thro' the Gardens into the Park, guarded with a Regiment of Foot and Partizans to *Whitehall*, ſeveral Gentlemen walking bare before him; Dr. *Juxon* follow'd next to him, and Col. *Thomlinſon* had the Charge of him. They brought him to the Cabinet Chamber at *Whitehall*, where he remain'd ſome Time at his Devotion. There were two or three Diſhes of Meat provided, if he had thought fit to have din'd, but he refus'd, having communicated juſt before, and about Twelve a Clock eat half a Manchet and drank a Glaſs of Claret. From thence he went with Dr. *Juxon*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, Col. *Hacker*, and the Guards, through the *Banqueting Houſe*, adjoining to which the Scaffold was erected. It was hung round with Black, the Floor cover'd with Black, and the Ax and Block laid in the Middle of it. Several Troops of Horſe and Companies of Foot were poſted on each Side of the Scaffold, and great Multitudes of People came to be Spectators. His Majeſty look'd earneſtly on the Block, and ask'd, *If there was no Place higher*, and, directing his Speech to Col. *Thomlinſon*, and the Gentlemen on the Scaffold, ſpoke to this Effect: *I ſhall be very little heard of any Body here, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a Word or two to you here. Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make ſome Men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſhment; but I think it is my Duty to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear my ſelf, both as an honeſt Man, and a good King, and a good Chriſtian.*

A. D. 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocency: In Troth, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the Two Houſes of Parliament; and I call God to Witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an Account, that I did never intend for to incroach upon their Privileges.

They began upon me: It is the Militia *they began upon. They confeſs'd that the* Militia *was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me; and to be ſhort, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, theirs and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, they will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I.*

So that as to the Guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it; I will not, I am in Charity, God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the Two Houſes of Parliament. There is no Neceſſity of either.

I hope they are free of this Guilt, for I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me have been the chief Cauſe of this Bloodſhed; ſo that by Way of Speaking, as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too.

Yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon me. Many Times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary. I only ſay this, that one unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffer'd for to take Effect, is now puniſhed by an unjuſt Sentence upon me; that is, ſo far I have ſaid to ſhew you that I am an innocent Man.

Now, for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian, I hope there is a good Man [Pointing to Dr. *Juxon*] *that will bear me Witneſs that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe too in particular that have been the chief Cauſers of my Death. Who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know. I pray God forgive them.*

But this is not all, my Charity muſt go farther; I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God with St. Stephen, *that this be not laid to their Charge; nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but to endeavour to the laſt Gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul; and I do hope there is ſome here that will carry it further, that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you how you are out of the Way, and will put you in a Way. Firſt, you are out of the Way, for certainly all the Way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the Way of Conqueſt.

Certainly

A. D. 164⅝.

Certainly this is an ill Way, for Conqueſt, Sirs, in my Opinion, is ever juſt, either for Matter of Wrong, or juſt Title, and then if you go beyond it, the firſt Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjuſt at the End that was juſt at firſt.

But if it be only Matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate ſaid to Alexander, *That he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber; and ſo, Sirs, do, I think, the Way that you are in is much out of the Way.*

Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give Him his Due, the King his Due (that is my Succeſſors) and the People their Due. I am as much for them as any of you can be. You muſt give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church according to his Scripture, which is now out of Order. For to ſet you in a Way particularly now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not.

Then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax, he ſaid, Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me.

For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you, for that therefore becauſe it concerns my own particular I only give you a Touch of it.

For the People, and truly I deſire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whomſoever, but I muſt tell you, that their Liberty and their Freedom conſiſts in having of Government, thoſe Laws by which their Life and their Goods may be moſt their own.

It is not for having Share in Government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them, a Subject and a Sovereign are clean different Things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty, as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves.

Sirs, It was for this that now I come here, if I would have given way to an arbitrary Way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you, and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge, that I am the Martyr *of the People.*

In truth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer, for I will only ſay this to you, that in troth I could have deſir'd ſome little longer Time, becauſe that I would have put this that I have ſaid in a little more Order, and a little better digeſted it than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuſe me. I have delivered my Conſcience. I pray God that you do take thoſe Courſes that are beſt, for the good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

Then Dr. *Juxon* ſpoke, *Though it be very well known what your Majeſty's Affections are to Religion, yet it may be expected that you ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the World's Satisfaction in that Particular.*

King. *I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to the World, and therefore before you all I declare, That I die a Chriſtian according to the Profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Fathers, and this honeſt Man I think will witneſs it.*

Then turning to the Officers he ſaid,

Sirs, excuſe me for this Time, I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God. I will ſay no more.

A. D. 164⅝.

Then turning to Col. *Hacker*, he ſaid, *Take Care that they do not put me to pain, and, Sir thus, and it pleaſe you.*

Then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid, *Take heed of the Ax. Pray take heed of the Ax.*

He then ſaid to the Executioner. *I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and then thruſt out my Hand.*

Two Men in Diſguiſes and Vizors ſtood upon the Scaffold for Executioners, then the King call'd to Dr. *Juxon for his Night Cap*, and having put it on he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* He deſir'd it might all be put under the Cap, which the King did accordingly, with the Help of the Executioner and the Biſhop.

Then the King turning to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe and a gracious God on my Side.*

Dr. Juxon. *There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one, but you may conſider it will ſoon carry you a very great Way, from Earth to Heaven, and there you will find a deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.*

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Diſturbance can be.*

Dr. Juxon. *You are exchang'd from a temporal to an eternal Crown. A good Exchange.*

Then the King took off his Cloak and his *George*, which he gave to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaying, *Remember*. Being undreſs'd to his *ſky* Colour Satten Waſte-Coat, he bad the Executioner faſten *the Block*, and after a few Words of Ejaculation he laid his Neck down upon it, bidding him ſtay for the Sign, which was the *ſtretching out his Hand*, and that being given, his Head was at one Blow ſever'd from his Body, the Executioner holding it up, the Soldiers and Rabble gave a great Shout, but all ſober People that ſaw it wept bitterly, and the Lamentation over the whole Kingdom was deep and univerſal, excepting the Actors in this Tragedy, and their Adherents. Some Remarks might be made on his Majeſty's inſiſting ſo much upon his dying a *Martyr for the Laws*, which no King of *England* had ever broken more than he had done; a *Martyr* for the People, who had labour'd under a heavier and longer Oppreſſion in the firſt fifteen Years of his Reign than they had ſuffer'd in 150 Years before. But I am too much mov'd with writing this tragical Scene to have any ſuch ungenerous Sentiments towards a ſuffering Prince, and ſhall leave the laſt Speech as it is left in *Whitlocke* to the Reader's own candid Reflections.

The Council of State after the King was beheaded, was willing to know the Meaning of his laſt Expreſſion, *Remember*, and call'd Dr. *Juxon* before them, to give an Account of it, who told them, *That the King immediately before his coming out to the Place of Execution, had charg'd him to carry to the Prince his* George, *with theſe his two laſt Commands, That he ſhould forgive his* Murtherers; *and that if ever he came to the Crown he ſhould ſo govern his Subjects, as not to force them upon Extremities.*

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A. D. 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

His Majeſty ſaid to the Duke of *Glouceſter* as before, and commanded him *to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.* He then gave them all his Jewels except the *George* he wore, kiſs'd them, embrac'd them, and parted from them in an Emotion, which muſt affect every one with Sorrow ſomething like it.

Fifty-nine or ſixty of the Judges ſign'd the Warrant for the King's Execution. They are the ſame who ſate when Sentence paſs'd, excepting *William Heveningham*, Eſq; Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *Francis Allen*, Eſq; Alderman *Andrews*, Col. *Hammond*, *Nicholas Love*, Eſq; who were either abſent, or refus'd to ſign it. The Warrant was directed to Col. *Francis Hacker*, Col. *Huncks*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Phayer*, and to every of them. This Tragedy is interrupted in *Echard* with an idle Story told to him by a *Yorkſhire* Woman, the Forgery of which is naked and undiſguis'd. There was a Cabal of *Papiſts* and *Anabaptiſts* who met at one *Wandesford*'s Houſe in the City of *London*, to conſult about the King's Execution. *Ruſhworth* the Hiſtorian and *Lilly* the Almanack-maker are the Heads of this Cabal, and they alſo ſent a Paper Book to the King for him to ſubſcribe, taking upon himſelf the *Guilt of all the Bloodſhed in the War*; in which Caſe they, *Lilly* the Almanack-maker, *Ruſhworth* the Hiſtorian, and the Lord *Baltimore* a Papiſt, *would ſet him upon his Throne again.* Tho' this Story is ſo very fooliſh, yet it is related by him with as much Gravity as if it was true. Is it not very likely that *Lilly* the Conjurer ſhould be ſo weak as to pick out *Wandesford*'s Houſe, who was a Cavalier, to carry on ſuch a *Cabal* in? And had not *Ruſhworth* 100 Friends in the City in whom they could confide, and in whoſe Houſes they might have met? The Gentlewoman from whom he had this lamentable Tale dy'd in the Year 1705. and his Chronology is to confirm it.

Warrant for Execution.

Lilly the Almanack-maker cabals for the King.

The Execution of the King.

On the Morning of the dreadful Day, *January* the 30th, the King roſe very early, and call'd up Mr. *Herbert*, who lay by his Bed-ſide on a Pallat. Biſhop *Juxon* came to him ſome Time after, and perform'd Divine Service, reading the 27th of St. *Matthew*, the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Paſſion. The King ſuppoſing it had been ſelected on Purpoſe, as his Majeſty might well think, and not that the Biſhop would take the Run of the Day on ſo extraordinary an Occaſion, thank'd the Biſhop for his ſeaſonable Choice, but that Prelate undeceiv'd him; *It was the Leſſon appointed by the Calendar for the 30th of* January. Having taken the bleſſed Sacrament, and had Notice by Col. *Hacker*, *That it was Time to go to* Whitehall, *where his Majeſty might have ſome further Time to reſt*, the King came out with the Biſhop and Mr. *Herbert* about Ten a Clock. He walk'd thro' the Gardens into the Park, guarded with a Regiment of Foot and Partizans to *Whitehall*, ſeveral Gentlemen walking bare before him; Dr. *Juxon* follow'd next to him, and Col. *Thomlinſon* had the Charge of him. They brought him to the Cabinet Chamber at *Whitehall*, where he remain'd ſome Time at his Devotion. There were two or three Diſhes of Meat provided, if he had thought fit to have din'd, but he refus'd, having communicated juſt before, and about Twelve a Clock eat half a Manchet and drank a Glaſs of Claret. From thence he went with Dr. *Juxon*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, Col. *Hacker*, and the Guards, through the *Banqueting Houſe*, adjoining to which the Scaffold was erected. It was hung round with Black, the Floor cover'd with Black, and the Ax and Block laid in the Middle of it. Several Troops of Horſe and Companies of Foot were poſted on each Side of the Scaffold, and great Multitudes of People came to be Spectators. His Majeſty look'd earneſtly on the Block, and ask'd, *If there was no Place higher*, and, directing his Speech to Col. *Thomlinſon*, and the Gentlemen on the Scaffold, ſpoke to this Effect: *I ſhall be very little heard of any Body here, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a Word or two to you here. Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make ſome Men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſhment; but I think it is my Duty to God firſt, and to my Country, for to clear my ſelf, both as an honeſt Man, and a good King, and a good Chriſtian.*

A. D. 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocency: In Troth, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the Two Houſes of Parliament; and I call God to Witneſs, to whom I muſt ſhortly make an Account, that I did never intend for to incroach upon their Privileges.

They began upon me: It is the Militia *they began upon. They confeſs'd that the* Militia *was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me; and to be ſhort, if any Body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, theirs and mine, and likewiſe to the Declarations, they will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I.*

So that as to the Guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it; I will not, I am in Charity, God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the Two Houſes of Parliament. There is no Neceſſity of either.

I hope they are free of this Guilt, for I do believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me have been the chief Cauſe of this Bloodſhed; ſo that by Way of Speaking, as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too.

Yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay that God's Judgments are juſt upon me. Many Times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary. I only ſay this, that one unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffer'd for to take Effect, is now puniſhed by an unjuſt Sentence upon me; that is, ſo far I have ſaid to ſhew you that I am an innocent Man.

Now, for to ſhew you that I am a good Chriſtian, I hope there is a good Man [Pointing to Dr. *Juxon*] *that will bear me Witneſs that I have forgiven all the World, and even thoſe too in particular that have been the chief Cauſers of my Death. Who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know. I pray God forgive them.*

But this is not all, my Charity muſt go farther; I wiſh that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular. I pray God with St. Stephen, *that this be not laid to their Charge; nay, not only ſo, but that they may take the right Way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but to endeavour to the laſt Gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wiſh with all my Soul; and I do hope there is ſome here that will carry it further, that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Now, Sirs, I muſt ſhew you how you are out of the Way, and will put you in a Way. Firſt, you are out of the Way, for certainly all the Way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the Way of Conqueſt.

Certainly

A. D. 164⅛.

Certainly this is an ill Way, for Conqueſt, Sirs, in my Opinion, is ever juſt, either for Matter of Wrong, or juſt Title, and then if you go beyond it, the firſt Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjuſt at the End that was juſt at firſt.

But if it be only Matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate ſaid to Alexander, *That he was the great Robber, he was but a petty Robber; and ſo, Sirs, do, I think, the Way that you are in is much out of the Way.*

Now, Sirs, to put you in the Way, believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give Him his Due, the King his Due (that is my Succeſſors) and the People their Due. I am as much for them as any of you can be. You muſt give God his Due, by regulating rightly his Church according to his Scripture, which is now out of Order. For to ſet you in a Way particularly now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not.

Then turning to a Gentleman that touch'd the Ax, he ſaid, Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me.

For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you, for that therefore becauſe it concerns my own particular I only give you a Touch of it.

For the People, and truly I deſire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body whomſoever, but I muſt tell you, that their Liberty and their Freedom conſiſts in having of Government, thoſe Laws by which their Life and their Goods may be moſt their own.

It is not for having Share in Government, Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them, a Subject and a Sovereign are clean different Things, and therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty, as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves.

Sirs, It was for this that now I come here, if I would have given way to an arbitrary Way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you, and I pray God it be not laid to your Charge, that I am the Martyr *of the People.*

In truth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer, for I will only ſay this to you, that in troth I could have deſir'd ſome little longer Time, becauſe that I would have put this that I have ſaid in a little more Order, and a little better digeſted it than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuſe me. I have delivered my Conſcience. I pray God that you do take thoſe Courſes that are beſt, for the good of the Kingdom and your own Salvation.

Then Dr. *Juxon* ſpoke, *Though it be very well known what your Majeſty's Affections are to Religion, yet it may be expected that you ſhould ſay ſomewhat for the World's Satisfaction in that Particular.*

King. *I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to the World, and therefore before you all I declare, That I die a Chriſtian according to the Profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Fathers, and this honeſt Man I think will witneſs it.*

Then turning to the Officers he ſaid,

Sirs, excuſe me for this Time, I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God. I will ſay no more. A. D. 164⅛.

Then turning to Col. *Hacker*, he ſaid, *Take Care that they do not put me to pain, and, Sir thus, and it pleaſe you.*

Then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid, *Take heed of the Ax. Pray take heed of the Ax.*

He then ſaid to the Executioner. *I ſhall ſay but very ſhort Prayers, and then thruſt out my Hand.*

Two Men in Diſguiſes and Vizors ſtood upon the Scaffold for Executioners, then the King call'd to Dr. *Juxon for his Night Cap*, and having put it on he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* He deſir'd it might all be put under the Cap, which the King did accordingly, with the Help of the Executioner and the Biſhop.

Then the King turning to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaid, *I have a good Cauſe and a gracious God on my Side.*

Dr. Juxon. *There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one, but you may conſider it will ſoon carry you a very great Way, from Earth to Heaven, and there you will find a deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.*

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Diſturbance can be.*

Dr. Juxon. *You are exchang'd from a temporal to an eternal Crown. A good Exchange.*

Then the King took off his Cloak and his *George*, which he gave to Dr. *Juxon*, ſaying, *Remember*. Being undreſs'd to his *ſky* Colour Satten Waſte-Coat, he bad the Executioner faſten *the Block*, and after a few Words of Ejaculation he laid his Neck down upon it, bidding him ſtay for the Sign, which was the *ſtretching out his Hand*, and that being given, his Head was at one Blow ſever'd from his Body, the Executioner holding it up, the Soldiers and Rabble gave a great Shout, but all ſober People that ſaw it wept bitterly, and the Lamentation over the whole Kingdom was deep and univerſal, excepting the Actors in this Tragedy, and their Adherents. Some Remarks might be made on his Majeſty's inſiſting ſo much upon his dying a *Martyr for the Laws*, which no King of *England* had ever broken more than he had done; a *Martyr* for the People, who had labour'd under a heavier and longer Oppreſſion in the firſt fifteen Years of his Reign than they had ſuffer'd in 150 Years before. But I am too much mov'd with writing this tragical Scene to have any ſuch ungenerous Sentiments towards a ſuffering Prince, and ſhall leave the laſt Speech as it is left in *Whitlocke* to the Reader's own candid Reflections.

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A. D. 164⅛. *Sanderſon*, another ſuch Hiſtorian ſays of it, that a Relique of the Block or Sand being apply'd to a blind Woman's Eyes at *Deptford* ſhe was immediately reſtor'd to ſight.

As to this King's Character, 'tis ſeen beſt in his Hiſtory; for what the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard* after him, ſay of it, is no more his Picture than it is their own. If Biſhop *Burnet* has any Likeneſs, he died greater than he liv'd, and ſhew'd, that which has been ſaid of the whole Race of the *Stuarts*, that they bear Misfortune better than Proſperity. "His Reign, both in "Peace and War, was a continual Series of Er- "rors, ſo that it does not appear that he had a "true Judgment of Things: He was out of "meaſure ſet on following his Humour, but un- "reaſonably complying to thoſe whom he truſt- "ed, chiefly the Queen. He had too high a "Notion of the Regal Power, and thought that "every Oppoſition to it was *Rebellion*. He "minded little Things too much, and was "more concern'd in the Drawing of a Paper, "than in fighting of a Battle. He was too much "inclin'd to the middle Way between a Pro- "teſtant and Papiſt. He engag'd the Duke of "*Rohan* in the War of *Rochelle*, and then "forſook him. He was the Occaſion of the Loſs "of the Liberty of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, "&c." For there is too much of it to be taken entire, and every Word diametrically oppoſite to the Earl of *Clarendon* and Archdeacon *Echard*'s Harangues. I take no Notice of what the latter tells us, of the Papiſts being concern'd in the King's Death, though I read it in a more faithful Hiſtory, *Calamy*'s Life of *Baxter*, for there is not the leaſt likelihood that the *Romaniſts*, who had been ſo highly favour'd, and had fought and ſuffer'd ſo much for him, ſhould be ſo ſolicitous to have his Head off, to make room for a Puritan Republick, who they might be ſure would not fail to ſuppreſs, if not to extirpate them. All his Authorities have no Weight in the Scale againſt this ſimple and plain Argument. The Archdeacon, that he might go beyond all Hiſtorians in the Perfection of this King's Character, aſſures us there was nothing wanting towards it, but that he ſhould have been *more reſolute and more imperious*. Two Qualities which all the World agree to be his chief Characteriſticks. I do not mention the pious Endeavours of the Queen, the Prince, and the States of *Holland*, to ſave the King's Life, they all having been unſucceſsful, as they had never any likelihood of Succeſs, for after the Parliament had paſs'd an Act for the Trial of the King, and he had been try'd and condemn'd, the Iſſue could not be other than it was with any manner of Safety to all that were concern'd in it. The Head and Trunk were put into a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet, and convey'd into the Lodgings at *Whitehall*, where the Body was embowell'd by the Army's Surgeon, and thence carry'd to St. *James*'s, and put into a Lead Coffin, with this plain Epitaph, KING *CHARLES*, 1648. About a Fortnight after ſome of the King's Friends, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *London*, obtain'd leave to bury it; accordingly they remov'd it to *Windſor Chapel*, and bury'd it in the Vault of King *Henry* VIII. without the Form in the *Common Prayer Book*, the Governor, Col. *Whichcot*, not permitting it, *it being put down, and therefore ſhould not be us'd in that Garriſon where he commanded*; for which the Colonel ſhew'd no better Judgment than the Archdeacon does in making ſo much ado about it.

Papiſts not concern'd in his Death.

He is buried.

The High Court of Juſtice having reported their Proceedings to the Parliament, the latter declar'd, *That the Perſons employ'd in that important Service had diſcharg'd their Truſt with Courage and Fidelity. That the Parliament was well ſatisfy'd with the Account of their Proceedings, ordering it to be engroſs'd and recorded among the Parliament Rolls, in order to tranſmit the Memory thereof to Poſterity. And* reſolv'd, *That the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal ſhould iſſue a* Certiorari *to their Clerks, to record thoſe Proceedings in the* Chancery, *and that the ſame ſhould be ſent to the other Courts in* Weſtminſter *Hall, and to the* Cuſtos Rotulorum *in each County*. So very deſirous were both the Parliament and the High Court of Juſtice to have this Matter remember'd, yet *Echard* thinks he has taken ſufficient Revenge of them, by printing their Names in his noble Hiſtory with his Mark of Infamy, though it is moſt certain, that thoſe Judges were ſo far from thinking their *Judgment* infamous, that they glory'd in it ever after. And one of them, Mr. *Scot*, deſir'd his Part in it might be inſcrib'd on his Tomb. Neither did the bloody Vengeance taken on them in the next Reign ever extort one Word of Remorſe or Repentance, but even theſe deluded Men pretended to Martyrdom for the Laws of the Land and the Liberties of the People, though by what Law, and what Logick they argu'd thus, I cannot imagine. For it is moſt certain, that all their Proceedings in the Trial and Death of the King were as unjuſt as they were cruel, and as illegal as they were ſanguinary.

High Court of Juſtice thank'd.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1649.

I AM ſenſible how difficult it is to write the Hiſtory of this Period with the leaſt Hope of Succeſs. The Friends of the late King and his Poſterity repreſent the Parliament, who had aſſum'd the Power, as ſo many Monſters and Devils: Their Friends ſpeak of them as of a Senate the neareſt to the Glory and Majeſty of the *Roman*, of any Aſſembly ſince the Triumvirates.

Is there no middle Way between theſe two Extreams? Or rather, may not we grant that they acquir'd their Power by Violence and Uſurpation, and yet endeavour to prove that they exercis'd it with Wiſdom and Honour?

I muſt lay by the Lord *Clarendon* and *Echard*'s Hiſtories when I enter on the New Government, for there is not one Feature like the Original in the Picture the one has drawn of it, and the other has ſlaviſhly copy'd.

An Act againſt proclaiming the P. of Wales *King.*

The ſame Day on which King *Charles* the Firſt was beheaded the Parliament paſt an Act, *Prohibiting any to proclaim the Prince of* Wales, *or any other, to be King or chief Magiſtrate of* England, *or* Ireland, *without Conſent of Parliament, on pain of High Treaſon*; which Act was ſent to the Sheriffs of all the Counties of *England* to be proclaim'd there. The ſame Day Duke *Hamilton* and the Lord *Loughborough* eſcap'd out of *Windſor* Caſtle. Sir *Lewis Dives* got through a Neceſſary Houſe in *Whitehall*, ſtanding over the *Thames*, and on *February* the 1ſt, the Lord *Capel*, by a deſperate Attempt, made his Eſcape over the *Tower* Moat. The Duke was ſoon retaken by ſome Troopers in *Southwark*, who knew him diſguis'd as he was, and knocking at an Inn Door, and Lord *Capel* was diſcover'd by a Waterman as he croſs'd the *Thames*, and ſeiz'd in a Houſe at *Lambeth*. Col. *Middleton*, who was a Priſoner at *Newcaſtle*, ran away to *Scotland*, and being requir'd to return, anſwer'd *Cavalierment, my Life is dearer to me than my Honour*. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made alſo his Eſcape, for they could not ſtand the Terrors of the High Court of Juſtice, which humbled Judge *Jenkins* and Sir *John Stawel*, who, ſays *Ludlow*, had *carry'd themſelves very inſolently, but now finding the Parliament to be in earneſt began to come to a better Temper*. Mr. *Holder*, the Prince of *Wales*'s Agent, a Priſoner in *Whitehall*, got out as Sir *Lewis Dives* had done, and it was the Eſcape of theſe Perſons that put the Houſe on a Debate to bring Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and *Powell*, to a ſpeedy Trial; in order to which they paſs'd an Act for Conſtituting a new Court of Juſtice, who choſe *John Bradſhaw*, Eſq; to be Preſident of it, and the Officers to be the ſame as in the firſt High Court.

Priſoners eſcape.

A. D. 1649.

On the 1ſt of *Febuary* the Parliament paſs'd an Act, *That ſuch Members as had voted 5th of* Dec. *laſt, that the late King's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions were a ſufficient Ground for Settleing a Peace in this Nation, ſhould not be re-admitted to ſit as Members of this Parliament.* And, *That ſuch Members as were then in the Houſe, and gave their Votes in the* Negative, *ſhould enter their* Diſſent *to the ſaid Vote, and ſuch as were abſent ſhould declare their diſapproving thereof before they be admitted as Members.* This Step was taken to embark all the Members on the ſame Bottom, and found their new State on Agreement and Union. Several Members obey'd this Order, and had Admittance, as *John Lenthal*, Eſq; the Speaker's Son, Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *Henry Hayman*, *Philip Herbert*, Eſq; *William Herbert*, Eſq; two Sons of the Earl of *Pembroke*; *Henry Darley*, Eſq; —— *Andrews*, Eſq; Mr. *Francis Pierrepoint*, Col. *Ruſſel*, Mr. *Edwards*, Mr. *Fr. Gourdon*, Mr. *Hodges*, Mr. *Ellis*.

Members diſqualify'd.

It is very apparent, that as reſolute as the Lords appear'd in rejecting the Bill to attaint the

A. D. 1649.

late King, they were, now he was dead, willing enough to come in for a Share of the Government, and would have agreed to have made it Republican. On the 1st of *February* they ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, That a Committee of 9 Lords and 18 Commoners might be named to conſider of a Way to ſettle the Nation. The Houſe adjourned the Conſideration of the Meſſage to the next Day, and it was then debated, Whether any Notice at all ſhould be taken of their Meſſage; Lieutenant General *Cromwel* was for the *Affirmative*, and it was even then ſuſpected that he appear'd for the Lords, in an Opinion that they were more Monarchical than the Commons, and would be more ready to join in with a *ſingle Perſon*, if an Attempt for ſuch a Government ſhould ever be made. The Lords adjourning themſelves after they had order'd this Meſſage, and not meeting again at the Time to which they had adjourn'd, much facilitated their Removal. On the 5th of *February* this Meſſage was warmly debated, and the Republicans carrying the Point, it was reſolv'd, *That the Houſe of Peers in Parliament is uſeleſs and dangerous, and ought to be aboliſh'd*, and an Act was order'd to be brought in by Mr. *Whitlocke* accordingly, which paſs'd *without much Oppoſition*. After this the Earl of *Pembroke* ſat in the Houſe of Commons, as Knight of the Shire for *Berkſhire*, that Privilege being allow'd the Peers if they were elected Knights, Citizens, or Burgeſſes. The Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* was choſen Citizen for *Carliſle*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* ſat alſo in the Houſe of Commons as Burgeſs for *Lynne*.

Houſe of Lords aboliſh'd and kingly Government.

The next Day the Debate concerning kingly Government ended in this *Reſolution* upon the Queſtion, *That it hath been found by Experience, and this Houſe doth declare, That the Office of a* King *in this Nation, and to have the Power thereof in any* ſingle Perſon *is unneceſſary, burthenſome and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and publick Intereſt of the People of this Nation, and therefore ought to be* aboliſh'd, *and that an Act be brought in to that Purpoſe*, which was not long paſſing.

On the 9th of *February* the Parliament paſs'd an Act, appointing *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; *Richard Keeble*, Eſq; and *John Liſle*, Eſq; Lords Commiſſioners of the *Great Seal*. The former Seal, and all other publick Seals which had the Image of King *Charles* on them, were order'd to be defac'd, and a new Great Seal to be made, with the Stamp of the Houſe of Commons on one Side, accompany'd with this Inſcription, the Great Seal *of the Parliament of the* Commonwealth of *England*; and on the other Side was engraven the *Croſs* and the *Harp*, being the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription, *God with us*. The Judges made ſome Difficulty of Acting on Account of the Alteration in their Oath, and the Teſt of the Writs, which were not to run in the King's Name, but in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England. *Bacon*, *Brown*, *Beding field*, *Trevor* and *Atkins*, Judges, laid down their Commiſſions upon it. But the following ſix old, and ſix new, diſcharg'd that Duty. *King's Bench*, Lord Chief Juſtice, Rolls *Jermin*, *Nicholas* and *Ask*; Common Pleas, Lord Chief Juſtice, *St. John Pheaſant*, *Puleſton* and *Warburton*; Exchequer, Lord Chief Baron *Wylde*, *Yates*, *Thorp*, *Rigby*; and inſtead of the old Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, a *new Engagement* was appointed to be taken by all in Office or Benefice, *to be true and faithful to the Government eſtabliſh'd without King or Houſe of Peers.*

Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.

Judges.

The Engagement.

The new Republick had not this Eſtabliſhment without Oppoſition and great Murmurs; Sir *Abraham Reynardſon*, the Lord Mayor of *London*, and Major General *Browne*, one of the Sheriffs, kept up a Party againſt them in the City. The Lord Mayor refus'd to proclaim the Act for aboliſhing kingly Government, for which he was fin'd 2000 Pounds, and committed to the *Tower* for two Months; 500 Pounds of that 2000 Pounds was given to the Poor of the City, 500 Pounds to *Weſtminſter*, 500 Pounds to *Southwark*, and 500 Pounds to the Poor of the *Tower Hamlets*. *Reynardſon* pleaded Scruple of Conſcience at the Bar of the Houſe, by his Oath taken in the *Exchequer*, and that he conceiv'd it was the Sheriffs Buſineſs; and one *Andrews*, ſays *Echard*, was made Mayor, as it was his Turn to be, he having ſerv'd Sheriff but two Years after *Reynardſon*. The Lord Mayor, *Andrews*, aſſiſted by Alderman *Pennington*, Sir *John Wollaſton*, Alderman *Atkins*, Alderman *Viner*, Alderman *Foulke*, Alderman *Edmonds*, Alderman *Pack*, Alderman *Byde*, Alderman *Avery*, Alderman *Wilſon*, Alderman *Dethick*, Alderman *Bateman*, Alderman *Foot*, and other principal Citizens proclaim'd the Act in ſeveral Parts of the City. The Parliament order'd the late King's Effigies at the *Royal Exchange* to be remov'd, and this Inſcription put up in its Place.

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EXIT TYRANNUS REGUM ULTIMUS ANNO, LIBERTATIS ANGLIÆ RESTITUTÆ, PRIMO ANNO 1649. 30 *JANUARII.*

But this did not hinder ſeveral Perſons from proclaiming King *Charles* the Second in ſeveral Places, though it was generally done on a ſuddain, and in the dark. The Parliament took no Notice of theſe tumultuary Proclamations, and where they were affix'd to Poſts or Doors, the Magiſtrates order'd them to be taken down.

Four Days after the King's Death the new Commonwealth wrote Letters of Notification, that they had aſſum'd the Government to foreign Potentates and Powers, and order'd their Secretaries to notify to the foreign Miniſters in *England*, the Death of the King, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Republick, which thoſe Miniſters knew not how to take. They had been Witneſſes of King *Charles*'s Death, and were ſenſible that there was no other Government but that of the Parliament; yet they were imbarras'd, whether to receive theſe Notifications in good or ill Part; if the latter, they might offend the Commonwealth, if the former, their Maſters; ſo they generally reply'd, They muſt wait for Orders.

For the executive Part of the Government, the Parliament appointed a Council of State, who were nominated by a Committee, Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Ludlow*, Mr. *Robinſon*, Mr. *Scot*, who named 35, and the Parliament added thoſe 5 and confirm'd the others.

Council of State.

John Bradſhaw, Eſq; Preſident, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Mulgrave*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord *Grey*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Lord *Fairfax*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; —— *Rolles*, Eſq; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *John Wild*, Eſq; *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *William Maſſam*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *William Armine*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *William Conſtable*, *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *William Purefoy*, Eſq; *Iſaac Pennington*, Eſq; *Rowland Wilſon*, Eſq; *Edmund Ludlow*, Eſq; *William Heveningham*, Eſq; *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; *Henry Marten*, Eſq; *Anthony Stapley*, Eſq; *John Hutchinſon*, Eſq; *Va-*

A. D. 1649. *Valentine Walton*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *Dennis Bond*, Eſq; *Luke Robinſon*, Eſq; *John Jones*, Eſq; *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq;

They kept their Office at *Whitehall*, and thoſe Members who deſir'd it had Lodgings there. They were by their Commiſſion to diſpoſe of the Militia of *England* and *Ireland*, of the Fleet, Magazines, and Stores for one Year only. The Committee of Five, who nominated the Council of State, were impower'd alſo to ſee that all re-admitted Members comply'd with the Order about the Vote of the 5th of *December*.

Admiralty. As for the Navy they appointed *Edward Popham*, Eſq; *Robert Blake*, Eſq; and *Richard Dean*, Eſq; joint Admirals, and Sir *Henry Vane*, Treaſurer of the Navy; a Place of ſo very great Profit, that Sir *Henry Vane* thought it rather burdenſome than uſeful to the Commonwealth, and would accept only of 1000 Pounds *per Annum*, for his Clerks and the Expence of his Office. The Admirals had no more than three Pounds a Day.

The new High Court of Juſtice being eſtabliſh'd, their Seſſion was like that of the Firſt in *Weſtminſter Hall*, and the Priſoners were brought before them.

It is neceſſary here to remind the Reader, that the two Parties, *King* and *Parliament* had ſuſpended the regular Courſe of the Law, and made their Appeal to the Sword: That in this Appeal the Controverſy was decided on the Side of the Parliament, the Conſequence of which was, that they muſt either abandon at once all their Conqueſts, and throw themſelves on the Mercy of their moſt cruel and implacable Enemies, or ſupport themſelves by good Armies and good Laws, which go always with the Powers, for their Preſervation. That thoſe Laws were well known to thoſe who broke them, as alſo the Penalties of breaking them; and nothing could be more impertinent and ridiculous, than to talk of *old Laws*, *old known Laws*, in the Time of a Monarchy, which was firſt interrupted, and then diſſolv'd, to a *State* governing by Laws of their own making, and by a Power able to ſupport them. Yet thus it is throughout the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*; I need not add *Echard*'s Hiſtory, becauſe it is only a poor Copy of the other, which indeed has Poverty enough in it, when it is ſtripp'd of the Embroidery: I ſhall therefore lay them both aſide now I am come to this Court of Juſtice, they having left me no ſure footing, either in Fact or Character. I ſhall follow *Whitlocke*, and I am then ſafe, and ſo is the Reader.

High Court of Juſtice. On the 10th of *February* the *High Court of Juſtice* ſat in *Weſtminſter Hall*; about fifty of the Members, all new ones, Preſent. Duke *Hamilton*, as Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lord *Goring*, created Earl of *Norwich* four Years before the Lord *Capel* and Sir *John Owen* were brought before them, and Sergeant *Bradſhaw*, the Preſident, made a Speech to them of the Occaſion of their coming thither, to be try'd for High Treaſon and other Crimes, after which they were all commanded to withdraw, except the Earl of *Cambridge*.

Duke Hamilton *or Earl of* Cambridge *his* Trial. Then Mr. *Steel*, Attorney General for the *Commonwealth*, ſet forth *the Notoriouſneſs of the Facts of the Priſoner at the Bar, by his invading the Kingdom, committing many Murders and Rapines, and all under Pretence of the* Covenant. *That as the War was call'd* Hypocritarium Bellum, *ſo he might be call'd* Hypocritarium Princeps. He deſir'd the Charge might be read, and that the Earl might make Anſwer to it. After the Charge, the Earl of *Cambridge* pleaded, *He was of another Nation, and what he did was as a Servant to that Kingdom, and not as a Contriver of it. Neither was he ever naturaliz'd Earl of* Cambridge, *that he knew of, That he was a Priſoner of War, and had Articles given him.* A. D. 1649.

The Court order'd the Act to be read for Naturalization of his Father, and conſequently of him, being his Heir. He was then remanded to Priſon till the next Day, when being brought to the Bar, the Attorney General, Mr. *Steel*, mov'd that *he might anſwer the Charge*; which the Preſident requir'd him to do. The Earl deſir'd Time that he might put Things in Order, and ſend to Major General *Lambert*, by whom he had Articles given him. The Court gave him two Days to anſwer; and upon his Motion for Counſel, he had Liberty to name them, which he ſaid he could not do, *not knowing any one Counſellor in* England; though he had liv'd above twenty Years in the Kingdom. However, at the two Days End, when he was again brought to the Bar, he thank'd the Court for the Time they had given him; but he ſaid it was ſo ſhort that he could not be provided; and upon his Deſire, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Hale*, and Dr. *Parſons*, were aſſign'd him for Council. The Earl deſir'd Leave to ſend to *Scotland*; it was anſwer'd, *That it was for Priſoners to prepare their Proofs againſt the Trial, he having been in Priſon ſo long.* He reply'd, *That during his ſix Months Impriſonment, he never ſent about any private Buſineſs, but only to get Monies to maintain him: He pray'd the Mercy of the Court, that if they would ſpare him he might be uſeful.* The Court gave him two Days Time longer to prepare, and the Counſel refuſing to plead for him, others were aſſign'd. Two Days after, the 17th of *February*, he was again brought to the Bar, and urg'd that the laſt Counſel were not ready for want of Time, and held it not proper for them to plead in Matter of Law till the Fact was firſt prov'd.

The Court declar'd he had been often mov'd to make his Defence, and it was inſiſted upon, that he ſhould then do it: So he produc'd his Commiſſions from the Parliament of *Scotland*, to command all their Forces, and the Order of the Committee of Eſtates there for him to advance into *England*, as alſo the large Declaration from *Scotland*. He pleaded, *That the Ends thereof were for his Majeſty's Honour, and the Settling of Religion and the Covenant.* He then urg'd the Articles agreed unto by General *Lambert*, when he yielded himſelf Priſoner, by which he was aſſur'd of *Quarter and Life*, to prove it he produc'd the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Col. *Lilburn*, and Mr. *Peters*.

Concerning the Point of *Naturalization*: He pleaded, *That his Father being naturaliz'd, could not make him a Subject of* England, *no more than the Son of an* Engliſhman, *born in any foreign Parts, was intitled thereby to any Inheritance here. That he had a Petition and Bill prepared for his Naturalization, but it paſſed not.*

The Proof againſt this was, "That he was cal-
" led by the late King's Writ to ſit in Parliament
" in the Lords Houſe, by the Name of Earl of
" *Cambridge*, and appear'd as Earl of *Cambridge*,
" and acted as a Peer of *England* ſitting in the
" Lords Houſe, and in divers Committees. That
" as a Peer of *England* he took the National Co-
" venant, and ſubſcribed to it *Cambridge* in the
" Houſe of Peers, and took the *Negative Oath* be-
" fore the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, as a
" Peer of *England*." As to his ſurrendring to *Lambert* upon Articles, it was prov'd, that he was a Priſoner to the Lord *Grey* of *Groby* before Ma-

A. D. 1649.

jor General *Lambert* could come up to conclude any Articles with him, which was prov'd by Col. *Wayte*; and a very furious Cavalier Writer owns this Plea was but a *pretended* one. Letters under his own Hand to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* were produc'd, touching the carrying on of the Deſign in *England*, and Paſſages concerning his Friends in *Colcheſter*.

H. J. *p.* 131.

Col. *Whichcot* Governor, and the Marſhal of *Windſor* Caſtle, prov'd the Earl's Eſcape, after he had paſs'd his Word to the Governor to be a true Priſoner. The Earl earneſtly deny'd this, and offer'd upon it a Challenge to the Governor, were he not in his preſent Capacity; but it was left to the Judgment of the Court.

The Witneſſes againſt the Earl having been heard, he produc'd the Witneſſes for him, ſome of whom were diſallow'd, being Officers under him, and ſo *Participes Criminis*. He pleaded, *That he had not broken the* Negative Oath, *for he had not engag'd againſt the Parliament, but for the Ends in the* Scots *Declaration*.

His Council mov'd, that they might, with the Council of the *Commonwealth*, ſtate the Caſe of the Earl; but this was deny'd, being a Caſe of *High Treaſon*, and the Earl's Council could only declare their Opinions in Point of Law.

The Trial had laſted on and off 16 Days, when the Earl of *Cambridge*'s Council were heard by the Court, and pleaded, *That the Earl was no free Denizon; and tho' his Father was naturaliz'd, and his Heirs, yet he not being born in the Kingdom, could receive no Benefit thereof: That if he had been a free Denizon, yet it was not prejudicial to him, becauſe he acted by Command and Authority of the Parliament of another Nation, (and not of himſelf) who was govern'd by another diſtinct Law.*

The Earl pleaded again the Articles given him by Major General *Lambert*, who had Power to do it, and who ſecur'd him by a Party of his Forces; as alſo, that he was order'd to be baniſh'd by Parliament, paying One Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

He was not brought again before the Court till five Days after, *March* the 3d, when he made an additional Defence, not much varying from what he had ſaid before. He did the ſame when he was two Days after ask'd what he had further to ſay, upon which the Court proceeded to Conviction and Sentence. The Cavalier Author above cited affirms, that *Hamilton* not only offer'd the 100000 Pounds before mention'd, but to join with the Marquis of *Argyle* in *Scotland* to ſerve the Parliament's Friends there. Notwithſtanding this fair and reaſonable Trial, on a Suppoſition that the Powers in being can try Perſons for Treaſon againſt them, the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms as poſitively as a Man can affirm any thing, he was not liable to Trial, being a Priſoner of War; which is not only contrary to all Accounts of his ſurrendring himſelf, but to Col. *Wayte*'s poſitive Affirmation before the Houſe of Commons, when he acquainted them with *Hamilton*'s being taken, *That he yielded at Diſcretion, and* Lambert *was not then near him*, and to his Oath before the high Court of Juſtice.

He is convicted.

The Trials of the other Lords continu'd at the ſame Time, and we ſhall take them in the Order we find them in *Whitlocke*.

Goring *Earl of* Norwich *his Trial.*

The next who was brought to the Bar was the Lord *Goring*, Earl of *Norwich*, who pleaded Not guilty, and was diſmiſs'd for that Time, behaving himſelf with great Reſpect to the Court, in which he behav'd like a wiſe Man, who knew that Rudeneſs and Scorn are ſeldom ſucceſsful in Proſperity, and much more in ſuch Adverſity as his was, the Peril of his Life. The ſame Wiſdom would have produc'd the ſame Effects in Lord *Capel*.

A. D. 1649.

Six Days after, *February* the 16th, he was brought again to the Bar, and Mr. *Cook*, Solicitor General, ſet forth the Heinouſneſs of his Crimes at *Colcheſter*, in *Kent*, *Eſſex*, &c. He ſaid, *He could not deny the Matter of Fact, but ſhould clear himſelf of ſome Particulars.*

Several Witneſſes were produc'd *vivâ voce*, who prov'd the Death of divers of the Parliament Party. The ſhooting of poyſon'd Bullets boiled in Copperas from the Town, the cruel Uſage of the Priſoners in *Colcheſter*, the Lord *Goring*'s reviling them, calling them *Rebellious Rogues*, the burning of 600 Houſes in that Town, and many other Particulars.

The Lord *Goring*, by Way of Defence, made a Narrative of his Proceedings ſince his laſt coming into *England*, acknowledg'd his receiving a Commiſſion from the Prince, and his giving Commiſſions to others: *That what he did was out of a good Intention for Peace: That Treaſon not being in the Intention, he could not be guilty of it: That he intended not to raiſe Forces againſt the Parliament.* He pleaded his *Peerage, and the Articles of* Colcheſter, *by which Quarter was given him.*

To this the Council for the Commonwealth reply'd, *That a Man's Actions did beſt expound his Intentions: That the Lord* Goring's *Actions ſpake him guilty of* Murder, Treaſon, *&c. That as to his* Peerage, *the Power by which the Court ſate was an Anſwer; That for the Articles of* Colcheſter, *though he had at firſt wav'd them, yet he ſhould have as full a Benefit of them as the Lord* Capel, *who had largely pleaded for them.*

Lord Capel's *Trial.*

The next that was brought to the Bar, and on the ſame Day with *Hamilton* and *Goring*, was the Lord *Capel*, who pleaded, *He was a Priſoner to the Lord General, and had Conditions given him, and his Life promis'd him; and if all the Magiſtrates in Chriſtendom were combin'd together, they could not call him in Queſtion.* Mr. *Whitlocke* tells us, *He never minded nor look'd upon the Court, but upon the People on all Sides, and with an auſtere Countenance.* This is the *Majeſty* that is boaſted of, and ſo much extoll'd, that one would take the Lord *Capel* rather to be a General at the Head of an Army than a Priſoner at the Bar. If Sullenneſs and Auſterity could have ſerv'd him or his Cauſe, there had been Heroiſm in it; but as it was of no other Uſe than to haſten the Execution of an *ugly Sentence*, which the Lord *Goring* by his wiſer Conduct eſcap'd, it will never meet with Applauſe in ſober Hiſtory.

The Lord *Capel* was required the next Day to plead in Chief. He again inſiſted on the *Colcheſter* Articles, ſaying, *He had fair Quarter given him, and all the Gowns in the World had nothing to do with him.* It is great Pity that Dr. *Morley*, who aſſiſted him in his Devotions, did not or could not bring his Mind into better Temper, even when Death ſtar'd him in the Face. Punctilio's of Honour are not at ſuch an Hour the Sentiments of Minds truly great, but Calmneſs, Serenity, and the ſweet Workings of Moderation and Charity.

He was the next Day again brought to the Bar, and the Attorney General mov'd, *That the Priſoner might make good his Plea.* Upon which the Preſident told him, *That he had put in a Plea concerning Articles, for Proof whereof the Lord General was by Order of the Court there preſent; That he had Liberty to ask any thing of him: If not, then the Council of the* Commonwealth

A. D. 1649. wealth *were to offer what they could in Proof of it.* So the Attorney General went on and produc'd the General's Letter to the Parliament, upon the Rendition of *Colcheſter*, and the Articles and the Explanation of them, whereby, and upon the Teſtimony of the Lord General and General *Ireton*, Col. *Whaley* and Col. *Barkſtead*, all preſent by Order of Court, it appear'd, ſays *Whitlocke*, *That the Lord* Capel *was to have fair Quarter for his Life*, which was explain'd to be, *a Freedom from any Execution of the Sword, but not any Protection from the Judicial Proceedings of a Civil Court*; and Mercy was explain'd to be only *from the promiſcuous Execution of the Sword, but that he might be tried by a Council of War.* " It was clearly " prov'd, adds Mr. *Whitlocke*, that the Arti- " cles were only to free him from the preſent " Power of the Sword to take away his Life; " and Col. *Barkſtead* ſwore, *That he told him* " *the Day after the Articles, that he believ'd* " *the Parliament would proceed againſt them* " *that were taken at* Colcheſter *as Traytors.*

As often as I have charg'd the Author or Authors of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* with Falſification and Miſrepreſentation, if my Patience would have held out, I could have done it twenty Times as often; and I beg the Reader to mind how it is inſinuated, that the Court order'd the General to be preſent againſt their Will, and out of meer Shame. *They knew not how to deny it*, as if they were afraid of his Evidence. But what follows is falſe to a Degree that admits of no Epithet; and the Author who was capable of ſuch a Falſity, is not to be nam'd by Perſons who make any Conſcience of Truth and Sincerity.

Hiſt. Reb. p. 267. *Whether the Queſtion was well ſtated to* Fairfax, *or what was elſe ſaid to him to diſſwade him from owning his Declaration and Promiſe, he boggled ſo much in his Anſwer, that they would be of Opinion, that he had not made ſuch direct and poſitive Promiſe, and that the ſame was never tranſmitted to Parliament.* Whereas he never did promiſe him his Life, otherwiſe than to exempt him from preſent military Execution, as we can prove from the Lord *Fairfax*'s own Words. " After our Entrance into *Colcheſter*, a

Short Memorial, p. 123. " Council of War was call'd, and thoſe before- " nam'd Perſons were ſentenc'd to die, the reſt to " be acquitted. This being ſo reſolv'd, I thought " fit notwithſtanding to tranſmit the Lord *Ca-* " *pel*, &c. over to the Parliament, being the Ci- " vil Judicature of the Kingdom, *&c.*" What need was there of his *boggling* then? Which he did not do; he had before referr'd him to the Parliament to do Juſtice on him; and his huffing the Court in ſuch Circumſtances, made him indeed a fit Subject for the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Eulogy, but will not heighten his Character with Men who think reaſonably.

The Council for the Commonwealth mov'd for Judgment againſt the Lord *Capel*, That he ſhould be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, at which he ſeem'd to ſtartle, and after a ſhort Speech to the Court, he concluded, *That however he was dealt with here, he hop'd for a better Reſurrection hereafter.*

The next Time he was brought before the Court, their Order was read to him, That they would hear what he had to ſay that Day, and then proceed to Judgment.

He ſaid, *He was to be comprehended wholly in the Martial Law*, and urged *the* Articles *again, which excepted Trial after by Parliament*; *That divers who were in* Colcheſter *in his Condition had compounded*; *That breaking Priſon for Treaſon by Common Law was but Felony*; *and if he muſt be judg'd by the Common Law, he hop'd he might have the full Benefit of it.* A. D. 1649. He urg'd for it the late Act, which ſays, *Though King and Lords be laid aſide, yet the fundamental Laws ſhall be in Force.* He recommended *Magna Charta* to the Court, and the *Petition of Right*, and preſs'd the Conſideration of the Act made in Favour of thoſe who aſſiſted King *Henry* VII. and the Exception in the Acts touching the Lord *Strafford* and *Canterbury*. He deſired to ſee his Jury, and that they might ſee him, and to be try'd by his Peers, ſaying, *He believ'd a Precedent could not be given of a Subject try'd for Life, but either by Bill in Parliament, or by a Jury.* This was a new Government, who were to make Precedents, and not to follow thoſe that were made, unleſs they were agreeable to the Conſtitution. All he ſaid about Peers and Jury could be of no Help to him, and *Magna Charta* was not to be pleaded againſt an Act of Parliament, which was the Authority this Court pretended to.

At the laſt Hearing, he briefly repeated what he had ſaid formerly, and further obſerv'd an Ordinance of Parliament, *That Quarter for Life ſhould not be given to* Iriſh REBELS; which imply'd, *That Quarter for Life given to others ſhould be inviolable.* But he had had no ſuch Quarter given him, otherwiſe than to exempt him from immediate military Execution.

Sir John Owen's *Trial.*

Sir *John Owen* was brought to the Bar at the ſame Time with the Lords *Hamilton*, *Norwich*, and *Capel*. He pleaded *Not guilty*. But the Witneſſes prov'd againſt him, that he had not only rais'd Forces againſt the Parliament, but had kill'd the High Sheriff of *Carnarvonſhire*. The Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us he ſaid, *He had always been taught to obey the King*. *Whitlocke*, that he alledg'd *what he did was to free himſelf from Plunder.* As to the killing the *High Sheriff*, the Lord *Clarendon* makes the *Welch* Knight ſo fooliſh as to ſay, *If the Sheriff had not been there he had not been kill'd*; but what he adds is ſtill more ridiculous, *He concluded like a Man who did not much care what they reſolv'd concerning him*, but would not let us know that this bold *Briton*, as loyal as he was, had taken the *Covenant* and *Negative Oath*, and was guilty of Perjury in the very Act for which his Lordſhip or the Doctors of *Chriſt-Church* give him ſuch extravagant Praiſe. *Owen* pleaded Quarter as well as the reſt, and with the ſame Reaſon and the ſame Succeſs. If the Soldiers had knock'd them on the Head when they took them, it had been no more than they deſerv'd with Reſpect to the Parliament, who having them in their Power, might proceed againſt them as they pleas'd, for they had not parted with their Power over them when they ſent their General to reduce them. General *Ludlow* obſerves very juſtly, " If there had been any Pro- " miſe made to any of them, either implicitly " or by Word of Mouth, it could only extend " to protect them from the *Military*, not the " *Civil* Sword.

Earl of Holland's *Trial.*

The Earl of *Holland* was ſick in *Warwick* Caſtle when the other Priſoners were firſt brought to the Bar, as he was himſelf 17 Days after, *February* the 27th, when the Charge of High Treaſon was read againſt him, and aggravated by the Solicitor General; *That the Earl was an eminent Courtier, and probably did ill Offices, and perſwaded the King to go from the Parliament, and went afterwards himſelf to* Oxford; *That he return'd from thence, had his Sequeſtration taken off*; *That he publiſh'd a Declaration, promiſing, in the Word of a Gentleman and a Chriſtian, that he would ſtand by the Parliament*;

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That he had taken the Negative Oath, *and the* Covenant; *yet the laſt Year he engag'd in, and probably contriv'd the Inſurrection wherein the Duke of* Bucks, *and his Brother and others were drawn in, and he boaſted he ſhould ſhortly be* 12000 *ſtrong, and maſter the Parliament and reſtore the King.*

The Earl pleaded, *That his Fact was not Capital but Criminal: That he had Quarter given him when he was taken at St.* Neots; *and that both Houſes had paſt an Order ſince for his Baniſhment, which excus'd the Aggravations, eſpecially in his laſt Action.* He deſir'd Council, but it was deny'd him.

On the 6th of *March*, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, were brought to the Bar of the High Court of Juſtice, where Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, the Preſident, ſate in his Scarlet Robes; and having ask'd them what further they had to ſay, why Sentence ſhould not be pronounc'd againſt them? They all ſpoke to the ſame Effect as formerly; only the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich* extenuated their Offences as well as they could, as *being raſh, not much hurtful*, &c. Then the Preſident made a Speech of ſome Hours in Length, in Anſwer to the ſeveral Pleas of the Priſoners, and at laſt Sentence was given againſt them all; That their Heads ſhould be ſever'd from their Bodies; yet with Relation to the Mercy of the Parliament.

The next Day the Earl of *Warwick* and the Counteſs of *Holland* preſented a Petition for the Life of the Earl of *Holland*: The Earl of *Denbigh* ſollicited for Duke *Hamilton*; and others for the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel*. After ſome Hours Debate upon theſe Petitions, it was reſolv'd upon the Queſtion, not to proceed any further upon theſe Petitions; but to leave the Priſoners to the Juſtice of the Court that ſentenc'd them.

Several Ladies petition'd that Court for them, but only got the Execution to be put off two Days.

The condemn'd Lords petition'd the Houſe again; and the General wrote a Letter concerning the Articles, much to the ſame Purpoſe as he ſaid before; and after a long Debate, the Queſtion was put of them ſeverally, and voted,

That the Lord Capel *ſhould not be repriev'd.*

Which Vote paſt the more eaſily on Account of his indecent Behaviour before the Court.

The Earl of *Norwich*'s Reprieve was carry'd by one Vote, which was the Speaker's, they being equally divided, 24 and 24 of each Part. The Speaker ſaid he did it becauſe he had formerly receiv'd ſome Civilities from the Lord *Goring*.

The Houſe was alſo divided upon the Queſtion, Whether the Earl of *Holland* ſhould be repriev'd or not; and the Speaker gave his Voice againſt him.

The Reſolution touching Duke *Hamilton*'s *Reprieve* paſt in the Negative, and for Sir *John Owen* in the Affirmative, by Means of Commiſſary General *Ireton*, who obſerving there had been no Application made, nor a Word ſaid in Behalf of *Owen*, ſpoke for him thus, as the Lord *Clarendon* confeſſes, "There have been great "Endeavours and Sollicitations us'd to ſave all "thoſe Lords; but there's a Commoner, ano-"ther condemn'd Perſon, for whom no Man has "ſaid a Word, nor has he himſelf ſo much as Pe-"tition'd; therefore I deſire that Sir *John Owen* "may be preſerv'd by the meer Motive and "Goodneſs of the Houſe;" which was aſſented to. This very generous, human Act came from the ſame Man of whom *Warwick*, and after him as judicious an Hiſtorian, *Echard*, ſays that on his Death Bed, and even in the Agony, he cry'd out, *Blood, Blood, Blood.* A. D. 1649.

The Execution of the condemn'd Lords. *Duke* Hamilton.

On the 9th of *March*, Duke *Hamilton* was brought to the *Scaffold*, erected before Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe in *Palace Yard, Weſtminſter*; and after ſome Diſcourſe with Dr. *Sibbalds*, a Miniſter, who came with him, he turn'd to the People, and ſeeing them ſo great a Multitude, he ſaid, his Voice would not ſerve for them to hear him, and therefore he directed his Speech to thoſe upon the *Scaffold*.

He confeſs'd his *Religion to be according to that of the Kirk of* Scotland; and therefore the very impartial *Clarendon* ſays not one Word of it. *That he had ever been loyal to the late King, and wiſh'd well to his Poſterity, and that none more deſir'd the Peace and Happineſs of this and the other Kingdoms than himſelf. That his coming into* England *with the late Army, was out of no treaſonable ill Intent, but for the Ends contain'd in the* Scots *Declaration, and what he did was as a Servant to that Parliament and Kingdom: That in that Imployment next to ſettling of Religion, the eſtabliſhing of the King was his greateſt Aim: And he wiſh'd his Blood, in Order to the Kingdom's Settlement, might be the laſt that ſhould be ſpilt.*

Having ſaid this, he made a ſhort Prayer, Dr. *Sibbalds* kneeling with him, and being riſen, he caſt off his Cloak and Doublet, put on a little white Sattin Cap, forgave the Executioner, and gave him ten Pounds. A little after he ſpoke a while in private to his Servants, and again made a ſhort Prayer.

His Countenance was chearful, and all the Time of his being on the Scaffold, there appear'd in him no Fear, Diſorder, Change of Look, or Diſcompoſure. He took his Leave of Dr. *Sibbalds*, embracing him, and of his Servants, whom he commended, particularly Mr. *Lewis* his Secretary.

He laid down his Head upon the Block, and after a ſhort Prayer gave the Signal by ſtretching out his Hand; and the Executioner ſtruck off his Head at one Blow, which was wrapp'd in a red Sarcenet Scarfe, and with his Body put into a Coffin and carry'd away.

The Lord *Clarendon*'s Characters have ſo ſurfeited me with every Thing of that Kind, that I ſhould never ſucceed in it if I attempted it; I ſhall therefore proceed in this tragical Part of my Hiſtory.

Earl of Holland.

The Earl of *Holland* came next upon the Scaffold, accompany'd by Mr. *Hodges* and Mr. *Bolton*, two Presbyterian Miniſters, fix of his Servants and other Gentlemen. What follows is Mr. *Hodges*'s own Relation.

"Between the Time of his Sentence and Ex-"ecution, I only lay in the Earl's Bed-chamber "to diſcourſe with him, and to comfort him, "being admitted and deſir'd by him to that "Freedom, when he would not ſee his Lady "nor any of his Children, which, he ſaid, "would add too much to his Sorrow, and diſ-"compoſe his Thoughts, which were now to be "ſet only upon another World: For ſome Time "after his Sentence he was in great Perplexity "and Agonies, ſaying, *He had no Aſſurance of "Pardon of his Sins, and of the Love of God to "him: That he was not prepar'd to die: That "Chriſt would be no Advantage to him.* I en-"deavour'd to allay theſe Doubts, and to comfort "the Earl with *declaring to him the Infiniteneſs of God's Mercies, and his Willingneſs to "pardon all poor Sinners that come to him "through Chriſt: That never any who ſought "the Love of God in Chriſt, with a true Faith*

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in Chriſt, did ever fail to obtain the Aſſurance of it to his diſtreſſed Soul.

" The Earl deſir'd me to pray with him, to " ſeek God for his Mercy, which I did, and " upon this Subject, with as earneſt a ſeeking " the Lord for it, as I could expreſs; and the " Earl himſelf frequently pray'd to the ſame Ef- " fect, and with wonderful Fervency of Expreſ- " ſion; yet he ſtill continu'd in a deſponding " Condition till the Day before his ſuffering, " when immediately after Prayer, he ſaid to " me, rejoicing, *God has heard our Prayers,* " *and his Spirit is come in to comfort me; I* " *have prevail'd thro' the Strength of Chriſt* " *over Satan and all my ſpiritual Enemies, and* " *all Temptations. The Lord has given into* " *me an Aſſurance of his Love in Chriſt, and I* " *am now both ready and willing to die.*

" I was much joy'd at this, and we went to " Prayer together to bleſs God for this great " Mercy, and to beg the Continuance of this " Frame of Spirit to the laſt, and God heard us " in this alſo.

" The Earl, who had not ſlept ſeveral Nights " before, nor eat his Meat, now ſupp'd and " went to Bed with no more Diſturbance in his " Spirits than in his beſt Health, and ſlept ſo " ſound all Night, and the Morning when he " was to ſuffer, that we were much troubled to " awaken him.

" He went to the Scaffold without being any " whit daunted, and after ſome Diſcourſe to the " Gentlemen, he ſhew'd himſelf to the People, " who were generally mov'd with Sorrow for " the Suffering of ſo gallant a Perſon, whoſe " Mien and Comelineſs could not but excite " Compaſſion.

" He directed his Speech to the Multitude at " the Front of the Scaffold, towards *Weſtminſter-* " *Hall, made a large Profeſſion of his Religion* " *as a Proteſtant, mention'd his Birth and E-* " *ducation, excuſed his going to the King from* " *the Parliament, and Return to the Parlia-* " *ment, and extenuated his late Inſurrection.*

" After he had ended his Speech, he turned " to the other Side of the Scaffold, and kneel'd " down to his private Prayers, after which he " had Conference with Mr. *Bolton* and me.

" Then he pull'd off his Gown and Doublet, " having on him a white Sattin Waſtcoat, and " put on a white Sattin Cap, and prepar'd " himſelf for the Block, took his Leave and " embrac'd with much Affection Mr. *Bolton* and " me, his Servants and others, forgave the Ex- " ecutioner, and gave him ten Pounds.

" He then laid himſelf down on the Block, " pray'd a while, and gave the Sign by ſtretch- " ing forth his Arms; upon which the Execu- " tioner ſever'd his Head from his Shoulders at " one Blow, which with his Body was put into a " Coffin and carry'd away.

The Lord Capel.

We ſhall ſee the Difference between Mr. *Hodges*'s holy Conferences with his devout Penitent, and Dr. *Morley*'s with the Lord *Capel*. There is a Coldneſs in the latter which deadens even our Compaſſion for the Sufferer. The Converſation between them in the Tower, is, as *Echard* ſays, worthy Remembrance.

Lord *Capel. I have choſen you to be my* Confeſſor, *I have ſtrictly recollected the whole Courſe of my Life, to the beſt of my Remembrance, and am reſolv'd to confeſs all the Miſdoings of it, in order to receive Abſolution, if you think me worthy of it*; and then he made his Confeſſion.

Dr. Morley. " I cannot give you *Abſolution*, " becauſe you have omitted one Sin greater than " all you have confeſs'd.

Lord *Capel.* (Clapping his Hand on his Breaſt in a Surprize) *What Sin is that?*

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Dr. Morley. " The Blood of the Earl of " *Strafford* lies upon your Head, of which you " were highly guilty with his other Enemies.

Lord *Capel. I beg God's and your Pardon for omitting this great Sin, for which I have often ask'd Forgiveneſs of God, as a Man guilty of innocent Blood; but my Mind was ſo intent upon my private Sins, that I forgot mentioning of this, and I will do any thing you will have me to receive Abſolution from it.*

Good God! Are theſe the Sighings of a pious Soul! Theſe the Words of a dying Man to a Divine, who has nothing to ſay to him almoſt in the laſt Agony, but the Death of the Earl of *Strafford*. There is ſtill more of it.

Dr. Morley. " My Lord, Your private Con- " feſſion of this heinous Sin is not ſufficient for " *Abſolution*, nor ought I to give it you, unleſs " your Lordſhip will promiſe me to make your " Confeſſion as publick as your Crime.

Lord *Capel. I will do it with all my Heart, if you will tell me how.*

Dr. Morley. " There is but one Way, and " that is to confeſs it in your laſt Speech at the " Place of Execution; and then your Repentance " will be as publick as your Sin.

Lord *Capel.* (Embracing him after ſo much Edification) *I heartily thank you, Doctor, and I do promiſe you I will do it; and I would not for all the World have dy'd without a publick Confeſſion of this Sin, and making the beſt Satisfaction I can to the Memory of my Lord* Strafford, *before God and Men, for having my Hands dip'd in his Blood.*

Echard ſays, Dr. *Morley* gave the Lord *Capel* ſpecial Aſſiſtance in his laſt Extremity, and then he inſtances it in this divine Dialogue. I heartily thank him for giving me an Opportunity to preſerve it in my Hiſtory, that the Reader, by comparing Dr. *Morley*'s Converſation with Mr. *Hodges*'s, may form a juſt Idea of the Religion of the one and the other, and which of them it is that's moſt likely to make *Martyrs*. The Lord *Capel* being thus prepar'd for Death, was brought to the Scaffold, much after the manner of a *ſtout Roman*, according to *Whitlocke*. " He had no " Miniſter with him, nor ſhew'd any Senſe of " Death approaching, but carried himſelf all the " Time he was on the Scaffold with that Bold- " neſs and Reſolution, as was to be admired. " He wore a ſad-colour'd Suit, his Hat cock'd " up, and his Cloak under one Arm." *Are theſe the Emblems of Chriſtian Humility and Charity!* " He look'd towards the People at " his firſt coming up, and put off his Hat in " manner of a Salute. He had a little Diſcourſe " with ſome Gentlemen upon the Scaffold, but " had no Miniſter with him, and paſſed up and " down in a careleſs Poſture. He went to the " Front of the Scaffold, and leaning over, made " a Speech to the People, *I die a Proteſtant according to the Religion profeſs'd in the* 39 *Articles, the beſt I know of. I was condemn'd for keeping the Fifth Commandment, written by God's own Finger, which commands to obey Magiſtrates, and I die for obeying my King, the moſt religious of all Princes, and his Son Prince* Charles, *who is King, and the reſt of the King's Children, Heirs to the Crown.* He concluded with a *Deſire to the People to pray for him.* When he had done his Speech, he call'd the Executioner to him, gave him five Pounds, pray'd him not to ſtrip his Body, but to let his Servants have it, and his Cloaths, for which he order'd them to pay him. He then kneel'd down and made a ſhort Prayer, and his Servants throwing

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Col. Poyer *ſhot.*

Major General *Langhorn*, Col. *Powell*, and Col. *Poyer*, were order'd to be try'd by a *Court Martial*, by whom they were condemn'd to caſt Lots for their Lives, and he on whom the fatal Lot fell was to be ſhot to Death, as was Colonel *Poyer* in *Covent-Garden*, as alſo one Mr. *Munday* an *Iriſh* Rebel.

We have mention'd the Murder of Col. *Rainſborough* by certain Ruffians who were ſent by *Morrice*, Governor of *Pomfret* Caſtle, which he had ſurpriz'd by Treachery, to aſſaſſinate *Rainſborough* at *Doncaſter*. The Parliament order'd Lieutenant General *Cromwel* to inquire into that execrable Act, and give Directions to Major General *Lambert*, who beſieg'd *Pomfret*, to take Vengeance on thoſe Aſſaſſins, in whoſe Praiſe the Author of *Hiſt. Reb.* is laviſh of all the Powers of his Eloquence. *Lambert* block'd up *Pomfret* Caſtle ſo cloſe, that thoſe within it had no Hopes of Relief, and offer'd to ſurrender on honourable Terms; but *Lambert* would have *Morrice* and the Murderers of *Rainsborough* deliver'd up to him. *Echard* tells us a romantick Story of the Eſcape of *Morrice* and his Ruffians. *Whitlocke* ſays three only of them eſcap'd. *Morrice* was re-taken, and try'd by Judge *Thorp* and Judge *Pulleſton* at *York* Aſſizes, for *Levying War againſt the Parliament*. This Aſſaſſin had not ſo much as a Commiſſion from the King, but urg'd that he had one from the Prince of *Wales*. The Judges told him the Prince was a Subject as well as himſelf, and if he were preſent, muſt be try'd as he was. *Morrice* deſir'd his Trial might be by a Council of War, and Col. *Bethel*, after he was condemn'd, wrote to General *Fairfax* and his Council of War for a *Reprieve*; but as he had been guilty of ſo barbarous a Murder, as well as of levying War, 'twas not thought proper to ſpare ſo notorious a Criminal.

Mr. Cawton *the Miniſter try'd.*

Mr. *Thomas Cawton*, Miniſter of St. *Bartholomew's* behind the *Royal Exchange*, in his Prayer before the Lord Mayor, having pray'd for K. *Charles* II. as lawful King, the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. *Steel* and Mr. *Cook*, were order'd to proſecute him for High Treaſon. He was a *Presbyterian*, and how King *Charles* II. rewarded the Presbyterians for their Loyalty and Services, we ſhall ſee hereafter. This bold Offence, and many others of the like Nature, oblig'd the Commonwealth, for their own Security, to hearken to the Advice of Mynheer *Paw*, one of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, and make a Law as was in *Holland*, *To forbid all Miniſters meddling with State-Affairs in the Pulpit*. They order'd Mr. *Whitlocke* to draw up a Declaration to juſtify their Proceedings, and it was publiſh'd in *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *French*, and *Dutch*; and about the ſame Time, *March* the 20th, the *Acts* for aboliſhing Kingly Government and the Houſe of Peers paſs'd in Form.

The Counteſs of *Carliſle*, as famous for *Intrigues* of *State* as thoſe of *Amour*, having been in the Secret of the laſt Summer's Inſurrections, was examin'd by the Council of State ſeveral Times, and giving them but little Satisfaction, they committed her to the Tower, as they did alſo Lieut. Col. *John Lilburn*, who had too much encourag'd the Party of the *Levellers*, and been too buſy with his Tongue and his Pen. The Room he was confin'd in being over againſt that of the Counteſs's Confinement, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, who had obſerv'd it, made a Motion in the Houſe, that it was dangerous, and they might have unjuſtifiable Correſpondence by Signs, in which he was thought more cautious than wiſe, and the Houſe hearken'd to him accordingly. *A. D.* 1649.

England's New Chains, *a Pamphlet.*

A ſeditious Libel, entitul'd *England's New Chains*, made a great Noiſe at this Time. The Parliament voted, *That it was falſe, ſcandalous, mutinous, tending to raiſe a new War; That the Authors and Publiſhers of it were guilty of High Treaſon*, and referr'd it to the Council to find them out. This Book is mightily cry'd up by the Author of the *Hiſtory of Independency*, who has endeavour'd to abuſe *Milton* in the ſame Treatiſe, where he furniſhes the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* with much Matter to ſet off their Heroes. The Reader will not be diſpleas'd to ſee the Manner of Writing in Uſe among the Parliament's Enemies, which has ſince been improv'd by *L'Eſtrange*, *Leſlie*, *Sacheverel*, *Swift*, *Trapp*, *Hickes*, *Hill*, *Oldſworth*, &c. The Author is ſpeaking of an Independent Miniſter; *He is Chaplain in Ordinary to the* Devil *and* Oliver Cromwel; *he keeps the Keys of our Hell and our Grandees Conſciences*; *he is Confeſſor to* Tyburn, *and hath a great Power over damn'd Spirits*; *ſo proſtituted a Villain, that he practiſes Impudence amongſt common Whores, and his Pulpit is more ſhameful than another Man's Pillory*, &c. This Stile is happily imitated in the *Oxford* Addreſs, and other Pieces coin'd in the ſame Mint. P. 179.

The Parliament ſend Miniſters abroad.

The Commonwealth having ſettled their Government at home as well as the Circumſtances they were in would admit, ſent Miniſters abroad to take Care of their Affairs, and be their Agents, in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*, as Dr. *Doriſlaus*, a Civilian, Judge Advocate, and one of the Council to the Republick, was appointed their Reſident in *Holland*, *Richard Bradſhaw*, Eſq; their Agent at *Hamburgh*, Mr. *Vane* was diſpatch'd to *Portugal*, and Mr. *Aſcham* to *Spain*, with the Character of Envoys. The Letter they wrote the King of *Portugal* runs thus:

Their Letter to the King of Portugal.

Sereniſſimo Principi JOANNI *Quarto* Luſitaniæ *Regi, Senatus Populuſq;* Anglicanus *Salutem*: To the moſt ſerene *JOHN* the Fourth King of *Portugal*, the Senate and People of *England* ſend Greeting.

The Subject of it is to deſire the King of *Portugal* not *to ſhelter the Fugitives, Pirates, and revolted Ships in his Ports and Dominions, nor receive any Ambaſſador from* Charles Stuart, *ſince the Parliament, in whoſe Hands is the whole Power of the State, has only Right to ſend Ambaſſadors.*

To the Archduke Leopold.

They wrote to the Archduke, Governor of the *Netherlands*:

LEOPOLDO AUSTRIÆ *Archduci Provinciarum in* Belgio *ſub* Philippo *Rege Præſidi Salutem, Parliamentum Reipub.* Angliæ: To *LEOPOLD* Archduke of *Auſtria*, Governor of the *Belgian* Provinces under King *Philip*, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* ſend Greeting.

This Letter was to demand the Delivery of one *Walſh*, who had run away with Mrs. *Puckering*, a young Lady of a great Fortune, and kept her by Force in *Flanders*.

A. D. 1649.

They addreſs'd their Letter to the City of *Hamburgh* thus:

To the City of Hamburgh.

AMPLISSIMO *Civitatis* Hamburgenſis *Senatui*, *Senatus Populuſq;* Anglicanus: To the *MAGNIFICENT* Senate of the City of *Hamburgh*, the Senate and People of *England* ſend Greeting.

They ſay among other Things: "They have "receiv'd Information, that ſince the Arrival of "one *Cockran*, Ambaſſador, as he gives out, "from *Charles*, Son of the late King of *Eng-* "*land*, the *Engliſh* Merchants in their City are "terribly diſquieted, their Lives are in Danger, "they are often expoſed to the Fury of Aſſaſſins, "and there's no Juſtice for them: They deſire "that the Faith of former Treaties may be pre- "ſerv'd; that, purſuant thereto, they will pro- "tect the Merchants of *England*, and ſee that "Juſtice be done them. They require that "*Cockran* be forbidden the City, and the Ter- "ritory of the Senate, and exhort them not to "prefer the Friendſhip of baniſh'd *Tarquins* to "that of the People of *England*.

They had good Reaſon to complain of Ruffians and Aſſaſſins. The ſcatter'd Remains of ſuch Armies as *Goring*'s, *Greenvile*'s, and *Montroſe*'s, muſt fill *Europe* with them, and the firſt Exploit was the Murder of Dr. *Doriſlaus* at the *Hague*, where he arriv'd in good Equipage about the latter End of *April*, King *Charles* II. being there in his Exile; and he had not been there many Days before twelve of thoſe fugitive Ruffians came to his Lodgings diſguis'd, and finding him at Supper, ſtabb'd him in ſeveral Places, cut his Throat, and a Cavalier Colonel, one *Walter Whitford*, Son of a *Scots* Epiſcopal Clergyman, clove his Head aſunder with a Broad Sword, ſaying, *Thus dies one of the King's Judges.* The Lord *Clarendon* complements theſe Aſſaſſins with the Title of a *dozen Gentlemen who boaſted of what they had done, and believ'd it an* heroick *Act: They put up their Swords, walk'd leiſurely away, and went quietly out of the Town*, as if no Harm had been done. *A. Wood* calls it *a generous Action*, and ſuch are the *Heroes* of their Hiſtories. Some Falſities there muſt be in every Incident to make it all of a Piece. Inſtead of twelve Men, another Cavalier Writer affirms there were eighteen *Scotſmen:* Inſtead of being Friends to *Montroſe*, as *Clarendon* ſays, that other Hiſtorian aſſures us they were Friends to *Hamilton*; and inſtead of murdering *Doriſlaus* to revenge the King's Death, the latter Hiſtorian writes, *They expoſtulated with the Doctor concerning the unjuſt Condemnation and Execution of the* Duke. *A. Wood* the *Oxonian*, who has hardly one Page without a dozen Falſities, informs us, the Parliament, as ſoon as they heard of the Murder of *Doriſlaus*, *reſolv'd to ſacrifice a certain Royaliſt*, *Sir* Lewis Dives, *then in their Cuſtody, had he not made a timely Eſcape* two Months before thro' a Houſe of Office in *Whitehall*. The Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* would make us believe that the States of *Holland* and the *Dutch* were at no Pains to hinder the Ruffians *walking off leiſurely*, and *running away quietly*, as if they at the bottom approv'd of ſo *generous an Act*. The contrary is the Truth. The States were in a terrible Pannick, and immediately order'd Notice to be given King *Charles*, that his Abode in their Territories was not convenient for them, and that they deſir'd him to remove, and take his Followers with him. They made *earneſt Inquiſition* after the Murderers, promis'd a thouſand Guilders to him that brought any one of them, and made it Death by Proclamation to harbour them. The Author of *Hiſt. Reb.* to be as far from Truth as may be, ſays, *Whitlocke*'s *earneſt Inquiſition* was a *ſlow Inquiſition*. One Col. *Bard*, a Baronet, was apprehended by Order of the States, and *Montroſe* himſelf and the Lord *Hopton* queſtion'd for the Murder of *Doriſlaus*. They preſently diſpatch'd *Adrian Paw*, who had been their Miniſter at the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*, to *England*, to ſatisfy the Parliament and Council of the State of their Proceedings upon it, and the former declar'd their *Senſe of the Care of the States of* Holland *to find out the Authors of the horrid Murder of Dr.* Doriſlaus, *and hop'd the States would be careful of their Agent Mr.* Strickland, *now there.* They further declar'd, *That the Lives of thoſe Perſons of the King's Party who were excepted from Pardon, ſhould anſwer for the Life of Dr.* Doriſlaus.

Dr. Doriſlaus *murder'd.*

293.

Hiſt. Indep *p.* 171.

Whitl.

Whitl. 390.

A. D. 1649.

Ib. 388.

Having mention'd the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*, it is fit to take Notice, that what neither King *James* nor King *Charles* could effect in behalf of the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children, was by that Treaty effected in Part, and the Prince Elector reſtor'd to the *Palatinate*, but not to the Electorate, nor to thoſe Territories given the Elector of *Bavaria*, with the Electoral Dignity held by the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who was made an Elector, and the laſt in Place. On that Score, his Highneſs wrote a Letter to the Parliament, notifying his Return to his own Country, giving them humble Thanks for their Favour, and deſiring the Continuance of his Stipend and the Payment of his Arrears, which was order'd, as alſo a Paſs for himſelf and his Attendants 40 Horſe, but none other to go over with him.

Treaty of Weſtphalia.

Elector Palatine *reſtor'd.*

On the 23d of *March*, the Parliament reſolv'd on an Act for an *Aſſeſſment* of 90000 Pounds a Month to maintain the Army and Fleet. The Commiſſioners for this Act were the Juſtices of Peace in the ſeveral Counties, and the Lord Mayor *Andrews*, Alderman *Wollaſton*, Alderman *Dethick*, and Mr. *Francis Allen*, were appointed Treaſurers for this Aſſeſſment. The Houſe took into ſerious Conſideration the Relief of *Ireland*, which, after ſome Heſitation, Lieut. Gen. *Cromwel* undertook in Perſon, and eight Days after the Houſe voted, *That they approve of Lieutenant General* Cromwel *to be Commander in Chief of all the Forces ſent into* Ireland; and to take off any Reflection upon the General, or Diſlike by him, they alſo voted, *That the Lord* Fairfax *be General of all the Forces in* England *and* Ireland.

In the mean Time, a mutinous Spirit was working in the Army, and the Diſaffected, who expreſs'd their ill Humour in Libels, ſuch as *Lilburn* and *Walwyn*, *Prince* and *Overton*, were ſo ſtrongly abetted, that a Petition was preſented to the Parliament from divers Citizens of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, in behalf of thoſe Offenders, then in Priſon.

Libellers encouragʼd.

On the 12th, the Lord General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; *John Liſle*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolls*, Lord Chief Baron *Wild*, Alderman *Wilſon*, and many Members of Parliament, went to the Common Council of *London* to borrow 120000 Pounds for the Uſe of the Army intended for *Ireland*, and it was lent according to their Deſire.

The Houſe made an excellent Order, That the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal and the Judges, ſhall receive Complaints againſt any diſaffected Juſtices of the Peace, and upon Proof of the Charges againſt them, ſhall remove them, and put other well affected Perſons into Commiſſion. They alſo agreed on the Form of the new Coin to be thus: On the one Side to be

Juſtices of Peace turnʼd out.

A. D. 1649. be the Arms of *England*, and a Lawrel and a Palm on each Side, with this Inſcription about it, *The Commonwealth of* England. On the other Side to be the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription, *God with us*.

Levellers. The *Levellers* were privately encourag'd by the *Royaliſts*, tho' their Principles, if they were real in their Profeſſions, were the very *Antipodes* of Tyranny and Superſtition. This Faction grew out of that of the *Agitators*, and were made uſe of by *Cromwel* to bring about the Death of the King, which he had no ſooner accompliſh'd than he would fain have rid himſelf of the *Levellers*. But the latter were aware of his Deſign, and being afraid of his Power, they flew out into Rebellion againſt him and his Maſters, provok'd to it eſpecially by the Death of one *Lockyer* a Trooper, who, with five more Mutineers, was ſentenc'd by the Council of War to be ſhot for Mutiny. The five found Mercy, but the Sentence was executed on *Lockyer*; and the Multitude, to ſhew that the Fire was not quench'd by it, attended him to his Grave with as much Pomp as a Multitude could think of. They were led by 100 Troopers, five and ſix in a File preceding the Corpſe, before which march'd ſix Trumpetters ſounding a Soldier's Knell; then came *Lockyer* the Trooper's Horſe cloath'd all over in Mourning, and led by a Footman. The Corpſe was adorn'd with Bundles of Roſemary, one half ſtain'd with Blood, and the Sword of the Deceas'd with them. After theſe march'd ſome Thouſands in Ranks and Files. All had Sea-green and Black Ribbons ty'd in their Hats, and to their Breaſts, and the Women brought up the Rear. At the new Church-yard in *Weſtminſter* ſome Thouſands more of the better Sort met them, but theſe thought not fit to go thorough with the Proceſſion, and march through the City.

Whitlocke obſerves that this was look'd upon as an Affront to the Parliament and Army, and it was owing chiefly to the Ferment which the *Cavaliers*, who could do nothing elſe, kept up with great Induſtry in the Minds of the Malecontents, who by their Leaders Lieut. Col. *John Lilburn*, Mr. *William Walwyn*, Mr. *Thomas Prince*, and Mr. *Richard Overton*, form'd a new Model of Government, and publiſh'd a Draught of it, conſiſting of Thirty Articles, for which, notwithſtanding various Petitions in their Favour, theſe Mutineers were order'd to be proſecuted capitally. The Royaliſts were extremely delighted with theſe Diſturbances, and one of their chief Hiſtorians terms this factious Crew the *Honeſt Levellers*; and *Lilburn*, whom *Laud* caus'd to be ſo bloodily dealt with during his Tyranny, *the honeſt Lieutenant Colonel*, ſo courteous are they now he is in Danger of being hang'd for them by his Frenzy or Folly. The Levellers about a Fortnight after *Lockyer* was ſhot broke out into open Rebellion under one *William Thompſon*, who having been condemn'd to be ſhot, was pardon'd, and now appointed a Rendezvous for all their Party near *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he publiſh'd his Declaration, inviting People to join with him to eſtabliſh the above-mention'd Form of Government, and to demand Juſtice for the Death of Mr. *Arnold*, an Agitator formerly ſhot at *Ware*, and for the Blood of Mr. *Robert Lockyer*, *murthered at* London *by Martial Law*. Into this Party fell all Officers and Soldiers who thought themſelves diſoblig'd by the Parliament or Council of State. There had been ſeveral Regiments order'd for *Ireland*, and to prevent any Diſguſt, thoſe Regiments were drawn by Lots.

Levellers under Thompſon.

Horſe.

Commiſſary General *Ireton*'s, Col. *Scrope*'s, Col. *Horton*'s, Col. *Lambert*'s.

A. D. 1642.

Foot.

Col. *Ewer*'s, Col. *Cooke*'s, Col. *Hewſon*'s, Col. *Deane*'s, Col. *Reynolds*'s, Col. *Venable*'s.

The Troopers of Col. *Scrope*'s Regiment quarter'd in and about *Salisbury*, declar'd againſt this Service, and having corrupted ſome of *Ireton*'s and other Soldiers, twelve Troops left their Officers, and endeavour'd to join the Mutineers under *Thompſon*, but were intercepted near *Abingdon* by the Generals *Fairfax* and *Cromwel*, to whom they ſubmitted, and the Generals detach'd Col. *Reynolds* to purſue *Thompſon*, who fled at his Approach into the Town of *Banbury*; but finding he could not defend it, he order'd a Party to make a Stand at a Lane's End while the reſt drew off towards *Burford*. Col. *Reynolds* met them at *Newbridge*, which he made good againſt them while the Generals advanc'd with a Body of the Army. The Mutineers forded the River and got into *Burford*. General *Fairfax* came up with them the 14th of *May*, about Twelve at Night, having ſent a Forlorn under Capt. *Okey* to aſſiſt *Reynolds*. *Okey* met *Thompſon*'s Scouts, drove them into the Town, which the General's Regiment of Horſe and other Forces enter'd. The Mutineers made ſome Reſiſtance by firing out at the Windows; but the General, to prevent their Deſtruction, and *Routed*, that of the Town, offering them Quarter, they yielded. There were taken in the Place 900 Horſe and Arms, 400 Priſoners, and 12 Colours. The Priſoners were moſt of them Troopers, ſeduc'd into this Mutiny, many of the Multitude ran away at *Banbury*, and not above 40 that were in *Burford* eſcap'd, among them was *Thompſon*, who being join'd by other Deſperadoes, poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Northampton*, of the Ordnance, Ammunition, Proviſions and Money there. From thence he went to *Wellingborough*, and was purſu'd by Capt. *Butler* with a Party of Horſe, who fell into his Quarters, took moſt of his Men, and *Thompſon* made his Eſcape into a Wood, which *Butler* beſet, and found him there. He was well mounted, and tho' alone, rode deſperately up to *Butler*'s Party, ſhot a Cornet, wounded another, and retreated to a Buſh, having himſelf receiv'd two Wounds. As *Butler*'s Men approach'd near him, he charg'd again with his Piſtol, receiv'd another Shot, and retreated again. He came up a third Time, crying, *I ſcorn to take Quarter*, and then a Corporal with a Carabine loaden with ſeven Bullets ſhot him *and kill'd.* dead, and with him dy'd a wretched Cauſe, in which the Royaliſts had founded all their Hopes. His Brother, one Cornet *Deane*, and ſome other Ringleaders were try'd by a Council of War, condemn'd, and ſhot to Death.

Theſe Mutinies caus'd the paſſing of an Act to *Treaſon declar'd.* declare Treaſons, and to ſerve in the ſame Caſes as the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. *To affirm that the preſent Government was tyrannical, uſurp'd or unlawful, or that the Commons in Parliament are not the ſupremé Authority, or to endeavour to alter the preſent Government, was declar'd* High Treaſon; the like to affirm the ſame of the *Council of State*; the like *to contrive the Death of the General or Lieutenant General of the Army. To raiſe Mutinies amongſt the Soldiers, to join with thoſe that invade* England *or* Ireland, *to levy War againſt the Parliament, to counterfeit the Great Seal, to kill any Member of Parliament, Judge, or Miniſter of Juſtice*

in

A. D. 1649.

in that Duty. This Act, and all Acts of the Commonwealth paſs'd in Parliament, were proclaim'd by the Sheriffs and Magiſtrates all over *England*.

The Generals Fairfax *and* Cromwel *at* Oxford.

After the General and Lieutenant General had ſuppreſs'd the Mutineers in *Oxfordſhire*, they both went to *Oxford*, attended with ſeveral Officers of the Army; the Univerſity having ſent a Deputation to invite them to that City, Colonel *Zanchy* being then one of the *Proctors*, as Fellow of *All-Souls* College. Having been nobly entertain'd, they were created *Doctors* of the *Civil Law*, and the following made *Maſters of Art*; Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Richard Ingoldsby*, Col. *John Hewſon*, Col. *John Okey*, Major *Blackmore*, *John Ruſhworth*, Eſq; *Edmund Scrope*, Eſq; *George Sedaſcue*, Eſq; Adjutant General, Col. *Edward Groſvenour*, Col. *William Goffe*, Col. *Owen Roe*, *Francis Buller*, Eſq; Major *Browne*, Col. *Cobbet*, &c.

Whitlocke, a much better Scholar than the *Oxonians* have to produce againſt him, informs us, divers learned and congratulatory Speeches were made to the Generals by the *Vice-Chancellor*, Dr. *Reynolds*, afterwards Biſhop of *Norwich*, the *Proctors*, and other Heads and Officers of the Univerſity. From *Oxford* the Lord General went to the *Iſle of Wight* to view the Forts there, thence to *Southampton*, *Portſmouth*, and as he drew near *London* he had a Rendezvous of the Army. The next Day, *May* the 31ſt, he arriv'd at *London*, as did alſo Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, and both having made Report of their ſuppreſſing the Mutineers, and quieting the Army and Country, they had the ſolemn Thanks of the Houſe, and a Day of Thankſgiving being appointed for it, ſome of the Common-Council of *London* brought a Meſſage to the Parliament, to invite them to dine that Day with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, at *Grocers Hall*, and to deſire that they might have the Favour to ſolemnize that Day with the Houſe at what Church they pleas'd. The Houſe voted *Chriſt-Church* ſhould be the Place, and return'd the City their hearty Thanks for their Invitation, as did alſo the General and the Officers of the Army, who were alſo invited. The Council of State took the Ceremonial of this Feaſt into Conſideration, and having made their Report to the Parliament, it was order'd, *That when the Speaker with the Houſe came into the City, the Lord-Mayor ſhould deliver up to him the Sword, as he us'd to do to the King, and that at the Feaſt the Speaker ſhould ſit above the Lord-Mayor*. On the 7th of *June* the Speaker, with the Houſe of Commons, the Lord General, with the Officers of the Army, the Lord Preſident, with the Council of State, after having heard two Sermons preach'd by Mr. *Goodwin* and Dr. *Owen*, went to *Grocers Hall* to Dinner. The Speaker ſate firſt, next to him the Lord-Mayor, then the Lord General: Then the Earl of *Pembroke* call'd to the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* to ſit down, as the eldeſt Commiſſioner of the Great Seal; *Whitlocke* excus'd it, deſiring the Earl to ſit down firſt; but he ſpoke aloud, *What do you think I will ſit down before you? I have given Place heretofore to Biſhop* Williams, *to my Lord* Coventry, *and to my Lord* Littleton, *and you have the ſame Place they had, and as much Honour belongs to the Place under a Commonwealth as under a King, and you are a Gentleman as well born and bred as any of them*. The Earl oblig'd Mr. *Whitlocke* to take Precedence of him, ſitting down himſelf next to him: Then the Lord Preſident of the Council, and the other Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, then the Earl of *Salisbury* and the Lord *Howard*, then Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, and other Members of Parliament, and of the Council of State. At two Tables on each Side of the Hall ſate other Members, and at a Table in the Middle of the Hall ſate Major General *Lambert*, and other Officers of the Army. The Judges ſate in a Room over the Parlour, which was very large; the Aldermen and ſome Common Council Men at another Table in the ſame Room. The Muſick was only Drums and Trumpets. The Feaſt was very ſumptuous. No Healths were drunk, nor any Incivility paſt. Beſides the Overplus of the Meats left at Dinner, 400 *l.* was given to the Poor of *London*.

Parliament and Generals feaſted by the City.

The next Day ſome Members of the Houſe and of the City were order'd to return the Parliament's hearty Thanks to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, for their great Love and Civilities Yeſterday expreſs'd to the Parliament and Army; and a Committee having conſider'd what Mark of Honour and Favour ſhould be beſtow'd upon the City for their real Affection to the Commonwealth, 'twas reported and reſolv'd, That *New Park* near *Richmond*, and all the Deer in it, ſhould be given them; and the City preſented the Lord General with a large and weighty Baſon and Ewer of beaten Gold, and Lieutenant General *Cromwel* with 300 Pounds in Plate and 200 Pieces of Gold; but *Echard*, after ſuch another Hiſtory Writer, affirms, the City Cooks were forc'd to take an Oath that they would not poiſon the Lord Mayor's Gueſts. I wonder he left out what the ſame Hiſtorian ſaid after, *The Saints were too full of the Creature*, Anglice, *drunk*. I have ſometimes made uſe of this Author my ſelf, but it was not out of choice, or for his Excellence, but when I thought his Authority would be preferr'd to *Whitlocke* or *Ruſhworth*, as it is by all the Admirers of the Lord *Clarendon*, and Mr. *Echard*'s Sincerity and Impartiality for this Hiſtorian does certainly as well deſerve to be admir'd as they do.

The Commonwealth being pretty well ſettled at home, they took into Conſideration the State of their Affairs abroad. Prince *Rupert* had got together almoſt twenty Sail of Ships, with which he made ſome Attempts againſt the Parliament's Friends on the Coaſt of *Ireland*. Admiral *Blake* and Admiral *Dean*, with a Squadron of Men of War, were order'd for that Coaſt to watch his Motions, and Admiral *Popham* to cruize off *Portugal*, and hinder his ſheltering in any of the Ports of that Kingdom. *Blake* and *Dean* having block'd up Prince *Rupert* in *Kinſale*, the latter was order'd to lie with his Squadron off *Ireland*, between that and *England*; and Admiral *Popham*, when he return'd from the Coaſt of *Portugal*, where he intercepted Part of the *Brazil* Fleet, which he ſent home to *England*, had Orders to guard the Coaſt between the *Downs* and *Portſmouth*, Sir *George Ayſcue* lay in *Dublin* Road. Thus was *England* ſecur'd againſt any Enemy from without, and had none to fear from within but a reſtleſs Party, who were inſtigating the *Scots* to raiſe new Troubles, tho' they had paid ſo dearly for the like Enterprizes the laſt Year, and are like to pay as dearly again the next.

Ireland.

The Affairs of *Ireland* were almoſt at the Extremity when the Parliament proceeded againſt the late King in the manner we have related. The Earl of *Inchiquin*, diſguſted at ſome Slights which he thought the Lord *Liſle*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, had put upon him, and at the Parliament's taking no more Notice of him, which was occaſion'd in a great meaſure by their

A. D. 1649. Diviſions in *England*, reſolv'd to be reveng'd, and ſacrifice his Country and Religion to his Reſentment; and tho' Col. *Temple* had oblig'd him againſt his Will to fall upon the *Iriſh*, whom the *Engliſh* had taken at a Diſadvantage, and routed them, with the Slaughter of ſome Thouſands, yet he ſoon after declar'd againſt the Parliament, and join'd with the *Iriſh* Rebels, with whom *Ormond*, return'd to *Ireland* from *France*, join'd again; and they altogether would have utterly deſtroy'd the *Engliſh* Intereſt in that Kingdom, had not the Diſcontent of one of the moſt inveterate of thoſe Rebels, *Owen Roe Oval*, their General in *Ulſter*, hinder'd their accompliſhing their Deſign before the Army arriv'd from *England*, and put an End to them all by Conqueſt and Chaſtiſement. Not only the Earl of *Inchiquin* had deſerted the Parliament's Service, the Lord *Broghill*, who had ſerv'd them very faithfully and ſucceſsfully, had form'd the ſame Deſign; and having procur'd a Paſs, by Means of the Earl of *Warwick*, under Pretence of going to *Aix la Chapelle* to drink the Waters, he came privately to *London*, intending to wait upon the King in *France*. He was no ſooner arriv'd at *London*, but there came to him a Gentleman from *Oliver*, lately made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to acquaint him that the Lord General *Cromwel* would pay him a Viſit if he knew when he would be at Leiſure to receive him, which very much ſurpriz'd *Broghill*, who had never had any Acquaintance with him; wherefore he told the Gentleman he ſuppos'd he was miſtaken in the Perſon to whom he was ſent; which the Meſſenger convincing him that he was not, the Lord *Broghill* own'd who he was, and ſaid he would not give his Excellency the Trouble, but would wait upon him. The Gentleman had not been long gone before *Cromwel* came himſelf, and after the firſt Salutations, deſir'd to ſpeak with his Lordſhip in private, when he told him he had a great Reſpect for him, and was therefore come to acquaint him with ſomething that very nearly concern'd him, and to give him Advice upon it. He then let him know that the Council of State had Information of his Deſign in croſſing the Water, which the Lord *Broghill* had communicated to two or three truſty Friends only, that inſtead of going to the *Spaw* he intended to go to the *King*, and take a Commiſſion from him to act againſt the Parliament in *Ireland*: That the Council had good Proof of what he ſaid, and could produce Copies of his Letters to that Purpoſe, upon which it was reſolv'd to ſend him Priſoner to the Tower, which had been done if himſelf had not prevented it, and obtain'd Time for him to confer with his Lordſhip, to ſee whether he might not be prevail'd with to alter his Purpoſe. The Lord *Broghill*, ſeeing it would ſignify nothing to evade the Matter, begg'd *Cromwel*'s Pardon, thank'd him for his good Offices, and deſir'd him to adviſe him. *Cromwel* return'd his Compliment, and ſaid, the Council of State and he were no Strangers to his Actions in *Ireland*, and the ſubduing of the *Rebels* being committed to him, he was impower'd by the Council to offer him a General Command if he would ſerve in that War. This Offer was made ſo frankly, and the Neceſſity of that Service ſo well explain'd, that *Broghill* accepted it, and gave his Word and Honour that he would be faithful to the Parliament. *Cromwel* was very well pleas'd with having engag'd him in their Intereſt; and the Lord *Broghill* having receiv'd a Commiſſion to be Maſter of the Ordnance, and to command in *Munſter*, repair'd to *Briſtol*, where he embark'd for *Ireland*, and was no ſooner arriv'd in that Kingdom, than ſeveral Gentlemen who had ſerv'd under him in thoſe Wars, join'd him, with whom and their Followers he form'd a Troop of Horſe, and in a little Time rais'd a Regiment of 1500 Foot, which were in a Readineſs to join *Cromwel* at his Landing. Till then he was forc'd to ſtand on the Defenſive, and indeed he would not have been able to have made his Levies, if *Ormond* and *Inchiquin*, with their *Iriſh* Rebels, Papiſts and Cavaliers, had not been employ'd in the Siege of *Dublin*, which they had much ſtreighten'd. Col. *Monk* had deliver'd up *Dundalk* to *Inchiquin*, and *Tredah* was ſurrender'd to *Ormond* and the *Iriſh* Rebels. *Monk* pretended the *Scots* had deſerted him, and going over to *England*, he was queſtion'd for correſponding with *O Neal*. *Ormond*'s Forces took *Rathfarnam* near *Dublin*, and 1500 of them were ſent to fortify *Baggatrath*. In order to hinder the *Engliſh* Army from landing at *Ringsend*, *Baggatrath* had a Rampart of Earth about it, and the Enemy had wrought upon it a whole Night to augment its Strength. The next Morning Col. *Jones*, Governor of *Dublin*, perceiving their Deſign, thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove them from thence before their Work was finiſh'd. To that End he drew all his Forces, both Horſe and Foot, to the Works that fac'd the Enemy, and leaving a ſufficient Body of Men in the Town to defend it, he ſally'd out, *Auguſt* the 2d, with about 1200 Horſe and 4000 Foot, who ſoon enter'd the Enemy's new Works, and ſlew moſt of the 1500 Men who were employ'd in it, their Horſe deſerting them at the firſt Charge. Sir *William Vaughan*, who commanded them, was kill'd. Thoſe that eſcap'd fled to their Main Body, and brought News of their Defeat to *Ormond*, who was at *Cards*, and cry'd, *I wiſh the Rebels would come, that we may have ſome Sport with them.* But the Words were hardly out of his Mouth before the *Engliſh* were come indeed, and falling into his Camp, upon which he flung down his *Cards* and got two or three Regiments to engage, but they were ſoon routed, and himſelf, with the Remnants of his Royal Army, as 'twas call'd, fled in great Confuſion to *Rathmims*. Col. *Jones* follow'd him cloſely, finding little Oppoſition except from a Party of *Inchiquin*'s Horſe that had formerly ſerv'd the Parliament, who defended a Paſs for ſome Time, and whom having defeated and diſpers'd, he march'd with all Diligence up to the Walls of *Rathmims*, which the *Iriſh* Rebels expected he would ſtorm, and threw down their Arms, *Ormond* not ſtaying there for his coming. The Popiſh and Cavalier Army were 19000, and Col. *Jones*'s not much above 5000; yet they ſlew 4000, took almoſt 3000 Priſoners, beſides 2000 that ſurrender'd in a Body, voluntarily offering to ſerve the Parliament, of whoſe Forces not above twenty were miſſing, but many wounded. This glorious Action would ſcarce be credible, if it was not confirm'd even by the Report of the Royaliſts, and it is a particular Happineſs their Hiſtorians have to paſs off their Generals as Heroes even in the Midſt of the moſt ſhameful Rout and utter Ruin. *Ormond*'s Brother was taken by Col. *Reynolds*, who threaten'd to piſtol him unleſs he ſhew'd which way his Brother fled. The Colonel purſu'd him, and came ſo near as to take one of his Company. But *Ormond* himſelf was too nimble for all Purſuit, tho' he hang'd a great Number for flying. The Plunder of the Field was very great, 4000 Pounds in Caſh was found in *Rathfarnam*. The Papiſts and Royaliſts abandon'd all their little Garriſons near *Dublin*, and a Week after they rais'd the Siege of *Londonderry*, which had been gallantly

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Ormond *routed near* Dublin.

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lantly defended by Sir *Charles Coote*. Thus were the Affairs of *Ireland* in a very promiſing Condition, when Lieutenant General *Cromwel* arriv'd there about the 20th of *Auguſt*, with an Army of 12000 Horſe and Foot, which with the Forces in and about *Dublin* made 16 or 17000 Men. As his Departure from *London* was with Princely Pomp, ſo was his Reception at *Dublin*, where he made a ſmooth Speech to the Officers, Civil and Military, and others who waited to receive him at his Landing. *Ormond* ſoon after ſent Trumpets to Col. *Jones* on ſeveral *Errands*, but *Cromwel* would give them no Hearing, ſaying, *All Addreſſes muſt be made to himſelf, as Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland. He ſtaid not many Days at *Dublin*, but took the Field; and *Ormond* ſhutting up his Men in garriſon'd Towns, *Cromwel* beſieg'd *Drogheda*, where were between 3 and 4000 Men under Sir *Arthur Aſton*, the Popiſh Governor of *Reading*. The *Engliſh*, after they had batter'd the Town a while, enter'd at a Breach, and were forc'd out again, but at the ſecond Attack they drove the Papiſts and Cavaliers into the Upper Town, which they enter'd with them, and put all they met in Arms to the Sword. Sir *Arthur Aſton* the Governor, and ſome of the chief Officers, as Col. *Walton* a Papiſt, Col. *Caſtles*, and Col. *Symonds*, got into the *Mill-mount*, a ſtrong Fort in the Town, but *Cromwel*'s Men ſtorm'd it, maſter'd it, and ſlew them all. 140 of theſe Deſperadoes got into a Tower, and being ſummon'd, would not yield, but kill'd and wounded ſome of the Proteſtant Soldiers, till ſeeing the *Engliſh* about to enter, they flung down their Arms. The Officers were knock'd on the Head, the Men decimated, and the reſt ſhip'd for *Barbadoes*. The Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* here is very merry: *Sir* Arthur Aſton *made no doubt of defending the Place; the Marquis of* Ormond *made leſs doubt of relieving it*; and then comes a Paſſage, the Mirth of which is taken off by the Falſity: *He put every Man, Governor and Officers, to the Sword; he put all the Citizens who were* Iriſh, *Man, Woman and Child, to the Sword*; which is ſo ſcandalouſly falſe, that I ought not to take any Notice of his Hiſtory, till ſome of his Adorers and Copiers have given the World Satisfaction in it. *Ludlow* aſſures us, *Cromwel*'s Command about Quarter related to the Soldiers only, and *Whitlocke*, after *Cromwel* himſelf, that a Lieutenant of the Garriſon of *Drogheda* carry'd the News of its being taken to *Ormond*, which ſhews they were not all kill'd.

Cromwel *in* Ireland.

Drogheda *taken by Storm.*

And Wexford.

After this Succeſs the Lord Lieutenant march'd to *Wexford*, from thence Commiſſioners came to treat; but no *Ceſſation of Arms* having been agreed upon, *Cromwel*'s Men batter'd the Caſtle, made a Breach, enter'd it, and ſet up their Colours; at Sight of which the Enemy left their Station in all Parts, and the Town was taken without further Oppoſition. Here the Slaughter was not great, and many more of the *Iriſh* Rebels and Cavaliers periſh'd by crowding into and overſetting Boats in the Harbour than by the Sword. After theſe Succeſſes the Army grew ſickly, but the Parliament took care to ſend Recruits in time, which enabled the Lord Lieutenant to reduce *Roſs* and *Goran*, the latter ſurrendering at Diſcretion, and delivering up the Officers, *Cromwel* order'd them to be ſhot to Death. *Kilkenny* made ſome ſmall Reſiſtance, but yielded on what Terms the Lord Lieutenant thought fit to give them. *Youghall*, *Cork* and *Kinſale* were deliver'd to the Parliament's Forces by the Contrivance and Diligence of ſome Officers, and well affected Perſons in thoſe Places. The Lord *Broghill* came to the General at *Wexford* with 200 Horſe and about 2000 Foot, to which were join'd a Body of the *Engliſh* Army, and his Lordſhip was order'd to watch the Motions of *Inchiquin*, while the Lord Lieutenant laid Siege to *Clonmel*; in his March thither he was met by the Corporation of *Feather* with a Tender of their Submiſſion, which he accepted, left his ſick Men there, and then ſat down before *Clonmel*, the Garriſon of which Town, with their Governor Colonel *Hugh O Neal*, an *Iriſh* Maſſacrer at their Head, march'd out in the Night, after Commiſſioners, whom they had ſent to treat had ſign'd an Agreement to ſurrender the Town the next Day. *Dungarvon* and *Carrick* were next reduc'd, and then the Lord Lieutenant march'd to *Waterford*, having ſent Orders to the Forces about *Dublin*, which were in better Health to join his Army. The latter, 1500 Foot and 500 Horſe were attack'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* between *Arclo* and *Wexford*, who had ſome Advantage at the firſt Charge, but *Cromwel*'s Men, though miſerably afflicted with the Flux, rally'd very reſolutely, attack'd and broke a Body of *Inchiquin*'s Horſe, upon which the reſt drew off, and permitted *Cromwel*'s Soldiers to continue their March. *Inchiquin*'s Men had ſerv'd under him, when he was in the Parliament's Service, and General *Ludlow* reflects upon it thus, *By which it eminently appear'd of what Importance it is towards Succeſs to fight in the Cauſe of our Country, for theſe very Men, as long as they were engag'd with us perform'd Wonders againſt the Rebels, and now being engag'd with them were almoſt as eaſily overcome, as they had beaten the* Iriſh *before*. In *Clarendon* and *Echard* we are fed with Hopes and Expectations of Miracles to be done by *Ormond* and *Inchiquin*, whoſe Atchievements are not worth remembrance, ſince they leagu'd with the *Iriſh* Maſſacrers. The latter had a mean Opinion of them, and their Performances witneſs what one of their Leaders, the Lord of *Glenmaleiro*, ſaid at a Conſultation how to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Army; ſome adviſ'd to draw all their Forces together to give Battle, others to betake themſelves to the Woods and Bogs, and from thence break *Cromwel*'s Forces by Parties, but that Lord aſſur'd them of a Way, which if taken would certainly effect it, and that is, ſaid he, *Induce them to make Peace with us, for they are a ſucceſsful Army, and our Men are diſpirited, and not likely to get any Thing by fighting with them, and to weary them out by our Surpriſes and Depredations, is impoſſible, as long as the Way from* England *is open for their Supplies. But the other Way I propoſe will infallibly ruin them. For did not our Anceſtors by the ſame Means render the Conqueſts of Queen* Elizabeth *fruitleſs to the* Engliſh, *and have we not thereby ruined the Earl of* Ormond *and* Inchiquin *already, who having been always ſucceſsful when againſt us, have been famous for nothing ſince their Conjunction with us, but the Loſſes and Repulſes which they have ſuſtain'd.* Yet the Earl of *Clarendon* leads this ſame *Ormond* through his Hiſtory, driving his Enemies every where before him, and makes his very Name to be as terrible to the Roundheads as *Cromwel*'s was to the *Iriſh* Rebels, and their Confederates the Royaliſts.

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The Iriſh *have a mean Opinion of* Ormond.

While *Cromwel* was preparing for the Siege of *Waterford*, he received a Letter from the Parliament of *England*, requiring his Attendance there, to concert with him the Management of their intended War with the *Scots*, who had invited King *Charles* the Second to take Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, which was to help him to recover

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England; and how they help'd him, and how they paid for it, will be ſeen in the following Pages. But we muſt firſt inquire into the Fortune of Prince *Rupert*, who was in *Ireland* with a Squadron of Ships to aſſiſt *Ormond* and the *Iriſh* Rebels as far as he himſelf had Aſſiſtance.

Prince Rupert.

The Winter approaching, General *Blake* was oblig'd to enter into Harbour, by which Means Prince *Rupert* with the Ships then in *Iriſh* Ports, had an Opportunity to eſcape and ſail to *Lisbon*, where they were relieved and protected. General *Popham* follow'd him, and was order'd to declare War with that King, if he did not forbid the *Engliſh* revolted Ships his Ports, which he refuſing to do, the Parliament order'd their Admirals to take all *Portugal* Ships that came in their Way. The *Engliſh* Admiral kept Prince *Rupert* in the River of *Lisbon* as long as his Proviſions laſted, but being obliged to remove for Supplies, the Prince made his Eſcape, and ſail'd to *Malaga*, but his Fleet were ſeparated in a Storm. The Parliament's Ships obſerv'd and purſu'd the Prince very narrowly. The latter loſt all his Ships but two, which his Purſuers looking upon as inconſiderable, and not worth their Time and Pains to hunt after them, return'd and left him Sea-Room to come with them into *France*.

King Charles II.

It is Time to take ſome Notice of the Proceedings of the young King *Charles* II. who was at the *Hague* when his Father was beheaded, and in a very poor Condition, inſomuch that his Credit would not paſs for 200 Pounds, as appears by the following Note of his Hand to Mr. *L'Empereur*, a Banker at the *Hague*, which I tranſcrib'd from the Original.

The *Haye*, 4th *Dec.* 1648.

Charles P.

REceived of Mr. Emperor *for my Serviſe the Som of two hundred Poundes, which I oblige my ſelf to ſee repay'd within three Months after the Date hearof. And I aſſure you it is a Kindneſſe I am very ſenſible of, and in return of it I ſhall be ready to appear,*

Your affectionate,

C. P.

Mr. *L'Empereur* refus'd to lend this Money, though the Duke of *York* did ſome Time after offer to be bound for it, as by this Letter. I give the original Spelling, to ſhew what Scribes their Royal Highneſſes, or their Secretaries were,

Mr. *Emperore*,

MY Brother hath deſired you to lend 200 *Pounds, and it is my Deſire alſo that you would lend it him, which if you, or any of your Friends do I ſhall take it as a great Kindneſſe, and I promiſe to ſee it payed in 6 Monthes. I reſt,*

Your Friend,

Yorke.

But leſt both theſe Letters and Securities ſhould not ſucceed, the Duke of *York* writes to Mr. ——— a Servant of his, to try what he could do on his own Credit.

IUſed all my Power to procure two Hundered Poundes, but I cannot yet compaſs it, elſs truly you ſhould have had it payed you. I have ſent a Blank with my Hand to it, pray trey if any Body will be ſo much my Friend as to lend it, and aſſure them, upon the Word of a Prince, I will moſt faithfully repay it. Methinkes you ſhould find ſome Body ſo kind to me as to truſt me for ſuch a Sum as two Hundered Pounds. I am ſure I have never broke my Word with any Body yet, nor never will, and whoever doth me this Kindneſſe I ſhall always remember as my Friend; and if ever it lieth in my Power he ſhall find how kindly I take it. I am always,

Your affectionate,

Yorke.

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Neither of theſe Letters had any Succeſs with *L'Empereur*, but the Gentleman to whom they were addreſs'd joining his own Security with theirs, in about 8 Month's Time got another Banker, one *Boyet*, to advance the Money. One may eaſily conceive to what Want and Miſery theſe two unhappy Princes were reduc'd, by the numerous Crowd of Fugitives who hung upon them for Bread, and the ſmall Supplies the ruin'd Cavaliers could furniſh them with. The Gentleman to whom theſe Letters were addreſs'd, was ſent to *Venice* to try what the Senate would do for the late King in his Life-time, but he had cold Entertainment there. The Lord *Crofts* and Sir *John Denham* had the Character of Ambaſſadors to the King of *Poland*, and they borrow'd of the *Engliſh* Merchants in his Dominions 10000 Pounds, which had but ſmall neat Produce after the Charge of the Embaſſy was deducted. The Czar of *Muſcovy* ſent no Money, but to oblige King *Charles* the Second he drove all the *Engliſh* Traders out of his Country. And though Whitlocke the Queen very much magnify'd the Aſſiſtance King *Charles* might expect from *France*, yet ſhe her ſelf found ſo little when ſhe retir'd thither for Subſiſtence, that ſhe was allow'd but 12000 Crowns a Year, and 6 Months after the King her Husband's Death that Penſion was reduc'd to 7000 Crowns a Year, and ſo far was ſhe from being in any Condition to ſupport her Sons, that ſhe could not maintain her ſelf and her Daughter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* in the Plight of a rich Citizen's Wife. Cardinal *Retz* ſpeaks of it thus in his Memoirs. " A few Days before the *De Retz*, " King left *Paris* I viſited the Queen of *Eng-* p. 142. " *land*, whom I found in the Apartment of her " Daughter, ſince Madam *D'Orleans*, *You ſee* " *Sir*, ſaid the Queen, *I come to keep* Henrietta " *Company. The poor Child has lain in Bed* " *all Day for want of a Fire.* The Truth is, " Cardinal *Mazarine* having ſtopp'd the Queen's " Penſion 6 Months, Tradeſmen were unwilling " to give her Credit, and there was not a Chip " of Wood in the Houſe. You may be ſure I " took Care that a Princeſs of *Great Britain* " ſhould not be confin'd to her Bed next Day " for want of a Faggot. And a few Days after " I exaggerated the Scandal of this Neglect, " and the Parliament ſent the Queen a Preſent " of 40000 Livres. Poſterity will hardly believe, that the Queen of *England*'s Daughter, " and the Grand-daughter to *Henry* the *Great*, " wanted a Faggot to get out of Bed in the " Month of *January* in the *Louvre*, and at the " Court of *France*." *De Retz* adds, *Her Condition made little Impreſſion on the Minds of the People at that Time.* For though the Earl of *Clarendon* would fain have you believe that the King and his Followers were received by Foreigners as if they had not been Exiles, but were travelling for their Glory or Pleaſure, yet it is moſt certain, they were no where Welcome, and where-ever they were ſuffer'd 'twas out of Decency more than Choice, unleſs any foreign Power took Occaſion to quarrel with *England*, and then the Exiles were careſs'd, and flatter'd with golden Hopes, till a Peace was made again, which never fail'd to baniſh them out of the Territories they had ſhelter'd in.

The

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The Earl of *Clarendon* gives us a very ſplendid and wordy Account of his and the Lord *Cottington*'s Embaſſy to the Court of *Spain*, from whence they brought not a Penny of Money for their Maſter, and where they often wanted a Penny for themſelves. When theſe Lords Ambaſſadors arriv'd in *Spain*, they inform'd the Catholick King and his Miniſters, *That the Parliament of* England *had been in Arms againſt their Maſter's Father, had prevail'd againſt him, and caus'd him to be put to Death*, which was ſtale News to them; their Miniſter in *England*, *Don Cardenas*, a Grandee of *Spain*, having been one of the firſt who congratulated the Commonwealth, who accepted not of his Compliment at firſt, on Account of ſome Failure in the Addreſs, which the *Don* ſoon mended, and the Earl of *Clarendon* knew this. He knew that the *Spaniards* courted the Friendſhip of the Parliament more than that of any Monarch, Prince or State in the World, yet his Brother *Cottington* and he were at the Pains to croſs the Country from *Bruſſels* to *Madrid* to tell the King of *Spain*, *That their Maſter, Son and Heir to the late King, was kept out of his Kingdom by the aforeſaid Parliament*, which indeed was very true, but ſo well known that it was hardly worth telling; and that *he deſir'd the King of* Spain's *neighbourly Aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh him into his Rights and Dignities*: A hopeful Errand theſe Lord Ambaſſadors, for ſo Sir *Edward Hyde* always calls himſelf and his Brother *Cottington*, went upon, and they had as hopeful an Anſwer. *The King of* Spain *was ſorry for his Father's ill Succeſs, wiſhing he had been more Proſperous: That he condol'd with him for his Father's Death, and was much affected with Sorrow at the Manner of it: That concerning the Difference between him and the Parliament, and the Rights on the one or the other Side, they being Matters out of his Territories and Juriſdictions, he could not take Congnizance of them, nor ſhould he meddle therein*: Such was the Succeſs of the Lord Ambaſſador *Hyde*'s Magnificent Embaſſy, the Pomps and Vanities of which, whoever has a Mind to ſee, will find abundant Satisfaction in his Detail of the Embaſſy in near 100 Pages of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion; only Sir *Edward Hyde* had the Misfortune to drop his Brother Ambaſſador, who ſtaid behind him in *Spain*, and openly profeſs'd the Popiſh Religion, which his Places would not let him do in *England*.

The King's Ambaſſadors in Spain.

Whitlocke *P.* 414.

An Accident happen'd while theſe Ambaſſadors were in *Spain*, which might have prov'd fatal to them, had the Friendſhip between *England* and *Spain* been better fix'd, and that was the before mention'd Murder of Mr. *Aſcham* the *Engliſh* Miniſter at *Madrid*, who arriv'd there with Credentials from the Parliament, after which no Body could think the two other Ambaſſadors would have any Notice taken of them. One of the Aſſaſſins who murder'd the Envoy Mr. *Aſcham* and his Interpreter *Ripa*, a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, was *Progers*, a Servant of the Lord Ambaſſador *Hyde*'s, whoſe Account of the Murder repreſents it as a *gallant Action*, which a little Diſcretion would have hinder'd, for it was neither diſcreet nor decent to talk libellouſly of an *Aſſaſſination*, which rid him of a Rival he was in no Capacity to cope with in Show, Expence or Intereſt. Twice does the well bred Hiſtorian call Mr. *Aſcham*, this *Fellow*, out of burning Envy, at the Magnificence of his Appearance, and the Largeneſs of his Appointments, a *French* Author ſays, *On aſſignat a* Aſcham *deplus gages qu' aux autres afin qu' il put faire un depenſe qui repondit au faſte de la Cour d' Eſpagne, le Miniſtre fit a* Madrid *une des entres les plus ſuperbes qu' on eut jamais veu faire ades Ambaſſadeurs de tetes Couronnees.* "He had a "greater Salary than ordinary, that his Ex- "pence might be anſwerable to the Splendor "of the Court of *Spain*. He made one of the "moſt pompous Entries into *Madrid* that Am- "baſſadors of crown'd Heads had ever been "ſeen to make." The King of *Spain* ſent an Agent expreſs to give an Account to the Parliament of *England* of the great Induſtry of his Miniſters to diſcover the Murderers, whom the Earl of *Clarendon* ſtiles the *poor Gentlemen*. The Council of State was for reſenting the Murder, as became the Dignity of ſo potent a Republick, and for making Repreſentations accordingly to the Parliament; but *Oliver* hinder'd it, ſaying, *All in good Time*; and the Commonwealth had not yet determin'd which Scale to put their Weight into, that of *France* or *Spain*: However he ſpoke to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Cardenas*, in a Tone that gave him Reaſon to fear the Conſequences, if Satisfaction was not given the Parliament, who wrote to the Catholick King; thus,

A. D. 1649.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England *to the moſt ſerene and moſt potent Prince,* Philip IV. *King of* Spain.

"HAving to our great Grief, been inform'd "of the Murder of our Miniſter, Mr. "*Aſcham*, in your capital City, by an infa- "mous Parricide, we earneſtly entreat your "Majeſty to puniſh thoſe Aſſaſſins as they de- "ſerve, *&c.*

They all made their Eſcape but one, and he was hang'd, to the great Mortification of the Lord Ambaſſadors, *Hyde* and *Cottington*.

The King was at the *Hague*, when his Ambaſſadors ſet out for *Spain*; but the Aſſaſſination of *Doriſlaus* made that Place uneaſy to him; ſo he remov'd to *Breda*, leaving his Train to come after him; thence he went to *Antwerp*; thence to *Bruſſels*; and thence to St. *Germains* in *France*, where his Mother reſided, and where there was ſome Difference among his Followers, concerning Col. *Windham*, Governor of *Bridgwater*, when *Fairfax* took it, whom the King had a great Mind to make Secretary, for which, as little Buſineſs as there was for one, Sir *Edward Hyde* aſſures us he was not at all fit, and it is one of the trueſt Characters in the Hiſtory. From St. *Germains*, the King went to *Jerſey*, from whence he intended to go to *Ireland*, but was prevented by the Rapidity of *Cromwel*'s Conqueſts there: To *Jerſey* came Commiſſioners from the Parliament of *Scotland* to invite him to that Kingdom, and how that Affair ſucceeded will be told in the next Year's Tranſactions: In the mean Time he was proclaim'd King in *Jerſey*, and about 300 Royaliſts came with, and repair'd to him there, but brought ſmall Effects with them; and one may ſee how unmercifully the baniſh'd Cavaliers plunder'd this unfortunate Prince; for *Whitlocke* informs us *Mazarine* ſent him 100000 Crowns, when he was going to *Jerſey*; and *Echard* ſays, he had but 300 Pounds when he landed on that Iſland.

The King.

I have before me a Letter written by the Duke of *York*, to the Envoy at *Venice*, who was alſo commiſſion'd to go to *Savoy*, and ſeveral Princes of *Italy*, but had no better Succeſs than what we read in it.

I Have receiv'd both your Letters, and am very glad you have done ſo well in

A. D. 1649. *getting us the Fredom of* Villa Franca *for our Ships.*

Jerſey, Jan. $\frac{3}{13}$.

Yours, &c.

JAMES.

Prince *Rupert* had it ſeems got ſome more Ships, and being doubtful whether the *Portugueſe* would admit him into their Harbours, which the *Spaniards* had refus'd, the King was deſirous to ſecure a Retreat for them on the Coaſt of *Italy*.

Council of the Army. Beſides, the Council of State, whoſe Powers we have already mention'd, there was a *Council of the Army*, of whom we ſhall have too much Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. They were now a little too aſſuming, but as yet they kept within Bounds; though they preſented a Petition to the Parliament, which was ſign'd by the Lord General *Fairfax*, and the Council of Officers, *That all Laws which reſtrain'd Liberty of Conſcience ſhould be remov'd*, eſpecially thoſe that enjoyn'd *Popery*, *Prelacy*, *and the Common Prayer Book*: They alſo deſir'd new Laws againſt *Profaneneſs*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Swearing*, *Uncleanneſs*; That *the Courſe of the Law may be made more eaſy and leſs expenſive*, &c. Col. *Goffe*, and Col. *Pride*, who preſented this Petition, were call'd into the Houſe, and had their Thanks for it. *Cromwel* alſo wrote to them for Liberty of Conſcience to all but *Papiſts* and *Prelatiſts*, which was intended in Favour of *Independents* and *Baptiſts*, who had the greateſt Intereſt in the Soldiery; but the Government, if the Army had not interpos'd, inclin'd rather to *Presbyterian* Diſcipline.

Sir Kenelm Digby. Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and Mr. *Walter Montagu* lurking about *London*, the Parliament order'd them to depart the Commonwealth within 20 Days upon Pain of Death and Confiſcation of their Eſtates; and if any one harbour'd either of them afterwards, his Eſtate was to be ſequeſtred. Sir *John Winter*, another buſy Papiſt, having ſtaid beyond the Time formerly granted him, the Council of State were directed to take Care for the apprehending of him; upon which he ſurrender'd himſelf, diſclaim'd the *Pope*, and all foreign Power, and put himſelf upon the Mercy of the Parliament.

Endeavours were us'd to bring over the reſtleſs Party of *Levellers*, who though humbled were not ſuppreſs'd; and to pleaſe them, *Walwyn*, *Prince*, and *Overton*, who had been cloſely confin'd, had the Liberty of the *Tower* given them. Some of the Grandees had alſo a Meeting with ſome of the principal *Levellers*, to confer about a good Underſtanding and Agreement between all Intereſts. For the Cavaliers continu'd their Intrigues to raiſe Diſturbances under the Name of that Party; intercepted Letters addreſs'd to the Lord *Cottington*, adviſ'd the King to comply with the *Levellers*; and that the *beſt Service his Friends could do him, was to ſet them on againſt the Parliament*; accordingly ſome Soldiers of that Faction ſeiz'd their Officers at *Oxford*, fortify'd *New College*, from whence thoſe Officers made their Eſcape to Col. *Ingoldsby* the Governor; who going out into the Town with a few Officers only, and commanding the mutinous Soldiers to march, paſs'd on to *New College*, the Gates of which were open'd to him, and the Chief of the Mutineers were apprehended; the Soldiers differing among themſelves, and as many being for yielding as for fighting: The Mutiny had no other ill Effects than the Death of one Centinel, ſhot by a *Levelling* Trooper, and the Puniſhment of the Mutineers, who had now declar'd openly that Prince *Charles* ſhould be brought in; and it is ſtrange what a Spirit there was in ſome Men who had been embark'd in that Cauſe: For *Whitlocke* tells, one Captain *Reynolds*, a Cavalier, being together with 17 more Robbers, Burglarers and Murderers hang'd at *Tyburn*, as he was going to be turn'd off the Ladder with the Rope about his Neck, cry'd out twice, *God bleſs the King, & Vive le Roy*. The *Levellers* were ſo numerous in the City, that Lieutenant Colonel *Lilburne* was choſen a Common Council Man, as was alſo Colonel *Pride*; but the Houſe vacated the Election of *Lilburne*, as againſt the *diſabling* Act, upon which *Lilburne* took the *Engagement* as that Act directed, but with a Declaration of his own Senſe upon it. Mr. *Chetwyn*, who procur'd his Election to be a Common Council-Man, was upon ſome Complaint made againſt him, impriſon'd, and afterwards by Order of Parliament committed to *Warwick* Caſtle, and diſcharg'd from being a Freeman of *London*, by a particular Act of Parliament. Some Votes paſs'd againſt other Citizens upon the ſame Buſineſs. It is no hard Matter to trace the Practices of the Diſaffected in our Times from the Example of the Royaliſts in the Time of the Republick. They both uſe the ſame Artifices to alienate the Peoples Minds from the Government; *Complaints of Taxes*, of *Standing Forces*, of *Sectaries*, of *cruel Proſecutions*, and Injuſtice to the right Heir, who has in Store for them the Bleſſings of the golden Age; but when the People after various Changes and Revolutions, made Experiment of that Age of Gold, it was juſt ſuch another Preſent as *Jupiter* ſent to *Epimetheus* by the Lady *Pandora*.

A. D. 1649.

A. D. 1650. We left the young King at *Jerſey*, flatter'd with Hopes of making his Way to *England* through *Scotland*, where the bigotted *Kirkmen* were ſo out of Humour with the new *Commonwealth* of *England*, for the Scorn they put upon their Covenant, that they then preferr'd Subjection to the Son of a King whom they had dethron'd, to the Friendſhip of a *State* who would not ſubject their Conſciences and Intereſts to the Biggotry and Enthuſiam of *Scots* Eccleſiaſticks. There were three Parties in that Kingdom, who all ſeem'd to he reconcil'd in the Eſtabliſhing King *Charles* the Second on the Throne of *Scotland*.

King.

Parties in Scotland.

One Party was that of *Argyle*, conſiſting of the moſt zealous of the *Kirk* Aſſembly who abhorr'd *Popery*, *Prelacy*, and *Independency*, and had no Objection to the Commonwealth of *England*; but as they were afraid of its Power and its Favour to the *Independents*.

The other Party was that of *Hamilton*, who hated Popery and Prelacy, but had rather be *Prelatiſts* than *Independents*, and as *Presbyterians* were fond of Monarchical *Government*.

The third Party was that of *Montroſe*, and conſiſted of the rank *Papiſts* and ridgid *Epiſcopalians*, who matter'd not how Abſolute and Arbitrary the King was over his Kingdom, if they might be Arbitrary and Abſolute under him, and who were eager to venture their deſperate Lives and little Fortunes in the King's Cauſe, only in hopes of being Maſters of the Lives and Fortunes of others.

It was plain *Argyle* and *Montroſe*'s Parties could come no nearer one another than the two Poles; and that *Hamilton*'s and *Argyle*'s could only be reconcil'd while the Affair of the King's Eſtabliſhment was tranſacting in the Manner *Argyle*'s Party would have it.

Hamilton's and *Montroſe*'s Parties were not much nearer one another; for the *Papiſts* in

A. D. 1650.

Montroſe's Party could never come to a hearty Agreement with the *Presbyterians* in *Hamilton*'s; and 'twas obvious they muſt fall to Pieces when they were at Leiſure to think of their ſeparate Intereſts, which were now precariouſly jumbled together; both of them in Appearance ſubmitting to *Argyle*'s Party as having the *Kirk* on their Side, though they both heartily hated them.

After this fair, though general Repreſentation of the State of *Scotland*, how vain, how viſionary will all the Lord *Clarendon*'s Refinements of the King's Council appear to be, when nothing can be plainer, than that he had no Place to go to with his Train but *Scotland*, and that he muſt go thither on what Terms the *Scots* of *Argyle*'s Party pleaſe to ſend him, which no doubt will be drawn up with little Regard to his Majeſty or Honour. Thoſe of his Counſellors who advis'd him to *adhere ſteadily to his Father's Maxims*, could not tell him where to get Money for his and their Subſiſtance, but being *Delinquents*, and liable to publick Juſtice at home, they valu'd not what their Maſter ſuffer'd abroad, if their Perſons were by that Means kept any how out of Danger. The *Scots* having caus'd their King to be proclaim'd, they ſent Sir *George Windram*, Laird of *Libberton*, though not very fond of the Errand, to him in *Jerſey* with their Propoſitions,

Scots Propoſitions.

1. *To ſign and ratify the Covenant.* 2. *To paſs an Act diſclaiming Duke* Hamilton's *Enterprize in* England. 3. *To take away the King's negative Voice in Parliament.* 4. *To forbid* Montroſe's *levying any Forces.* 5. *To put away all Papiſts, and appoint Commiſſioners to treat with Commiſſioners from* Scotland *about a Settlement of that Kingdom.* Which the King conſented to, and appointed the *Hague* for the Place of Treaty, in which 'tis ſuppos'd the Counſel he had from his Mother prevail'd more than that of his Counſellors. *Windram* return'd to *Edinburgh* with this Anſwer, and Sir *William Fleming* accompany'd him, to reſide there as the King's Agent, who was inſtructed to demand on his Maſter's Part, that all ſhould be exempted from the Benefit of their Agreement, as *ſhould be found to have had a Hand in the Death of his Father*, without mentioning whom, which rais'd a Jealouſy that it might reach to all who concerted to the giving up the King at *Newcaſtle*, and for that Reaſon it was not approv'd of. The King would have had the Marquis of *Argyle* to come and treat with him in Perſon, but the Kirk would not truſt that Lord in the Company that was about him. However, the *Scots* ſupply'd their King with Money to carry him from *Jerſey* to *Holland*, where ſoon after the Commiſſioners from *Scotland* arriv'd, all Friends to the Lord *Argyle*.

Their Commiſſioners to treat with the King.

For the States,

The Earl of *Caſſels*, the Earl of *Lothian*, the Lord *Burley*, Sir *George Windram*, Sir *John Smith*, Mr. *Jefferies*.

For the Kirk.

Mr. *Broady*, Mr. *Leviſton*, Mr. *Wood*.

The King goes to Scotland.

The Treaty, as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, *was quickly concluded. The King was in no Condition to ſtruggle, but yielded to all their Demands, of taking the Covenant himſelf, and ſuffering others to take it.* "All excommunicated Perſons were to be forbidden his Court; *Presbytery*, the *Directory* of Worſhip, and the Aſſembly's Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſm, to be *by Law eſtabliſh'd* and us'd in his own Family, *&c.*" Theſe Conditions being ſolemnly ſign'd, the King and his Train embark'd for *Scotland* on board ſome Ships furniſh'd him by the Prince of *Orange*, who not being in a Condition to do it, without at leaſt the Privity of the *States*, the latter were next Year brought to a Reckoning for it.

A. D. 1650.

In the mean Time the Marquis of *Montroſe* had pick'd up between 2 and 3000 Men in *Denmark* and *Holſtein*, with Intention to prepare the Way for the King's ſafe Reception in *Scotland*. Part of thoſe Troops landed firſt in *Orkney*, and the reſt at *Cathneſs*. With him came the Lord *Frendrick*, Sir *John Hurrey*, a Deſerter from the Parliament to the King, Col. *Johnſon*, Col. *Gray*, Sir *Francis Hay*, Col. *James Hay*, and Mr. *Drummond*. When all *Montroſe*'s Forces were join'd they made a Body of 2 or 3000 Men, againſt whom the States order'd *David Leſley* to march, but before he could come up Lieutenant Col. *Straughan* fell upon *Montroſe*'s *Danes*, *Holſteiners*, and *Highlanders*, and entirely defeated them, after a very warm Engagement ſlew 300 of them, and took 500 Priſoners; among whom were *Hurrey*, *Frendrick*, *Napier*, and other Perſons of Note. *Montroſe* threw himſelf upon the Lord *Aſton*, but he would not protect him; on the contrary, he ſent him under a ſtrong Guard to *David Leſley*, who ſent him to the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, where he was condemn'd to be hang'd on a Gibbet 30 Foot high, to be drawn and quarter'd, which Sentence was executed upon him the 21ſt of *May*; Sir *John Hurrey*, Col. *Spotwood*, Sir *Francis Hay*, and other of his Accomplices, were alſo hang'd, the Lord *Frenderick* ſtarv'd himſelf to Death, and the Earl of *Kinnoul* was ſtarv'd.

Montroſe's raſh Enterprize.

Montroſe hang'd.

On the 16th of *June* the King landed in *Scotland*, but ſo privately, that it was not known till the 24th. The Beginning of his Reign, if it may be call'd a Reign, was very promiſing, he not only took the *Solemn League and Covenant* three Times, but ſign'd this Declaration; *He thank'd God for perſwading him of the Juſtice of the* Covenant *which he had taken and ſubſcrib'd, and reſolv'd to maintain. He deſir'd to be deeply humbled for his Father's bloody Actions and his Mother's Idolatry.* He acknowledg'd *all his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's Houſe; and would look upon them as Enemies who oppos'd the* Covenant, *which he took without any ſiniſter End; and abhorr'd all Popery, Superſtition, Idolatry and Prelacy, declaring his Sorrow for his ſinfulneſs in making Peace with the* Iriſh REBELS. This, and a great deal more did the King ſet his Hand to, and the Archdeacon repeats it *gravely*, as if there had been nothing at all in it, though he was ſolemnly ſworn to every Word of the Covenant, and not a Word of it was kept by him. Such plain Dealing and Sincerity cannot but recommend this Prince to two ſuch Hiſtorians as the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* and *Echard*. *Argyle* behav'd towards the King with great Reſpect, and ſo did all his Party in Appearance, but they govern'd all without his Participation. The Chief of them were, the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Caſſels*, the Earl of *Buccleugh*, the Earl of *Weymis*, Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, and Sir *John Cheeſley*. Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Calendar*, and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, were not ſuffer'd to come to Court, nor hardly any *Engliſh* Man who attended the King from *Holland*, except the Duke of *Buckingham*. An Army of 16000 Foot and 6000 Horſe was rais'd to invade *England*, where they flatter'd themſelves they ſhould find the whole Nation ready to receive their King and them with open Arms, and it was given out in *Scotland*, that *Cromwel* would deſtroy the Kingdom with Fire and Sword, to incenſe the *Scots* againſt

K. Charles II. *takes the* Covenant *three Times in* Scotland.

the

A. D. 1650. the *Engliſh*, and to encourage them 'twas reported afterwards, he was routed in *Ireland*, and with four broken Troops only eſcap'd to *Dublin*. Falſe News was one of the main Supports of the Cavalier Cauſe when it was in conteſt, as falſe Hiſtory has been ſince the Diſpute was over. I have ſeen a Letter from the Duke of *York* to a Servant of his dated in *Jerſey* the $\frac{18}{28}$ of *Auguſt*, a Fortnight before the *Scots* were routed at *Dunbar*, wherein he ſays,

The King is in Scotland *in a good Condition, theire being a great Army upon their Borders to meet with* Cromwel, *who is now very near them. We expect every Day to hear ſome good* Newſe *from thence, and theire is ſome good Newſe come hither by ſeveral Ways, that* Cromwel *hath received ſome conſiderable Loſs. To Morrow I go hence for* Holland,

Your very affectionate Friend,
James.

Whitlocke. As ſoon as the Parliament of *England* had received certain Intelligence of the *Scots* Agreement with the King, and of their raiſing Forces to augment their Army, and ſupport that Agreement, a Committee was appointed to confer with the Lord General *Fairfax* on that Matter, and repreſent to his Excellency how requiſite it would be to ſend an Army into *Scotland* to divert the War from *England*. But they found his Lordſhip averſe to it, influenced, as was ſuppos'd, by his Lady, a rigid Presbyterian, and more a Friend to the *Scots* than they wiſh'd, wherefore they thought this a fit Time to recal the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which was done by a Letter from the Speaker in *January*.

On the 12th of *February* the Houſe nam'd theſe Perſons to be of the Council of State for the Year following,

Council of State. Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolles*, Lord Chief Baron *Wylde*, Lord General *Fairfax*, Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, *Henry Marten*, Eſq; Col. *Purefoy*, Col. *Hutchinſon*, Sir *William Maſham*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *William Conſtable*, *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; *William Heveningham*, Eſq; Alderman *Pennington*, Sheriff *Wilſon*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *Luke Robinſon*, Eſq; *John Jones*, Eſq; Mr. *Wanton*.

Prince Rupert. We have mention'd Prince *Rupert*'s having got a Squadron of Ships to Sea again, and we find him again at *Lisbon* in *April*, purſu'd thither by General *Blake*, who ſent to the King of *Portugal* for leave to fall upon him, and coming near with his Ships the Governor of the Caſtle *General* Blake. fir'd at him. *Blake* requir'd to know the Reaſon, and the Governor ſaid, *He had no Order from the King to let him paſs*. However, the King ſent one of the greateſt Lords of his Court to congratulate the *Engliſh* Admiral's Arrival on that Coaſt, and to deſire him not to come into the River unleſs the Weather prov'd bad, and he cou'd not ride where he was, his *Portugueze* Majeſty being afraid Prince *Rupert* and he might fight in his Harbour. The Weather beginning to grow foul *Blake* put into the Bay of *Wiers*, in the River of *Lisbon*, two Miles from Prince *Rupert*, whoſe Men came daily over to him, and the *Swallow*, one of his Ships, was running away, but the *Boatſwain*, who had plotted the bringing her off, was diſcover'd, and the Plot prevented. *Blake* took five of the *Braſil* Fleet, and ſent the King of *Portugal* Word, that if *he did not command Prince* Rupert *from his River he would endeavour to ſeize all the reſt of that Fleet*, he alſo deſir'd Juſtice for the Damages the *Engliſh* Merchants had ſuffer'd by the Prince's being ſhelter'd in his Harbour. The Parliament in their Letter to the King of *Portugal* deſires the King to arm againſt *Rupert*, by Sea and Land, to treat him and thoſe Wretches with him not as Enemies, but as Pyrates, not as Merchants, but as the Peſts of Commerce, and to puniſh them as Thieves and Rebels. This is the Fleet of which the Earl of *Clarendon* ſpeaks as the Terror of *Spain*.

A. D. 1650.

On the firſt of *June*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* having left his Son in Law, Commiſſary General *Ireton*, Lord Deputy in that Kingdom, arriv'd at *London*, attended from *Hounſlow Heath* to the City by many Members of Parliament and Officers of the Army, and receiv'd there with very great Ceremony and Appearance of Joy. Three Days after he took his Seat in Parliament, and had the hearty Thanks of the Houſe for his great and faithful Services in *Ireland*. Two or three Days after it was reſolv'd, *That having a form'd Army well provided and experienc'd, they would march it forthwith into* Scotland, *to prevent the* Scots *marching into* England, *and the Miſeries accompanying their Forces to our Countrymen*. General *Fairfax* approv'd of it at firſt, but afterwards fell off, as has been hinted by the Perſwaſion of his Wife, and declaring himſelf unſatisfy'd to invade *Scotland*; he declar'd alſo he would engage againſt the *Scots*, if they invaded *England*. Upon this the Council of State appointed Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Harriſon*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Lord Commiſſary *Whitlocke*, to confer with him; and the Conference which is at large in *Whitlocke* was very long. It is plain, that *Oliver* at that Time earneſtly entreated the Lord General to continue his Command, which if he had continu'd, all his ambitious Schemes had been fruſtrated; wherefore I ſee no Reaſon to think he then thought of ſetting up himſelf above the Parliament, though ſome half witted Politicians pretend he got *Fairfax* to be ſet aſide on purpoſe to make Room for himſelf.

Cromwel *returning to* England. P. 445.

The Lord *Fairfax*, ſays *Ludlow*, was unwilling to alter his Reſolution, *in Conſideration of any Thing that had been ſaid*: *Upon this, Lieutenant General* Cromwel *preſs'd*, that notwithſtanding this Unwillingneſs of his, he might be ſtill *Generaliſſimo* of the Army, *profeſſing for himſelf he would rather chuſe to ſerve under him in his Poſt than to command the greateſt Army in* Europe: But the Council of State not approving that Advice, reported the ill Succeſs of the Conference with the Lord General to the Parliament, who would doubtleſs have paſt a Vote for his delivering up his Commiſſion, to prevent which, the Lord General ſent his Secretary with it to them; and ſome of his Friends informing the Houſe that the Secretary was at the Door, he was call'd in, and he deliver'd the Commiſſion, which the Houſe receiv'd; and having voted him a Revenue of 5000 Pounds *per Ann.* they reſolv'd, That *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; *ſhould be* Captain General *of all their Land Forces*, and an Act paſt accordingly, about a Week after King *Charles* arriv'd in *Scotland*; a very ſure Preſage that his Stay there would not be

Cromwel *made Captain General.*

A. D. 1650.

be long. In the mean Time the Forces march'd Northwards, and when they rendezvous'd were 20000 Horſe and Foot, which threw the *Scots* Nation into a terrible Conſternation, though they had a gallant Army ready to oppoſe them, much ſuperior in Number to the *Engliſh*, who enter'd *Scotland* at the latter End of *July*. In this Army *Monk* had a Regiment made up of ſix Companies out of Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*'s, and ſix out of Col. *Fenwick*'s. He had given himſelf intirely to *Cromwel*, whoſe Fortune he ſaw was the ſureſt Way to make his own; and *Oliver* finding him a Perſon that would make a fit Tool for him, one who would be reſolute in Action and docible in Council, from this Time admitted him into his Favour, which the other ſlaviſhly courted. The *Scots* fir'd their Beacons upon the Entrance of the *Engliſh* Army, which advanc'd without Oppoſition as far as in Sight of *Edinburgh*: The Country all along as they march'd was deſerted, and the People fled to the Capital, which Major General *Lambert* fac'd with 1500 Horſe. The *Scots* would not hazard all by a deciſive Battle, hoping to tire out *Cromwel*'s Men with frequent Skirmiſhes, and harraſing them, and relying much on the Climates diſagreeing with *Engliſh* Conſtitutions, in which they were not miſtaken, as appear'd by the Sickneſs that carry'd off many of his Army, inſomuch that for want of Health and Proviſion, the *Scots* having intercepted all Supplies from *England* nearer than *Dunbar*, 20 Miles from *Edinburg*, he was forc'd to retreat thither. The Enemy follow'd them cloſe, attack'd the *Engliſh* Rear Guard of Horſe in the Night, and put them to ſome Diſorder. But Major General *Lambert* and Col. *Whaley* coming to their Relief, beat back the *Scots* to their Trenches, and by the Help of a Miſt the next Day, the *Engliſh* got ſafe to *Dunbar*, where they intended to ſhip their Sick and heavy Baggage, and return into *England*: But the *Scots*, on Confidence of Succeſs by the Advantage of their Numbers, near three to one of the *Engliſh*, advanc'd ſtill, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Paſſes, leaving *Cromwel*'s Men no Way to clear themſelves but by fighting on thoſe unequal Terms. In this Extremity a Council of War was call'd, and after ſome Diſpute, it was agreed to fall upon the Enemy next Morning, *September* the Third, about an Hour before Day; and accordingly the ſeveral Regiments were order'd to their reſpective Poſts: Upon the firſt Shock *Cromwel*'s Forlorn of Horſe was ſomewhat diſorder'd by their Lanciers; but two of his Regiments of Foot that were in the Van, behav'd ſo well that they not only ſuſtain'd the Charge of the *Scots* Horſe, but beat them back upon their own Foot, and following them cloſe, forc'd both Horſe and Foot to retreat up the Hill, from whence they had deſcended to attack them. The Body of the Enemy's Army finding their Van Guard, which conſiſted chiefly of their choiceſt Men, thus driven back upon them, began to ſhift for themſelves, which they did with ſuch Precipitation and Diſorder, that few of them ventur'd to look behind them till they arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, taking no Care of their King, who, ſays *Ludlow*, *made Uſe of the ſame Means to ſecure himſelf as his new Subjects had done.* One Party of the *Scots* Horſe made a Stand till the *Engliſh* came up to them, and then ran away after the reſt of their Companions. The *Engliſh* had the Purſuit of them beyond *Haddington*; they kill'd 4000 and took 10000 Priſoners, which were half of their Army; among the latter were the Laird of *Liberton*, Lieutenant General, Sir *John Lunſden*, Col. Sir *William Duglas*, the Lord *Grandiſon*, Sir *John Brown*, Col. *Gourdon*, &c. Of the Parliament Army not above 40 private Men were kill'd, and only Major *Rooksby* mortally wounded. The General ſent 5000 of the Priſoners who were wounded home on their Paroles, and 5000 more to *Berwick*. *Cromwel* after this Victory march'd to *Edinburgh*; the Gates of the City were open'd, but the Caſtle ſtood out two or three Months.

Monk.

Engliſh *Army in* Scotland.

Dunbar *Fight.*

P. 328.

A. D. 1650.

Great was the Joy in *England* on News of *Oliver*'s Succeſs in *Scotland*, which was brought by Sir *John Hipſley*. The Parliament order'd the *Scots* Colours, taken in *Lancaſhire* and *Dunbar*, to be hung up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and that Medals of Gold and Silver ſhould be given to the Soldiery. I have ſeen the Print of a Medal of *Oliver* ſtruck on this Occaſion by ſome of his Flatterers. On one Side was the Impreſſion of his *Buſte*, with the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Armies at a Diſtance, and round it the *Word* at the Battle of *Dunbar*, the LORD OF HOSTS, *September* 3, 1650. On the Reverſe, a Repreſentation of the Parliament. It is ſaid, that when this Medal was preſented to *Cromwel*, he flung it away, ſaying, The Title of *Lord of Hoſts belongs to God only*.

The Remains of the *Scots* Army retreated with their King to *Sterling*. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, the King got a great Advantage by being routed at *Dunbar*, and took Heart ſo much that he left his Court and Courtiers, and went to the *Highlands*, without communicating his Deſign to the Marquis of *Argyle*, nor even to the Duke of *Buckingham*, in hopes that the *Highlanders* joining with *Hamilton*'s Party, would let him enjoy his Kingſhip a little more than *Argyle* did: And this he informs us was call'd the *Start*; for they have a Language peculiar to themſelves, and could do nothing without it; as for Inſtance, take away from them *Rebels*, *Rebellion*, *Seditious*, *Sedition*, *Schiſm*, *Schiſmaticks*, and their Oppoſites, you leave their Cauſe and their Hiſtory as naked as a Skeleton. The Difference here between his Hiſtory and *Whitlocke*'s, is chiefly in the Lord *Clarendon*'s averring the King did not let the Duke of *Bucks* know any Thing of that *Start*, and *Whitlocke* affirms he took the Duke of *Bucks* with him. He adds, *He was ſoon brought back again*, and the *Scots* to pleaſe him and his Followers, order'd Preparations to be made for crowning him at *Scone*, and another Army to be rais'd to come to the ſame End as thoſe at *Preſton* and *Dunbar*.

P. 455.

We cannot cloſe this Year without looking a little into the Affairs of *Ireland*, where we left the Lord *Broghill*, Commander of a ſeparate Body employ'd to watch *Inchiquin*; and he ſuppreſs'd an Inſurrection of the *Iriſh*, intended to cut off Proviſions from *Cromwel*'s Army, then before *Waterford*, and the great Intereſt he had in *Ireland*, created a Jealouſy of him in *Cromwel*, that he might be an Obſtacle to him. His Friends perceiving it, perſwaded the Lord *Broghill* to keep at a Diſtance, and act always with a ſeparate Army; but the Service would not admit of it, and rather than obſtruct it he clos'd heartily with *Cromwel*, whom he join'd in his Camp, before *Waterford*; in which was a Garriſon of 4000 Foot and 1000 Horſe: But the Parliament being Maſters of the Sea, and their Ships having free Entrance into the Harbour, plentifully ſupply'd the *Engliſh* Army. The Place was not reduc'd when *Cromwel* return'd to *England*; and the Author of the Memoirs of the Lord *Broghill* relates the taking of it in a Manner different from all other Authors. There was in

Water-ford *taken.*

A. D. 1650. that Lord's Regiment a Lieutenant nam'd *Crocker*, who with his Brother, Serjeant *Crocker*, and about 30 Musketeers, were order'd to fire the Suburbs, that the Beſiegers might be enabled the better to puſh on their Attacks. The two *Crockers* and their Party fir'd all the Houſes and Stacks of Corn near the City, the Smoke of which was by a Weſterly Wind ſpread all over it, to the great Terror of the Beſieg'd, who thought the *Engliſh* were enter'd, and had ſet Fire to the Town, and in this Fright they ran out at the Eaſtern Gate, and under Covert of the Smoke got out of the Beſiegers Reach, who little dreamt of what had happen'd. This ſhameful Flight was occaſion'd by a deſperate Attempt of the two *Crockers* and their Party; one of whom while the Suburbs were a Fire, ſpy'd two Ladders near the Town Wall, and Lieutenant *Crocker* being ſhewn the Ladders, ſaid, 'Twould be a brave Thing if they mounted the Walls and enter'd the Town, which they all agreed to, thinking they might do it unperceiv'd by Help of the Smoke. They got upon the Walls, ſlew the Centinel that was poſted there, and hearing a great Noiſe and Uproar in the Town, they reſolv'd to take Advantage of the Diſorder and Darkneſs, and march'd forward to the main Guard, killing all they met. The *Iriſh* could not ſee what their Number was, and concluding the *Engliſh* Army were enter'd, they immediately fled. So Lieutenant *Crocker* ſiezing their Guns at the Guard, and turning them againſt them, if they ſhould rally, march'd to the Weſt Gate, and open'd it, which a Centinel perceiving ran to the Lord *Broghill*, whoſe Regiment was poſted on that Side, and told him of it. His Lordſhip rode towards the Gate and ſaw *Crocker* coming out, brandiſhing his Sword, and crying, *The Town is ours*, *The Town is ours*, as it prov'd to be when the *Engliſh* enter'd and found no Enemy to oppoſe them. The Caſtle held out ſome Days, but yielded upon Articles.

Cromwel's *Diſcourſe with Lord* Broghill *about the King's Death.*

My Author informs us, that the Lord *Broghill* being about this Time in Diſcourſe with *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, fell upon the Subject of the King's Death. *Oliver* ſaid, *If he had follow'd his own Mind, and had had truſty Servants about him, he had fool'd them all.* He added, *We had once an Inclination to have come to Terms with him, but ſomething that happen'd drew us off from it.* The Lord *Broghill* finding they were both in a good Humour, ask'd them, *Why, if they were inclin'd to cloſe with him, they had not done it?* *Cromwel* reply'd frankly, *The Reaſon of our Inclination to come to Terms with him was, We found the* Scots *and* Presbyterians *began to be more powerful than we, and were ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to ſtrike up an Agreement with the King, and leave us in the Lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reaſonable Conditions; but while we were buſy'd with theſe Thoughts, there came a Letter to us from one of our Spies, who was of the King's Bed-Chamber, acquainting us, that our final Doom was decreed that Day: What it was he could not tell, but a Letter was gone to the Queen with the Contents of it, which Letter was ſown up in the Skirt of a Saddle, and the Bearer of it would come with the Saddle upon his Head about Ten a Clock the following Night to the* Blue Boar *Inn in* Holborn, *where he was to take Horſe for* Dover. *The Meſſenger knew nothing of the Letter in the Saddle, but ſome one in* Dover *did. We were then at* Windſor, *and immediately upon Receipt of the Letter from our Spy,* Ireton *and I reſolv'd to take a truſty Fellow with us, and in Troopers Habits to go to the Inn, which accordingly we did, and ſet our Man at the Gate of the Inn to watch. The Gate was ſhut, but the Wicket open, and our Man ſtay'd to give us Notice when any one came with a Saddle upon his Head.* Ireton *and I ſate in a Box near the Wicket, and call'd for a Can of Beer, and then another, drinking in that Diſguiſe till Ten a Clock, when our Centinel gave us Notice that the Man with the Saddle was come, upon which we immediately roſe; and when the Man was leading out his Horſe ſaddled, we came up to him with our Swords drawn, and told him we were to ſearch all who went in and out there; but as he look'd like an honeſt Fellow, we would only ſearch his Saddle, which we did, and found the Letter we look'd for, and opening it, read the Contents, in which the King acquainted the Queen,* " He was now " courted by both the Factions, the *Scots Pres-* " *byterians* and the *Army*; that which of them " bid faireſt for him ſhould have him; that he " thought he ſhould cloſe ſooner with the *Scots* " than the other: " *Upon which we ſpeeded to* Windſor, *and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable Terms from the King, we immediately reſolv'd to ruin him.*

A. D. 1650.

The brave Colonel *Jones*, who routed the Marquis of *Ormond*, and drove him from before *Dublin*, being diſguſted at ſome Proceedings of *Cromwel*'s, or probably jealous of his Succeſſes, deſir'd the Lord *Broghill* to have a Conference with him as he lay at *Dungarvon*. *Broghill*, who knew of *Jones*'s Diſguſt or Jealouſy, and that both of them were ſuſpected by *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, communicated to them that Col. *Jones* deſir'd to ſpeak with him, which he was not willing to do till he had conſulted them who were his General Officers. They both readily conſented to it, but would needs have that Lord to take a Captain with him to wait upon him, under Pretence of doing him Honour, but indeed to be a Spy upon him. When he came to *Jones* he found him very ill, and very much exaſperated againſt *Cromwel* and *Ireton*. He told the Captain he had ſomething to ſay to my Lord which related to himſelf, and deſir'd him to withdraw, which the Captain could not refuſe. He then fell into Invectives againſt the two Generals, and would have engag'd *Broghill* to join Forces with him, and they would drive them both out of *Ireland*, and take the Command of that Kingdom and Army on themſelves. This Scheme was the Effect of a ſick Frenzy, and the Lord *Broghill* look'd upon it as ſuch, repreſenting to him, that the dividing the Forces before the *Iriſh* Rebels were entirely ſubdu'd, would endanger the Ruin of all. As to himſelf, he thought his Illneſs to be too great to admit of any Perturbation of Mind, and deſiring him to repoſe himſelf, he took his Leave, being told by a Phyſician that Col. *Jones* could not live two Days, having all the Symptoms of the Plague, of which the next Day he dy'd. *Cromwel* having left *Ireton* to command in *Ireland*, the latter, aſſiſted by the Lord *Broghill*, beſieg'd and took the ſtrong City of *Limerick*, where he dy'd of the Plague. It has been mention'd that *Monk* had ſurrender'd *Dundalk*, and was gone for *England*. He pretended his Men would not ſtand by him, and they gave a good Reaſon why, for that he had confederated with *Owen Roe O Neal*, Head of the *Iriſh* REBELS, of which the Council of State having Notice, they diſapprov'd of it, and *Monk* was examin'd at the Bar of the Houſe, who receiv'd ſo little Satisfaction by his Examination, that they voted, *To diſapprove of what Major General* Monk *had done, in concluding a Peace with the grand and bloody* Iriſh

Broghil's *Diſcourſe with Col.* Jones.

Monk.

Whitl. p. 403.

A. D. 1650. Iriſh *Rebel* Owen Roe O Neal, *and that they did abhor to have any thing to do with him therein*; which Vote was order'd to be printed. In the Debate of it, ſeveral Reflections paſs'd on his Honour and Fidelity; and *Whitlocke* obſerves, "It was the Opinion of divers, either not at all "to have queſtion'd this Buſineſs, or having "once queſtion'd it, not to have employ'd him "any more in their Service;" which was very good Reaſoning, and probably it was owing chiefly to *Cromwel* that he was afterwards truſted.

The Parliament paſs'd an Act for a new High Court of Juſtice for the Trial of Sir *John Stawel*, *David Jenkins*, *Walter Slingesby*, *Browne Buſhel*, *William Davenant*, *C. Garrard*, *Euſeby Andrews*, and others; the latter was a Lawyer, but had ſerv'd in the King's Army as a Lieutenant Colonel, and having offended againſt the Act which the Parliament had paſs'd, declaring Treaſons, he was found guilty, condemn'd to be beheaded, and executed on Tower-Hill, where he dy'd very reſolutely. This Court were impower'd to hear and determine of any Miſpriſion or Concealment of Treaſon. Capt. *Aſhley* was ſentenc'd to be beheaded, and one *Benſon* to be hang'd, for conſpiring againſt the Commonwealth in the treaſonable Engagement of Colonel *Andrews*. *Benſon* was executed at *Tyburn*, but *Aſhley* found Mercy from the Parliament.

Andrews *the Lawyer executed.*

About this Time dy'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth* in the *Iſle of Wight*. 'Tis ſuppos'd that ſhe took very much to Heart the Loſs of her Brother's Company, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, for whoſe Liberty the Emperor and the King of *Denmark* having earneſtly ſollicited the Parliament, they permitted his being convey'd to *Holland*, from whence he went to his Mother in *France*.

Admiral Blake *and Prince* Rupert.

In the mean Time, Admiral *Blake* and Admiral *Popham* watch'd Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet in *Lisbon* River, and having intercepted the *Portugal* Fleet from *Brazil*, took eleven of them, with 8000 Hogſheads of Sugar, and other rich Goods; which ſo frighten'd the King of *Portugal*, that he came down in Perſon, and caus'd Prince *Rupert* and his Fleet, 18 in all, to leave the River, which he did; and the Parliament's Ships being in Purſuit of the ſcatter'd Fleet from *Brazil*, gave him an Opportunity to get out in *September*. After this the King of *Portugal* admitted him no more into his Harbours, but ſent an Ambaſſador to make his Peace with the Commonwealth of *England*, who about the latter End of *October* paſs'd an Act for turning the Law-Books and the Proceſs and Proceedings in the Courts of Juſtice into *Engliſh*; as alſo an Act for an Aſſeſſment of 120000 Pounds *per Menſem* for maintaining their Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, they having now above 60000 Soldiers in Pay, beſides Seamen.

A. D. 1651. We cannot open the following Year with a more remarkable Incident than that of the Coronation of King *Charles* II. at *Scone* in *Scotland*, which was perform'd with as much Ceremony and Splendor as the Times and Treaſure would permit, on the Firſt of *January*. The Coronation Sermon was preach'd by Mr. *Robert Douglas*, who, addreſſing himſelf to the King, ſaid, "The chief Cauſe of the Judgment upon his "Houſe, had been his Grandfather's Breach of "*Covenant* with God, and his Father's following "his Steps, in oppoſing the Work of God and "his Kirk, within theſe Kingdoms; he there-"fore admoniſh'd him to adhere to the *Cove-*"*nant*; and let him know, that he was oblig'd "not only to maintain Religion as it is eſta-"bliſh'd in *Scotland*, but, if it ſhould pleaſe "God to reſtore him, likewiſe to endeavour the "ſame Reformation in his other Kingdoms, and "not to tolerate any *falſe Religion* within "his Dominions." Sermon done, the *National Covenant* of *Scotland*, and the *Solemn League and Covenant* were diſtinctly read, and an Oath adminiſter'd to the King in theſe Words: *I* Charles *King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *do aſſure and declare by my ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, my Allowancee and Approbation of the* National Covenant, *and of the* Solemn League and Covenant, *and faithfully oblige my ſelf to proſecute the Ends thereof in my Station and Calling; and that I my ſelf, and Succeſſors, do and ſhall conſent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the* National Covenant, *and the* Solemn League and Covenant, *and fully eſtabliſh* Presbyterian *Government, the* Directory *of* Worſhip, Confeſſion *of* Faith, *and* Catechiſms *in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *as they are approv'd of by the General Aſſembly of this Kirk, and Parliament of this Kingdom; and that I will give my Royal Aſſent to Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament, paſs'd or to be paſs'd, enjoining the ſame in my other Dominions; and that I ſhall obſerve theſe in mine own Practice and Family, and ſhall never make Oppoſition to any any of theſe, or endeavour any Change thereof.* This done, the *National Covenant*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the *King's Oath* ſubjoin'd to both, being drawn up in a fair Parchment, the King, in the Preſence of all, ſubſcrib'd the ſame. Which is fit to be remember'd, when we find him ten Years hence abjuring theſe *Covenants*, and paſſing Acts to perſecute and ruin all thoſe that adher'd to them. If ſuch Practices are conſiſtent, I will not ſay with the Chriſtian Religion, but with the Principles of any Religion that ever was taught Mankind, I ſhall on the Proof of it readily ſubſcribe to all the Lord *Clarendon*'s Panegyricks on this King of the Covenant. The Form of his taking the Coronation Oath was this, *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall obſerve and keep all that is contained in this Oath.* When the Marquis of *Argyle* put the Crown, which was Silver double gilt, on his Head, the Miniſter pray'd, *That the Lord would purge the Crown from the Sins of them that reign'd before him.* After the King was crown'd the *Hamiltonian* Party got Ground daily, and making an odious Mixture with that of *Montroſe* and the Highland Papiſts, gave great Diſcontent to the Marquis of *Argyle* and his Friends, who grew ſoon weary of their preſent Work, but could not help the *Scots* Parliament voting Duke *Hamilton* to command the Army under the King, *David Leſley* to be Lieutenant General, *Middleton* to be Major General of the Horſe, and *Maſſey* General of the *Engliſh*. *Cromwel* march'd his Army towards *Sterling*, near which Place the King's Forces, almoſt double his Number, were encamp'd. He order'd Colonel *Overton*, with 1600 Foot and 300 Horſe, to paſs in flat-bottom'd Boats over to *North Ferry* in *Fife*, which was done in Spight of all Oppoſition, *Cromwel* keeping ſtill cloſe to the *Scots* Army to fall on their Rear in Caſe they mov'd to diſturb his Enterprize. However, Major General *Holburn* and Sir *John Brown* were diſpatch'd with 4000 Men to drive the *Engliſh* out of *Fife*, but before they could come up, Major General *Lambert* and Col. *Okey* got over the *Forth* and join'd *Overton* with 1500 Foot and 800 Horſe. The *Engliſh* fell upon *Brown* and

A. D. 1651. *He is a sworn Presbyterian.*

Charles II. *crown'd at* Scone.

A. D. 1651. *Holburn*, entirely defeated them, kill'd 2000 on the Spot, and took 1200 Priſoners, among whom was *Brown*, who dy'd ſoon after. This Defeat was about the latter End of *July*, and it was follow'd by the Surrender of almoſt all the Garriſons on both Sides of the *Forth*. *Brunt Iſland*, and the *Inneſgary Fort*, were reduc'd by *Lambert*, and *Cromwel* took in St. *Johnſton*. On this ill Succeſs the King, for ſeveral political Reaſons, enlarg'd upon by the Earl of *Clarendon*, reſolv'd to enter *England*; but Biſhop *Burnet* gives one ſhort Reaſon for it much better than all of them, *He took a deſperate Reſolution to march into* England, *there being nothing elſe to be done.* Moſt of the Lord *Clarendon*'s Reaſons are liable to the like Explanation. This had been long the Deſign of the *Scots*, encourag'd to it by fair but falſe Repreſentations from the *Engliſh* Presbyterians, who were now very buſy in Projects and Cabals for reſtoring that very Prince, who when he was reſtor'd, deliver'd them up, without Mercy, to a revengeful implacable Enemy.

The Parliament paſs'd an Act on the 11th of *February*, by Balloting, for the following Perſons to be the Council of State for the Year enſuing.

Council of State. Lord General *Cromwel*, Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolles*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Major General *Skippon*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *William Maſham*, Sir *William Armyne*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *James Harrington*, Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Col. *Purefoy*, *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *James Challoner*, Eſq; *Valentine Walton*, Eſq; *Humphry Salway*, Eſq;

New Members.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; Major General *Harriſon*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Bouchier*, *John Carew*, Eſq; *Nicholas Love*, Eſq; *Francis Allen*, Eſq; —— *Liſter*, Eſq; —— *Thomſon*, Eſq; —— *Fielder*, Eſq; *Henry Darley*, Eſq; *William Say*, Eſq; *William Cawley*, Eſq; —— *Goodwyn*, Eſq; —— *Lemman*, Eſq; *Dennis Bond*, Eſq; *John Gourdon*, Eſq;

They order'd the King's Arms to be every where taken down, and the Arms of the Commonwealth ſet up in their Room. A *Court of Juſtice* was erected in *Norfolk* for trying ſome People that had appear'd there in Arms for the King: But Col. *Rich*'s Regiment ſoon diſpers'd them, and the Priſoners taken by them were try'd by that Court, of which the Lord Commiſſioner *Keeble*, whom *Coke* calls an ignorant pettifogging Lawyer, was Preſident, and they condemn'd 24, of whom 20 were executed at *Norwich* and other Places. One of their Chiefs, Mr. *Hobart*, nearly related to Sir *John Hobart*, was pardon'd, and he afterwards marry'd *Cromwel's* Niece, Widow of Col. *Hammond*.

General Blake. General *Blake* continuing to obſerve the Motions of Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet, purſu'd him to *Malaga*, where that Prince, with a true Cavalier Spirit, ſunk ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchant Ships, and demanded the Maſter of a *Londoner*, who had ſign'd the Petition againſt a *Perſonal Treaty*, ſaying he *would boil him in Pitch*; but the Governor refus'd to deliver him, and we ſhall ſoon ſee an End put to the Exploits of this Royal Rover; for a Day or two after General *Blake* came up with him, fell upon him in the Road of *Malaga*, ſunk three of his Ships, and drove all the reſt aſhoar except two, in one of which was Prince *Maurice*, who made Sail towards the *Weſt Indies*, but was never heard of more. Prince *Rupert* eſcap'd in the other. General *Blake* in his Paſſage to *Malaga* met with a *French* Man of War, and having commanded the Captain on board, ask'd him, *If he was willing to deliver up his Sword?* The *Frenchman* boldly ſaid, *No.* Then *Blake* bid him return to his Ship and fight it out as long as he was able, which he did, and after two Hours Fight, ſtruck and ſubmitted; and coming on board the General's Ship, kiſs'd his Sword and deliver'd it to *Blake*, who ſent him and his Ship, with 3 other *French* Prizes, to *England*, whether he ſoon after return'd himſelf, having clear'd the *Mediterranean* and *Britiſh* Seas of all Enemies to the Commonwealth, ſecur'd the Navigation, and vindicated the Honour of *England* beyond whatever was known of its naval Glory. The Parliament order'd him Thanks for his *great and faithful Service*, which was all this great Man deſir'd. He contended for nothing but the good of his Country: He trod all other Intereſts under Foot when that was in Queſtion. He deſpis'd the Dignities and Treaſures to which we have known the Commonwealth to be often ſacrific'd; and though he did more than all thoſe who have done moſt in our Times, he got not a tenth Part of what ſome Sea-Officers under a Flag, have heap'd up in a Summer's Cruize, not to go higher, and loſe our ſelves in a Compariſon which would be as glorious for Admiral *Blake*'s Memory, as it would reflect on the Reputation of others. I write this very near the Houſe where that renown'd General was born, and the Reader will excuſe the Digreſſion. *A. D.* 1651. Whitlocke. Blake's *publick Spirit.*

The Presbyterians in *England* were in ſtrong Expectation of the King, and the *Scots* Army's entring *England*, and making Preparations to join them. The *Cavaliers* were a broken, ruin'd Party, ſo impotent and contemptible, that the Republick was in no more Concern about them, than to ſee that they paid their Compoſitions and Sequeſtrations; and though hardly one of them durſt lift up his Hand, and much leſs his Arm, againſt the Parliament, and the King had not a Hope but in the *Presbyterians*, yet after the *Reſtoration* the Royaliſts dinn'd his Ears eternally with their Services and Merits, and rav'd againſt, and preach'd againſt the *Presbyterians*, as King-Killers and Republicans. The King indeed did not always give Ear to the Pretenſions of the Cavaliers, who ſtarv'd as much after the Reſtoration as before it, excepting a few Inſtances, but he did what he could to pleaſe them in oppreſſing the *Presbyterians*, who are now running all Hazards to ſerve him. The Vigilance of the Government in the Time of the Republick was ſuch, that no Conſpiracy could eſcape it, and that now form'd in *London* by the Chief of the *Presbytery* for the King's Reſtoration was diſcover'd, perhaps while it was in Embrio only, though the Parliament ſuffer'd it to encreaſe almoſt to a Birth. *Presbyterians for the King.*

The following Miniſters were engag'd in this Conſpiracy.

Mr. *Arthur Jackſon* of St. *Michaels*, *Woodſtreet*. Dr. *Roger Drake* of St. *Peter's*, *Cheap*. Mr. *Thomas Watſon* of St. *Stephens*, *Walbroke*. Mr. *Chriſtopher Love* of St. *Anns*, *Alderſgate*. Mr. *Ralph Robinſon* of St. *Mary Wolnoth*. Mr. *James Nalton* of St. *Leonards*, *Foſter-lane*. Mr. *Thomas Cawton* of St. *Bartholomew*, *Exchange*. Mr. *Thomas Caſe* of St. *Margaret's*, *Milk-ſtreet*. Mr. *William Jenkin* of *Chriſt-Church*, and Lecturer of St. *Anns*, *Black-fryers*. Mr. *Richard Heyrick*. Mr. *Matthew Haviland*, of *Trinity College*. Mr. *Drake*, and others, as Col. *Sowton*,

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ton, Col. *Vaughan*, Col. *Barton*, Major *Huntington*, Captain *Maſſey*, Major *Adams*, Captain *Farr*, Captain *Potter*, Mr. *Gibbons*, Mr. *Sterkes*, Mr. *Jaquel*, Lieutenant Colonel *Jackſon*, who were very zealous for carrying on the Cauſe, made Treaſon by an Act of this Parliament. Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Love*, &c. were order'd to be proſecuted in the High Court of Juſtice. Mr. *Nalton* and Mr. *Cawton* fled to *Holland*, and were made Paſtors of the *Engliſh* Church at *Rotterdam*. I ſhould be more concern'd, while I am telling this Story, for the Sufferings of theſe Miniſters, and their Adherents, if their Folly had not been equal with their Zeal, to venture their Lives for a Party who never once ſhow'd they were ſenſible of any other Sentiments of Honour and Gratitude, than what bound them down to a ſlaviſh Subjection to the Power that favour'd or fed them.

The Earl of *Clarendon* ſpeaking of Mr. *Love*, calls him that *Fellow*, though he is about to loſe his Head for the ſame Cauſe which made a Lord of the Hiſtorian. The Decency and good Manners of that Expreſſion is indeed another Proof that it was inſerted at *Chriſt Church*. A Gentleman could hardly have thought of it when he was ſpeaking of a dying Miniſter. *Echard* mimicks thoſe *Chriſt Church* Men, or that Hiſtorian, and calls him the *Incendiary*, the *poor Man*, the *Traytor*, the *Rebel*, though the Rebellion and Treaſon for which he was about to ſuffer was againſt the *Rebels* and *Traytors*, as they term them, to reſtore the King. Mr. *Love* being brought before the High Court of Juſtice, *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; Solicitor for the Commonwealth, charg'd him with *holding Correſpondence with the King and his Party, and ſupplying them with Arms and Money, contrary to the abovemention'd Act.* Mr. *Jackſon* was tamper'd with to be Evidence againſt him, but he refus'd it, for which he was fin'd 500 Pounds, and committed to the *Fleet*, where he continu'd about 17 Weeks. Mr. *Love* diſputed the Authority of the Court, which none could think would be of any Service to him. The Trial began the 21ſt of *June*, and many Witneſſes were produced to prove the Charge againſt him. At the next Hearing, *July* the 2d, Mr. *Matthew Hale* was aſſign'd him for Counſel, but the Fact being prov'd, Counſel ſignify'd no more than his frivolous Pleas, *That he did not do it himſelf. That he did not perſonally act*, and the like. Two Days after he was ſentenc'd to be beheaded. On the 15th of *July* Mr. *Love* petition'd the Parliament, and ſeveral other Petitions were preſented on his Behalf for Pardon of his Life, but after much Debate upon the Queſtion it paſs'd in the *Negative*. On the Day appointed for his Execution divers Miniſters in and about *London* preſented a Petition to the Houſe, *earneſtly, and in the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, who when we were Sinners died for us, if not totally to ſpare the Life of our dear Brother, that yet you would ſay of him, as* Solomon *of* Abiather, *At this Time he ſhall not be put to Death.* Upon this Petition the Parliament reſpited the Execution a Month, and on the 22d of *Auguſt* he was beheaded on *Tower Hill*. He dy'd *raving*, ſays *Echard*, he has no Conſcience in his Expreſſion. *He dy'd with a fearleſs Quietneſs, as if he had been going to Bed.* It is not to be doubted, but the chief Reaſon for his falſifying the Fact to abuſe this Miniſter of the Goſpel in the laſt Moments of his Life, was for his then bearing Teſtimony againſt *Epiſcopacy*. But what Religion are theſe Men of, who, when natural Compaſſion melts the Mind towards a dying Chriſtian, are ſo far from pitying, that they inſult him. It is no Excuſe, that this Inſolence and Falſhood are copy'd after the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, for if he had not been enamour'd with thoſe Falſities in it, he would have been aſham'd of them, and have avoided them, as well as I have done. At the ſame Time, and for the ſame Crime, was executed Mr. *Gibbons*, who had been a Servant to *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; He agreed with the Keeper for 200 *l.* to let him eſcape, of which 100 Pounds was paid, and a Bond given for the other 100 *l.* but that Wretch, and what better can be expected from ſuch infamous Wretches, betray'd this worthy Gentleman, took his Money, and diſcover'd the Bargain.

Mr. Love *try'd.*

'Tis fit to ſay ſomething of Mr. *William Jenkins*, another Miniſter and Conſpirator, not only for what he ſuffer'd for the King, but for his Sufferings after the Reſtoration for his Religion, the latter being the only Reward he had for the former. He was impriſon'd for this Conſpiracy, and thought to be in as great Danger as Mr. *Love*, he having loſt his Benefices in the City for refuſing to obſerve the Parliament's Day of *Thankſgiving*. His Friends, Dr. *Seaman*, Dr. *Arthur*, and others, earneſtly perſwaded him to petition the Parliament, and Dr. *Arthur* drew up a Petition for him, wherein he acknowledg'd them under all their Titles. Mr. *Jenkins*, tho' his Life lay at ſtake, made great Difficulty of ſigning it, and indeed of accepting a Pardon, if Mr. *Love* was not alſo pardon'd, which being refus'd, he was at laſt prevail'd with to ſign the Petition, and the Parliament were ſo well ſatisfy'd with his Submiſſion to them, that they voted him a Pardon, and an immediate Diſcharge from Priſon and Sequeſtrations. After he had done and ſuffer'd all this, and contributed more than any one of the *Laudean* Clergy to the King's Reſtoration, he was one of the firſt Miniſters who was perſecuted for ſcruple of Conſcience, and at laſt thrown into *Newgate* for no other Crime than ſpending ſome Hours in Prayer with three other Miniſters, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Flavel*, and Mr. *Keeling*, where he lay ſo long that he was kill'd with the noxious Air of the Goal, as appears by this Inſcription on his Monument.

IN DOM. GUIL. JENKIN. M.D.V. LOND. CUIUS GRAA INTER GRAVES Eccleſiæ Procellas *Novo pylo* i. e. *Newgate*, Incarceratus, Martyr obiit.

Dr. *Roger Drake*, another of theſe Conſpirators, was turn'd out of his Pariſh of St. *Peter Cheap*, as ſoon as the King's Crown was ſettled on his Head in *England*. Another of them, Mr. *Thomas Watſon*, had his Church of St. *Stephen Walbroke* taken from him, and himſelf was ſent to ſeek his Bread where he could get it. Mr. *Arthur Jackſon* was turn'd out of his Pariſh of St. *Faiths*. Mr. *James Nalton*, another of theſe Conſpirators, who had been an Exile in *Holland* for his Endeavours to ſerve the King, had his Benefice of St. *Leonard's Foſter-lane* taken from him as ſoon as the King had leiſure, from the Triumphs of his Reſtoration, to think of perſecuting his Reſtorers. Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, another Conſpirator, was driven out of his Pariſh of St. *Giles's*, which he held at the Reſtoration, to which he had very much contributed. So generous, and ſo grateful was this King to thoſe conſcientious Perſons, who had ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes to reſtore him to that Power which enabled him to ruin them, and their Religion, as far as Truth is to be ruin'd by Power.

The Diſcovery of this and other Plots was a great Diſheartning to the *Scots*, who expected great Matters from the Promiſes of their Friends in *England*, but *Deſperation* and *Fear*, as *Oli-*

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ver ſays, drove them out of their own Kingdom to try their Fortune in this. The Lord General *Cromwel* being taken ill in *Scotland*, the Parliament order'd Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates* to go and attend him, they being his Phyſicians, and well eſteem'd by him, ſays *Whitlocke*. For which the latter, in his dull, dry Hiſtory, intituled *Elenchus*, &c. calls him *Traytor*, *Tyrant*, *Fanatick*, *Hypocrite*, and whatever coarſe Names he could think of, to pleaſe his Patron the Earl of *Clarendon*. The *Scots* Enterprize, at a Time when the Commonwealth was become terrible to all Nations that were not in Friendſhip with her, could not, according to the leaſt Degree of humane Reaſon, have any other End than it had, Diſgrace and Deſtruction. The Council of State had almoſt hourly Meſſengers going to, and returning from the ſeveral Bodies of Forces in *England* and *Scotland*, carrying Advice and Directions to them, and bringing Informations from them. No Affair of this Nature could be manag'd with more Diligence, Courage and Prudence, than this was, nor perhaps was there ever ſo great a Body of Men ſo well arm'd and provided got together in ſo ſhort a Time, as were now rais'd, and ſent away under Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Rich*, and other gallant Officers, to join with the reſt of the Forces attending the King, who has *Cromwel* and *Lambert* behind him, *Harriſon*, *Rich*, and one may ſay, the *Militia* of *England* before him, yet the Lord *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon march along with his Army as if there had been a Chance for avoiding the Miſery they met with.

The Dutch *offend the* Engliſh.

The Commonwealth of *England* had for ſome Time, and with good Reaſon conceiv'd a Jealouſy of her Siſter the Republick of *Holland*, who 'twas evident had ſhelter'd the Princes of *England*, and conniv'd at the Aſſiſtance the Prince of *Orange* had given the King. The Death of *Doriſlaus* had not been ſufficiently inquir'd into, and now another Incident happens to give new Provocation. The Parliament had ſent the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John* to the *Hague*, to join with the Miniſter Reſident, Mr. *Strickland*, in a Negotiation for a Coalition between the two Republicks, where he had not been arriv'd above a Fortnight before he was inſulted by Prince *Edward*, Brother to the Elector *Palatine*, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*. *Gregorio Leti* miſtakes the Perſon, and tells us, it was the Duke of *York* who affronted the Lord Ambaſſador *St. John*, or rather *Saint John* who affronted the Duke of *York*; but tho' he miſtakes the Perſon, he is probably right in ſome Circumſtances of the Thing. " The Duke " of *York* being at the *Vorhout* taking the Air in " the Shade of a Summer's Evening, *St. John* " reſolv'd to do the like. The Walks there are " all rail'd in, with Turnpikes to admit the " Company at certain Places and keep out " Coaches and Horſes. The Ambaſſador ſo " contriv'd it, that as the Duke was about to " paſs one of thoſe Turnpikes he endeavour'd to " do the ſame, and the Paſſage being thus " ſtopp'd they look'd on each other very ſternly " a Moment or two, at laſt the Duke of *York* " loſing all Patience, thruſt the Turnpike " round, pull'd off *St. John*'s Hat, flung it at " his Feet, and ſaid, *Learn, Traytor, to re-* " *ſpect the Brother of the King, thy Lord.* " *St. John* reply'd with an Air of Contempt and " Anger, *I regard neither thee nor the Perſon* " *thou ſpeak'ſt of, but as a Race Fugitive and* " *Vagabond.*" Upon which the *Duke* put his Hand to his Sword and prepar'd to draw; the Ambaſſador was as ready as he, and they would have fought had not the Company hinder'd them.

Life of Cromwel, p. 247.

Duke of York *and Lord Ambaſſador* St. John *quarrel.*

As ſoon as the States heard of it, they ſent to the Duke, deſiring he would abſent himſelf and retire to *Hounſterdyke*, a Palace of the Prince of *Orange*'s, and ſent Deputies to the Lord Ambaſſador to acquaint him with it; but the latter demanded, That they ſhould either cauſe the Duke to be ſeiz'd and impriſon'd, as one attainted and condemn'd to Death by the Republick of *England*, or that he ſhould be baniſh'd out of all the Territories within their Juriſdiction. *Whitlocke*, who aſſures us it was Prince *Edward* who affronted the Lord Ambaſſador, adds, he was ſummon'd to appear at the *Hague*, to anſwer his Miſdemeanor againſt the Lord *St. John*, and that the States ſent to the Princeſs of *Orange*, to the Duke of *York*, and to the Queen of *Bohemia*, to deſire that none of their Trains might be ſuffer'd to offer any Affront to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors or their Attendants, whom the States had taken into their Protection, and would not regard any great Perſon who ſhould affront them. They all promis'd to conform to the States Deſire, and the latter caus'd a Court of Guard to be built at the Door of the Ambaſſadors. It is not to be queſtion'd that the *Hollanders* would have given the Parliament whatever Satisfaction they requir'd, without any Regard to the Duke of *York* or his Family, if the latter would have admitted them to a Coalition on eaſier Terms, than a Diſunion from their other Allies for a Union with *England*, but thoſe of the Parliament who were for humbling the *Dutch*, and reſenting paſt Slights and Offences, of whom *St. John* himſelf was one, would hear of no other Agreement than what the Ambaſſador offer'd, and aggravating very much the Affront the Ambaſſador either gave or receiv'd, the *Dutch* found there would be no Accommodation without Submiſſion, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were recall'd, but follow'd immediately by Ambaſſadors from *Holland* to endeavour to prevent a Rupture, which they were more afraid of than they had been careful to prevent.

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Ireland.

We have mention'd the Death of Lieutenant General *Ireton* of the Plague at *Limerick*, and ſhall take a curſory View of the Affairs of that Kingdom in this Year. Col. *Ludlow* was appointed to command there as General of the Horſe, and General *Cromwel*, Major General *Ireton*, not then dead, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *John Jones*, and *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; were appointed Commiſſioners for the Civil Government, who appointed Commiſſioners under them for levying the extraordinary Taxes, Exciſe and Cuſtoms.

For *Dublin*, Col. *Hewetſon*, Governor. For *Ulſter*, Sir *Charles Coote* and Col. *Venables*. For *Kilkenny*, Col. *Daniel Axtell*. For *Clonmel*, Col. *Zanchy*. For *Cork*, Col. *Phaier*. For *Waterford*, Col. *Laurence*.

To whom were added other Commiſſioners in their ſeveral Precincts, and Col. *Thomas Herbert*, and Col. *Markham*, were made Inſpectors over the reſt. Other Commiſſioners were appointed for Diſtribution of Juſtice in theſe Precincts.

While the Army lay before *Limerick*, the Lord *Broghill* was order'd to prevent the Lord *Muskerry*'s joining the Forces that were preparing to march to its Relief under the Pope's Nuncio, who had already got above 8000 Men together. The Lord *Broghill* had but 600 Foot and 400 Horſe, and *Muskerry* 1000 Horſe and Dragoons, and near 2000 Foot. The Charge was very deſperate on both Sides, the Lord *Broghill* had 120 Horſemen ſhot, and 30 kill'd, but notwithſtanding

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Great Army in Ireland. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* commanded the Army in chief, which conſiſted of between 7 and 8000 Horſe and Dragoons, and above 22000 Foot.

Cromwel by poſſeſſing himſelf of *Fife* in *Scotland*, and cutting off the Communication between the *Royal Army*, as it is call'd, and the Country beyond the *Forth*, had put a Force upon the King to break up his Camp, and begin a haſty March for *England*. The Lord *Clarendon* applauds this Step as the Effect of his Courage and admirable Conduct. *The Northern Parts of* England *had given him Cauſe to believe they were well affected to his Service. His Army was numerous enough, and might thereby be encreas'd.* Cromwel *could not comprehend the Meaning of his Councils. It was no ſmall Surprize to him, and he knew not what to do, and ſo forth.* All which is a Dream of the Hiſtorians, for *Cromwel* knew full well what he had to do, and ſo early as *April*, *Whitlocke* obſerves,

King's March into England. that the Royal Army intended to give the Parliament's the Slip, and get into *England*. *Warwick* owns the King's March was upon Neceſſity not Choice, and *Argyle* was ſo aſham'd of the Madneſs of ſuch Counſels, that he left the Army, retir'd to his Houſe, and acted no more with ſuch raſh and inconſiderate Counſellors. Lord *Clarendon*, or the *Oxford* Doctors, oblige one to offend often againſt the Decorum of Hiſtory, by giving the Air of Wiſdom to Actions which are the pure Effect of Weakneſs or Deſpair. Among Duke *Hamilton*'s Papers, after the Rout at *Worceſter*, was found the following Letter, which turns all the Reaſonings in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* into Ridicule. 'Twas addreſs'd to Mr. *William Crofts* a Retainer of the Courts.

Duke Hamilton's *Letter about it.*

WE are laughing at the Ridiculouſneſs of our Condition, who having quit Scotland, *being ſcarce able to maintain it; yet we graſp at all, and nothing but all will ſatisfy us, or to loſe all. I confeſs I cannot tell, whether our Hopes or Fears are greateſt, but we have one ſtout Argument, and that is* Deſpair, *for we muſt now either ſhortly fight or die. All the Rogues have left us, I will not ſay whether for Fear or Diſloyalty, but all now with his Majeſty are ſuch as will not diſpute his Commands.*

Brit. Triump. p. 119. This is the Story which the Lord *Clarendon* treats of as gravely, with as many ſage Remarks and political Reflections as if it had not been what the ſame Author from whom I took the Letter ſays; ſo that you ſee *this Undertaking was not the Product of a mature and deliberate Counſel, but of Neceſſity and Deſperation.* On the 6th of *Auguſt* the King paſs'd the *Tweed*, near *Carliſle*, with an Army of about 16000 Horſe and Foot; and *Cromwel*, who had caus'd Inſtructions to be ſent to Major General *Lambert*, to advance towards their Van, order'd Major General *Harriſon*, with 3000 Horſe and Dragoons to keep as cloſe to their Rear as he could conveniently; himſelf having left 7000 Horſe and Foot with Lieutenant General *Monk*, in *Scotland*, and given him Directions how to behave in his Abſence, follow'd the King with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Army.

Earl of Derby riſes for the King. The Earl of *Derby* had kept himſelf on the Defenſive in the *Iſle of Man* ever ſince the End of the former War, and purſuant to the Commands he receiv'd from the King, he now landed at *Wyewater* in *Lancaſhire*, with about 300 Gentlemen and others, with Intention to raiſe the Country, tho' he could not get above 1500 Horſe and Foot together. Major General *Harriſon*, with about 4000 Horſe and Foot, ſomewhat obſtructed the March of the *Scots*, tho' he was not conſiderable enough to fight them, and being join'd by Major General *Lambert*, they obſerv'd the Enemy ſo cloſely as to keep them from Excurſions, and prevent others from joining them. The *Scots*, who were in great Expectation of Aſſiſtance from *Wales*, and relied much upon Col. *Maſſey*'s Intereſt in *Glouceſterſhire*, ad- Ludlow. vanc'd that Way. Few of the Country came in to them, but on the other Side, ſo affectionate were the People to the Commonwealth, that they brought in Horſe and Foot from all Parts to *The* Engaſſiſt the Parliament. The Regiments of *Lon-* liſh *a-*
don, *Surrey*, *Berkſhire*, and *Oxfordſhire* Militia, *gainſt the* the Militia of *Shropſhire* and *Cheſhire*, march'd *King.* to the Rendezvous againſt the *Scots* Army; nay the Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and the Heads Whitl. of the Colleges rais'd 120 Horſe and a Regiment of Foot for the ſame Service. The Lord *Fair-* *As is* Oxfax, and ſome even of the excluded Members, ford *Uni-* appear'd in Arms on this Occaſion, for the Re- *verſity.* publick was now ſo potent and renown'd, that all Oppoſition to it was imputed to Frenzy or Deſperation; and till they were betray'd by their Servant *Cromwel*, and till his Son was betray'd by his Relations, the *Fifth Monarchy* was more likely to take Place than that of King *Charles* II. Col. *Lilburn* was left with 1000 Horſe in *Lancaſhire* to hinder the Earl of *Derby*'s raiſing Forces there, or joining the King with what he had rais'd, and the Lord General kept always within two or three Days March of the King, who ſent to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, a Parliamentarian Colonel, to raiſe the *Welchmen*, and to Col. *Mackworth* to do the ſame for him in *Shropſhire* and *Shrewsbury*, but neither of them took any Notice of his Letters. He was proclaim'd King in all Places where he came, as *Echard* remembers with great Satisfaction, tho', as my Author ſays, *It was a Blaſt of Honour which, like* Jonah's *Gourd, quickly vaniſh'd; for, alas, by this Project of the* Scots *they ran themſelves into inevitable Danger, as the Poet has it,*

Decidit in *Syllam*, qui vult vitare *Charybdim*,

Who ſcapes Charybdis *into* Sylla *falls,*

being inviron'd on all Sides with the Militia Forces of the ſeveral Counties of the Nation; which

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which *Ludlow* tells us were thought ſufficient to have cut the King's Army to Pieces, without the Help of a Regiment of the Parliament's regular Troops. But Mr. Archdeacon aſſures us, that after *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and 50000 of the Militia of *England*, were join'd, *Oliver* was ſo afraid of his Majeſty, that he deſir'd a Meeting with the Devil in a Wood near *Worceſter*, and ſold his Soul to him for the Bargain of beating the King, who had ſcarce one Man to his four, and whoſe Men were fatigu'd by a March of 22 Days from *Sterling* in *Scotland* to the City of *Worceſter* in *England*. *Echard*, after *Warwick*, blames the King for taking to that City: They would have had him to have taken *London*, where his Letter had been burnt by the common Hangman; for, according to *Warwick*, his Army could but have been knock'd on the Head there if the worſt happen'd, and if the beſt, then they had done the Buſineſs. But theſe excellent Politicians never obſerv'd that the King was driven to *Worceſter* as into a Net, and that the Parliament's Forces had not left him at Liberty to march where it pleas'd him. Before the Devil and *Cromwel* had the Conference, Mr. *Echard* has ſo finely deſcrib'd in the Wood near *Worceſter*, one of *Oliver*'s Colonels had made the Bargain much the better for him by beating the Earl of *Derby*'s Party at *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*. The latter was ſuperior in Number to Col. *Lilburn*'s, who however attack'd them with ſuch Vigour, that after a warm Diſpute of an Hour's Length, the Lord *Derby*'s Men were totally routed. The Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Tildeſley*, Col. *Trollop*, all three Papiſts, were ſlain. 'Tis the ſame Work ſtill, and the ſame Workmen. There were ſlain alſo Col. *Boynton*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Sir *Francis Gamul*, many inferior Officers and Soldiers. Among the Priſoners, 500 in Number, were Sir *Timothy Fetherſtonhaugh*, Col. *Legg*, Col. *Robinſon*, Col. *Bayns*, Col. *Gerard*, Col. *Ratcliff*, all their Baggage, Sumpters, Arms and Ammunition, were taken, as were the Earl of *Derby*'s George and Garter, himſelf much wounded, and about 30 more got to *Worceſter*, at the Sight of whom the Citizens heartily repented they had open'd their Gates to the King, who had promis'd them an Army under this defeated Lord. The King ſeeing his Hopes loſt in the Lord *Derby*'s Defeat, would have march'd off with his Horſe, upon which his Foot were ready to mutiny, ſaying, *We will both endure the ſame Fortune*, and the King and his Officers had much ado by fair Words to appeaſe them, and ſatisfy them that they would not leave them.

Oliver *ſells his Soul to the Devil, according to* Echard.

Earl of Derby *routed.*

Whitl. 482.

The *Scots* finding they were like to be ſhut up with their King and ſtarv'd in *Worceſter*, thought it their beſt Way to attempt to force a Paſſage before *Cromwel*'s Forces were all come up, tho' he had more than enough to encompaſs the City. They were poſted on each Side of the *Severne*, ready to receive the Enemy, if in their deſperate Condition they ſhould attempt to eſcape by Sallies. Their firſt Attack was made upon Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*'s Quarters at *Upton*, who, with ſome Forces of the Army and ſome *Militia* Regiments, made a vigorous Reſiſtance; but the *Cavaliers* preſſing theſe Troops very hard, the General diſpatch'd ſome Troops to his Aſſiſtance by a Bridge laid over the River, commanding Major General *Lambert* to ſend another Detachment to the ſame Purpoſe; but he deſir'd to be excus'd, alledging, that if the Enemy ſhould alter their Courſe, and fall upon thoſe on this Side the *Severne*, they might probably cut off all that remain'd; which was not unlikely, for ſoon after

Battle of Worceſter.

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moſt of the Enemy's Strength fell upon that Part of the Army where the General and Major General *Lambert* were. The Battle was fought with various Succeſs on both Sides for a conſiderable Time, tho' ſtill hopeful on that of the Parliament; but at length the *Scots* Army was broken, and quitting their Ground, retreated in great Diſorder to the Town, where they endeavour'd to defend themſelves. But Major General *Harriſon* and Col. *Croxton*, with the *Cheſhire* Militia, enter'd it at their Heels. *Leſley*'s Brigade was then in the City unbroken. The King, who had ſeen the Beginning of the Fight from the Top of the Cathedral Tower, and had afterwards charg'd the Parliamentarians in Perſon, earneſtly begg'd thoſe *Scots* and the flying Soldiers to make one Charge more, and rather kill him on the Place, than expoſe him to the Calamity and Miſery that muſt attend the Loſs of that Day. But nothing could bring them on again, and *Leſley*'s Brigade running with the reſt, *Cromwel*'s Men ſoon became Maſters of the City: Upon which there was a doleful Cry among the Citizens, *O ſave the King*, *Save the King*, who however had not much conſider'd their Safety, by impoſing himſelf upon them, and expoſing them to the Reſentment and Chaſtiſement of a victorious Republick. The King fled with the firſt, which the Earl of *Clarendon* expreſſes ſo much like a Cavalier, that one can hardly read it without a Horſe-laugh; *His Majeſty was perſwaded to withdraw himſelf.* A Writer of the ſame Kidney tells us frankly, *The King ſeeing how the Caſe ſtood, preſently fled out of the Town*; and *Whitlocke*, *They rode away Poſt in great Confuſion, their King being the foremoſt*; and ſure there needed not much Perſwaſion to run out of the Danger he was in, when *Cromwel*'s Men had Poſſeſſion of Part of the City, and in a few Minutes muſt have the whole. There fled with him the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Lord *Wilmot*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and about eighty Gentlemen of Diſtinction, whom we muſt leave for a while ſhifting for themſelves as well as they could.

Comm. War, *p.* 110.

Ib. 110.

The King's Army entirely defeated.

Of the King's Army near 4000 were kill'd, and near 10000 taken Priſoners. Among the Slain were General *Forbes* and Duke *Hamilton*, tho' he dy'd not till next Day, and the Lord General ſent his own Surgeons to ſee if his Wounds were curable, and to do their utmoſt for him; but all their Care and Skill were in vain. Among the Priſoners were, tho' not taken all at one Place or Time, the Earl of *Derby*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Carnwarth*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Kelly*, the Earl of *Rothes*, the Lord *Grandiſon*, the Lord *St. Claire*, the Lord *Spine*, the Lord *Kenmure*, General *David Leſley*, Lieutenant General *Middleton*, Major General *Piſcotty*, Col. *Graves*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, Secretary, Col. *Blague*, and a great Number of Colonels, Lieutenants, Majors, and Subalterns, with Standards, Colours, Baggage, the *Standard Royal*, the King's Coach, his Coller of SS, Bag and Baggage, Arms, Ammunition, and all the Trophies of a moſt glorious Victory: And it is to be obſerv'd, that whatever Advantages the Parliament and their Friends got, it was always by Arms, and with Glory, agreeable to the Dignity of the Cauſe for which they fought, Religion and Liberty; and that whatever Advantages their beaten and baffled Enemies got afterwards, were owing to Perfidy and Perjury, and to a Baſeneſs which is ſcandalous

Brit. Triumph.

Priſoners.

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On the Side of the Parliament 100 Soldiers were ſlain, 300 wounded. Quarter-Maſter General *Moſeley* and Capt. *Jones* were the only Officers of Note who were kill'd, and only Capt. *Howard* wounded.

Whitlocke takes Notice, that Sir *Richard Onſlow*, with the *Surrey* Regiment, march'd hard to come up to the Engagement, ſo did Capt. *Walter St. John* with the *Surrey* Troop. I mention the latter, to be Matter of Comfort to him whom I take to be his Grandſon, and whoſe Attainder for Treaſon was lately forgiven him, that he may with Pleaſure look back on the worthy Behaviour of his Anceſtor, in aſſerting the Liberty of his Country, whoſe Glory and Intereſt himſelf ſo baſely betray'd by his dark Cabals and ruinous Negotiations, when he thruſt himſelf into the Management at the latter End of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, when he labour'd to break the grand Confederacy to reſtore *France* to the exorbitant Power the Confederates had raviſh'd from her, and the Enemies of *England* to a Capacity of giving her all the Trouble and Diſturbance ſhe has ſince met with. It muſt, one would think, be ſome Comfort to him, amidſt ſo much Guilt and Diſgrace, to read that the Cauſe of Liberty always found Aſſertors in his Family, till he endeavour'd to throw down all its Defences, and that their Merit will, with generous Minds, be ſome Atonement for his Offences, eſpecially if he offends no more, but behaves with the Duty and Gratitude which are due from one who owes his Life to the Clemency of his King and Country.

Sir Walter St. John's *Grandſon's ill Practices.*

I ſhould not have written this Hiſtory, had it not been to have made ſuch Reflections, when they were naturally produc'd by the Subject.

Whitl. p. 484. About 3000 of the King's Horſe got out of *Worceſter*, the greateſt Body was under *David Leſley*, whom Col. *Lilburn* intercepted, and took 1000 of them, with their General, paſſing thro' *Sanebarch* in *Cheſhire* on a Fair-Day. The Townſmen and Countrymen fell upon them with Clubs and Staves, and with the Poles of their Stalls as they paſs'd by knock'd them down, and took about 100 of them. Col. *Barton*'s Regiment pick'd up the reſt. *Maſſey* had been wounded at the taking a Paſs near *Upton* before the Fight, and could get no farther than *Leiceſterſhire*, where he ſurrender'd himſelf to the Counteſs of *Stamford*, who caus'd his Wounds to be well look'd after, and gave the Parliament Notice of it. He was ſoon after ſent to the Tower, as were moſt of the *Scots* Priſoners of Quality. This famous Battle was fought on the 3d of *September*, juſt a Twelvemonth after that at *Dunbar*. *Cromwel*'s Word was the ſame, *The Lord of Hoſts*; and in his Letter to the Parliament he ſtiles it a *Crowning Mercy*, not in the Conſtruction which weak Authors ridiculouſly put upon it, as if it ſhould intimate to the Parliament that it prepar'd the Way for his turning them off and taking the *Crown*, but in the common Senſe, that by ending their Wars it crown'd all their other Victories. A. D. 1651.

The Earl of *Derby* fell again into the Hands of Col. *Lilburn*; as did the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and the former had been ſo inveterate and dangerous an Enemy to the Commonwealth, that he could expect no Mercy; but though *Cromwel* wrote in his Letter to the Houſe, that ſome *of the Priſoners would be fit Subjects of their Juſtice*, I find few that ſuffer'd. The Parliament order'd the 3d of *September* to be kept yearly in all the three Kingdoms; and *Cromwel* returning to *London* was receiv'd with as much Magnificence and Ceremony as a General could expect, who in the Opinion of the People was the Deliverer of his Country; but it was obſerv'd that after this Action, ſo ſhining and ſo important, he took upon him a more ſtately Behaviour, and choſe new Friends. Neither muſt it be omitted, that inſtead of acknowledging the Services of thoſe who came from all Parts to aſſiſt him againſt the common Enemy, though he knew they had deſerv'd as much Honour as himſelf and the ſtanding Army, he frown'd upon them, and the very next Day after the Fight diſmiſs'd them and ſent them home, well knowing that a uſeful experienc'd *Militia* was more likely to obſtruct than to ſecond him in his ambitious Deſigns, which the Parliament did not ſeem to be at all apprehenſive of at that Time. They careſs'd him in an extraordinary Manner, and deputed the Lord Chief Juſtice *Saint John*, and three other of their Members to attend him on the Road from *Worceſter*; as did great Numbers, not only of Members but of Perſons of Quality and Citizens, ſome Miles before he arriv'd at *London*, which was nine Days after the Fight, and there he was ſpendidly treated by the City. Every Body paid their Court to him as the Head of the Commonwealth; and it is doubtleſs from this Time that he thought of making himſelf in Fact what he was now in Appearance. Ludlow. Comwel *grows haughty.*

This great News from *Worceſter* was accompany'd with very good from *Scotland*, where Lieutenant General *Monk*, about a Fortnight after *Cromwel* left him, took *Sterling* Caſtle, one of the ſtrongeſt in *Scotland*, of which King *James* boaſted that it had never been taken in the Reigns of 106 Kings, as by this Inſcription which *Monk* defac'd; *Monk.*

——— *Nobis hæc invicta dedere*
Centum ſex Proavi.———

It was ſurrender'd upon Articles; and beſides 40 Pieces of Cannon, 5000 Arms, Ammunition, *&c.* there were found Money, Jewels, the Records of *Scotland*, the Chair and Cloth of State, the Royal Sword, the Earl of *Mar*'s Coronet, Parliament Robes, and other rich Goods. *Cromwel*'s Abſence ſo encourag'd the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Leven* and other Lords ſet about raiſing another Army in *Perthſhire*; for which Purpoſe they had a Meeting at *Ellet*, ſeven Miles from *Dundee*; and *Monk* hearing of it, ſent Col. *Morgan* and Col. *Alured*, to ſurprize them, which they effected, and ſeiz'd old General *Leſly*, Earl of *Leven*, the Earl *Marſhal*, the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Keith*, the Lord *Ogilvy*, the Lord *Burgenny*, the Lord *Huntley*; Scotland.

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the Lord *Lea*, with about 300 Knights, Gentlemen, and Miniſters. This Aſſembly met with Intention to levy what Forces they could, and attempt the Relief of *Dundee*, beſieg'd by *Monk*, who having ſummon'd the Cavaliers, they with their wonted Modeſty and Diſcretion ſent Anſwer; That whoever of the *Parliament Army would lay down their Arms, and come in to them, ſhould have Mercy*; but as ſtout as their Anſwer was, they ſtood not the Storm above a Quarter of an Hour: *Monk*'s Soldiers enter'd the Place, and put all the King's Men to the Sword; nay, *Ludlow* aſſures us he commanded the *Governor*, Lieutenant General *Lumſdain*, *with ſeveral others to be kill'd in cold Blood.* This is the Man of whom the Earl of *Clarendon* ſays he pleas'd himſelf with an Opinion that *he was not ſerving againſt the King*, while he commanded for the Parliament, which is ſome of the beſt Reaſoning in his Characteriſticks. In *Dundee* were taken 50 Sail of Ships, and Plunder to an incredible Value, which ſo enrich'd the Parliament's Soldiers, that as *Whitlocke* writes, a Centinel could hardly be known from an Officer. *Aberdeen* ſent her Keys to *Monk*, *Dunbarton*, *Dunotter* Caſtles, and *Abernethy* ſurrender'd at Summons; thus in about a Month's Time after the King enter'd *England*, was all *Scotland*, except two or three Faſtneſſes in the *Highlands*, reduc'd with little or no Difficulty. *Monk* had a very eaſy Task to finiſh the Work, which *Oliver* found ſo difficult in the Beginning; and if the Task had not been ſo eaſy, it is very likely that *Lambert*, or ſome other General than *Monk*, would have been left in *Scotland* to go through with it.

Whitl. *Cavalier Inſolence and Folly.*

The King's Flight.

We are now to wander with the King in his Flight after the Rout at *Worceſter*; but there's no need of circumſtantiating the Story as the Lord *Clarendon* and the Archdeacon do; for with them King *Charles* the Second in the Oak, near *Boſcobel*, makes as heroical a Figure as in any Part of his Reign, which I have no Mind to diſpute with them. We have obſerv'd that his Majeſty made very great Diſpatch in his Journies after *Worceſter* Fight; but neither Horſe or Men could keep travelling without Refreſhment and Reſt: Wherefore the King, by Advice of the Earl of *Derby* who had hid there after his Rout at *Wiggan*, made towards *Boſcobel* in *Staffordſhire*, belonging to one *Pendrel* a Papiſt, where he hop'd to hide till the Search for him was over. His Company had all left him but the Lord *Wilmot*, who kept near him, one Mr. *Giffard* a Papiſt and his Servant *Francis Yates*, another Papiſt, both whom had ſerv'd in *Worceſter*, under a Popiſh Colonel, one *Careleſs*, whom according to Lord *Clarendon*, they found on an Oak in a Wood, not far from *Boſcobel*; and the Colonel coming down, his Majeſty got up and hid in it as *Careleſs* had done. The King was conducted to *White Ladies*, in the Pariſh of *Tong* in *Shropſhire*, where one of the *Pendrels* dwelt, and there he ſtripp'd himſelf of his own Cloaths, put on the Garb of a Peaſant, and rounded his Hair *Alamode de Roundhead*. He lay in the Oak by Day, and in the Houſe by Night; from thence they went to *Boſcobel*, and thence to Mr. *Whitegrove*'s of *Moſely*, where they found the Lord *Wilmot*, the King travelling like a *Woodman* with a Bill in his Hand. In theſe Travels he was much help'd by *Huddleſtone* a Benedictine Monk; and from his Departure from *Worceſter* to his coming to Mr. *Lane*'s in *Staffordſhire*, he had truſted himſelf with none but Papiſts; tho' there is a very particular Account of his Majeſty's being made Welcome by every one of theſe Papiſts, and his Concealment of 5 or 6 Days in the Hollow of a Tree, the Hay-mow, the Barn, which takes up four or five Pages; yet the Lord *Clarendon* introduces it thus, *It is great Pity that there was never a Journal made of that miraculous Concealment; in which there might be ſeen ſo many viſible Impreſſions of the immediate Hand of God.* I cannot make Reflections on ſuch Paſſages without treading too cloſely on the Heels of Eſtabliſhments, into which ſome have endeavour'd to weave the Cauſe they engag'd in. From Mr. *Lane*'s Houſe the King diſguis'd like a Servant rode before Mrs. *Lane*, his Daughter, to *Leigh* in *Somerſetſhire*, five Miles from *Briſtol*, which was then the Seat of Mr. *Norton*, who had marry'd her Siſter, and is now the Seat of Mrs. *Trenchard*, Widow to the famous Mr. *Trenchard*, better known by the feign'd Name of *Cato*, which he put to ſome of his Writings. Here he left Mrs. *Lane*, whoſe decent Behaviour is highly commended by the Earl of *Clarendon*; and from thence went to Col. *Francis Windham*'s at *Trent*, not far from *Shirburn*, intending to take Shipping for *France* at *Lyme*; but being balk'd there, he rode before another young Gentlewoman from *Trent* to *Salisbury Plain*, where he was met by Dr. *Henchman*, afterwards Biſhop, and by him conducted to *Heal*, belonging to Serjeant *Hyde*, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice, three Miles from *Salisbury*; and the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was of the ſame Family, does it Honour on this Occaſion, which to ſhew my Impartiality I ſhall not forget: *This Seat*, ſays he, *always belong'd to Malignants.* From *Heal* he was conducted by Mrs. *Hyde* to *Stonehenge*, where he met Dr. *Henchman* again, who the next Day deliver'd him to the Lord *Wilmot*, who conducted him to *Suſſex*, where Col. *Gunter* had provided a Veſſel at *Brightholmſted*, to tranſport him to *Normandy*, where he landed in *November*. The Court of *France* was not at all pleas'd with his coming into that Kingdom; from *Normandy* the King went to *Paris*, where the Marquis of *Ormond* came to him about *Chriſtmas*; and the Lord *Clarendon* informs us there was a Friendſhip between him and the Marquis, with which he concludes the Tranſactions of this Year, except the Quarrel amongſt the King's Miniſters about the *Maſterſhip* of the *Wards* in *England*, which would not be worth a Penny to either of them, fell out within this Year.

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Com. War. P. 127.

In the mean Time a Court Marſhal ſat at *Earl of Derby.* *Cheſter*, where were preſent Major General *Mitton*, Col. *Mackworth*, and 20 Officers, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels and Captains, who choſe Col. *Mackworth* Preſident, and the Earl of *Derby* and Sir *Timothy Featherſtonhaugh*, were brought before them. The Earl being charg'd with conſpiring a general Riſing for the King in *Lancaſhire*, confeſs'd there was ſuch a Plot; but it was diſappointed by the apprehending of Mr. *Birkenhead*. That Major *Aſhurſt* and Major Gen. *Maſſey* were principal Actors in this Conſpiracy. He ſubmitted himſelf to the Mercy of the Parliament, but alledg'd *he had* Quarters given him, and therefore was not to be try'd by a Court Martial for Life. He pleaded Ignorance of the Acts of Treaſon ſet forth by the Parliament: But he was over-rul'd, and the Court ſentenc'd him to be beheaded for his *Beheaded.* Treaſons at *Bolton*, where *Whitlocke* tells us, he had *kill'd a Man in cold Blood*, and *that he ſeem'd very deſirous of Life*, of which there is not a Syllable in the Earl or Archdeacon's Hiſtory. Sir *Timothy Featherſtonhaugh* had the ſame Sentence paſt upon him, and Capt. *Benbow* was ſhot to Death, which was the greateſt Part of the

A. D. 1651. the Executions for this new War againſt the Commonwealth.

The Iſlands of *Scilly*, *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, held out for the King, after the Parliament had reduc'd all *England* and *Wales*, and all *Scotland* and *Ireland*, except a few Caſtles in the moſt remote Parts of it.

Sir *John Greenville* was Governor of *Scilly* Iſlands; and though the Men he had with him did little good to themſelves, yet acting like a Neſt of Pirates they did a great deal of Miſchief to others by their Piracies. The Navigation was interrupted, and many Merchant Ships made Prize by the Pirates of *Scilly*, and the other Iſlands. The Parliament order'd Sir *George Ayſcue* to reduce *Scilly*, who came on that Coaſt in *April*, and ſummon'd the Governor, who immediately deſir'd a Treaty; but it took no Effect, and General *Blake* order'd the Troops to land, and they ſoon drove all that oppos'd them into St. *Mary's* Caſtle, upon which the Men of War play'd their Cannon; and Sir *John Greenville* ſurrender'd it a Month after, on Condition that he and his Garriſon ſhould be Priſoners of War: Some of his Soldiers were ſhip'd for *Ireland*; and ſome ſent to *Scotland*. He had 800 Men, and St. *Mary's* was very ſtrong; but it is ſaid he wanted Water; though if he had as much Water as runs in the *New River* he muſt have done what he did. Sir *George Ayſcue* carry'd him and Part of his Garriſon Priſoners to *Plymouth*, and then proceeded to *Barbadoes*. The Parliament made Col. *Hunkin* Governor of *Scilly* Iſlands.

General Blake.

Scilly.

Jerſey. From *Scilly*, General *Blake* ſail'd to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, of which Sir *George Carteret* was Governor, and had with him 3 or 4000 Men. *Blake* took on Board Col. *Haynes*'s Regiment, and two other Regiments of Foot, and 4 Troops of Horſe. He came to an Anchor under the Iſland about the latter End of *October*: The General landed his Men in Boats, and then ran the Boats a Ground, the Soldiers leaping into the Sea Neck high. They were at their Landing deſperately charg'd by a Body of Horſe for about half an Hour, and then the Enemy fled: The Parliament's Forces purſu'd them a Mile into the Iſland, and the next Morning march'd to ſeveral Forts, and found in them Guns and Colours, but no Men. The next Day Col. *Haynes* drew up his Men on a Hill in Sight of *Elizabeth* Caſtle. The Enemy had a Fort under the Hill, which they quitted, and another Fort nearer to *Elizabeth* Caſtle. Thus in three Days was all the Iſland reduc'd except *Orgeuil* and *Elizabeth* Caſtles: Of this ſays the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, Sir *George Carteret having well defended* Jerſey *as long as he could, and being ſo overpower'd that he could no longer defend the Iſland, he retired into* Elizabeth *Caſtle, which he had fortify'd and provided with all Things neceſſary for a Siege, preſuming that by the Care and Diligence of the Lord* Jermyn, *who was Governor of the Caſtle, he ſhould receive Supplies of Men and Proviſion, as he might eaſily have done, in ſpight of any Power of the Parliament by Sea or Land*; which is every Word falſe in Fact and Politicks. " But it had been the principal " Reaſon that *Cromwel* had hitherto kept the " better Quarter with the Cardinal, leſt the " Bait of theſe two Iſlands, which the King " could have put into his Hands when he would, " ſhould tempt him to give his Majeſty any " Aſſiſtance; but the King was ſo ſtrict and " punctual in his Care of the Intereſt of *Eng-* " *land*, when he ſeem'd to be abandon'd by it, " that he choſe rather to ſuffer thoſe Places of " great Importance to fall into *Cromwel*'s Power, than to depoſit them upon any Conditions " into the *French* Hands. When the Caſtle had " been beſieg'd three Months, and the Enemy " could not approach nearer to plant their Ordnance than at leaſt half an *Engliſh* Mile, " the Sea encompaſſing it round more than ſo " far from any Land, and it not being poſſible " for any of their Ships to come within ſuch a " Diſtance; they brought notwithſtanding Mortar Pieces of ſuch incredible Greatneſs, and " ſuch as had never been before ſeen in this " Part of the World, that from the higheſt " Point of the Hill near St. *Hilary*, they ſhot " Granados of a vaſt Bigneſs into the Caſtle, " and beat down many Houſes, and at laſt " blow'd up a great Magazine, where moſt of " the Proviſions of Victuals lay, and kill'd ma- " ny Men. Upon which Sir *George Carteret* " ſent an Expreſs to give the King an Account " of the Condition he was in, who deſir'd a " Supply of Men and Proviſions, which it be- " ing impoſſible for his Majeſty to procure, he " ſent him Orders to make the beſt Conditions " he could." Such from one end to the other is that Hiſtory; if it is not worſe in many Places.

Whitl. P. 488.

P. 465.

Whitlocke informs us that Col. *Haynes* loſt but four Men in taking this Iſland; and that as ſoon as Sir *George Carteret* was got into *Elizabeth* Caſtle, General *Blake* block'd it up on all Sides; yet the Lord *Clarendon* aſſerts it might have been reliev'd in ſpight of all the Power of the Parliament by Sea and Land. General *Blake* and Colonel *Haynes* laid Siege to it about the Beginning of *November*; and before the 15th the Governor deſir'd a Treaty, which did not then take Effect. *Orgeuil* Caſtle ſurrender'd in 10 or 12 Days, and in it were found 20 Braſs and Iron Guns, and 20 Barrels of Powder, 1000 Arms, and two Months Proviſions for 70 Men. As ſoon as *Monk*, who was in *Scotland*, heard of the taking of this Caſtle, he wrote a Congratulatory Letter to the Parliament, of ſuch Importance did he think it; and ſo much did he rejoice at any Loſſes and Diſgraces which befel the King and his Adherents. The Houſe order'd Thanks to General *Blake* and Colonel *Haynes* for their good Service in the Reduction of *Jerſey*. The third Shot at *Elizabeth* Caſtle fell upon the old Church, kill'd and wounded 30 Perſons, and indanger'd the Governor and his Lady, which ſo frighten'd the latter, that ſhe embark'd the next Night for *France*, with other Ladies, and ſome few Gentlemen. Upon this alſo ſeveral of the Garriſon made their Eſcape; and others who attempted, and were taken, were hang'd up immediately. Sir *George Carteret* made a gallant Defence till about the middle of *December*, when he ſurrender'd: So that the Siege held fifty Days, which the Earl of *Clarendon* calls three Months. In it were,

Whitl. P. 489.

Ibid.

P. 490.

17 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, 36 Iron, 450 Muſkets, 64 Barrels of Powder, 5000 Pounds Weight of Match, 1000 great Shot, 100 Weight of Muſket Shot, 4 Ton of Lead, 2 Ton of Iron, 60 Hogſheads of Biskets, 48 Buſhels of Wheat, 32 Buſhels of Barley, 160 Buſhels of Malt, 36 Buſhels of Peaſe, 50 Sides of Pork, 60000 Weight of Poor John, 3 Hogſheads of *French* Brandy, 4 Pipes of *Spaniſh* Wine, 10 Hogſheads of *French* Wine, 16 Hogſheads of Beer, 60 Quarter of Salt, 6 Hogſheads of Beef; with great Store of other Proviſions for a Garriſon of 380 Men, to which Number they were reduc'd. And it appears by this Account in *Whitlocke*, that the Caſtle might have held out longer, if holding out at all had not been downright Madneſs; for what Relief could

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could be expected from a Prince, who when he landed in *France* had not Money enough to carry him to *Paris*, and as to *Cromwel's keeping the better Quarter with* Mazarine, *left the Bait of* Guernſey *and* Jerſey ſhould have tempted him to give *Charles* II. Aſſiſtance, 'tis like the reſt of the Chimera's in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, for beſides that the inteſtine Broils then in *France*, took *Mazarine's* Thoughts entirely off from foreign Affairs. The Cardinal was ſo afraid of *Cromwel*, that he would not have accepted of thoſe two Iſlands from King *Charles*, leſt he ſhould have drawn upon him the whole Power of the Commonwealth of *England*, which would ſoon have recover'd them. There is, I think, not many more Faults as to Fact in this Scrap of that Hiſtory, but it is one, where the Author ſays *Cornet* Caſtle in *Guernſey* was taken in the Beginning of *September*, whereas it was not ſurrender'd till a little before or a little after *Elizabeth* Caſtle. I ſhould not have made ſo petty a Remark as this, but that there are ſome ignorant People who take this moſt inaccurate and irregular Hiſtory to be the moſt exact and complete. Col. *Philip Carteret*, Governor of *Mount Orgeuil*, ſtipulated, when he ſurrender'd that Caſtle, that he and his Officers ſhould have an Act of Oblivion, and the Parliament paſs'd ſuch an Act in their Favour. Sir *George Carteret* and his Officers were tranſported to St. *Maloes* in *France*, where, according to *Whitlocke*, they had coarſe Entertainment, only himſelf and 9 more being ſuffer'd to come into the Town. During theſe Tranſactions Orders were ſent to Col. *Duckenfield* and Col. *Bird*, to reduce the *Iſle of Man*, which had been a Place of Refuge for thoſe of the King's Party, who ſupported themſelves by Piracy, and were very welcome to the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord of it; and his Counteſs, after the Earl left the Iſland, ſtood out with as good Reaſon, and as great Courage, as any of thoſe who held Places for the King, after he had himſelf no Place to go to which he could depend upon for his Abode there. *Duckenfield* took with him General *Cromwel's* Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Worſeley*, Major General *Dean's*, commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Mitchel*, and his own Regiment, with two Troops of Horſe. He ſail'd from *Cheſter* the 18th of *October*, but was driven back to *Beaumaris* in *Angleſey*, and came not to *Man* till the 25th, when Capt. *Young*, Commander of the *Preſident* Frigot, was ſent with a Summons to the Counteſs of *Derby*, then in *Ruſhen* Caſtle, who return'd Anſwer, That *ſhe was to keep it by her Lord's Command, and without his Order ſhe would not deliver it up.* The next Day, *October* the 26th, a Deputy came from the Iſland to aſſure the Parliament's Officers, that they ſhould meet with no Oppoſition, and might ſafely come under *Derby* Fort, *Douglas* Fort, and any Fort in the Iſland, except *Ruſhen* and *Peele* Fort; but having nothing in Writing to vouch for him, Major *Fox* was ſent back with him to inquire into the Truth of his Report, which was confirm'd to him by the Iſlanders, and Commiſſioners came aboard the Fleet, to deſire that only one Regiment might land, and they would ſupply them, as alſo the Forces on board, with Proviſions at the Market Price, which Col. *Duckenfield* conſented to. The Iſlanders deliver'd up one *Bartlet*, a notorious Pirare, and did every Thing they promis'd. The Counteſs of *Derby* finding her ſelf deſerted by the Iſlanders, and the Parliament's Soldiers in Poſſeſſion of all the Forts, except *Ruſhen* and *Peele* Caſtles, ſhe ſurrender'd them, and the Parliament order'd the Council of State to conſider of preſerving that Iſland for the Benefit of the Commonwealth. The Hiſtories of thoſe Times ſpeak of theſe Iſlands as Neſts of *Pirates*, but the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* repreſent them as the Retreats of Heroes, who diſdain'd to ſubmit to that Power which made all *Europe* tremble. *James Hind* the Highwayman deſerves alſo a Place in the ſame Records, for being examin'd by the Council of State, *Whitlocke* tells us, he confeſs'd he had been employ'd by the King in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and when afterwards he was hang'd for his Robberies, the Cavaliers pretended he was as much murder'd as Mr. *Love* or Mr. *Gibbons*.

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Hind *the Robber.*

Guernſey *ſurrender'd*

Iſle of Man.

The Iſland of *Barbadoes*, in *America*, was ſeiz'd by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* in the Name of the King. Several Royaliſts had ſecur'd themſelves and their Effects there, particularly Col. *Walrond* and Col. *Colliton*, but not with any Deſign to throw off their Dependance upon *England*, or to involve themſelves in new Troubles and Dangers to ſhelter ſuch as had no where elſe to go to. But the Lord *Willoughby* having the King's Commiſſion they ſubmitted to it, and the other Iſlanders did not think fit or ſafe to make Oppoſition by Arms. *Willoughby* the Governor, Col. *Walrond*, Col. *Codrington*, and Col. *Muddiford*, had a Deſign to baniſh the Parliament's Friends out of the Iſland, but it being diſcover'd by *Codrington* when he was tipſy, Col. *Drax* and Col. *Allen* made ſuch a Party againſt it, that the Governor let it drop, and as ſoon as Sir *George Ayſcue* arriv'd with his Squadron of Men of War, and his Guns began to play upon the chief Fort at *Bridge Town*, the chief Iſlanders ſhew'd a good Diſpoſition to return to their Obedience to the Government of *England*. Sir *George* ſent a Summons to the Lord *Willoughby*, and a Declaration to the Inhabitants, inviting them to ſubmit to the Parliament. *Willoughby*, who was himſelf a Deſerter from the Parliament, anſwer'd, *He would keep the Place for the King*. Upon which Sir *George* form'd a Regiment of 600 Men out of the Ships Crews, to aſſiſt the Friends to the Commonwealth, and putting them aſhore under Captain *Morrice*, they where charg'd by 9 Companies of Foot and 3 Troops of Horſe, but it being in the Night, and the Iſlanders not knowing the Number of the Enemy, were diſcourag'd by the repeated Shouts of the Sailors, which made them ſeem to be more than they were, and they ran away in a Sort of Amazement, and quitted a Fort in which were 4 Guns. Lieutenant Col. *Allen*, a Planter of *Barbadoes*, who had got Aboard the Fleet, and ſeven Men were all the Loſs on the Parliament's Side. On *Willoughby's*, 100 Men were kill'd, and 80 taken. But as *Whitlocke* obſerves, this Succeſs was nothing towards the gaining of the whole Iſland, the Enemy having about 5000 Horſe and Foot in Arms. Sir *George Ayſcue* made particular Application to Col. *Muddiford* of *Barbadoes*, whom he underſtood to be a Man of the beſt Intereſt in the Iſland, and by offering him and his Friends honourable Conditions, he prevail'd with him to join him, which encreas'd his Forces to 2000 Foot and 100 Horſe. He alſo ſent the Lord *Willoughby* a Letter from his Lady, adviſing him to ſurrender, for that the King was utterly routed at *Worceſter*; the contrary of which he had reported to his Party in that Iſland, and hop'd, if not believ'd himſelf. This Lord hearing of *Muddiford's* Junction with *Ayſcue*, march'd up to them with all the Force he could make, but in the Night retreated 2 Miles. Sir *George* intended to attack him the next Day, and he had done it if extraordinary Rains had not fallen. *Willoughby* much diſturb'd

Barbadoes

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Virginia *ſurrender'd*

After this Sir *George* ſail'd to *Virginia*, having on Board Col. *Poyntz* Governor of St. *Chriſtophers*, where the Inhabitants were ready to receive them, ſo far is it from being true, that the *Virginians* would have had the King come amongſt them, as the Lord *Clarendon* affirms, and that Sir *William Berkley* the Governor could *defend it againſt any Attempt*, which is no more true, than that they had once any Thoughts of reſiſting the Commonwealth when a Force came to ſupport them in their Submiſſion to it, for Mr. *George Ludlow*, a Relation of General *Ludlow*'s, had a Party ready to declare for the Parliament, and join their Forces with thoſe that came to their Aſſiſtance againſt *Berkley*, who was in no Condition to oppoſe them. But the Earl of *Clarendon* can't help it. The Inhabitants of all the Plantations in *America* depended upon Trade, which is as inconſiſtent with arbitrary Power and Bigotry as Honeſty with Injuſtice. *Poyntz* was made Governor in the Room of *Berkley*, and the Name of *Poyntz* ſhows how groundleſs as well as vain is that Reproach of the Lord *Clarendon*'s, that the Parliament made *Tradeſmen* Governors inſtead of *Gentlemen*.

Dutch.

The Commonwealth of *England* having now reduc'd the whole *Britiſh* Empire to her Obedience, except a few *Banditti* in *Ireland*, not of ſo much Conſequence as the Thieves that generally infeſt the Roads, caſt their Eyes abroad, and the firſt Object which requir'd their Conſideration, was the Republick of the United Provinces, whoſe Conduct, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Republick of *England*, had been very impolitick and unjuſtifiable. In Effect, the true Intereſts of the two States were inſeparable, as they were a Free and a Proteſtant People; and it was very unworthy the Character of the *Dutch* Nation, for Wiſdom and Warineſs, to give the Parliament ſo many juſt Occaſions of Offence: 'Twas no Excuſe, that the Princeſs of *Orange*, their Stadtholder's Conſort, was a Princeſs of *England*, and on her Account they were obliged to ſuffer the Reſidence of her Brothers, and their deſperate Attendants at the *Hague*, after the Miniſters of *England* had been murder'd and inſulted there. The States General had no Relation to her, and if Princes have no Concern for Kindred when Intereſt is in Queſtion, much leſs ſhould Republicks have. The Aſſiſtance they had given the King in many Caſes was well known to the Commonwealth of *England*, and Power crown'd with Victory is not wont to put up ſuch Affronts. Add to this, that the Encroachments of the *Dutch* in Commerce were not likely to be paſt over by a wiſe and potent Republick, great in Counſels and in Arms, tho' the Buſineſs of the two former Reigns ran ſo much in favour of *Spiritual Courts*, as would not admit of any Interruption by Trade, Intereſt, or Glory. *A. D.* 1651.

The Lord Ambaſſador *St. John* being recall'd, and return'd from *Holland*, got himſelf to be nam'd one of the four Commiſſioners who were appointed by Parliament to attend the Lord General in his Way from *Worceſter* to *London*, and it was obſerv'd that *St. John* had long and private Conferences with *Cromwel* on the Road, in which he probably confirm'd *Oliver* in his Reſolution to break with the *Dutch*. *Cromwel*'s Quarrel was their Regard for the Houſe of *Stuart*, whom he mortally hated as Impediments to his own ambitious Views, and the Jealouſy the States General had conceiv'd of the Growth of the Maritime Power of *England*, made them too careleſs and dilatory in giving the Parliament the Satisfaction they demanded; and the Commonwealth of *England* taking into Conſideration the great Advantages the *Hollanders* made of their Navigation, by being the common Carriers, thought it convenient to take off the *Engliſh* Branch from them, by paſſing the famous Act of *Navigation*, which was not repeal'd after the *Reſtoration*, as it might have been, for the ſame Reaſon as *Dunkirk* was ſold, it paſſing in the Times of *Uſurpation*, the beſt Argument they had for any Thing of that Kind. By this Act, the moſt advantagious one to *England* that ever paſs'd in Parliament, *No Commodity whatſoever, of the Growth or Manufacture of* Aſia, Africa, *or* America, *as well of the* Engliſh *Plantations as others, ſhall be imported into* England, Ireland, *or any the Territories thereof, in any Ships or Veſſels, but in ſuch as do truly belong to this Commonwealth, or the Plantations thereof, under Penalty of the Forfeiture of Goods and Veſſels. And of* Europe *the like, That no Commodities whatſoever of foreign Growth or Manufacture, which are to be brought into this Commonwealth in Ships belonging to the People thereof, ſhall be by them ſhipp'd from any Places, but only from thoſe of the ſaid Growth, Production or Manufacture, or from thoſe Parts where the ſaid Commodities can only be, or uſually have been ſhipp'd for Tranſportation.* Inſtead of ſuch uſeful Laws as this, by which *England* has got, and ſav'd more Money than all the Charge of her Wars from 1640 to 1660 amounted to, we ſhall ſee what rare Acts paſs'd after the Reſtoration of the King and the Earl of *Clarendon*. The Act of *Navigation* being a terrible Blow to the *Dutch* Traffick, they were not ſo forward in concluding the Treaty they deſir'd, as they had been to deſire it, however, as it did but too plainly preſage an approaching Rupture, they diſpatch'd away three or four of the moſt Noble of their Deputies as Ambaſſadors to the Parliament, Mynheer *Scappe*, Mynheer *Parre*, Mynheer *Catz*, the latter a Poet, which is an extraordinary Thing in *Holland*, who arriv'd at *Graveſend* in *December*, and were brought to *London* by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, in the States Coaches, and three Days after had their Audience in Parliament, introduc'd by the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *John Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Mildmay*: The Audience paſt in the Ceremonials, and then the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, and other Members, were nominated to confer with their Excellencies on the Subject of their Embaſſy, which was to give Satisfaction to the Commonwealth of *England*, with reference to their Aſſiſting the King, the Right of fiſhing on the *Britiſh* Coaſt, and the Sovereignty of the Seas. The two laſt Heads were aſſerted and explain'd with great Strength of Reaſoning by *Whitlocke*, inſomuch that the Ambaſſadors were

Act of Navigation.

A. D. 1651. more irritated than convinc'd; but as the Succeſs of their Embaſſy was not determin'd in this Year, we ſhall refer it to the next. In the mean time, an *Engliſh* Man of War meeting with ſome *Dutch* Fiſhermen on the *Britiſh* Coaſt, demanded the *tenth Herring* as an Acknowledgment of the *Sovereignty* of the Seas, which the Parliament was reſolv'd to aſſert in another manner than had hitherto been done. The *Dutch* denying it, they fell from Words to Blows, and the *Dutchman* ſhooting firſt at the *Engliſh*, the *Engliſh* Man of War ſunk one of the *Dutch* Ships, which periſh'd with all her Crew. This was in *December*, and added to the Reckoning which the *Hollanders* were to make up.

Scotland. We left Major General *Monk* in *Scotland*, where he had little Work upon his Hands. The Parliament nam'd Commiſſioners for the Civil Government of that Kingdom; Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Col. *Fenwick*, —— *Titchburn*, Eſq; *Humphrey Salway*, Eſq; Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Monk*, Major General *Dean*; by whom the Affairs of that Nation were very well ſettled, and a Way prepared for uniting it with *England*.

Ireland. In *Ireland* the Earl of *Clanrickard*, who with the pompous Title of *Lord Lieutenant* govern'd thoſe *Iriſh* that had not laid down Arms, but kept them rather to rob than fight, apply'd to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who being driven out of his own Country, liv'd upon a little mercenary Army which he lent to the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, and now pretended to aſſiſt the *Iriſh* with it. Another fine Scheme of the deſponding Cavaliers, to negotiate with a Prince for Aſſiſtance, who could or would not ſtir a Step without Money, and they had none to give him.

As to the Civil Government this Year, the Parliament had a Project to reduce the Receipts of the Publick Money into one Office, for the Cheapneſs of Collection. They alſo nam'd a Committee to conſider what Inconveniences there are in the Law, how the Miſchiefs which grow from Delays, the Chargeableneſs and Irregularities in the Proceedings of the Law may be prevented. This Committee were Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *William Roberts*, *Matthew Hale*, Eſq; Mr. *Steel*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Maneby*, Mr. *Sadler*, Sir *Henry Blunt*, Mr. *Berners*, *John Ruſhworth*, Eſq; Dr. *Turner*, Major General *Desborough*, Col. *Thomlinſon*, Col. *Blunt*, Sergeant *Fountain*, Alderman *Fowke*, Mr. *Moyer*, Major *Packer*, Mr. *Meltwolde*, Mr. *Manſell*, Mr. *Sparrow*, Dr. *Walker*. This Committee met ſeveral Times, and deſir'd the Judges in the ſeveral Courts to return to them a Liſt of the Officers in their Courts, and what Fees they receive, and what Work they do for them. A Project of excellent Uſe, and fit for the Wiſdom of the Nation to bring to Perfection. The Parliament alſo put down the *Marſhals Court*, which has ever ſince it was reſtor'd been an intolerable Grievance to the People in and about *London*. And the State being now pretty well fix'd, it was thought proper to ſtrengthen its Foundation by a new Repreſentative of the People, which were to be ſtill the Commonwealth of *England*. A grand Committee ſate on this grand Affair in *October*, and ſo ſeveral Times after, to make Proviſion for a Succeſſion of Members of the ſame Principles, as well as human Prudence could provide for it. They paſs'd the Act for the Increaſe of Shipping, and Encouragement of Navigation, before-mention'd, and another appointing Dr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Exton*, and Dr. *Stevens*, to be Judges of the Admiralty; but the great Buſineſs was debated in a Cabal by *Cromwel*'s Appointment, at which aſſiſted *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; Captain General, *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Speaker, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Whaley*, Colonel *Desborough*, Col. *Fleetwood*.

Committee of Law.

A. D. 1651. *Cabal.*

Oliver open'd the Conference with a Propoſal, *That the old King being dead, and his Son defeated, he held it neceſſary to come to a Settlement of the Nation.* Here he diſcover'd himſelf. The Nation was ſettled in a Commonwealth, if he alter'd the Government, it would doubtleſs be for Monarchy, and who then would be the Monarch was eaſy to be underſtood. The Speakers were in the following Order.

William Lenthal, Eſq; "My Lord, this Company are very ready to attend your Excellency, "and the Buſineſs you are pleas'd to propound "to us is very neceſſary to be conſider'd. God "hath given marvellous Succeſs to our Forces "under your Command, and if we do not improve theſe Mercies to ſome Settlement, ſuch "as may be to God's Honour, we ſhall be very "blame-worthy.

By Settlement *Lenthal* means his Excellency, and *Cromwel* is ſure of him when he thinks fit to make uſe of him.

M. G. *Harriſon*. "I think that which my "Lord General hath propounded, is to adviſe "to a Settlement both of our civil and ſpiritual "Liberties, and ſo that the Mercies which the "Lord hath given in to us may not be caſt away. "How this may be done is the great Queſtion.

Harriſon is not entirely at *Cromwel*'s Devotion, and ſhew'd by his future Conduct that he was Republican, or rather Enthuſiaſtical.

Whitlocke. "It is a great Queſtion indeed, "and not ſuddenly to be reſolv'd, yet it were "Pity that a Meeting of ſo many able and worthy Perſons ſhould be fruitleſs. I ſhould "humbly offer, in the firſt Place, whether it be "not requiſite to be underſtood in what Way "this Settlement is deſired, whether of any abſolute Republick, or with any Mixture of Monarchy.

Whitlocke gives the firſt Hint of *Cromwel*'s Protectorſhip, and *Oliver* takes hold of the Opportunity to introduce it.

Cromwel. "My Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* hath put us upon the right Point; and "indeed it is my Meaning we ſhould conſider "whether a Republick, or a mix'd monarchical "Government, will be beſt to be ſettled; and "if any thing monarchical, then in whom that "Power ſhall be plac'd.

There he comes to the Point indeed, and there can be no Anſwer to that Queſtion but himſelf.

Sir *T. Widdrington*. "I think a mix'd monarchical Government will be moſt ſuitable to "the Laws and People of this Nation; and if "any monarchical, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold it "moſt juſt to place that Power in one of the "Sons of the late King.

Col. *Fleetwood*. "I think that the Queſtion, "Whether an abſolute Republick, or a mix'd "Monarchy, be beſt to be ſettled in this "Nation? will not be very eaſy to be determin'd.

Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*. "It will be "found that the Government of this Nation, "without ſomething of monarchical Power, will "be very difficult to be ſo ſettled, as not to "ſhake the Foundation of the Laws, and the "Liberties of the People.

A. D. 1651. *William Lenthal*, Esq; " It will breed a " strange Confusion to settle a Government of " this Nation, without something of Monarchy.

Col. *Desborough*. " I beseech you, my Lord, " why may not this, as well as other Nations, be " govern'd by Way of a Republick.

Whitlocke. " The Laws of *England* are so in- " terwoven with the Power and Practice of Mo- " narchy, that to settle a Government without " something of Monarchy, would make so great " an Alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, " that you have scarce Time to rectify, nor can " we well foresee the Inconveniencies which will " arise thereby.

Col. *Whaley*. " I do not well understand Mat- " ters of Law, but it seems to me to be the " best Way not to have any thing of monarchical " Power in the Settlement of our Government; " and if we should resolve upon any, whom have " we to pitch upon? The King's eldest Son hath " been in Arms against us, and his second Son " is likewise our Enemy.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington*. " But the late King's " third Son, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, is still a- " mongst us, and too young to have been in " Arms against us, or infected with the Princi- " ples of our Enemies.

Whitlocke. " There may be a Day given for " the King's eldest Son, or for the Duke of *York* " his Brother, to come in to the Parliament, and " upon such Terms as shall be thought fit and " agreeable both to our civil and spiritual Li- " berties: A Settlement may be made with " them.

Cromwel. " That will be a Business of more " than ordinary Difficulty; but really I think, if " it may be done with Safety and Preservation " of our Rights, both as *Englishmen* and as " Christians, that a Settlement with somewhat " of monarchical Power in it would be very ef- " fectual.

The mentioning of any of the late King's Children is the Farce that's play'd here, for not one of the Cabal had any such Desire. The Lawyers *St. John*, *Lenthal*, *Whitlocke*, *Widdrington*, who were for monarchical Government, were all Creatures of *Cromwel*'s, and meant the Power not the Person.

The Republick was now courted by all Nations. Besides Ambassadors from *Spain* and *Portugal*, there were others from *Sweden*, from *Denmark*, from the *Hanse Towns*, from *Venice*, from *Florence*, and other Princes and States. The Council of State sometimes wrote Letters in the Name of the Commonwealth, as this to the Doge of *Venice*, *Serenissimo Principi* Venetiarum *Duci*; *Senatuique* Celsissimo *Consilium Status*, *Parliamenti Reipublicæ* Angliæ, *Authoritate constitutum*. *Salutem ex mandato Parliamenti*. *Serenissime Princeps*, Celsissime *Senatus Amici Charissimi*. The Council of State, established by the Authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to the most serene Prince the Doge and the most high Senate of *Venice*. By Command of the Parliament. Most serene Prince, most high Senate, our most dear Friends, &c. This Letter recommended to them *James Dickons* and *Job Throgmorton*, who had met with some Injustice in the Courts of that Republick. *Leti* informs us, that about the latter End of this Year the following Bishops had a private Meeting at *London*; Dr. *William Pierce* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Henry King* Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *Roger Maynwaring* Bishop of *St. David*'s, Dr. *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg* Bishop of *Exeter*, Dr. *George Cook* Bishop of *Hereford*, Dr. *Morgan Owen* Bishop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Thomas Wyniffe* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Joseph Hall* Bishop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Robert Skinner* Bishop of *Oxford*, Dr. *John Warner* Bishop of *Rochester*, Dr. *Brian Duppa* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Walter Curl* Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *John Prideaux* Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Barnaby Potter* Bishop of *Carliſle*, Dr. *Richard Parry* Bishop of *Man*. Dr. *William Juxon* Bishop of *London* refus'd to be at their Meeting, either believing it would signify nothing, or fearing to give Offence to the then Government, as my Author says; and that the Prelates thought it too much to lose all at once, their Flocks, their Dignities, their Churches, their Revenues, which, continues he, tho' a Papist, *netoient pas peutestre l'Article que leur tenoit le moins au cœur*, were not perhaps the Article they had least at Heart. The Pretence for their assembling was to use all their Interest by their Friends in and out of Parliament, to get Part of their Lands reserv'd for their Subsistence as long as they liv'd. *Harrison* discover'd this Meeting, and inform'd *Cromwel* of it, and he the Council of State. One of the Members mov'd immediately, that they should be all seiz'd, imprison'd, and punish'd as Disturbers of the Publick Peace; but *Cromwel*, who wanted Tools among all Parties, and affected great Moderation to get in with the Royalists, was contented with breaking up the Assembly, and letting them know, *That they must disperse at the Instant, and quit* London *in eight and forty Hours, and if ever they took upon them the Function of Bishops, the Title or Office, they should be proceeded against as Traytors*; which was enough to send them down into the Country again faster than they came up. Such is the Story in *Gregorio Leti*, but what Foundation he had for it we know not, and do very much suspect his Authority.

P. 234. *Meeting of Bishops.*

A. D. 1651.

We left the King at *Paris* just arriv'd there after the Rout at *Worcester*, and in so miserable a Condition, that he had hardly Necessaries for his Subsistence as a Gentleman, much less a Prince. His Credit was so low, that the Earl of *Clarendon* owns he could not raise 20 Pistoles upon it. The Cardinal *de Retz*, in his *Memoirs*, makes it still worse. The Lord *Taaf*, Envoy from the *Irish* Rebels to the Duke of *Lorraine*, was his Great Chamberlain, Valet de Chambre, Clerk of the Kitchen, Cup-bearer and all, an Equipage answerable to his Court, for his Majesty had not chang'd his Shirt all the Way from *England*. Indeed upon his Arrival at *Paris* he had one lent him by the Lord *Jermyn*, but the Queen his Mother had not Money to buy him another for the next Day. The Duke of *Orleans* paid him a Complement upon his Arrival, but Monsr. *de Retz* tells us he could not prevail with the Duke to give his Nephew one Penny: A little, he said, would not be worth his Acceptance, and a great deal would engage him to do as much more. *De Retz* propos'd to his Royal Highness to lend the King of *England* 1000 Pistoles, and was asham'd that he could not perswade him to do it, so he himself borrow'd 1500 of Monsieur *Morangis* and carry'd them to the Lord *Taaf*. The Cardinal adds, " 'Tis re- " markable that the same Night, as I was going " home, I met one *Tilney* an *Englishman*, " whom I had formerly known at *Rome*, who " told me that *Vere*, a great Parliamentarian, " and a Favourite of *Cromwel*, was arriv'd at " *Paris*, and had Orders to see me. I was a " little perplex'd, however I thought it would " be improper to refuse him an Interview. He " gave me a Letter from *Cromwel* in the Na- " ture of Credentials, importing, That the Sen- " timents I had discover'd in the Defence of Pub-

" lick

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" lick Liberty added to my Reputation, and had " induc'd him to enter into the ſtricteſt Friend- " ſhip with me. It was a moſt civil complai- " ſant Letter, and I anſwer'd it with a great " deal of Reſpect, but in ſuch a Manner as be- " came a true *Catholick* and an honeſt *French* " Man." *Vere* appear'd to be a Man of ſurpri- ſing Abilities; and the Truth is, neither *Oliver* nor the Commonwealth employ'd Fools, but *Mazarine* and the moſt able Politicians in *France*, had a very mean Opinion of the Counſellors whom King *Charles* had about him, notwithſtanding the Earl of *Clarendon* was chief of them. *It is the Fate of this Prince*, ſaid the Cardinal, *that he neither knows how to chuſe for himſelf, nor has any one near him that is able to adviſe him.* For by all this King's Father's Actions, and by all his own, one may ſee that ſuch Heads were never put upon the Shoulders of Men who were fit to make Miniſters and Counſellors. He never had the leaſt Proſpect of recovering his Dominions but by the Aſſiſtance of the *Presbyterians*. Thoſe who took Arms for him in *Scotland*, and who join'd his *Scots* Army in *England*, were Presbyterians. The Queen, his Mother, though a bigotted Papiſt, was ſo ſenſible of it, that ſhe would fain have had him to have gone to the *Presbyterian* Meeting at *Charenton* near *Paris*; and the Lord *Clarendon* makes it his Boaſt, that he was the Perſon who diſſwaded the King from going to the Proteſtant Church there, for which, and other the like Reaſons, Cardinal *Mazarine* might well paſs that homely Compliment on his Majeſty's Counſellors, who now alſo advis'd him to offer his Service to the *Dutch*, about to have War with *England*, and that he would go aboard their Fleet, to ſtir up the People to an Inſurrection againſt that Commonwealth; a Project that a leſs Degree of Genius than *Machiavel*'s was, would never have mention'd to the States, whatever Subject it might have made for Diſcourſe in the King's Cabinet. Could any Thing be more obvious than that their entring into ſuch a League with him muſt neceſſarily engage them in his Quarrel, which they by no Means intended? His Condition could hardly be made worſe by any Change, and theirs might one Time or other be much mended by a Peace with *England* on reaſonable Terms, and they could expect none when they had taken him into their Protection. The Court of *France* was then at Variance with the Princes, and the Parliament of *Paris*, about the removing *Mazarine* from the prime or indeed the ſole Miniſtry. The Prince of *Conde* had ſent for the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Lorraine* to aſſiſt the Princes, and there were two foreign Armies in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, ready to join them. Upon which King *Charles* was prevail'd with to try what he could do with the Duke of *Lorraine* by Perſwaſion, and whether it was that the latter was doubtful of the Iſſue of a War with *France*, or had received ſome Promiſes from that Court by King *Charles*, which render'd his Retreat more advantagious than he cou'd expect his Stay would be, the Duke of *Lorraine*, after a Conference with the King of *England*, broke up, and left the Princes to end the Matter as well as they could. This Mediation is much talk'd of, but it had ſo ill an Effect on the Minds of the Citizens of *Paris*, who were in the Intereſts of the Princes, that the King, Queen-Mother of *England*, and Duke of *York*, were not ſafe in the *Louvre*. The Prince of *Conde* got them a Guard out of it to a certain Diſtance, where a Party of the King's Troops receiv'd them, and convey'd them to St. *Germains*. The King of *England*'s Penſion from his Uncle *Lewis* the Thirteenth was about 6000 Pounds a Year, as we read in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and the Greedineſs of his Followers to divide that ſmall Pittance amongſt them, and their Quarrels about Honours and Places in *England*, being exactly the Bargain of the *Bearskin*, are other Proofs of the Truth of Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Saying of them.

A. D. 1652.

We have hinted the Beginning of the Rupture between the two Republicks, *England* and the *United Provinces*. *Warwick* ſays it was the firſt War the Parliament made with their *elder Brother* Commonwealth, that of *Holland*, but that is not the worſt Example of his Skill in Elocution. A poorer Author ſtill than he knew better than that, *they reſolv'd to quarrel with their Siſter Commonwealth.* The *Dutch* ſtomaching the *Navigation Act*, which began to pinch them, and frighten'd at the Demand for Damages ſuffer'd by the *Engliſh* at *Amboynes* in the *Eaſt Indies*, for which neither King *James* nor King *Charles* I. could procure any Satisfaction, and for other Damages during their Reigns, and ſince that, ſaw a War would be inevitable unleſs they would comply with the Demand, and accordingly they prepar'd for it. The Right of the Flag was not diſputed, becauſe *the* Engliſh *Ships were not the King's*, as the Earl of *Clarendon* pretends; but becauſe there were other very important Articles to be ſettled for concluding a Peace, and they were not willing to allow that unleſs all the reſt were agreed upon, for ſtriking the Flag would not then have put off the Concluſion of that Treaty a Minute. The Parliament had Notice from Time to Time of great Preparations making in *Holland* towards equipping a Fleet, and in *May* their Admiral *Van Tromp*, with about 42 Sail of Men of War was diſcover'd on the Back of the *Goodwin* Sands by Major *Bourne*, who commanded a Squadron of 8 *Engliſh* Ships. The *Dutch* bore towards *Dover* Road, upon which the *Greyhound* Frigat was commanded to make Sail and ſpeak with them, which ſhe did, and then they ſtruck their Topſail. The Capt. of the *Greyhound* demanded to know, why they came in ſuch a Fleet on our Coaſts in Time of Treaty. Two or Three of the *Dutch* Commanders came aboard the *Greyhound*, and ſaid, they had a Meſſage from Admiral *Tromp* to the Commander in chief of the *Engliſh* Fleet. *That the northerly Winds having blown hard ſeveral Days they were forc'd further Southward than they intended, and having rode for ſome Days off* Dunkirk, *they had loſt divers Cables and Anchors, profeſſing they meant no Injury to the* Engliſh *Nation.* As yet there has been no other Act of Hoſtility than that of the *Engliſh* Men of War examining the *Dutch* about their Fiſhing on the *Britiſh* Coaſt, which Debate might have been ended by Treaty, and Ambaſſadors were come from the States General to the Parliament for that purpoſe, but before Matters were ſettled here is a great Fleet of *Dutch* Men of War almoſt at the Mouth of the River of *Thames*, defying the Maritime Power of *England*, and provoking the *Engliſh* to War. General *Blake*, with the reſt of the Fleet, was to the *Weſtward* when Major *Bourne* ſpy'd the *Dutch* on the Back of the *Goodwin* Sands; the latter immediately ſent him Advice of it, and *Blake* made what haſte he could to ply towards them.

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Com. War, p. 116.

Dutch War.

On the 19th of *May* in the Morning he ſaw them at Anchor about *Dover* Road, and being within 3 Leagues of them they weigh'd and ſtood to the *Eaſtward*, where an Advice Boat from *Holland* came up with them, and ſoon after Admiral *Van Tromp* made all the Sail he could

A. D. 1652.

The Dutch begin the War.

could towards General *Blake*, and bore down directly upon our Fleet, *Van Tromp* being the Headmoſt. Upon which *Blake* ſhot a firſt, ſecond and third Gun at *Tromp* without a Ball, a Signal for him to ſtrike; to which the *Dutch* Admiral anſwer'd with a Gun from his Poop, and hung out a red Flag, the Signal for his whole Fleet: *Blake* took it right, and fingled out *Tromp* to treat with him about his refuſing the Point of Honour to the *Engliſh*, and prevent, if poſſible, the Effuſion of Blood: But when he drew near the *Dutch* Ships, they fir'd many hundred Shot at him, *contrary*, ſays *Whitlocke*, to the *Law of Nations*. *Blake*'s Ship being the Headmoſt alſo of his Fleet, was by this Means for ſome Time engag'd ſingly with the *Dutch*, who had above two Ships to his one when they were all join'd: However the *Engliſh* maintain'd the Fight with the *Dutch* Fleet four Hours, till Nine at Night, when they were oblig'd by the Darkneſs to give over; and the *Dutch* made over to the *French* Coaſts. *Blake*'s Ship receiv'd 1000 Shot in her Hull: All her Rigging was torn to pieces, and ſhe had ſeveral Shot alſo between Wind and Water. The *Engliſh* took one *Dutch* Man of War, and ſunk another. The *Dutch* Priſoners confeſs'd that *Tromp*'s hanging out the red Flag was a Signal for them to fall upon the *Engliſh*. Upon News of this Engagement, the Parliament order'd a Guard to be ſet on the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors Houſe at *Chelſey*, to defend them from the Aſſaults of the enrag'd Multitude; and General *Cromwel*, and Mr. *Dennis Bond* went down to the Fleet to aſſure General *Blake* of all poſſible Aſſiſtance from the Republick; he wanted no Exhortation. His whole Soul was engag'd in the Cauſe of his Country; and as to his Courage and Conduct, they were never once objected againſt in the whole Courſe of his Service, which laſted ſixteen or ſeventeen Years. He had a Contempt for Riches, which was the more glorious; for that he acquir'd more Riches for the Commonwealth than all other Admirals whom I ever heard of; and as to Honour he had no Reliſh of any that center'd not in ſerving the Publick. *Blake* detach'd Capt. *Peacock* and Capt. *Taylor* to look out the *Dutch* Fleet, which had been refitted with great Diligence and Diſpatch, as was his own alſo. Theſe two Captains met with two *Dutch* Men of War on the Coaſts of *Flanders*, who again refuſing to ſtrike to them, another Engagement commenc'd and prov'd a very ſharp one. The *Engliſh* boarded one of the *Dutch* Men of War, and took all her Officers and Seamen, but the Ship was ſo ſhatter'd ſhe could not ſwim. The other Ship ran her ſelf upon the Sands to avoid being taken. The next Day, *June* the 13th, the Parliament receiv'd Letters from General *Blake*, that he having Intimation of a Fleet of *Hollanders* near the *Downs*, making towards the North, ſent out a Squadron to diſcover them, and they brought in 26 Sail of Merchant Ships laden, with three Men of War, their Convoy. The General, for ſo is *Blake* term'd in Hiſtory, and ſo were the other Admirals in the Time of the Republick, ſail'd to the Weſt; and having ſcower'd the Channel, came again to *Dover Road*, where he was join'd by Sir *George Ayſcue*. His Fleet now conſiſted of about 100 Men of War, and there were two Regiments put on Board them. The States General could not but expect the Effects of their intended Rupture after the Orders they had given their Admirals not to ſtrike; but the ill Succeſs of *Van Tromp*, when he had above 40 Men of War, and *Blake* no more than 21, terribly allarm'd them, and they immediately diſpatch'd the Lord *Paw* to join with their other Ambaſſadors in *England*, and procure a Continuation of the Treaty, and a Diſcharge of the Priſoners, pretending that the Quarrel was begun by General *Blake*, or that at leaſt what *Tromp* did, was not by their Orders. The Lord *Paw* was receiv'd with all uſual Demonſtrations of Honour; and being admitted to Audience, preſs'd for an Accommodation of all Differences, and a Ceſſation of all Acts of Hoſtility between the two Nations, aſſuring the Parliament, his Maſters had given Orders to their Ships to ſtrike to the *Engliſh* Flag in the ſame Manner as had been practis'd in former Times. But being demanded to ſhew his Powers, he produc'd only Letters of Credence and Paſſports, referring himſelf to the other Ambaſſadors in that Point, with whom he made ſome general Propoſitions to the Parliament, and deſir'd them to declare their Demands. The Houſe perceiving by theſe Proceedings of the *Dutch*, that the Differences were not likely to be accommodated by Treaty, contented themſelves with requiring Satisfaction for the Injuries receiv'd, and Aſſurance that nothing of that Nature ſhould be attempted for the future, which if the Ambaſſadors would conſent to, they declar'd themſelves ready to proceed in the Treaty, and grant a Ceſſation of Arms. But ſo little were the *Dutch* diſpos'd to give the Satisfaction demanded, that they made no farther Mention of the Ceſſation, which they had ſo earneſtly preſs'd; and having taken a haſty Audience of Leave, broke off the Treaty abruptly, and return'd home.

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Dutch Ambaſſadors depart.

In the mean Time General *Blake* was very watchful in forwarding the Work he was employ'd about, and leaving Sir *George Ayſcue* with the Fleet on the Coaſt of *England*, himſelf with about 40 Men of War ſail'd Northward, as far as the *Dutch* Fiſhery, off the Coaſt of *Scotland*. There were about 600 Herring Buſſes under Convoy of 12 Men of War, which were attack'd by the *Engliſh* of *Blake*'s Fleet, three of them ſunk and nine taken. *Blake* took all the Fiſh and let the *Dutch* carry off their Buſſes, which he had not Hands to Man himſelf; and though *Ludlow* thinks the Buſſes ſhould have been kept to have ſet up an *Engliſh* Fiſhery; yet the many Projects of that Kind ſince, which have all miſcarry'd, ſhew that no ſuch Uſe could have then been made of them, though probably more might have been done under this Government than thoſe that came after it. The *Dutch* thinking to make an Advantage of the Diviſion of the *Engliſh* Fleet, watch'd the Motions of Sir *George Ayſcue*, who having taken ten *Flemiſh* Ships, between *Dover* and *Calais*, and ran twenty a Shore, ſail'd Weſtward to ſeek out the *Dutch* Fleet, which he had no certain Intelligence of, or he would not have ſought them, they having ſixty Sail and he but thirty eight, with which he ſtood after them over to the Coaſt of *France*, where he met them on the 16th of *Auguſt*, under the Command of the renown'd *De Ruyter*. Sir *George*, notwithſtanding the Inequality of the Numbers, began the Fight about Four in the Afternoon, and his Ship with ſix other Men of War, charg'd through the whole Body of the Enemy's Fleet, receiving much Damage in their Hulls, Maſts, Sails, and Rigging; yet did they tack about, weather them, and charge them again, continuing thus engag'd in the Body of the Enemy's Fleet till it was dark Night; and had the reſt of the *Engliſh* Captains perform'd their Parts as well as Sir *George Ayſcue*, this great *Duth* Fleet had in all likelihood been totally routed. *Ayſcue* loſt but one Ship, a Fire-ſhip, which ſet her ſelf on Fire, being ready to ſink.

Blake takes 600 Sale of Herring Buſſes.

Sir George Ayſcue fights De Ruyter.

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ſink. *De Ruyter* loſt two Ships, the one ſunk and the other burnt: His whole Fleet was ſo damag'd that he thought not fit to engage again the next Day, but made home as faſt as he could. In this Engagement Capt. *Pack*'s Leg was ſhot off, and he died ſoon after; Capt. *Liſle* and Capt *Witheredge* were wounded. Both Sides had many Men kill'd and wounded, and this Fight was the ſmarteſt that had been then known in our Seas. A few Days after Capt. *Pen* met with a *Dutch* Man of War, and ſix Merchant Men richly laden, who yielded without ſtriking a Stroke; whether it was that *Van Tromp* did not like this Beginning of the War, or that the States did not like him, as being a Creature of the late Prince of *Orange*, he deſir'd to lay down his Commiſſion, and an Enemy of the Houſe of *Orange*, *De Wit*, was put in his Place.

Blake *takes a* French *Fleet.*

In the Beginning of *September*, the *Engliſh* Fleet, under General *Blake*, riding in the *Downs*, the General receiv'd Intelligence of a *French* Fleet on the Coaſts of *France*; upon which he weigh'd Anchor and ſtood over: He ſpy'd them in *Calais* Road, and they ſpying him, weigh'd and ſail'd towards *Dunkirk*; *Blake* purſu'd them as far as he could for the Sands, and took moſt of them, among the reſt,

The *Triton*, 32 Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier de Verdiel*, in which was Monſieur *Bimulet*, Admiral of this Fleet.

The *Shepherd*, 30 Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier Boiſmerant*.

The *Gift of God*, 30 Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier de la Charte*.

The *Dutcheſs*, 32 Guns, commanded by Monſieur *de la Roch*.

The *Creſcent*, 26 Guns, commanded by Monſieur *De la Vel Dean*.

The *Hunter*, 22 Guns, commanded by Monſieur *De la Gicleek*.

The *St. Lewis*, 28 Guns, commanded by Monſieur *De la Gory*.

The ——— 8 Guns.

Six Fire Ships, and ſeveral Tranſports.

This Fleet was order'd to take in Warlike Stores and Proviſions at *Calais*, for the Relief of *Dunkirk*; but being thus intercepted by the *Engliſh*, the *Dunkirkers* deſpairing of being reliev'd, ſurrender'd the Town to the *Spaniards*, and the like did the Garriſon of *Graveline*. And now the *French* Court began to be truly ſenſible of their Weakneſs in harbouring the Princes of *England*, and their Retainers, which, and ſome Inſults at Sea had drawn upon them the Reſentments of the Parliament of *England*, who ſuffer'd no Power to protect their Enemies, without Chaſtiſement, and made thoſe that preſum'd to do it repent ſeverely of their Folly.

France out of Complacency to the Daughter of *Henry* IV. now Queen Mother of *England*, had avoided ſending an Ambaſſador to the Commonwealth, but preſently upon this Blow ſhe diſpatch'd one of her moſt able Miniſters to give Satisfaction, and to make her Peace with the Republick; after which we ſhall ſoon ſee that the Princes of *England*, the Lord High Chancellor of *England*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, &c. will be perſwaded to *withdraw* themſelves from that Court, though as yet there is no other prepar'd to receive them.

Engliſh *Fugitives miſchievous abroad.*

Before we proceed in this Story, let us reflect a little on the Miſchiefs the Princes of *England* and their fugitive Train have brought upon the Nations, whom they deluded with falſe Repreſentations of their Party and Intereſt in *England*, of which many Inſtances are to be given. Prince *Rupert* firſt impos'd himſelf on the *Spaniards* and then on the *Pourtugueſe*. How the latter paid for it, out of their *Braſile* Fleets, and how the former have and will pay for it, and for their entertaining thoſe Princes and their Followers, has been and will ſtill be ſeen in this Hiſtory. Theſe Nations were fed with Hopes that the baniſh'd Heroes who could not keep an Inch of Ground in *Great Britain*, with the Help of numerous Armies, who were all beaten and ſuppreſs'd, would conquer their Conquerors without Men, Arms, Ships, Money, or any Thing to help them. *France* has paid part of her Reckoning for ſheltering them; and *Holland*'s being a longer Account will be longer a clearing. *England* was to riſe for them as ſoon as ever they could throw a Cable a-ſhore; and though the Nations had this fair Example to ſhun the like Deception hereafter; yet how have the falſe Reports of the Succeſſors of thoſe Fugitives, following the Fortunes of one of thoſe Princes, the abdicated King, impos'd on *France*, to the Expence of above 100 Millions Sterling, and on *Spain* to an Expence and Loſs which ſhe does not yet know the End of, and can hope for no End to it but by entirely renouncing all League with ſuch Vagabonds, and entring heartily into Friendſhip with *England*.

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The Behaviour of the Dutch.

The *Dutch* depended much on the Diſturbances and Perplexities the Royaliſts would raiſe in *England*. We have ſeen that they ſet out in this War with unexpected Gallantry, and before *Van Tromp* defy'd the *Engliſh* Admiral, they held their Heads very high in *Holland*. Soon after they publiſh'd their Declaration of War, a Medal was ſtruck; on one Side was repreſented a Female Warrior, by which was underſtood that Republick's having on her Spear the Cap, which is the Emblem of Liberty, ſurrounded with ſeven Eſcutcheons, with the Arms of the ſeven Provinces. On the Reverſe was a Rock in the Middle of the Sea beaten by the Waves, the Winds blowing a Tempeſt upon it from every Quarter, and round it this *Latin* Verſe,

Ut Rupes Immota, Mari ſtant fœdere Juncti:

United like a Rock amidſt the Sea
She ſtands, unmov'd by furious Waves and Winds.

The *Dutch* were extremely pleas'd with this Medal, but that Pleaſure laſted no longer than till the News arriv'd of their firſt Defeat.

General Blake *defeats the* Dutch *Fleet.*

On the 27th of *September* General *Blake* diſcover'd the *Dutch* Fleet again off the *Goodwyn* Sands. He was juſt return'd from the *Weſt*, where he had taken five *Dutch Weſt India* and ſix *Straits* Ships, valued at 200000 Pounds. He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himſelf, another by Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*. Next Day General *Blake* bore down upon them till he came within three Fathom Water on the *Kentiſh Knock*. The *Sovereign*, in which was the General, the *Reſolution*, and the St. *Andrew*, Firſt Rates, were aground on the *Knock*, but got off preſently without any Harm, and fell in among the Enemy, whom they fought with Advantage till Night parted them. The *Dutch* ſtaid to Leeward of the *Engliſh*, as if they intended another Engagement. Next Morning at Day-break they were ſeen about two Leagues to the *North-Eaſt* of the *Engliſh*, who, tho' the Wind was but little and ſhifting, bore after them all the Forenoon, till the Wind coming to *North* and by *Weſt*, hinder'd their getting up with the Enemy. Upon which the General order'd

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der'd his nimbleſt Frigates to keep as cloſe to them as poſſible, and ply them with their Guns as faſt as they could come up with them, to give Time for the reſt of the Fleet to advance. The Frigates got up with the *Dutch* Men of War, and the latter fearing the reſt of the Fleet would do the ſame, ſet up their Main Sails, and ran for it. Ten Frigates of General *Blake*'s Fleet purſuing them, and a freſh Gale ſpringing up next Day, *September* the 30th, the whole Fleet purſu'd them in Sight of *Weſt Gabel* in *Zealand*, and ſaw them run into the *Goree*. The *Engliſh* Fleet could follow them no further for the *Shallowes*. The Number of Ships on each Side was about 60. Three of the *Dutch* were wholly diſabled at the firſt Brunt, and another, the Rear-Admiral, was taken by Capt. *Mildmay* in the *Nonſuch* as ſhe was towing off. She ſunk ſoon after, and the Officers and Sailors were put aboard *Engliſh* Ships. About 40 *Engliſhmen* were kill'd and as many wounded, which was the moſt of their Loſs.

Capt. Bodilo *fights the* Dutch *in the* Streights.

During theſe Tranſactions, the Squadron under Command of Capt. *Bodilo* in the *Mediterranean*, conſiſting of the *Paragon*, the *Phœnix*, the *Conſtant Warwick*, and the *Elizabeth*, having under Convoy three *Engliſh Turkey* Ships, met with eleven Sail of *Dutch* Men of War, near the Iſland of *Corſica*, under Admiral *Van Galen*, who preſently came up with the *Engliſh*, and began an Engagement, but Night coming on, parted them. Next Morning the *Dutch* renew'd the Fight, and were as warmly receiv'd as the Day before, and as can be imagin'd from ſo ſmall a Number. One of the *Dutch* Ships took Fire, the Main-top Maſts of two others were ſhot down. The *Phœnix*, of 44 Guns, was clap'd on board by a heavy *Dutch* Ship full of Men, who overpower'd the *Engliſh* and took her. This Prize was the Subject of much Boaſt in *Holland*, tho' there was no great Need of it. The *Dutch* paid for it dearly, their Admiral *Van Galen* being kill'd, and got it by their Numbers, the *Engliſh* not giving out ſo long as they had Men and Ammunition. The *Paragon* had 27 kill'd and 60 wounded, the *Elizabeth* had but two Barrels of Powder, the *Conſtant Warwick* was in no better Condition, yet they got ſafely with their Merchant Ships into *Porto Longone*. Nor did the *Dutch* keep their Prize long, for the *Dutch* Fleet putting afterwards into *Leghorn*, Captain *Cox*, who commanded an *Engliſh* Man of War, mann'd out two Boats of brave *Britons*, boarded the *Phœnix*, and brought her off. The Officers, among whom was young *Van Tromp*, afterwards ſo famous, making their Eſcapes out of the Cabbin Windows.

Coke.

The Dane.

The Parliament ſent Capt. *Ball*, with a Squadron of Men of War, to *Elſinore*, to demand of the King of *Denmark* Reſtitution of ſeveral *Engliſh* Merchant-Ships detain'd in his Ports, which being loaden with Naval Stores, were very much wanted to carry on this Naval War; but the King of *Denmark* being then privately treating with the *Dutch* to join in a League againſt the Commonwealth, refus'd to reſtore them, and ſold the Ships Cargoes, tho' he had promis'd Capt. *Ball* to ſecure them for the Proprietors. The *Engliſh* in their Return home took a *Dutch* Man of War and 20 Buſſes. *Denmark* would not join with the *Dutch*, but on Condition *Van Tromp* was reſtor'd to the Command of their Fleet, which was done, and the *Dane* ſent 20 Men of War to the Aſſiſtance of the *Hollanders*, who were to pay him one Million of *Guilders*.

In *November* the *Dutch* Admiral *Van Tromp*, with 110 Men of War, beſides Fireſhips, being join'd by 17 Men of War from *Zealand*, ſail'd from the *Goree*, with Orders to convoy out of the Channel near 500 Merchant Ships, bound for *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Barbary*, and the *Levant*, and to take all Advantages he could of the *Engliſh*. Moſt of the *Dutch* Merchant Ships were by Streſs of Weather and contrary Winds driven back to their Harbours, but their Men of War kept out at Sea; and *Van Tromp* having receiv'd Advice that General *Blake* had ſent 20 of his Ships to convoy a Fleet of laden Colliers from *Newcaſtle*, 12 towards *Plymouth*, and 15 up the River to refit, came into the *Downs* with 80 Men of War, *Blake* having with him but 37: Notwithſtanding which Diſparity of Number, *Blake*, with the Approbation of a Council of War, reſolv'd to fight the *Dutch* Fleet. Accordingly he engag'd them about Noon, *November* the 29th, and the Fight continu'd till it was dark. In this Fight, half of the *Engliſh* Fleet, as ſmall as it was, came not up, pretending Want of Men, inſomuch that a few Ships bore the Brunt of the Battle with the whole *Dutch* Fleet. The *Vanguard* and the *Victory* engag'd 20 of them from the firſt of the Fight to the laſt, and yet got clear of them all. In the Evening the *Garland*, a 40 Gun Ship, was boarded by two *Dutch* Flags, and after ſhe had blown up her Decks, for want of Men, was taken. The *Bonadventure*, a Merchant Man, attempting to relieve the *Garland*, was boarded, yet clear'd her Decks ſeveral Times, but the Captain being kill'd, ſhe was alſo taken. General *Blake* going in the *Triumph* to relieve the *Garland*, had his Fore-top Maſt ſhot by the Board, was twice boarded, and yet got off, as did all the reſt except the *Bonadventure* and *Garland*. Two other Ships, both Merchant Men, fell into the Enemy's Hand. General *Blake* retreated to *Lee* Road to be recruited with Ships and Men. One of the *Dutch* Flags was blown up, and both *Van Tromp* and *De Ruyter*'s Ships were very much damag'd. However, the former was ſo elated with this little Succeſs, owing entirely to the Superiority of Number, that he order'd a Broom to be fix'd to his Main-top, ſaying, *He would ſweep the* Britiſh *Seas of all* Engliſh *Men of War*; but he was himſelf ſwept out of the World in the next Battle, and full Vengeance taken for the ſmall Affront which General *Blake* receiv'd in this.

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Brit. Triumph.

The Parliament having receiv'd Information of the Misbehavionr of ſome Officers in the late Engagement, appointed a Committee, of which Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. *John Carew*, Eſq; and Major *Salway*, were the principal, to examine into their Conduct, impowering them to place and diſplace Officers, and regulate all Matters relating to the Marine. Theſe Commiſſioners us'd ſuch Care and Diligence in Diſcharge of their Truſt, that the Face of Affairs ſoon became much alter'd for the better, a conſiderable Fleet put to Sea well officer'd and well mann'd. The Magazines were plentifully provided, and thirty Ships put upon the Stocks; and, to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the *Dane*, the Parliament ſent the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* on an extraordinary Embaſſy to the Court of *Sweden*, where he was receiv'd with all the Honours due to his Character.

Scotland.

Monk was recall'd from *Scotland* about the latter End of the Year to aſſiſt General *Blake* aboard the Fleet, there being nothing of Conſequence left for him to do in that Kingdom, where the Commiſſioners had treated with the Marquis of *Argyle* and others, about a Union of the two Kingdoms, purſuant to an Act of Parliament for the Incorporation of *England* and *Scotland* into

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one Republick, and to confiſcate the Eſtates of all thoſe that had aſſiſted Duke *Hamilton* in 1648. or the King of the *Scots*, ſince they aboliſh'd by Proclamation all Manner of Authority deriv'd from any other Power but that of the Commonwealth of *England*. They ſummon'd the Counties, Cities and Burroughs, to agree to the Incorporation, of which 18 of 31 Counties, and 24 of 56 Cities and Burghs conſented to ſend their Deputies to the Parliament of *England*. Judges were ſent to *Scotland* for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, which they perform'd to the great Satisfaction of the People. The Lord *Argyle* made many Difficulties of coming to a Concluſion with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners; and at laſt, when he clos'd with them, his Son, the Lord *Lorn*, went off to the Earl of *Glencairn*; the Earl of *Balcarras*, and others who defended themſelves among the *Faſtneſſes* in the *Highlands*, from whence they durſt not make any Attempt on the *Low Countries*. *Glencairn* quarrelling with *Lorn*, the latter made his Eſcape or he had been clap'd up. Theſe Gentlemen had only the Honour to ſtarve there in the King's Name, from whom they expected more Aſſiſtance than he could expect from them: They ſent one *Drummond* to *Paris* at the Inſtance of Col. *Middleton*, ſo often mention'd, who was come to them from *France*, to invite the King to come amongſt them. *Drummond* was admitted to Audience by the little Council the King had about him; and when he had deliver'd his Meſſage Chancellor *Hyde* ask'd him, *how the King would be accommodated if he came among them.* *Drummond* reply'd, *Not ſo well as was fitting, but they would take Care of him to furniſh him with every Thing that was neceſſary.* Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, "Mr. *Drummond* wonder'd the King did not check *Hyde* in his Demand; *For*, ſaid he, *it look'd ſtrange, that when they were hazarding their Lives to help him to a Crown, he ſhould be concern'd for Accommodation.*" But as I have obſerv'd again and again, this Preſident of his Majeſty's *little Council* was guilty of very ſtrange Things in his Miniſtry, as well as his Memoirs. The Marquis of *Argyle* having agreed to the Union, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners almoſt perfected that Work: And in *Auguſt*, *Whitlocke* informs us, the Commiſſioners of the Shires choſe 21 Men, 14 to repreſent the Counties, and 7 the Boroughs; but that Model was alter'd afterwards by *Cromwel*.

Union.

The *Scots* in the *Low Lands* being entirely reduc'd, it was reſolv'd to erect 4 Forts to curb thoſe that might form Deſigns againſt the *Engliſh*, one at *Inverneſs*, another at *Leith*, a Third at *Ayre*, and a Fourth at St. *Johnſtoun*, and in Purſuit of thoſe in the Mountains to divide the Forces into three Parties: The firſt conſiſted of Col. *Overton*'s Regiment of Foot, and a Regiment of Horſe, commanded by Major *Blackmore*; the ſecond of Col. *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horſe, and one of Foot, commanded by Col. *Lilburn*; the third was compos'd of Major General *Dean*'s Regiment of Horſe, and *Monk*'s Regiment of Foot, each Party having ſome Troops of Dragoons to attend them; and theſe were not long driving the *Highlanders* out of their *Faſtneſſes*.

Ireland.

Cromwel's Plot for his own Grandeur now thicken'd a-pace; the Parliament voted Major General *Lambert* to be Deputy to the Lord General *Cromwel*, but he could not truſt him with ſo important a Command, and therefore got himſelf to be continu'd by a new Vote, Captain General of the Forces, rais'd and to be rais'd in *Ireland*, as well as *England*, and his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, to be Commander in Chief there under him. *Lambert* would not go over unleſs he had the Character of *Deputy*, which the Parliament would not confer on him, reſolving that there ſhould be no more Lieutenants of *Ireland*, now *Oliver*'s Commiſſion was expir'd, but to keep the Civil Government in their own Hands, to be executed by Commiſſioners. *A. D.* 1652.

Galway was for ſome Time block'd up by Sir *Charles Coote*, and the *Iriſh* Garriſon under the Marquis of *Clanrickard* was very deſirous to capitulate, before the Seaſon came for the Army to take the Field, and beſiege it in Form. *Clanrickard* ſent a Letter to General *Ludlow*, which for the Temper and Judgment of it deſerves to be remembred.

Sir,

"MANY of the Nobility, Clergy, and other "Perſons of Quality, Subjects of this "Kingdom, with the Corporation of *Galway*, "having conſider'd the preſent State of Affairs, "and the ruinous Effects which this long War "hath produc'd, have ſolicited me to deſire of "you a Conference for the Eſtabliſhment of the "Repoſe of this Nation, and to obtain a ſafe "Conduct for the Commiſſioners whom by their "Advice I ſhall judge capable to be ſent to you "for that End. It is this which hath oblig'd me to "ſend you an Expreſs, with this Proteſtation, that "I ſhall not abandon them till I ſee ſuch Conditions granted them as they may with Honour accept; for want of which, I am reſolv'd to continue the Authority and Protection of his Majeſty over them, even to Extremity, not doubting but by divine Aſſiſtance, "with the Forces we already have, and the "Succours which ſhall be ſent us by his Majeſty and Allies, we ſhall be found in a Condition to change the preſent State of Affairs, "or at leaſt to render your former Conqueſts of "little Advantage, and in the End to ſell our "Lives at a dear Rate, if we ſhall be forc'd "thereto, the which leaving to your Conſideration, and expecting your certain Anſwer and "Reſolution, I remain,

Mar. 24, 165$\frac{3}{4}$. *Sir, Your Servant,* CLANRICKARD.

General *Ludlow* anſwer'd him like a Man who laid no Weight on the Succours he expected from the King; and indeed that was one of the weakeſt Paſſages in his Letter.

My Lord,

"IN Anſwer to yours of the 24th of *March*, "by which you propoſe a Treaty for the "Settlement of this Country, and deſire a ſafe "Conduct for the Commiſſioners you ſhall think "fit to employ in the Management of that Affair; I think fit in purſuance of the Advice of "the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *England*, and of many Officers of the *Engliſh* Army, to adverti ſe you, as hath been already anſwer'd to thoſe who have ſent Propoſitions of "the like Nature, that the Settlement of this "Nation doth of Right belong to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, to "whom we are oblig'd in Duty to leave it, being aſſur'd that they will not capitulate with "thoſe who ought to ſubmit to them, and yet "oppoſe themſelves to their Authority, and upon vain and frivolous Hopes have refus'd ſuch "Offers of Favour as they would gladly accept at preſent: So that I fear they will be "conſtrain'd to proceed againſt them with the "higheſt Severity; which that you may prevent "by your timely Submiſſion is the Deſire of,

My Lord,
Your humble Servant,
Edmund Ludlow.

A. D. 1652. The Marquis's Letter not ſucceeding with *Ludlow*, he apply'd to Sir *Charles Coote*, who concluded a Treaty with him on much eaſier Terms than the Parliament's Commiſſioners would have granted; but the latter did not think convenient to diſannul the Treaty entirely, and before their Alterations came to *Coote*, he had ſo fully agreed, that he could not or would not go back, only promis'd to endeavour to perſwade *Clanrickard* to accept of thoſe Alterations, which he took no Notice of, and as ſoon as he got out of *Galway*, join'd with Sir *Phelin O Neale*, chief of the Rebels in *Connaught* and *Ulſter*. They made together a Body of 15000 Men, with which they took *Bally Shannon* Fort: But Sir *Charles Coote* and Col. *Venables*, who commanded in thoſe Parts, came upon them ſo ſuddenly that for Safety they retreated to the Bogs, leaving a ſmall Garriſon in *Bally Shannon*. Being purſu'd by the *Engliſh* who kill'd and wounded 300 of them, and took from them 7000 Cows, upon whoſe Milk they chiefly ſubſiſted, 1200 of them came in and laid down their Arms; upon which their Garriſon in *Bally Shannon* ſurrender'd.

Before *Fleetwood* came over the greateſt Part of the *Iriſh* Army had laid down their Arms on Condition of being tranſported into foreign Service. However, ſmall Bodies of them continu'd to make Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Quarters; Sir *Walter Dungan* Commiſſary General of the Enemies Horſe, and Capt. *Scurlock*, a famous *Tory*, enter'd *Wexford* with 500 Foot and 250 Horſe, and were met by Lieutenant Colonel *Throgmorton*, with 400 Foot and 120 Horſe, who after ſome Diſpute routed *Dungan* and the Tory *Scurlock*, kill'd 200 of their Men, and took near 300 Priſoners. About this Time the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, who commanded the *Iriſh* in *Leinſter*, ſent to the Parliament's Commiſſioners to deſire a ſafe Conduct for Perſons to come and treat with ſuch as they ſhould appoint, which being granted there, met at *Kilkenny*.

For the Parliament, Commiſſioners.

Commiſſary General *Reynolds*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Laurence*, Col. *Axtell*, Adjutant General *Allen*, Major *Henry Owen*, Mr. *James Standiſh*, Deputy Treaſurer.

For the *Iriſh*.

Sir *Walter Dungan*, *Lewis* Lord Viſcount *Glanmaliere*, Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwel*, Col. *Walter Bagnal*, Col. *Lewis Moor*, Col. *Thomas Tyrrel*;

Who agreed on the ſame Conditions granted to Col. *Odouyer*, who was Commander in Chief of the *Iriſh* in the Counties of *Waterford* and *Tipperary*, which Conditions were concluded with him by Col. *Zanchy*, *That all the Arms of the* Iriſh *be deliver'd up at a certain Price; he and his Party to enjoy their Perſonal Eſtates, and ſuch a Proportion of their Real, as others under their Qualification ſhall be permitted to do: Theſe Articles not to extend to ſuch as had murder'd the* Engliſh, *or to thoſe that were engag'd in the Rebellion during the firſt Year, or to* Romiſh *Prieſts, or to thoſe that had kill'd any* Engliſh *after Quarter, or to Deſerters; all others to have Liberty to live in* Engliſh *Quarters, or tranſport themſelves into the Service of any foreign State, in Friendſhip with the Commonwealth of* England.

Col. *Fitz-Patrick* made his Submiſſion before Col. *Odouyer*, on Condition to be tranſported with his Regiment to *Spain*; for which the Popiſh Clergy excommunicated him. The Lord *Muskerry*, and Major General *Taaf*, with other Commanders of the Rebels in *Munſter*, *Connaught* and *Ulſter*, were left at Liberty to accept of the ſame Conditions *within* a limited Time. Moſt of the *Iriſh* that were not excepted for Murder, deliver'd up their Arms and Horſes to Commiſſioners appointed by Lieutenant General *Ludlow* to receive them. Above 3000 accepted of the Earl of *Weſtmeath*'s Articles. The Lord *Muskerry* ſent Col. *Poor* to *Kilkenny* to acquaint the Lieutenant General that he deſign'd to accept them; but it was found by ſome intercepted Letters that his Deſign was to amuſe them: So Preparations were made to reduce him and his Party. General *Ludlow*, the Lord *Broghill* and Sir *Hardreſs Waller* march'd with 4000 Foot and 2000 Horſe, towards *Roſs* in *Kerry*, where the Lord *Muskerry* had his principal Rendezvous, and oblig'd him to ſubmit to the ſame Articles as were granted to the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, in Conſequence of which 5000 Horſe and Foot laid down their Arms and ſurrender'd their Horſes. Col. *Grace* ſtanding out ſtill, paſs'd the *Shannon*; and being join'd by the *Iriſh* of *Connaught* and *Galway*, made a Body of 3000 Men, who were attack'd and routed by Col. *Ingoldsby*, near *Limerick*. After which Defeat *Grace* ſubmitted, but had not ſo good Terms as the Articles of *Kilkenny*; for *Ingoldsby* caus'd a Captain, a Lieutenant, and other Officers to be ſhot according to the Liberty he reſerv'd in the Capitulation, they having revolted to the Enemy at *Carrick*, into which Iſle the Marquis of *Clanrickard* withdrew himſelf, with what Forces he had left. Col. *Theophilus Jones*, who commanded a Party in the *North* of *Ireland*, defeated 1600 Foot and 300 Horſe, the Remains of the *Iriſh* Army, and kill'd 300 of them. The Lord *Clanrickard* finding himſelf encompaſs'd on all Sides, made his Submiſſion, and obtain'd Liberty to tranſport himſelf with 3000 Men, to any foreign Country in Friendſhip with the Commonweath, within the Space of three Months. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, "He ſent to "*Ludlow* for a Paſs to go to *England*, and ſurren- "der himſelf to the Parliament." "Thus, ſays "*Ludlow*, our military Service in *Ireland*, drew "to a Concluſion, moſt of the *Iriſh* Forces ha- "ving ſubmitted, and laid down their Arms. "No Garriſon of any Strength holding out againſt "us, and many Thouſands of the Enemy being "ſent into foreign Service," as 2000 of Col. *Fitz-Patrick*'s Men, 1000 of Col. *Odouyer*'s, and 4000 more were ready for Tranſportation as ſoon as Ships could be provided.

A. D. 1652.

The Military Affairs of the Commonwealth had every where Succeſs, and the Civil were manag'd with exemplary Policy and Prudence.

Committee of Law.

The Committee of Law preſented to the Parliament Draughts of *Acts*,

For taking away Fines upon Bills, Declarations and original Writs.

Againſt cuſtomary Oaths of Fealty and Homage to Lords of Manors.

For taking away common Recoveries, and the unneceſſary Charge of Fines, and to paſs and charge Lands intail'd as Lands in Fee Simple.

For aſcertaining arbitrary Fines upon Deſcent, and Alienation of Copy-holds of Inheritance.

For the more ſpeedy Recovery of Rents.

Touching Pleaders and their Fees.

For the more ſpeedy Regulating and eaſy Diſcovery of Debts and Damages not exceeding 40 *l. and under.*

The very Titles of theſe Acts ſhew how worthy they were of the Wiſdom of the Nation; and it is aſtoniſhing that the ſame Art which obſtructed the Reform of the Practice of the Law, almoſt fourſcore Years ago, ſhould have ſtill ſucceeded in the like Obſtruction from that Time to this. It does by no Means do Honour to the Profeſ-

A. D. 1652. sion, which is charg'd with it. " The Refor- " mation of the Law went on but ſlowly in Par- " liament, ſays *Ludlow*, it being the Intereſt " of Lawyers to preſerve the Lives, Liberties and " Eſtates of the whole Nation in their Hands: " So that upon the Debate of *Regiſtring Deeds* " *in each County, for want of which within* " *a certain Time fix'd after the Sale ſuch* " *Sales ſhould be void; and being ſo regiſtred,* " *that Land ſhould not be ſubject to any In-* " *cumbrance*: This Word *Incumbrance* was ſo " manag'd by the Lawyers that it took up three " Months Time before it could be aſcertain'd " by the Committee of Parliament:" Which ſhews how much a little paltry, private Intereſt prevails over that of the Publick, in Minds blinded by Avarice, and debas'd by Lucre.

But in the midſt of this Blaze of Glory and Happineſs, the Commonwealth ſaw a Cloud riſing, which though like a Speck at its firſt Appearance, ſoon ſpread a dreadful Darkneſs, and ended in a Tempeſt, in which it was overwhelm'd. *Cromwel*, who was all this while ſapping and mining its Foundation, began now to let ſome of his Work appear, and the Officers of the Army preſented a Petition to the Parliament in *Auguſt*, " about Miniſters, regulating the Law, Abuſes " in collecting Exciſe and other publick Monies, " ſtating the Soldiers Accounts, unneceſſary Of- " fices and Salaries, providing for the Poor, " Qualifications of ſuch as ſhall ſit in future " Parliaments:" Many were diſguſted at this Petition, as improper if not arrogant; for the Officers of the Army to dictate to their Maſters the Parliament. *Cromwel* was advis'd to ſtop this Way of Petitioning with Sword in Hand, leaſt in Time it might come home to himſelf. But he ſeem'd to ſlight it, or rather to have ſome Deſign, which the Officers were to prepare the Way for, by this Petition. The Houſe temporiz'd with them, and return'd them hearty Thanks for their great Care and Love to the Publick; but their delaying to take their Petition into particular Conſideration, gave them a Pretence to murmur. *Oliver* did not ſtick to open himſelf to ſome of his Friends, particularly the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, to whom, in a private Conference he propos'd his taking upon himſelf the Authority and Title of King. *Cromwel* began it with Profeſſion of his Confidence in *Whitlocke*, who endeavour'd to confirm him in his good Opinion of him. Then they both ſpoke of their Engagements in the Cauſe of the Commonwealth; and *Oliver* bemoan'd the Hazard they ran by *private Janglings* among themſelves after their Enemies were vanquiſh'd. *Whitlocke* artfully turn'd thoſe *Janglings* on the Army, the Emulation of Officers, and their thinking their Services never enough rewarded, taking no Notice of the Parliament. *Cromwel* ſaid he had us'd his utmoſt Endeavour to keep them in Obedience; upon which *Whitlocke* complimented him: But then *Oliver* offer'd Excuſes for them and their Diſſatisfaction with the Parliament, blaming the *Pride* of the latter; their *Self-ſeeking, ingroſſing of Places, breaking into Parties and Factions, delaying Buſineſs, medling in private Matters, their Partiality, and the ſcandalous Lives of ſome of them*, &c. at the End of which, he comes to the Point in Hand, and propoſes the ſetting up ſome Power *ſo full and ſo high, as to reſtrain and keep Things in better Order*. *Whitlocke* reply'd, " That his Excellency's " Power as General, could reſtrain the Soldiery; " for the Lord Commiſſioner would not drop " them, and as to the Parliament, there was " great Difficulty in reſtraining them, his own " Commiſſion being from them, who were " acknowledg'd the ſurpream Power of the Na- " tion, ſubject to no Controul." He urg'd the Honour and Wiſdom of the major Part of them, to extenuate the ill Conduct of a few. *Oliver* ſhortning the Debate, ſaid there is no Hopes of them, they will bring all Things to Confuſion if they are ſuffer'd to go on; and therefore ſome Courſe muſt be thought on to curb them. *Whitlocke*, " We our ſelves have acknow- " ledg'd them the ſupreme Power, and taken our " Commiſſion and Authority in the higheſt Con- " cernments from them, and how to reſtrain " them after this will be hard to find out a Way. *Oliver* cut him ſhort, *What if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King!* Whitlocke. *I think that Remedy would be worſe than the Diſeaſe.* Cromwel. *Why do you think ſo?* Whitlocke told him it would be no Advantage to him, becauſe he had the kingly Power concerning the *Militia*, as General; and as to nominating Officers and paſſing of Laws, what he diſlik'd would not eaſily paſs. He might now diſpoſe of the Taxes as he pleas'd; and as to Foreigners, if Application was made to the Parliament, foreign Miniſters knew nothing would come of it, without applying to him. Thus with leſs Danger he might do more Good than would be if he aſſum'd the Title of King. *Cromwel* objected, that the Lawyers alledg'd, all Acts under a King, tho' *de Facto*, were lawful, and would be ſafer. *Whitlocke* ſaid, he doubted whether the Act of *Henry* VII. to which his Excellency referr'd, would be regarded if their Enemies prevail'd. *Cromwel* demanded to know what Danger there was in it. *Whitlocke* reply'd, " The main Con- " troverſy betwixt us and our Adverſaries, is " whether the Government of this Nation ſhall " be in a *King* or a *Commonwealth*. Moſt of " our Friends engage with us for the latter. " Now if your Excellency take upon you the Ti- " tle of *King*, the Monarchy will be eſtabliſh'd " in your Perſon, and the Queſtion will be no " more whether a *King* or a *Free State*, but " whether *Cromwel* or *Stuart* ſhall be our King, " by which you will loſe all the Commonwealth " Party." *Oliver* confeſs'd it was Reaſon, and bad him propound ſome other Way, which after great Preparation for it *Whitlocke* did, and propos'd his making his own Terms with the King of the *Scots*, which he ſupported with very ſtrong Arguments; to which *Cromwel* anſwer'd, *I think you have much Reaſon in what you propound; but it is a Matter of ſo high Importance and Difficulty that it deſerves more Time of Conſideration and Debate, than is at preſent allow'd us.* So he broke off Diſcourſe, and ſeem'd by his Countenance and Carriage, to be diſpleas'd with what had been ſaid; yet he never objected it againſt *Whitlocke*, in any publick Meeting afterwards, though he advis'd with him no more ſo frequently and intimately, as he had been wont to do.

Officers of the Army Petition.

Cromwel *and* Whitlocke *about his Kingſhip.*

A. D. 1652.

The Parliament applying themſelves induſtriouſly to the Proſecution of the War with *Holland*, paſs'd ſeveral Votes for the Encouragement of Seamen. As, for every Prize taken 40 *s.* a Ton, and 6 *l.* for every Cannon, to be equally diſtributed among the Officers and Mariners, according to their Qualifications, 10 *l.* for every Cannon on board any Ship ſunk or burnt by them, a Month's Pay to all who enter'd themſelves aboard Men of War within 40 Days. They order'd Hoſpitals to be erected at *Dover*, *Deal* and *Sandwich*, for ſick and wounded Sailors; and though the *Hollanders* had declar'd all naval Stores to *England* to be Contraband Goods, yet the Council of State had provided a gallant Fleet with all Neceſ-

A. D. 1653.

A. D. 1653. Neceſſaries for an Engagement, which happen'd on the 18th of *February*. The *Dutch* Fleet, in Number about 80, with 150 Merchant Men from *Bourdeaux*, *Nantz*, and *Roan*, were diſcover'd between the *Iſle of Wight* and *Portland*, by the Headmoſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, then commanded by General *Blake*, *Dean*, and *Monk*. About 8 a Clock the *Triumph*, in which were *Blake* and *Dean*, and 3 or 4 Ships more, began the Fight, the reſt being to the Leeward, by which means a very ſmall Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet were engag'd with the whole *Dutch* Navy for ſome Time, and when more *Engliſh* Ships came up they were not above half of the Fleet which fought the Enemy till Night parted them. The *Triumph* loſt 100 Men, received 700 Shot in her Hull, and in the Extremity of Diſtreſs was bravely relieved by Capt. *Lawſon*, Capt. of the *Fairfax*. The *Sampſon*, Capt. *Button*, a *Dutch* Prize, mann'd with *Engliſh* Seamen, fought a Man of War and ſunk her, but was ſo torn her ſelf that ſhe could not ſwim, and Capt. *Button*, his Officers and Seamen, were taken aboard other Ships. The next Day *Blake* purſu'd the *Dutch*, came up with, and engag'd them, and ſo the Day following. Admiral *Tromp*, who commanded the *Hollanders*, put his Merchant Men before him, and fought retreating towards the Coaſt of *Bologne*, but in his Way thither the *Engliſh* Frigats at large took many of his Merchant Men, and *Lawſon* boarded and took a Man of War. The Wind proving croſs the *Dutch* got to *Calais* Sands, and the *Engliſh* gave over the Purſuit. The Enemy loſt eleven Men of War, and 50 Merchant Ships; 1500 *Dutch* Priſoners were ſent to *London*. General *Blake*, and ſeveral other Officers, were wounded, but the *Engliſh* loſt one Ship only, the *Sampſon* before mention'd. This Victory was the more ſurpriſing to the *Hollanders*, for that they expected *Tromp* ſhould have block'd up the River of *Thames*, and have obliged the *Engliſh* to ſeek for a Peace. But the Succeſs proving to the contrary, the common People in the United Provinces were all in Mutiny, upon which the Province of *Holland*, without the Conſent of the other Provinces, did privately employ Col. *Doleman* and others, who gain'd *Hugh Peters*, to try the Inclinations of the Parliament, who would hearken to nothing before *Holland* made the firſt Overture in writing, upon which the States, by their Secretary *Van Beaumont*, wrote a canting, equivocal Letter to them, ſetting forth the Danger of the *Proteſtant Religion* by this Rupture, without offering any reaſonable Satisfaction to the Demands of the Commonwealth of *England*. The Parliament, however, return'd a very mild Anſwer, offering to treat when Preliminaries were agreed upon. *Doleman* and *Peters* in the Name of the *Dutch* apply'd very ſubmiſſively to the Council of State, *confeſſing they were not able to conteſt with the Puiſſance of* England. They offer'd to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Seas, as the Parliament demanded, and to pay 300000 Pounds for Damages. But this Offer, and the Treaty which probably might have enſu'd, was interrupted by one of the moſt infamous Acts of Violence and Treaſon that ever Man was guilty of.

General Blake.

Tromp.

The Glory of the Commonwealth.

By what we have ſaid it is obvious to all Readers, that the Power of the Commonwealth of *England*, could have received no Diminution by the Oppoſition of any other Power, and ſhe muſt have encreas'd daily in Strength and Glory, that ſhe was ſo well eſtabliſh'd as to fear no Enemy, and to have what Choice ſhe pleas'd of Friends. That ſhe had rais'd the Reputation of *England* from the loweſt Depth of Diſgrace and Shame, to the higheſt Degree of Honour and Renown. That the Princes of *England* and their Followers were ſo far from having any Weight in the Balance of her Affairs, that they were look'd upon by her either as ſo many Non-Entities, or if as Beings to be ſuch as her Breath would blow off whenever ſhe thought convenient. But this dazling Brightneſs, ſo amiable to her Friends, ſo dreadful to her Enemies, was eclips'd at once by the intervening of a Comet, whoſe Blaze had all her Terrors without any of her Charms. When I ſay ſo much of this triumphant Republick, it is not but I am as ſenſible as any one of the Irregularity of her acquiring Dominion, that the Foundations of it were laid in the Blood of her Sovereign: That ſhe had no Right to it, but the worſt in the World, that of Conqueſt, which is the Right of a Robber. I ſay only what ſhe did when ſhe had acquir'd the Power, by which it appears that this Senate, the Majeſty of whoſe Preſence would have been Death to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who in his Hiſtory treats them as an abject, daſtardly Crew, has no Equal ſince that of *Rome* was made a Slave to Tyranny, and that all Attempts againſt her immortal Fame, in the Exerciſe of her ill gotten Power, are equally baſe and vain. If we ſhould run back to the Origine of the Power of all the moſt famous Republicks and Empires, ſhall we not find it as criminal as that of the Commonwealth of *England*. *Rome*, the Miſtreſs of the World, ow'd her very Being to Violence and Rapine; and when by her Arms ſhe had extended her Empire from the *Orcades* to *India*, what booted it to ſay, Her Founder was a Robber.

A. D. 1653.

Cromwel's *Treaſon.*

The Parliament ſaw what *Cromwel* was driving at, and endeavour'd to prevent his Uſurpation, which they had certainly ſucceeded in, if *Oliver*, who ſaw that alſo, had not precipitated the Execution of his ambitious Deſigns, and hurry'd that on by Violence which he was in Hopes to have accompliſh'd by Craft and Diſſimulation. The Parliament employ'd *Monk* Aboard the Fleet, purely to take off the Support he expected from the Army in *Scotland*; and to leſſen that in *England*, ſeveral Regiments were order'd for the Navy, which *Oliver* had nothing to do with. This alarm'd him ſo much, that he reſolv'd to execute his Purpoſe immediately.

The firſt Step he took towards his Uſurpation was to gain the Royaliſts, by preſſing on the Act of Oblivion, and enlarging the Bounds of it. Theſe he was ſure to engage againſt the Parliament. He careſs'd Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Rich*, and thoſe Officers of the Army who gave into Enthuſiaſm, and were call'd *Fifth Monarchiſts*, from their ſetting up a ſpiritual Government, or a Sort of *Theocracy*, and having *Chriſt* for their King, and the Goſpel for their Law. He promis'd them Liberty of Conſcience at leaſt. He got over the Clergy and Lawyers by their Inclinations to kingly Government. The *Independents* were his own, the *Presbyterians* divided; and though he was himſelf the main Wheel that ſet all the others in Motion, yet he ſo manag'd Matters, that he himſelf ſeem'd to be mov'd by the Deſires and Endeavours of others. He complain'd to Quarter-Maſter-General *Vernon*, That *he was puſh'd on by two Parties to do that, the Conſideration of the Iſſue whereof made his Hair to ſtand an end. One of them is headed by Major Gen.* Lambert, *who in Revenge of that Injury the Parliament did him, in not permitting him to go to* Ireland *with the Character of* Deputy, *will be contented with nothing leſs than the Diſſolution of the* Parliament. *Of the other, Major General* Harriſon *is chief, who is an honeſt Man, and aims at good Things, yet from the Impatience of his Spirit will not wait the*

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the Lord's Leiſure, but puſhes me on to that which he and all honeſt Men will have cauſe to repent. To Col. *Okey* and other Officers who were diſguſted about the Delays their Petition met with in the Houſe, he rail'd againſt ſeveral Members of Parliament, affirming, that little good could be expected from that Body where ſuch Men had ſo great Influence. At the ſame Time he made the moſt ſolemn Profeſſions of Fidelity to the Parliament, aſſuring them, *That if they would command the Army to break their Swords over their Heads, and to throw them into the Sea, he would undertake they ſhould do it.* Nay, he went ſo far, as to ſend Col. *Desborough* to the Council of Officers, who were debating the Parliament's fixing on a Time to put a Period to their Seſſion, with Inſtructions to tell them, *The Parliament were more ready to do any Good than they to deſire it; that they ought to rely on their Promiſe to diſſolve themſelves by the Time prefix'd*, November, 1654. *and to petition them to put that Vote into an Act, would manifeſt a Diffidence of them, and leſſen their Authority.* *Oliver* came to the Council himſelf, while *Desborough* was thus ſpeaking, and ſeconded what he had ſaid, at which the Officers were perfectly ſtunn'd, the Act having been forwarded by *Cromwel* and *Desborough* more than any other Members of the Council. *Oliver* knew very well that the Commonwealth would daily acquire Strength, Intereſt and Reputation, at Home and Abroad. *Ludlow* tells us, He was ſenſible of *their great Skill and Experience in the Management of publick Affairs, of the good Eſteem they were in amongſt the moſt diſcerning Part of the Nation, and therefore were very deſirous to lay them aſide with as little Noiſe as might be.* If General *Ludlow* ſpeaks Truth, the Lord *Clarendon* does not, for he all along avers, that the *Royaliſts* were the more *diſcerning Part of the Nation*, and does not ſtick at intimating, that himſelf was of that Part the *moſt diſcerning.*

Oliver's Cunning.

Cromwel having put a Stop to the Parliament's paſſing their Diſſolving Vote into an Act, for that would have continu'd them ſo long ſtill as he might not then be able to hinder the Choice of ſuch a new Repreſentative as would be an eternal Bar to his Uſurpation, he therefore caball'd with ſeveral Members of Parliament to aſſume the ſupreme Authority themſelves, by putting a Period to the preſent Parliament; and if he could have made one part of the Houſe Tools to turn out the other, the Remainder would have been entirely at his beck, either be or not be according to his Pleaſure. Thus would he have aſſum'd the Sovereignty, as doing a good Office to the Publick, and others would have born the Blame of the Neceſſity to which the State was reduc'd to put the Government into his Hands. But this Project did not take, the Members of Parliament ſaw through his diſguis'd Deſign, and Major *Sallaway* at one of their Meetings, demanding, *If the preſent Authority was taken away, what better would they put in its Room.* One of *Cromwel*'s Party cry'd, *We muſt pull down this Government, and it will be Time enough then to conſider what ſhall be put in its Room.*

The Parliament diſſolv'd.

The Parliament perceiving to what kind of Exceſſes the Madneſs of the Army was like to carry them, reſolv'd *April* the 20th, to paſs the Diſſolution Act, in which the Choice of a new Repreſentative was ſettled in ſuch a Manner as to preſerve the Commonwealth, the Council of State in the Intervals of Parliament being inveſted with the Supreme Authority by that Act, which continu'd the preſent Parliament a Year and half longer. To prevent this Law General *Cromwel* beckon'd to Major General *Harriſon*, who was on the other Side of the Houſe, to come to him, and ſaid, *I judge the Parliament ripe for a Diſſolution, and this to be the Time for doing it.* *Harriſon* reply'd, *Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it.* *Oliver* anſwer'd, *You ſay well*, and ſat ſtill a quarter of an Hour, and then the Queſtion for paſſing the Diſſolution Act being put, he ſaid to *Harriſon*, *This is the Time, I muſt do it*, and he was prepar'd for it, having plac'd a Party of Soldiers, to the Number of 300, in the Hall at the Door of the Houſe, and in the Lobby, ſo ſtarring up he call'd for a File of Musketeers, who enter'd the Houſe, he bad the Speaker *come down out of the Chair*; and told the Houſe, "They had ſat long enough unleſs they "had done more good; that ſome of them were "Whoremaſters, looking towards *Henry Martin*, and Sir *Peter Wentworth*; that others of "them were *Drunkards*, and ſome corrupt and "unjuſt Men, ſcandalous to the Profeſſion of the "Goſpel, and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit "any longer, therefore he deſir'd them to be "gone, the Lord having choſen other Inſtruments for the carrying on his Work who were "more worthy." He ſpoke with ſo much Paſſion and Diſcompoſure of Mind as if he had been out of his Wits. Sir *Peter Wentworth* ſtood up to anſwer him, and ſaid, *This is the firſt Time I ever heard ſuch unbecoming Language given to the Parliament, and it is the more horrid in that it comes from your Servant, and your Servant whom you have ſo highly truſted and obliged.* *Cromwel* ſtepp'd into the midſt of the Houſe as Sir *Peter* was ſpeaking, and continuing in his mad Fit, cry'd, *I will put an end to your Prating.* Then walking up and down he kick'd the Ground with his Feet, and ſaid, *You are no Parliament; I ſay, you are no Parliament, I will put an end to your Sitting. Call them in, Call them in.* Then the Sergeant attending the Houſe open'd the Doors, and Lieutenant Col. *Worſeley* led in ſome more Musketeers, which Sir *Henry Vane* obſerving, in his Place ſaid aloud, *This is not honeſt; it is againſt Morality and common Honeſty.* Upon which *Oliver* fell a railing at him, crying with a loud Voice, *O Sir* Henry Vane, *Sir* Henry Vane, *the Lord deliver me from Sir* Henry Vane! *Take away that Bawble*, ſpeaking to one of the Soldiers, who ſeiz'd the Mace; and Major General *Harriſon* went to the Speaker as he ſat in the Chair, and told him, *That ſeeing Things were reduc'd to this paſs it would not be convenient for him to remain there.* The Speaker anſwer'd, *I will not come down unleſs I am forc'd to it.* The Major General ſaid, *I will lend you my Hand.* And ſo putting his Hand within his the Speaker came down, upon which *Cromwel* apply'd himſelf to the Members of the Houſe, about 100 in Number, *It is you have forced me to this, for I have ſought the Lord Night and Day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon the doing of this Work.* Horrid Diſſimulation! Alderman *Allen* ſaid, *It is not yet gone ſo far but all Things may be reſtor'd again. If the Soldiers were commanded out of the Houſe, and the Mace return'd, the publick Affairs might go on in their former Courſe.* But *Oliver* rejecting his Advice, charg'd him with an Account of ſome hundred Thouſand Pounds, for which he threaten'd to queſtion him, he having been long Treaſurer to the Army. Alderman *Allen* ſaid, *It is well known it has not been my fault that my Account was not made up long ſince, I have often tender'd it to the Houſe, and I ask no Favour from any Man*

A. D. 1653. *in that Matter. Cromwel* having acted this treacherous and impious Part, order'd the Soldiers to ſee the Houſe clear'd of all Members, and then ſeized upon the Records that were there, and at Mr. *Scobell* the Clerk's Houſe, he ſnatch'd the Act of *Diſſolution* off the Table, put it under his Cloak, commanded the Doors to be lock'd up, and went his Way to *Whitehall*.

Thus ended the *Commonwealth* of *England*, after it had continu'd four Years, two Months, and twenty Days.

"Thus was this great Parliament, ſays *Whitlocke*, "which had done ſo great Things, wholly rout-"ed by thoſe they had ſet up, moſt ungratefully, "diſingenuouſly, raſhly, and imprudently, diſſol-"ved an Aſſembly, famous through all the World "for its Undertakings, Actings and Succeſſes.

Thus fell the victorious Parliament, ſays *Coke*, *whoſe mighty Actions will ſcarcely find belief in future Generations; and to ſay the Truth, they were a Race of Men moſt indefatigable and induſtrious in Buſineſs, always ſeeking for Men fit for it, and never preferring any for Favour, or by Importunity. You hardly ever heard of any Revolt from them. No Murmur or Complaint of Seamen or Soldiers. No Soldiers or Seamen ever preſs'd. As they excell'd thus in Civil Affairs, ſo it muſt be own'd they exercis'd in Matters Eccleſiaſtick no ſuch Severities as others before them did, upon ſuch as diſſented from them.*

A. D. 1653.

THE HISTORY OF *ENGLAND*, During the PROTECTORATE of OLIVER CROMWEL.

THE *villainous Attempt* of *Cromwel*, according to *Ludlow*, was much encourag'd by *Nieuport*, and the other *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, lately arriv'd from *Holland* to conclude a Peace, "Who find-"ing, *continues my Author*, "the Parliament ſupported by the Affections of "the People, *Clarendon* and *Echard* tell us "every where *they were hated*, becauſe acting "for their Intereſt, and therefore not to be for-"ced, much leſs cheated into an unjuſt and diſ-"advantagious Agreement, inſtigated *Cromwel* "to take the Power into his Hands, well under-"ſtanding that he would ſoon be neceſſitated to "make Peace with them upon what Terms "they ſhould think fit."

Oliver being return'd to *Whitehall* found the Council of Officers in Debate concerning this weighty Affair, and told them, *He had done it, and they needed not trouble themſelves any further about it*. Col. *Okey*, and ſome other Officers, who were not for puſhing Things ſo far, deſir'd to be ſatisfy'd in that Proceeding, which they conceiv'd tended to Ruin and Confuſion. *Cromwel* ſaid, *I am reſolv'd to do much more Good, and with more Expedition than could be expected from the Parliament*. Theſe being general Terms, Col. *Okey* apply'd to *Desborough* to know why *Oliver* had ſo highly commended the Parliament, when he endeavour'd to diſſwade the Officers from petitioning for a Diſſolution, and yet in ſo ſhort Time to reject them. *Desborough* reply'd, *If ever he droll'd in his Life he droll'd then*. In the Afternoon *Cromwel* went to the Council of State, accompany'd with Major General *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and told them at his Entrance; *Gentlemen, If you are met here as private Perſons you ſhall not be diſturb'd, but if as a Council of State, this is no Place for you; and ſince you can't but know what was done in the Houſe in the Morning, ſo take Notice, that the Parliament is diſſolv'd.* To this Sergeant *Bradſhaw* reply'd, *Sir, We have heard what you did at the Houſe in the Morning, and before many Hours all* England *will hear it. But, Sir, You are miſtaken to think that the Parliament is diſſolv'd, for no Power under Heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take you Notice of that.* Something more was ſaid to the ſame Purpoſe by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Mr. *Love*, and Mr. *Scott*. And then the Council of State perceiving themſelves to be under the ſame Violence, broke up. *Oliver* ſoon after ſent for Major *Sallaway*, and Mr. *John Carew*, to whom he complain'd "of "the great Weight of Affairs that by this Un-"dertaking was fallen upon him, affirming, "That the Thoughts of the Conſequences there-"of made him to tremble, and therefore deſir'd "them to free him from the Temptations that "might be laid before him, and to that End to "go immediately to the Chief Juſtice *St. John*, "Mr. *Selden*, and ſome others, and endeavour "to perſwade them to draw up ſome Inſtrument "of Government that might put the Power out "of his Hands." Major *Sallaway* made Anſwer, *The Way, Sir, to free you from this Temptation, is for you not to look upon your ſelf to be under it, but to reſt perſwaded that the Power of*

Diſſolves them.

Cromwel *at the Council of State.*

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the Nation is in the good People of England, *as formerly it was. Cromwel* perceiving by this Anſwer, that he was better underſtood than he could have wiſh'd, fell upon another Expedient before he would openly diſcover himſelf, appointing a Meeting of the chief Officers of the Army to be at *Whitehall*, in order to conſider what was fit to be done in this Exigency.

He and his Council ſet forth a Declaration of the Grounds and Reaſons for their Diſſolving the late *Parliament*, and that civil Officers do proceed as formerly in the Execution of their Office, and all Perſons to give Obedience to them. He wrote to the Admirals at Sea, and to the Commiſſioners and Commanders in chief in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, who all return'd Anſwers of Submiſſion to his Orders, and an Addreſs was ſent up from *Durham* to ſtand by *Cromwel* and his Council of Officers, which led the Way to Cart-loads of Addreſſes from all Parts to *Oliver*, his Son *Richard*, King *Charles* II. *&c.* The firſt Act of Civil Government which *Cromwel* and his Council exercis'd, was their examining the Grievances and Oppreſſions committed by Sir *John Lenthall*, in managing the Priſon of the *Upper*, or *King's Bench*, both as to Debtors and Creditors; there were then 399 Priſoners who ow'd above 900000 Pounds. And to give a little Form to this Embrio of Uſurpation, he appointed a new Council of State, himſelf the firſt of them.

Council of State. *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; Capt. General, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle*, Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Montague*, Col. *Tomlinſon*, Col. *Jones*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Laurence*, *Anthony Stapley*, Eſq; Alderman *Tichburne*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *Charles Howard*, Eſq; Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, *John Carew*, Eſq; *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; Mr. *Hope*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Benet*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Holliſter*, *Richard Mayor*, Eſq; Mr. *Courtney*, Mr. *St. Nicholas*, Mr. *Meyer*, Mr. *Williams*.

All entirely devoted to him. The new Council ordered new Treaſurers for the Exciſe, and a Committee to conſider how all the Treaſuries of the Commonwealth may be beſt manag'd. He gave them Power to raiſe Money, and they levy'd the monthly Aſſeſſment with conſiderable Abatement, which made the Payment of it the more Popular.

The Cavaliers rejoic'd much at the Diſſolution of the Commonwealth Parliament, and made great Applications and Congratulations to *Cromwel*. Some Independent Clergy, Creatures of *Oliver*, cry'd it up in their Pulpits. The Officers of the Army and Soldiers were generally pleas'd with it. But the ſober and diſcerning Part of the People abhor'd the Change, and the Uſurper's Inſolence and Ingratitude, foreſeeing that it would make Way for further Invaſions of the Liberties of the People, and at laſt introduce the old Government, for which they had then an Abhorrence.

On the 27th of *May*, *Cromwel* and his Council of Officers, who aſſum'd the ſupreme Authority, reſolv'd to ſummon ſelect Perſons to be nominated by themſelves out of every County, who ſhould be as a Repreſentative of the whole Nation. Major General *Lambert* mov'd, that a few Perſons, not exceeding the Number of ten or twelve might be intruſted with the *ſovereign Power*: Major General *Harriſon* was for a greater Number, inclining moſt to that of 70, for no other Reaſon than that it was the Number of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*; but after ſome Debate it was agreed that a certain Number of Perſons as near as might be proportionable to their Payments toward the publick Charge, ſhould be nam'd by the Council to meet at *Weſt-minſter* on a certain Day, when all the Power of the Nation ſhould be deliver'd into their Hands by an Inſtrument, ſign'd and ſeal'd by the General and the Officers, obliging themſelves to yield Obedience to their Orders. The Proclamation for ſummoning them was dated the 8th of *June*, and ran in the Name of *Oliver Cromwel*, Captain General, *&c.* The Perſons ſummon'd were to meet at the *Council Chamber* at *Whitehall*, the 4th of *July*; and they met accordingly, about 120 in Number; and being ſet round the Table, *Cromwel* and the Officers of the Army ſtanding about the Middle, the former made a Speech to them, ſhewing the Cauſe of their Summons, *and that they had a clear Call to take upon them the ſupreme Authority of the Commonwealth*; and he urg'd ſeveral Texts of Scripture to admoniſh and encourage them to do their Duties. He then produc'd an *Inſtrument* in Writing, ſign'd and ſeal'd by himſelf, whereby he did, with the Advice of his Officers, devolve and intruſt the *ſupreme Authority* and Government of the Commonwealth into the Hands of the Perſons then met; and that they or any forty of them are to be held, and acknowledg'd the *ſupreme Authority* of the Nation, to which all Perſons within the ſame are to yield Obedience and Subjection. They were to ſit no longer than the third of *November*, 1654. and 3 Months before their Diſſolution to make Choice of other Perſons to ſucceed them, who were not to ſit longer than a Year; and it was left to them to take Care for a Succeſſion in Government. Then *Cromwel* and his Officers withdrew, and the Perſons there met adjourn'd themſelves to the next Day in the Parliament Houſe. *Whitlocke* ſays, *many of them were Perſons of Fortune and Knowledge.* Ludlow, *The Aſſembly was compos'd of honeſt well meaning Perſons. Echard*, with his uſual Modeſty, affirms they were *illiterate*, *weak*, *obſcure Perſons.* The compleat Hiſtorian, that they were *a Pack of weak*, *ſenſeleſs*, *obſcure Fellows.* The Lord *Clarendon*, *Inferior Perſons of no Name or Quality.* Warwick, *A Houſe of Commons of* Saints. *And* Bates, that they were *Proletarios*, *Zelotas*, *Catabaptiſtas*, *Chriſtocraticos*, *Democraticos*, *Fanaticos*, *& ex omni Secta nequiſſimos.* Such are the Hiſtory Writers who ſupport the pious Cauſe which produc'd ſo many Martyrs about the Middle of the laſt Century. Theſe are the courtly Perſons, the Quality, and their good Language and good Manners are the only Proofs of it. *Praiſe-God Barebone*, a Member of this Convention, gave his Name to it on Account of his frequent Speeching in it: He is rally'd by thoſe polite Authors for his Chriſtian Name, *Praiſe-God*, and for his Trade, being a *Leatherſeller*, as if it was not as creditable as *Brewers*, *Scriveners*, *Grocers*, and other bright Ornaments, of both Church and Parliament, in *Sacheverel's* Time. 'Tis remarkable that *Praiſe-God Barebone* brought a Bill into this Aſſembly, *againſt Building*, *unleſs upon old Foundations*, *within* 10 *Miles of* London, as if he foreſaw that his Son, the famous Builder, Dr. *Barebone*, would ruin himſelf and hundreds of Families by it. Being aſſembled the next Day in the Houſe of Commons, they choſe *Francis Rous*, Eſq; Provoſt of *Eaton* College their Speaker, and order'd Mr. *Birckhead*, the Sergeant at Arms to attend him with the Mace as uſual. They alſo voted that the Lord General *Cromwel*, Major

A. D. 1653. Comwel's *firſt Parliament.*

General

A. D. 1653. General *Lambert*, Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Desborough*, and Col. *Tomlinſon* ſhould ſit in the Houſe as Members; they then made ſeveral *Committees*; 1. *To conſider Matters touching the Law.* 2. *Touching Priſoners and Priſons.* 3. *For Inſpection into Treaſuries.* 4. *For* Ireland. 5. *For* Scotland. 6. *For the Army.* 7. *For Petitions.* 8. *To conſider what ſhall be offer'd about publick Debts, publick Fraud and Breaches of Truſt.* 9. *For regulating Commiſſions of the Peace, and for making Proviſions for the Poor.* 10. *For Advance of Trade.* 11. *For Advance of Learning.* Does not this ſhew them to be very illiterate and weak? They paſs'd an Act concerning Marriages, which enjoyn'd all Marriages to be made before Juſtices of the Peace. This Act has occaſion'd a great deal of Mirth, and as much Wit as the Men were capable of, as if a legal Compact before a Magiſtrate would not be as valid, if ſo made by Law, as the Performances of a Curate. The Perſons to be marry'd were to come before ſome Juſtice of the Peace, the Man and Woman pronounc'd the Words before him, and the Juſtice pronounc'd them lawfully marry'd. The Learned and Reverend Mr. *Tallents*, who publiſh'd the excellent *Chronological* Tables, was marry'd after this Manner; the Juſtice ſaying no more than *he declar'd the Marriage valid.* Sometimes the Perſons to be married would bring a Miniſter with them before the Juſtice, as if his Preſence conſecrated the Ceremony; and we are told that Lady *Mary Falconbridge*'s Miniſter was Dr. *Hewet*, afterwards excuted for a Plot.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London* preſented a Petition for a ſettled Maintenance for *Miniſters*; *and that the Univerſities may be zealouſly countenanc'd and encourag'd*: Yet if you will believe the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, and its Copy, Archdeacon *Echard*'s, theſe were the very Days of *Cimmerian* Darkneſs; when Learning was look'd on as an Abomination, and all Science reduc'd to that of *ſeeking God*, a Term which they uſe as ludicrouſly as if they knew not what it meant, which is very likely. This Aſſembly paſs'd a Vote for the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* to go Ambaſſador to the Queen of *Sweden*, which was thought to be procur'd by *Cromwel* to ſend him out of the Way. They paſs'd an Act for ſettling the Truſts of Ideots and Lunaticks, and another for ſettling the Lands in *Ireland* upon the Adventurers. They iſſu'd forth Orders for regulating the Exciſe and Cuſtoms, and enlarg'd the Power of the Committee eſtabliſh'd for Trade: They made all neceſſary Preparations for carrying on the War by Sea, and declar'd General *Robert Blake*, General *George Monk*, Major General *Desborough*, and Vice Admiral *Lawſon* to be the four Generals of the Fleet of the Commonwealth, impowering them with ſome others to manage the Affairs of the Admiralty. They order'd an Act to be brought in to erect a High Court of Juſtice for proceeding againſt ſuch as ſhould ſurprize or betray any of the Forts, Magazines or Ships of the Commonwealth, and alſo againſt thoſe who ſhould, contrary to the Laws already made, proclaim any to be King of *England* or *Ireland*, by which 'tis manifeſt, they ſuſpected the Deſign on Foot to advance *Cromwel* to the ſupreme Power, and their Suſpicion haſten'd the Execution of it: The following Falſities are crowded into the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, concerning this Aſſembly; *They were Artificers of the meaneſt Trades; they never enter'd into any grave Debate; they reſolv'd to deſtroy all Learning; they hated all who call'd themſelves Miniſters; they lock'd up on the paſtoral Function as Antichriſtian; they condemn'd Tythes as* Judaiſm; *they propos'd to ſell the Lands of the two Univerſities and all Colleges; they tir'd and perplex'd themſelves with Debates, and upon the firſt Motion that was made for them to deliver back their Power to* Cromwel, *they preſently conſented to it, and went to* Whitehall, *acknowledg'd their own Impotency, and beſought him to take Care of the Commonwealth*; not one Syllable of which is true, at leaſt as the Author tells it. *Ludlow* relates it thus after thoſe who were preſent. "One "Difficulty yet remain'd to obſtruct *Cromwel*'s "Deſign, and that was the Convention which "he had aſſembled and inveſted with Power, "as well as earneſtly ſollicited to reform the "Law, and reduce the Clergy to a more evan-"gelical Conſtitution; and having ſufficiently "allarm'd theſe Intereſts, and ſhewn them "their Danger from the Convention; he in-"forms them further, that they cannot be igno-"rant of the Confuſion that all Things are "brought into by the immoderate Zeal of thoſe "in Authority, and to what Extremities Mat-"ters might be reduc'd, if permitted to go on, "poſſibly he ſaid to the utter Extirpation of "Law and Goſpel from amongſt us, and there-"fore adviſ'd that they would join their Intereſts "to his, in order to prevent this Inundation. "His Propoſition was readily embrac'd by the "corrupt Part of the Lawyers and Clergy, and "ſo he became their *Protector*, and they the "humble Supporters of his Tyranny. But that "his *Uſurpation* might ſeem leſs horrid, he ſo "contriv'd it by his Inſtruments, that ſome of "that Convention ſhould declare their Diſap-"probation of their own Proceedings, and, un-"der divers ſpecious Pretences, put a Period "to their ſitting. To this End it was agreed by "Mr. *Rous*, Chairman to that Aſſembly, and "the reſt of *Cromwel*'s Junto, to meet earlier "in the Houſe than was uſual, which was done "accordingly on the 12th of *December*, hoping "by Surprize to obtain a Vote for their Diſſolu-"tion." Thus we ſee again that this Convention were not *Oliver*'s Tools, but zealous againſt his uſurping the Government. Being met, Col. *Sydenham*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, and others, ſome of the *obſcure, weak, ſenſeleſs Fellows*, who were of *Oliver*'s Junto, according to their Inſtructions, bitterly inveigh'd againſt the Tranſactions of the Aſſembly, particularly the *Pound-Tax* for the Payment of the Army, which would be too long a coming in, ſome Articles relating to the Clergy and the Law, and their not relieving Sir *John Stawell*. *Thus*, ſays *Ludlow*, *they cajol'd the Clergy, Lawyers, Cavaliers, and all Intereſts, except that which they ſhould have had moſt regard to.* The Houſe had ſome Intimation of the Plot, and there were Members enough to anſwer all ſuch Objections with ſound Reaſon and a gallant Spirit; and the Debate laſting ſome Time, more Members came to fill up the Convention: Upon which *Cromwel*'s Party, finding they could not carry their Point, ſaid, *It is not a Time to debate, but to do ſomething that may prevent the Inconveniences that threaten us.* Then Mr. *Rous*, who was in the Secret, left the Speaker's Chair, went out of the Houſe, and with the reſt of the Cabal repair'd to *Whitehall*, where they, by much the ſmaller Number of the Convention, ſign'd a Writing, importing a Confeſſion of their own Inability, and a Reſignation of their Power to *Cromwel*, from whom they receiv'd it. The other, and the major Part of the Aſſembly, kept their Places in the Houſe, and would not quit

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quit them, till they were remov'd by a Guard of Soldiers, ſent by *Cromwel* for that Purpoſe. The Lieutenant General obſerves, that tho' this Convention had not a clear Authority to convene, yet they behav'd ſo well, *that many being convinc'd of the Rectitude of their Intentions, were brought over daily to approve their Actions.*

Diſſolv'd by Force.

Dutch *War.*

In the mean time the War continu'd with *Holland*, and the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty had a good Fleet ready to meet the Enemy by the latter End of *May*, commanded by *Blake*, *Monk*, and *Dean*. General *Blake* was to the Northward with a Squadron, when *Van Tromp* appear'd off the Coaſt of *Flanders* with the *Dutch* Navy, having to aſſiſt him Admiral *Evertſen*, *de Wit*, and *de Ruyter*. Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, who commanded the Blue Squadron, charg'd thro' the *Dutch* Fleet with 40 Ships, which Storm falling principally on *de Ruyter*'s Squadron, *Van Tromp* bore up to his Aſſiſtance, which when our Admirals *Blake* and *Dean*, who were both in the ſame Ship, perceiv'd, they engag'd *Tromp* with the Body of the Fleet, and the Fight continu'd till Three in the Afternoon, *June* the 2d, at which Time the Wind blowing freſh in the Teeth of the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* fled, and were purſu'd by the lighteſt of the *Engliſh* Frigates. The next Morning the two Fleets found themſelves near one another, but for Wind could not come to an Engagement till about Noon, at which Time the Diſpute began, and continued very hot on both Sides till Ten at Night. The *Engliſh* Fleet charg'd the *Dutch* with ſo much Reſolution, and put them into ſo great Diſorder, that tho' their Admiral fir'd on them to rally them, yet he could not procure more than 20 Ships of his whole Fleet to ſtand by him, the reſt making all the Sail they could to the Eaſtward. But the Wind ſpringing up a brisk Gale from *Weſt*, the *Engliſh* purſu'd the Enemy ſo effectually, that they ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships, took eleven of their biggeſt, and two others, with 1300 Priſoners, among whom were Admiral *Evertſen*, and ſix of their chief Captains; and had not the reſt of their Fleet ſhelter'd themſelves between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where it was unſafe to expoſe great Ships, by Reaſon of the Sands, the *Engliſh* had probably taken or deſtroy'd moſt of them. The *Hollanders* were much ſuperior to them in Number of Ships; but, ſuch was the Courage and Conduct of the Parliament's Officers and Soldiers, that they loſt but one Ship in the Fight, had but one Captain kill'd, except General *Dean*, and about 160 private Men kill'd and wounded. Having put their Priſoners aſhore, and left ſome of their Ships to be refitted, they return'd to the Coaſt of *Holland*, where they took many Prizes. General *Blake* join'd the Fleet with 16 Sail of ſtout Men of War. The whole Fleet lay before the *Texel*, and ſo incommoded the *Dutch* Navigation, that the People of *Holland* forc'd the Magiſtrates, by their Clamours, to ſue for Peace. Accordingly they ſent Mynheers *Beverning*, *Nieuport*, *Vanderpar*, and *Jonſtal*, to *Cromwel* and his new Council of State, to pray *that the Memory of paſt Actions may be obliterated, and a perfect Amity and more entire Correſpondence than ever eſtabliſh'd by an indiſſoluble Union.* The Council return'd a peremptory Anſwer, *That without Satisfaction for what had been acted againſt* England, *and ſufficient Security that no ſuch thing ſhould be attempted again, they could not proceed to any League or Alliance.*

Dutch *beaten.*

In the mean while the Populace in *Holland* could not bear to ſee their Men of War in their Harbours, and the *Engliſh* on their Coaſts making Prize of their Trade, which is the Soul of that Nation; and the States were oblig'd to order *Van Tromp* out again, furniſhing him with a Fleet of 140 Sail. The *Engliſh*, who were commanded by *Monk*, *Lawſon*, and *Pen*, were but 90 Sail; however, they reſolv'd to engage the Enemy, and accordingly detaching their light Frigates, aſſiſted by ſome greater Ships, they fell in among them the 29th of *July*, and fought till they were ſeparated by the Night. The next Day little was done, and tho' many of the *Engliſh* Seamen were ſick of the Scurvy, and the *Dutch* had Fireſhips and the *Engliſh* none, the Wind alſo entirely favouring the Enemy, yet did the Battle continue in equal Ballance till Three in the Afternoon, about which Time their Admiral *Van Tromp* was kill'd with a Musket Ball, as he walk'd on the Deck with his Sword drawn. This ſo diſcourag'd the *Dutch*, that they fled in Confuſion, and being purſu'd by the *Engliſh*, their Admiral *Evertſen*'s Ship was ſunk, and about 30 more were taken and ſunk, 8 of which were Flags. The *Garland*, mention'd to be taken by them laſt Year, was boarded and burnt by the *Worceſter* Frigate. 'Twas reported that the *Dutch* had 6000 kill'd and 1000 taken Priſoners. The *Engliſh* had one Ship only burnt, the *Oak*, none ſunk or taken, but 250 Men were kill'd, and 700 wounded. Several brave Officers fell, as Capt. *Peacock*, Capt. *Taylor*, Capt. *Graves*, Capt. *Criſp*, Capt. *Newman*, Capt. *Cox*, Capt. *Owen*, Capt. *Chapman*. Among the Wounded were Capt. *Seaman*, Capt. *Stokes*, Capt. *Rous*, Capt. *Holland*, Capt. *Cubit*. The *Dutch* got into the *Texel*, and the *Engliſh* could not follow them. *Tromp*'s Flag was ſhot down in the Beginning of the Fight, and the Victory was ſo entire, that the *Dutch* were confounded, threw up the Conteſt, and made Peace on the Conqueror's Terms. The Convention then ſitting order'd Chains of Gold to be given to *Blake*, *Monk*, *Pen*, *Lawſon*, and Gratuities to all the Officers according to their Ranks. When *Monk* came to *London*, *Oliver* himſelf put the Chain about his Neck, to which hung a Medal repreſenting a Sea Fight, and having invited him to Dinner, made him wear the Medal and Chain all the while. The *Engliſh* in all this War had no other Diſgrace than when *Blake* fought 90 *Dutch* Men of War with 38 *Engliſh*, and *Bodilo*'s two Miſcarriages in the *Streights*. The laſt was in the Beginning of this Year, when Capt. *Appleton*, with about 5 Men of War, was attack'd near *Leghorn*, and *Bodilo*, who had 8 or 9 Ships with him in thoſe Seas, would not or could not come to his Aſſiſtance. The *Leopard*, a Ship of 40 Guns, was taken; the *Bonadventure* was blown up, the *Peregrine* was taken, ſo was the *Levant Merchant*, and the *Sampſon* boarded by young *Tromp* on one Side, and by a Fireſhip on the other was blown up. *Bodilo*, ſays my Author, was branded with the *infamous Terms* of *Cowardiſe*, *Bribery*, and *Treachery*.

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Beaten again, and Van Tromp *kill'd.*

Four Days after the Convention was broken up, an extraordinary Council of Officers was held, to whom Major General *Lambert* reported the ſeveral Steps and Degrees by which Things had been brought to the preſent State wherein they were, and preſs'd the Neceſſity incumbent upon the Army to provide ſomething in the Room of what was lately taken away; in order to which, he preſented them a Paper, entituled, *An Inſtrument of Government*, which he read in his Place. Some of the Officers being convinc'd that the Contents of this Inſtrument tended to the ſacrificing all their Labours to the Luſt and Ambition of a ſingle Perſon, began to declare their Unwillingneſs to concur in it; but they were

Cromwel *made Lord Protector.*

A. D. 1653. were interrupted by the Major General, and inform'd it was not now to be disputed whether this should be the Form of Government or not, for that was already resolv'd, it having been under Consideration for two Months past; neither was it brought before them with any other Intention than to give them Permission to offer any Amendment they might think fit, with a Promise that it should be consider'd. The Council of Officers perceiving to what Terms they were restrain'd, propos'd that it might be declar'd in this *Instrument*, That the General of the Army should, after this first Time, be held uncapable of being *Protector*, for that was the Title given by this Instrument to the chief Magistrate, tho' some mov'd that it might be *King*; That none of the Relations of the last *Protector* should be chosen at the next succeeding Election; and, That a General Council of all the Commission Officers, who were about the Town, should be summon'd to consider of it. The first Article was put into the Instrument, the others neglected, and they were no more consulted about it, *Lambert* telling them at their next Meeting, *The Lord General would take Care of managing the Civil Government*, and so dismiss'd them.

The Heads of the *Instrument* were,

Instrument of Government.

I. *A Parliament to be call'd every Three Years.*

II. *The First to assemble on the First of* September, 1654.

III. *No Parliament to be dissolv'd till it has sate Five Months.*

IV. *Such Bills as are offer'd to the Protector, if he assent not unto them in Twenty Days, to be Laws without him.*

V. *That his Council shall not exceed the Number of Twenty-one, nor be less than Thirteen.*

VI. *That immediately after the Death of the present and succeeding Protectors, the Council shall choose another before they rise.*

VII. *No Protector after the present shall be General of the Army.*

VIII. *The Protector shall have Power to make* War *and* Peace.

IX. *That in the Intervals of Parliament the Protector and the Council may make some Laws which shall be binding to the People.*

Oliver *made Protector.*

By the 33d Article of the *Instrument of Government*, *Oliver Cromwel*, Captain General, *&c.* was declar'd *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, for his Life.*

By another Article, the Manner of electing Members of Parliament was alter'd, the small Burroughs left out, and the major Part was chosen for the County. *Cornwall* was to choose but 12, *London* and *Middlesex* 12; and among all the Sarcasms that those excellent Wits the Cavaliers have ridicul'd these Changes with, I have not met with one upon this but what has been more miserable than one would think Stupidity and Folly could make it. The whole Number was to be 400 for *England* and *Wales*, 30 for *Scotland*, 30 for *Ireland*. All who had advised or abetted the War against the Parliament, or the Rebellion in *Ireland*, were disqualify'd. No Man to vote for a Representative, unless he was worth 200 Pounds. By the 27th Article, Provision was made for maintaining 10000 Horse and Dragoons, and 20000 Foot. Also 200000 Pounds a Year was appropriated for the Protector's Civil List. The Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, chief Governor of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament. A. D. 1653.

The following Gentlemen were appointed to be his Council by the *Instrument*:

Philip Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Charles Wolseley*, *Walter Strickland*, Esq; Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Skippon*, Colonel *Desborough*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Jones*, Colonel *Montagu*, *Henry Lawrence*, Esq; *Richard Mayor*, Esq; *Francis Rous*, Esq; *The Protector's Council.*

His Commissioners of the Treasury were,

Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Montagu*, Col. *Sydenham*, *William Masham*, Esq;

All Things being prepar'd, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were requir'd to attend at *Whitehall*, the 16th of *December*, in their Scarlet Gowns, whither when they came the Design was imparted to them, and they being under the Power of an Army, were forc'd to contribute to the Protector's Pageantry, by accompanying him to *Westminster-Hall*. The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal and the Judges march'd first, then the Council of the Commonwealth, then the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, in their Robes. After them came the Lord General, with a great Number of the Officers of the Army, Major General *Lambert* carrying the Sword before him into the Court of Chancery, where, after the Lord General had heard the Instrument read, and taken the Oath to observe all the Articles, as directed in the Close of it, Major General *Lambert* kneeling, presented him with a Sword in the Scabbard, representing the Civil Sword; which *Cromwel* accepting, put off his own, intimating thereby, that he would no longer rule by the Military Sword. The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal deliver'd it to him, and the Lord Mayor of *London* the City Sword. All which he restor'd again, with an Exhortation to use them well; and having assur'd them that he would not have undertaken the Charge, but to make use of it for the Good of the Publick, he return'd to *Whitehall* in the same Manner and Order as he came, and leaving his Lodgings at the *Cockpit*, took up the Royal Apartments at the Court. *Ludlow* tells us, *His Wife seem'd at first unwilling to remove thither, tho' afterwards she became better satisfy'd with her Grandeur.* His Council having taken their Places, issu'd out Orders to all Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, for proclaiming *Oliver Cromwel* Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and Care was taken to alter all Writs and Process, from the Title of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England, to that of *Protector*. *He is proclaim'd all over* England.

Thus did this mighty Man, by an unnatural and monstrous Mixture of glorious and infamous Acts, by Victory and Treason, by Dissimulation and Power, by breaking of Parliaments, by making them and breaking them again, by subjecting all Opposition from without or within, from Enemies or Conscience, possess himself of a Dominion, above all other Dominions then in *Europe*; and in his future Government, he show'd that his Genius was equal to his Empire. The Figure he made in *Europe* was so shining, that the two Reigns before him, and the two Reigns after him, are so many Blots in the History of *England*, which his Protectorate would render *His Greatness.*

A. D. 1653. illuſtrious, had he acquir'd it as honourably as he maintain'd it.

I have not enter'd into Biography, nor trac'd him from his Origin, which the Cavaliers, with their wonted Ingenuity, have endeavour'd to debaſe, tho' it was as good as a Deſcent from the Siſter of *Thomas Cromwel* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Family of Sir *Richard Williams*, one of the ancienteſt of the ancient *Britons* could make it. That *Williams* took the Name of *Cromwel* in *Henry* VIII's Reign, and Sir *Oliver Cromwel*, the Lord Protector's Father's elder Brother, is known to have had one of the beſt Gentleman's Eſtate in *England*. But had his Parentage been as baſe as Archbiſhop *Laud*'s, if it had been honeſt, and he had advanc'd himſelf by Virtue as well as Valour, all theſe mean Reflections would have ſhewn the Authors of them to have learnt the Language and Manners of the Dregs of the People, if they did not themſelves come out of them.

Ireland. *Ireland* being entirely reduc'd, the High Court of Juſtice in that Kingdom proceeded againſt thoſe that had been involv'd in the Guilt of the Maſſacre, as,

Maſſacrers The Lord *Mayo*, Col. *Mackarty Reagh*, the Lord *Clanmaliere*, the Lord *Muskerry*, Sir *Phelin O Neale*, Col. *Lewis Moor*, Col. *Lewis Dempſy*, Col. *Lewis Took*.

Mackarty Reagh, the Lord *Clanmaliere*, and the Lord *Muskerry*, were upon Trial acquitted. *executed.* Col. *Moor* and Col. *Dempſy* were hang'd, the Lord *Mayo* beheaded, Col. *Took* and Sir *Phelin O Neale* hang'd, Mrs. *Fitzpatrick*, Mother to Col. *Fitzpatrick*, was burnt, Col. *Grace* was pardon'd by *Cromwel*, and ſo was the Lord *Fitzwilliams*, who had been a Lieutenant General in the *Iriſh* Army. Many others of inferior Rank were executed, and their Eſtates were every where confiſcated.

There was a Council of War held, to conſider how the Lands of the Rebels ſhould be divided. A Survey of the whole Kingdom was order'd to be made by Mr. *William Petty*, who got moſt by it. The Number of Acres and Quality of Ground were to be mark'd in it. The Officers and Soldiers were to bring in their Demands of Arrears to be audited, and when their Account was adjuſted, they were to be ſatisfy'd out of theſe Lands after the Adventurers had Satisfaction. Every Man was to take by Lot as many Acres of Ground as anſwer'd in Value the Amount of his Arrears. The higheſt was rated at 4 *d.* a Year an Acre, and ſome at one Penny, and the Arrears of the Army were clear'd off by this Means. The *Iriſh* that had not been ſhip'd off were tranſplanted from the *South* to the *North*, and from the *Eaſt* to the *Weſt*, which ſo broke their Strength, that had they not been again encourag'd by King *Charles* and King *James* the Second, they would never again have been in a Capacity to have given the *Engliſh* and the Proteſtants any Diſturbance.

The County of *Dublin* was eſtimated at 1500 *l.* for 1000 Acres.

The County of *Wexford* at 800 *l.* for 1000 Acres.

The County of *Kilkenny* at 1000 *l.* for 1000 Acres.

Five Thouſand Horſe and Foot were disbanded. Thoſe in *Connaught* had their Arrears in Lands about *Sligo*, thoſe in *Munſter* in the County of *Corke*; thoſe that had ſerv'd under the Lord *Inchiquin*, had their Arrears aſſign'd about *Collen* in *Kilkenny*. *A. D.* 1653.

Lieutenant General *Ludlow* refus'd to ſign the Order for proclaiming *Cromwel*, but *Fleetwood* got a Majority of Hands, and *Ludlow* not long after remov'd to *England*, as did *Fleetwood*, to make Room for *Henry Cromwel*, Eſq; whom his Father the Lord Protector made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and he gave general Content by his Humanity and Magnificence.

The Lord *Glencairne* held out ſtill in the Scotland. Highlands of *Scotland*, and *Middleton* had been tampering with the *Dutch* for Aſſiſtance; but the Heads of the *Hollanders* had a little too much Ballance in them to be turn'd with every wild Whim of the Royaliſts, whoſe Projects had not more Solidity than other Mens Dreams. The Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth* very wiſely too left their Habitations to ſhare the Honour of the Earl of *Glencairne*'s *Highland* Knight Errantry, of which the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Echard* ſpeak as gravely as if thoſe Knights had not been a Jeſt to every one out of the Mountains. The Reader will gueſs at the Intelligence of theſe Worthies by this Summons, which the Earl of *Seaforth* ſent to a Ship which lay at Anchor at *Lewis* Iſland.

BEing incited not only by Conſcience and Honour, to ſtand firm to the Principles of Loyalty, but alſo diſdaining even in rational Intereſt, to ſtoop to ſuch a wavering and ſervile Power as now ruleth, I have laid hold on 7 *of your Men who came aſhore for Proviſions, as procuring the ſame. Wherefore I ſummon you to deliver your Veſſel for his Majeſty's Service, and being certainly perſwaded that all or moſt of you are with Grief of Heart imployed in ſuch Service, I do aſſure all that will voluntarily ſhun the unneceſſary Effuſion of Blood by that Surrender, ſhall have ſuch fair Quarter as is fitting for me to grant, and your ſeveral Conditions do require, and according to your Demeanors herein, you may expect to find me your Friend acordingly.*

SEAFORT.

To the Captain, Soldiers,
Maſters, and Mariners of
the *Fortune*, *Theſe*.

The taking of theſe 7 Seamen, and the Writing of this Letter are two important Actions of thoſe Highland Heroes in War and Politicks. *Whitlocke* deſcribes them better than I can do. *Some ragged Forces were rais'd in the* Highlands, *P.* 542 the Lord *Glencarne* to be their *General*. Yet the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. Archdeacon have great Hopes in theſe ragged Highlanders, and a Committee is appointed in *France*, conſiſting of that Lord, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Newburgh*, to conſult about the Affairs of the *Highlands*, and the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* was to make out all the Diſpatches purſuant to his Conferences with a *Scots* Vicar, who had given himſelf the Trouble to come from the Mountains to *Paris*, on an Errand of great Conſequence, concerning which he had long and frequent Conferences with the Chancellor, who however learn'd not the Truth of the *Scots* Affairs, for he tells us, *Scotland lay under a heavy Yoke. The Yoke was very grievous to the whole Nation. If the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppreſſion the* Scots *endur'd, he might have had abundant Comfort. They were rul'd by a Rod of Iron, and all their Subjection ſupported at their own Charge.* After ſo many Falſities which I have produc'd out of the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, the Reader will

expect

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expect all theſe Aſſertions to be as falſe as the reſt, but let him not take my Word, let him ſee what the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, a *Scots* Man, and living in thoſe Times, ſays, *There was good Juſtice done, and Vice was ſuppreſs'd and puniſh'd, ſo that we always reckon thoſe eight Years of Uſurpation a Time of great Peace and Proſperity*. *Echard*, who ſteals from, and mimicks the Lord *Clarendon* as much as his Genius would permit, affirms, *The common Senſe of the Slavery in* Scotland *tempted the King to go amongſt them and head his Armies*. He means the Gentry in the Mountains, where we muſt leave them in a Condition which would deſerve Compaſſion, if they had themſelves had any Pity for their Country.

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Lilburne *brought to his Trial.*

In *July* this Year Lieutenant Col. *John Lilburne*, who had been baniſh'd by the Rump Parliament, return'd and threw himſelf upon *Cromwel*, who left him to the Law, upon which he was committed to *Newgate*, and try'd the next Seſſions at the *Old Baily*, where he refus'd to plead unleſs he had a Copy of his Indictment, which was at length granted, and then he put off his pleading by ſeveral Evaſions, till the next Seſſions, when his Trial came on, and he was acquitted by the Jury, having render'd himſelf very popular among the Malecontents of all Parties, by oppoſing all Governments that were in being in his Time. There is ſomething remarkable in this Man's Story, *Oliver* ſeem'd very much offended with him, and very deſirous that he might be puniſh'd, yet privately paid him a Penſion equivalent with a Lieutenant Colonel's Pay, and the Malecontents of all Parties opening themſelves freely to *Lilburne*, who was look'd upon as a Confeſſor for their Cauſe or Cauſes, *Cromwel* found his Account in keeping in with him, though to conceal the Matter the better *Lilburne* was content to lie ſome Time in the *Tower*.

MS.

Ponteleon de Sa's *Quarrel.*

In *November* this Year the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother, *Don Ponteleon Sa*, Knight of *Malta*, and an Officer of ſpecial Note in the *Portugueſe* Army, having accompany'd the Ambaſſador into *England*, and walking in the *New Exchange* with ſome of his Company, Colonel *Gerard*, who heard them ſpeaking in *French* of the Affairs of *England*, told them in the ſame Language, *They did not repreſent thoſe Paſſages right*, upon which one of the *Portugueſe* gave him the Lie, and three of them fell upon Col. *Gerard*, ſtabbing him in the Shoulder, but one Mr. *Anſtruther* coming to his Aſſiſtance they withdrew, and in an Hour's Time return'd with 20 more arm'd with Breaſt-plates and Head-pieces. They took two or three Turns, and not finding Mr. *Anſtruther* went home. The next Day *Don Ponteleon* and his Company came again to the *New Exchange*, and meeting Col. *Mayo*, whom they ſuppos'd to be Mr. *Anſtruther*, fir'd a Piſtol as a Signal for more *Portugueſes* to enter, which they did, to the Number of 50, with drawn Swords, and leaving ſome to keep the Stairs, the reſt went up with the Ambaſſador's Brother and fell upon Col. *Mayo*, who defending himſelf gallantly, receiving ſeven dangerous Wounds but not mortal. Then they attack'd Mr. *Greenway* of *Lincolns-Inn*, who was walking with his Siſter in one Hand, and his Miſtreſs in the other, they ſhot him in the Head with a Piſtol Ball, and he dy'd on the Spot. They brought with them ſeveral Jars fill'd with Gunpowder and Matches ſtopp'd with Wax, intending, as it ſeem'd, ſome Miſchief to the *Exchange*, had they not been prevented. The Parliament's Horſe at the *Mewſe*, taking the Alarm, apprehended ſome of the *Portugueſes*, and the reſt of them ran to the Ambaſſador's Houſe, whether Col. *Whaley* purſu'd them, and beſet the Houſe with his Horſe, letting the Ambaſſador know, that his Followers had committed Murder, and he therefore demanded to have them deliver'd up to him. The Ambaſſador inſiſted on his Privilege, but *Whaley* giving him to underſtand he would take them by Force if they were not ſurrender'd, the Ambaſſador gave his Word of Honour that they ſhould be forthcoming, after he had made his Applications to the Lord General, who told him, the *Buſineſs concern'd the Publick, and therefore his Excellency's Addreſs muſt be to the Parliament and the Council of State*, then both in Being. The next Day *Don Ponteleon* and his Company were carry'd before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolles*, examin'd, and committed to *Newgate*, the Populace having ſurrounded the Ambaſſador's Houſe, and threaten'd to pull it down, unleſs he deliver'd them up. The Ambaſſador's Brother made his Eſcape out of *Newgate*, but was ſoon retaken. His Trial was put off ſome Time upon a Petition of the *Portugal* Merchants, as will be ſeen next Year.

A. D. 1653.

Prince *Rupert*, who had been adventuring for Prizes at Sea, ſometimes with more Ships, ſometimes with fewer, as he could get Money to keep them, was now forc'd to give over his Adventures, and go to the *French* Army at *Beffort*. The ſheltring of him and others of the King's Followers, continu'd the Difference between *England* and *France*: The latter found at laſt that ſhe was not ſafe while *England* was not in Friendſhip with her. Captain *Hayton*, with a ſmall Squadron of *Engliſh* Men of War, met eight *French*, which he defeated, took three of the largeſt, and many rich Prizes, with the Loſs but of four Men, which, with ſeveral other ſuch Loſſes, and the Talk of a Peace between *England* and *Holland*, determin'd the *French* Court to conclude a Treaty with the new Protector as ſoon as they could.

France *courts the Protector.*

A. D. 1654.

Oliver, now Lord Protector, aſſum'd all the State and Ceremony of a Sovereign, with the Title of *Highneſs*. He had his Houſhold Officers, his Guards, and a Court, with as much Splendor, and more Order, than had been known at *Whitehall* ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. Notice was given to the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, That he expected the ſame Honours to be paid him as had been paid to the Kings of *England*, and that they ſtile him his *Highneſs* in their Memorials and Diſcourſes, and not being in the Quality of Ambaſſadors, but Lords Deputies Plenipotentiaries, muſt be uncover'd in his Preſence. He took the Treaty of Peace out of the Hands of the Council of State, and by his Secretary *Thurloe* ſent the *Dutch* Miniſters a Writing, containing the Conditions to which they were to ſubmit for Peace. The Plenipotentiaries, who expected ſome Abatements of former Demands from *Cromwel*, and found that he had abated very little, inſtead of returning an Anſwer, demanded Paſſports to be gone, thinking to frighten *Oliver* with a Proſpect of War in the Beginning of his Protectorate. He ſent them Word, *If they went without concluding and ſigning the Treaty as he had drawn it, he would not be oblig'd to it, or to any Part of it*. Upon which the Plenipotentiaries ſtay'd, and *Cromwel inſiſted on the Seclusion of the Prince of* Orange *from being* Statholder *and* General, without which there was no Peace to be had. Theſe Miniſters having no Inſtructions about this Article, or rather having Inſtructions againſt

He deals roughly with the Dutch.

A. D. 1654. againſt it, renew'd their Demand for Paſſports, and *Oliver* let them go. The Protector was not to be dealt with after the Rate of their Dealing with the Court of *England* formerly. He had no Paſſion but that of Power, no Favourite but Glory, no Religion but Empire. He was not to be triſl'd with like *James* the Firſt in the Buſineſs of *Amboyna*, and all other Buſineſs. He told them what he expected, and what they muſt expect, if it was not comply'd with, ſo the States of all the Provinces agreed to haſten back their Ambaſſadors, and notwithſtanding Monſieur *Chanut*, the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, offer'd that his Maſter would bear half the Charge, if the States would continue the War, yet they were either ſo weary of it, or ſo afraid of *Cromwel*, that in about 6 Weeks Time the ſame Miniſters return'd with the Character of Ambaſſadors, and a very gallant Retinue, and on the 4th of *March* they had Audience of the Lord Protector in the *Banquetting Houſe* at *Whitehall*, which was richly hung, and a Chair of State plac'd for the Protector. The Ambaſſador acquainted his Highneſs, *That all their Provinces had conſented to the Articles of Peace, and had impower'd them to ratify the Articles. In the mean Time they deſir'd a Ceſſation of Arms.* The Lord Protector appointed ſix of his Council to confer with the Ambaſſadors, and ſign the Articles of Peace, after they had examin'd the Papers, and compar'd them with the original Draught, which took up ſome Weeks.

On the 5th of *April* they were ſign'd by the Commiſſioners and Ambaſſadors, the chief Articles were, "That the *States General* ſhould "not ſuffer any of the *King*'s Party, or any "Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England* to "reſide within their Dominions. That they "ſhould deliver up the Iſland of *Polerone* in "the *Eaſt Indies*, which they had taken from the "*Engliſh* in the Reign of King *James*, into "the Hands of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Compa-"ny, and pay 300000 Pounds for the Damages "the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd at *Amboyna*, *for which*, ſays *Echard*, *the two laſt Kings could never obtain Satisfaction.* "That they ſhould own the "Sovereignty of the Sea to be in the Common-"wealth of *England*, and no more diſpute the "Flag. That they ſhould pay 150000 Pounds "for the *Engliſh* Ships ſtopp'd by the King of "*Denmark* in the *Sound*. That they ſhould "comply with the Act of Navigation; and that "they ſhould ſeclude the Prince of *Orange* "from being *Statholder* and *General*." Thus was every Branch of the Houſe of *Stuart* involv'd in the King's Misfortunes, and it was Ruin to all Potentates and Powers to aid and aſſiſt them as long as there was Life in *Cromwel*. *France* ſent Monſieur *Bourdeaux* to compliment the Lord Protector on his Acceſſion to the Government before the Concluſion of this Treaty, and after that Step, the King of *England* and his Followers in that Kingdom had nothing to expect but Slights, if not Affronts. To prevent which, and being forbidden that Court, he retir'd firſt to the *Spaw* and then to *Cologne*, where he liv'd almoſt three Years at an Expence of about 7 or 8000 Pounds a Year. *Echard* aſſures us, *He was the beſt Oeconomiſt* that ever was. Theſe Hiſtorians affect to be as oppoſite to the Truth as can be. King *Charles* could ſpend no more than he had, when he had no Credit; but when he had it, after his Reſtoration, he was ſuch a Manager, that his Revenues and his Debts always increas'd together. And as to the Oeconomy abroad, a *French* Author tells us, *He gave one Lady in* France *above* 50000 *Crowns Value in* China *Ware*; and 'twas well known that the Dutcheſs *de Chatillon*, a Lady of Intrigue, had more Preſents from him than all his Followers. The Duke of *Lorrain*'s Daughter was propos'd to him in Marriage, with a Portion of Four Millions of Livres, which would have done him more good than the other Part of the Propoſal, that Duke's Aſſiſtance againſt the Power and Treaſure of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. We are told the Duke of *York* ſignaliz'd himſelf in the *French* Army under *Turenne*, who was enamour'd with that Prince for his *heroick* Qualities, which he brought not with him into *England*, at leaſt not in ſo great a Degree as the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* repreſent them to be, while he was abroad. The King left his younger Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter* behind him in *France*; but, as *Echard* informs us ſeriouſly enough, he ſent the *brave Marquis* of *Ormond* to get him out of his Mother's Hands, for fear he ſhould turn *Papiſt*, to which Religion his Majeſty had a mortal Averſion, and the Marquis did it *with great Labour and Hazard, and no leſs Courage and Reſolution.* The Truth is, *Cromwel* was beginning to hearken to the Courtſhip of *France*, and to incline to treat with her, the ſure Conſequence of which would have been, forbidding the Duke's Abode in that Kingdom, and it was much more decent to leave it without being forc'd to it. Theſe are obvious Truths, but what is ſtrange to Amazement is, that the Hiſtorians are giddy with Vanity, amidſt the moſt extreme Diſtreſs and Calamity.

A. D. 1654. Animales de la Cour.

The firſt foreign State that ſent to congratulate the Protector, except ſuch as had Miniſters here before, was that of *Hamburgh*, then came an Ambaſſador from *Denmark*, and then Monſieur *de Bourdeaux* from *France*, and he had his Audience in the *Banquetting Houſe* in *Whitehall*, with the ſame Pomp and Ceremony as the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors. He made a flattering Speech to his Highneſs, to this Effect:

The French Ambaſſador's Speech to Oliver.

YOUR moſt ſerene Highneſs has already received ſome principal Aſſurances of the King my Maſter, and of his Deſire to eſtabliſh a perfect Correſpondence between his Dominions and England. *His Majeſty, this Day, gives to your Highneſs ſome publick Demonſtrations of the ſame, and his ſending his Ambaſſador to your Highneſs does plainly ſhew, That the Eſteem which his Majeſty makes of your Highneſs, and the Intereſt of his People, have more Power in his Counſels, than many Conſiderations that would be of great Concernment to a Prince leſs affected with the one and the other. This Proceeding, grounded upon ſuch ſound Principles, and ſo different from what is only guided by Ambition, renders the Amity of the King my Maſter, as conſiderable for its* Firmneſs *as its* Utility, *for which Reaſon it is ſo eminently eſteem'd and courted by all the greateſt Princes and Potentates of the Earth. But his Majeſty communicates none to any with ſo much Joy, as to thoſe whoſe* virtuous Acts, *and* extraordinary Merits, *render them more conſpicuouſly famous than the Largeneſs of their Dominions. His Majeſty is ſenſible that all theſe Advantages do wholly reſide in your Highneſs, and that the Divine Providence, after ſo many Calamities, could not deal more favourably with theſe three Nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt Miſeries with greater Satisfaction, than by ſubmitting them to ſuch a* juſt Government. *And ſince it is not ſufficient for the*

A. D. 1654.

the compleating of their Happineſs to make them enjoy Peace at home, becauſe it depends no leſs in good Correſpondence with Nations abroad. The King my Maſter does not doubt but to find alſo the ſame Diſpoſition in your Highneſs which his Majeſty here expreſſes in his Letters. After ſo many Diſpoſitions expreſs'd by his Majeſty and your Highneſs towards the Accommodation of the two Nations, there is Reaſon to believe that their Wiſhes will ſoon be accompliſh'd. As for me, I have none greater than to be able to ſerve the King my Maſter, with the good Pleaſure and Satisfaction of your Highneſs, and that the Happineſs I have to tender to your Highneſs the firſt Aſſurances of his Majeſty's Eſteem, may give me Occaſion, by my Services, to merit the Honour of your gracious Affection.

Sweden.

Before the Concluſion of the Peace with *Holland*, *Cromwel*'s firſt Parliament underſtanding there was a League negotiating between the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark*, and the States of *Holland*, voted the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* to be Ambaſſador for the Commonwealth of *England* at the Court of *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden*, who had ſhewn great Regard to the Commonwealth, and ſent one of the principal Lords of her Kingdom to congratulate them on their aſſuming the Government. *Whitlocke*'s Inſtructions were to negotiate a League between *England*, *France* and *Sweden*, in Oppoſition to the other, but the Queen's abjuring her Religion, and abdicating her Kingdom for Popery, and a Penſion from the Pope, put a Stop to that League for a while, though *Whitlocke*, at length, concluded it, and *Oliver* wrote a Letter of Congratulation to the new King. *Don Lewis de Haro*, prime Miniſter of *Spain*, preſs'd his Maſter to ſend an extraordinary Ambaſſador to *Oliver* on his Acceſſion to the Government, and wrote to the Protector, who ſaid, *He had receiv'd no Letter ſo obliging, and ſo polite, as* Don Lewis's. He ſeem'd ſo taken with it, that the *French* Ambaſſador grew jealous, eſpecially when he underſtood that *Cromwel* had anſwer'd *Don Lewis*'s Letter in Terms every whit as polite and obliging, yet had *Cromwel* reſolv'd then to break with *Spain*, and enter into an Alliance with *France*, a Step for which he has been very much blam'd by thoſe who knew nothing of the Balance of Power at that Juncture, when the Houſe of *Auſtria* was very powerful and united, and that of *Bourbon* divided, and in a Minority. The Judgment *Coke* and *Echard* make of it is, as the *Turks* judge, by Succeſs. It appear'd when King *Charles* the Second had ſold *Dunkirk*, which *Oliver* kept as a Security for *England*, and the *French* King, with the Connivance of the King of *England*, had ſurpriz'd many Cities and Provinces to a vaſt Extent of Empire; I ſay it then appear'd, that a Treaty with *Spain* was more eligible for the Preſervation of the Balance of Power. But was it poſſible for any ſuch Thing as the Sale of *Dunkirk* to enter into ſuch a Head as *Cromwel*'s? He would as ſoon have ſold *Portſmouth*; and had *Dunkirk* always been kept in *Engliſh* Hands, *Oliver*'s *French* Treaty would never have been complain'd of. Monſieur *Wicquefort*, who was himſelf a Miniſter of State, and being a Foreigner, had nothing to corrupt his Judgment in reflecting on the Affairs of *England*, ſpeaks thus of the Matter; "The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador us'd his "utmoſt Endeavours with *Cromwel* to engage "him in the Intereſt of his Maſter, even to the "offering him an hundred Thouſand Crowns "a Month, two hundred Thouſand Crowns "by way of Advance, and twenty Thouſand "Men to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* to re-conquer *Ca-*"*lais*." Archdeacon *Echard* never heard of theſe Things before. "*Oliver*, continues "*Wicquefort*, rejected theſe Offers, and as "he fear'd more the Neighbourhood of *France* "than he hop'd from the remote Strength of "*Spain*, he fided with the firſt, whoſe "Friend he became, by that Means obliging "the other to be ſo to the King of *Great* "*Britain*."

A. D. 1654.

Cromwel's *League with* France *examin'd.*

There was no Power in *Europe* that was not barbarous, but what made their Court to the Lord Protector, the Pope only excepted; and if *Leti* was to be believ'd, if the old Pope *Innocent* X. held not Intelligence with him, *Donna Olympia* his Couſin, who govern'd all at *Rome*, ſent her Compliments to him by Sir *Robert Tambol*, probably *Talbot*, who is not to be found out by his Name, nor by his Office, that Author pretending he was *Oliver*'s private Envoy at the Court of *Rome*.

The Envoy from the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, had not been long in *London* before News came, that the Duke of *Lorraine* was ſeiz'd by the Arch-Duke's Order, and all hopes of Aſſiſtance from him were ſeen to be meer Dreams of ſick Minds.

We muſt now look a little into the Tranſactions at Home, as they relate to the Civil Government; and we may venture to give our Opinion, that *Oliver*, in almoſt all the Parts of his Power, uſes it as well as he acquir'd it ill.

He and his Council publiſh'd an Ordinance, declaring what Offences, and no other, ſhall be adjudg'd *Treaſon*. Another to repeal the Oath call'd the *Engagement* againſt a *ſingle Perſon*, and Houſe of Peers. Another for appointing Perſons to be Approvers of Miniſters, that ſuch as were not qualify'd for the Miniſtry by their Piety and Knowledge, or were diſqualify'd by Vice and Ignorance, might be kept out of the Pulpit. An Ordinance, which was enough not only to provoke the Raillery, but the Rage of all ſuch as think a Benefice is a ſufficient Call, and a Caſſock a Qualification. In *April* two extraordinary Acts were publiſh'd, one for the *Union of* England *with* Scotland, another againſt Planting of Tobacco in *England*, which is a Law at this Time.

On the 12th of *May* the Lord Protector iſſu'd a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, to try *Don Ponteleon de Sa*, the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother, for the Murder of Mr. *Greenway*.

The Commiſſioners were,

Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolles*, Mr. Juſtice *Atkins*, Sir *Henry Blunt*, Alderman *Tichburn*, Mr. *Lucy*, Sergeant *Steel*, Dr. *Zouch*, Dr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Turner*.

A. D. 1654. The Jury impannel'd were half *Engliſh* and half Foreigners. The *Portugal* Ambaſſador labour'd hard to prevent his Brother's Trial, but the Protector having given him up to the Law, there was no avoiding it. Some Time before this he and his Council had been invited by the Lord Mayor to dine with him at *Grocer*'s Hall, which he did, to ſhew how well he and the City agreed together. He came from *Weſtminſter* in a Chariot drawn by ſix Horſes in rich Equipage. Before him rode his Life Guard with 3 or 400 of his chief Officers and ſome of his Council; after them came two Pages bareheaded, bedeck'd with Lace and Embroidery; then came twelve Lackeys with Velvet Caps and grey Liveries, with ſilk and ſilver Fringe; then the Lord Protector, clad in a dark colour'd Suit and Cloak, attended by many of the Nobility in their Coaches and ſix Horſes: At *Temple Bar* his Highneſs was met by the Lord Mayor, *Thomas Viner*, Eſq; and the Aldermen, where the Recorder of *London* ſaluted him with a florid Speech: Here the Protector came out of his Chariot, put on a riding Coat embroider'd, and mounted on Horſeback, two or three of his Horſes of State being led by; then the Lord Mayor took the City Sword and carry'd it bareheaded before him from thence to *Grocers Hall*, changing the Order of the Proceſſion after they came into the City. The ſeveral Companies of *London* in their Liveries were plac'd according to their Superiority, in the Streets, from the lower End of *Cheapſide* to *Temple-Bar*, within Rails hung with blue Cloth, with the City Banners and Streamers belonging to their reſpective Companies ſet before them. The City Marſhal went firſt with ſome other Officers; then ſix Trumpets; then the Lord Protector's Life Guard richly cloth'd; after them eight Trumpets more, follow'd by the City Streamers, red and white; then the Aldermen, and after them the two Sheriffs, *James Philipps* and *Walter Bigge*, Eſqrs. next the Lord Protector's Heralds with rich Coats, adorn'd with the Arms of the Commonwealth; then the Aldermen in Scarlet Gowns with Gold Chains; then the Mace and Cap of Maintenance carry'd before the Lord Mayor, who carry'd the Sword bare-headed, with two Gentlemen Uſhers; then his Highneſs the Lord Protector, with his twelve Footmen in grey Liveries, as is ſaid before; after him rode Major General *Skippon*, the Protector's Council, and great Officers of the Army, the Lords, Gentlemen and others. At *Grocers Hall* the Recorder made another Speech, to let his Highneſs underſtand *how happy the City accounted themſelves under his conſpicuous Government, and alſo in the Injoyment of his Preſence with them that Day.* The Speech over, he Knighted the Lord Mayor, and din'd with as much or rather more Splendor and Magnificence than any Monarch of *England* had done before him. We are told, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen intended to wait, as was cuſtomary when a King din'd with them; but *Oliver* would not admit of it, proteſting he would not eat till they ſat down by him; and when it was propos'd to ſerve him on the Knee, he refus'd it with ſome Diſdain, ſaying, *Such Ceremonies ſhould be only practis'd at* Rome, *where they are ſo greedy of Ceremonies, or in Kingdoms govern'd by Tyrants, but ſhould be baniſh'd out of a Chriſtian and Proteſtant Commonwealth, as was that of* England. And not long after, he invited the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs to dine with him at *Whitehall*; and it was obſerv'd, that in all his Ceremonials, all his Entertainments, Audiences, *&c.* he maintain'd the Port of a great Prince in every Part of his Appearance, as much as if he had been ſo born and ſo bred; that his Soul extended it ſelf always in Proportion to the Room that was given it; and in whatever Space he ſtood he always fill'd it. Is this Man, the greateſt in the World, a fit Subject for the lewd Invectives of inſolent Libellers and witleſs Declaimers? I ſpeak not of the Means he us'd in acquiring Dominion, but of the Manner of his uſing it. *A. D.* 1654.

Not long after his being declar'd Protector, his Mother dy'd: She had liv'd to a great Age, and very much miſtruſted the Iſſue of Affairs: She was ſo afraid of ſome Attempt againſt his Life, that when ſhe heard the Noiſe of a Musket, ſhe would ſtart, fearing he was ſhot, and was exceedingly diſſatisfy'd if ſhe did not ſee him once a Day at leaſt. *Oliver* was at a vaſt Expence upon her Funeral; and though ſhe was bury'd by Daylight, caus'd many hundred Flambeaus to be carry'd with the Hearſe.

His Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion appear'd on ſeveral Occaſions, and particularly in a Letter he wrote to the Prince of *Tarente* in *France*, which I incert at Length, his *Latin* Secretary being the immortal *Milton*; and if any of our Hiſtory Writers could have given us Examples of the like Scholarſhip among their *Literati*, they would have had more Reaſon to have boaſted of the Learning of their Party.

OLIVERIUS Protector Reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, *&c. Illuſtriſſimo Principi* Tarentino *Salutem, Perſpectus ex literis tuis ad me datis Religionis amor tuus, & in Eccleſias Reformatas pietas eximia, ſtudiumq; ſingulare in iſta præſertim generis Nobilitate ac ſplendore, eaque ſub regno, in quo, deficientibus ab Orthodoxa fide, tot ſunt Nobiliſſimis quibuſq; Spes uberes propoſitæ, tot firmioribus incommoda ſubeunda, per magno me plane gaudio ac voluptate effecit. Nec minus gratum erat placuiſſe me tibi, eo ipſo Religionis nomine, quo nihil mihi delectius atque charius imprimis eſſe debet. Deum autem obteſtor ut quam de me ſpem Eccleſiarum, & Expectationem eſſe oſtendis, ſi poſſim ei aliquando vel ſatisfacere, ſi opus erit, vel demonſtrare omnibus, quam cupiam non deeſſe. Nullum equidem fructum laborum meorum, nullum hujus, quam obtineo in Republica mea, ſive Dignitatis, ſive numeris, nec ampliorem exiſtimarem, nec jucundiorem, quam ut idoneus ſim, qui Eccleſiæ Reformatæ vel amplificationi, vel incolumitati, vel quod maximum eſt, paci ſerviam. Te vere hortor magnopere ut Religionem Orthodoxam, quâ pietate ac ſtudio a Majoribus acceptam profiteris, eadem animi firmitate atque conſtantia ad extremum uſque retineas. Nec ſane quidquam erit te, tuiſq; parentibus Religioſiſſimis dignius, nec quod pro tuis in me meritis, quanquam tuâ Causâ cupio omnia, optare tibi melius, aut præclarius queam, quam ſi ſic te pares, atque inſtituas ut Eccleſiæ preſertim patriæ, quarum in Diſciplina tam felici indole, tamque illuſtri loco*

natus

A. D. 1654. *natus es, quanto cæteris præluces, tanto firmius in te præſidium, ſuis rebus conſtitutum eſſe ſentiant.* Vale. *Alba Aula, Die* 26 Junii, 1654. *Illuſtriſſimæ Dignitatis Veſtræ Studioſiſſimus,*

OLIVERIUS.

Oliver's *Letter to the Prince of* Tarente.

Cromwel in this Letter aſſures the Prince of *Tarente*, " That it was with extreme Plea- " ſure he learn'd by the Letter he had re- " ceiv'd from him his inviolable Zeal and " Attachment for the Reform'd Churches, " for which his Praiſe was the greater, inaſ- " much as he ſhew'd that Zeal at a Time, " and in a Place where ſuch flattering Hopes " were given to Perſons of his Rank, if they " would forſake the Orthodox Faith, and " where thoſe who continue ſtedfaſt are on " the contrary threaten'd with ſo many Trou- " bles. He rejoices that his own Conduct " with Reſpect to Religion, was pleaſing to " him; he calls God to witneſs he deſires " nothing ſo much as an Opportunity to an- " ſwer the favourable Opinion the Churches " have of his Zeal and his Piety, by endea- " vouring to propagate the true Faith, and " procure Reſt and Peace for the Church. " He exhorts the Prince to hold out firmly to " the End in the Orthodox Religion he re- " ceiv'd from his Fathers; and adds, that " nothing would bring him greater Glory " than to protect it as much as lay in his " Power.

Are there any ſuch Letters in the Hiſtory of the Houſe of *Stuart* for promoting the Proteſtant Religion, and the Orthodox Faith! But what is the Orthodox Faith in Compariſon with Powers, Dignities, Revenues, *&c.* And the Faith *Cromwel* recommends to the Protection of the Prince, was then diſturb'd in *England* by certain Prieſts and others, who were for reducing Religion to Enthuſiaſm, and Government to *Anarchy*. The Chief of theſe among the Laiety were Major General *Harriſon*, Mr. *John Carew*, Colonel *Rich*; among the Clergy, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Feak*, Mr. *Sympſon*; who being Men of turbulent, reſtleſs Minds, impatient under all Power, which they had not the Management of, and refuſing to give *Oliver* any Security for their peaceable Behaviour, he thought fit to hinder their giving the Publick Diſturbance by confining their Perſons; Major General *Harriſon* was ſent to *Carisbrook* Caſtle, in the Iſle of *Wight*; Mr. *Carew* to *Pendennis*, in his own Country; Colonel *Rich* remain'd in Cuſtody of the Sergeant at Arms, and the three Miniſters were ſhut up in *Windſor* Caſtle, till they could bring their Minds into better Temper, and had learn'd that the Laws of God require their Obedience to the Laws of Man, eſpecially when their Conſciences are at Liberty, as they were under the Protector.

Enthuſiaſts.

A Plot.

The inveterate Enemies to that and all Liberty, the Royaliſts, carry'd their Reſentments farther; and as their Succeſſors, the Enemies to the Governments ſince the Revolution, deſpairing of doing any Thing by fair War, have always had Recourſe to Aſſaſſination Plots; ſo now the Cavaliers, who could neither ſubmit nor ſtarve, thought of getting out of their Miſery by murdering the Man whom they took to be the Cauſe of it. One cannot expect Men of Honour in ſo infamous a Plot as that of Murder: The chief Plotter in this againſt *Oliver* was one *Vowell*, a *Pedagogue*, who kept an obſcure School in a Country Village, and being a very buſy factious prating Fellow, was admitted into the Company of ſome of thoſe who were the moſt impatient for the King's Reſtoration, ſeveral of whom were Perſons of Quality; as the Earl of *Oxford*, who was firſt apprehended, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Colonel *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Joſ. Aſhburnham*, Colonel *Gerrard*, the ſame who was attack'd by *Don Ponteleon de Sa*, in the *New Exchange*, Mr. *Somerſet Fox*, and ſeveral others. The Plot was to aſſaſſinate the Lord Protector, to proclaim the King, and offer Pardon to all except three Perſons. On the Diſcovery of this Conſpiracy, the Guards were doubled at the *Tower*, and a Proclamation iſſued, requiring a Liſt to be brought to the Council of all Lodgers, and all Inhabitants and ſuſpected Perſons in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Lines of Communication. A high Court of Juſtice, the Lord Commiſſioner *Liſle* Preſident, was erected for the Trial of the Plotters who were taken, the Attorney General *Prideaux*, the Solicitor General *Ellis*, and Serjeant *Glyn*; the Protector's Council charg'd the Priſoners with conſpiring to murder the Protector as he was going to *Hampton-Court*, to ſeize the Guards, to maſter the City, Tower and Magazines. Mr. *Somerſet Fox* confeſs'd the Charge, Col. *Gerrard* and *Vowell* deny'd it, and were try'd. The Proof againſt them was too plain to leave any Doubt of their Guilt. Several Witneſſes were heard, and the Jury bringing them in guilty, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolles* made a long Speech to *Fox*, *Gerrard*, and *Vowell*, to convince them of the Wickedneſs of their Deſign, of which the Conſpirators ſeem'd not to be ſenſible; and then he pronounc'd Sentence, *That upon mature Conſideration of the Treaſons and Murders plotted and contriv'd by them againſt his Highneſs the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, and raiſing a bloody War in the ſame, the Court did adjudge them to be hang'd.* *Gerrard* mov'd that he might be beheaded, or ſhot to Death like a Soldier, for which Favour he petition'd the Protector, and obtain'd it. *Vowell* was hang'd at *Charing-Croſs*, but Mr. *Fox* was repriev'd and pardon'd.

A. D. 1654.

Whitl. 574.

Ib. 573.

Plotters executed.

And Don Ponteleon de Sa.

About the ſame Time, *July* the 5th, Don *Ponteleon de Sa*, and two other *Portugueſe*, were try'd before the above-mention'd Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in the King's Bench. He pleaded, *That he was not only the Ambaſſador's Brother, but had a Commiſſion to himſelf to be Ambaſſador, when his Brother ſhould be abſent, and that by the Law of Nations he was privileg'd from Trial.* He demanded Council. The Point of Ambaſſadors Privileges by the *Civil Law* and the *Law of Nations*, was long debated by the Court, and by the Protector's Council; the Reſult of which was, *That by all thoſe Laws the Proceedings in this Caſe were juſtify'd, and that no Council could be allow'd to the Ambaſſador's Brother in Matter of Fact; but if in the Proceedings of his Trial he ſhould deſire Council as to Matter of Law, it ſhould be allow'd him.* After much Perſwaſion, he and the reſt pleaded *Not guilty*, and to be try'd by *God* and the *Country*. Don *Ponteleon*

de Sa.

at

A. D. 1654. at his Trial pleaded *Ignorance of the Laws of* England, *and desir'd to have Council assign'd him*; but the Court told him, *They were of Council equal to him as to the Commonwealth*; and upon hearing the Witnesses, the Jury found the Ambassador's Brother and 4 more guilty of *Murder* and *Felony*. The Lord Chief Justice *Rolles* gave Sentence against them to be hang'd. One of the condemn'd Criminals was an *English* Boy, who was in the Tumult and Murder with the *Portuguese*, who were all repriev'd but the Ambassador's Brother. On the 10th of *July* he was carry'd from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill* in a Mourning Coach and Six Horses, attended by divers of his Brother's Retinue. He spoke something on the Scaffold to those who understood him in Excuse of his Crime, laying the Blame of the Quarrel and Murder upon the *English*. After a few private Words and Passages of *Popish* Devotion with his Confessor, he gave him his *Beads* and *Crucifix*, laid his Head on the Block, and it was chopt off at two Blows; *The rest*, says Whitlocke, *condemn'd for the same Crime, were repriev'd*. The Lord *Clarendon*, quite contrary to *Whitlocke* and the Fact, says, *The rest were hang'd at* Tyburn, to make *Cromwel* as bloody-minded as he could. It is said the *Spanish* Ambassador forwarded this Execution as much as lay in his Power, saying, *Don* John *of* Portugal *is an Usurper, and no lawful King, and Don* Ponteleon *may be executed without violating the Rights and Privileges of Ambassadors*. Be that as it will, we are assur'd that the *Portugal* Ambassador sign'd the Treaty with *Cromwel* upon the very Day his Brother was beheaded. The Emperor of *Germany* brought this Prosecution as a Precedent to justify his carrying off the Prince of *Furstemberg*, Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of *Cologne*, twenty Years after; and in the Manifesto his Imperial Majesty publish'd, this Piece of *Cromwel*'s Justice, in executing the *Portuguese* Gentleman, is cited at large, tho' the whole Herd of Writers against him, talk of it as a Breach of the Law of Nations.

Second Parliament. According to the *Instrument of Government*, *Oliver* and his Council resolv'd to issue out Writs for the Election of Members of Parliament, with thirty from *Scotland* and thirty from *Ireland*, to meet at *Westminster*, the 3d of *September*, a favourite Day with *Cromwel*, on which, tho' a *Sunday*, they met and attended the Lord Protector in the Painted Chamber, where he made a Speech to them of the Cause of their Summons, and then going to the House, they adjourn'd to the next Day, *September* the 4th,

When the Lord Protector rode in State from *Whitehall* to *Westminster*, some Hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before bare with the Life Guard, and next before the Coach, his Pages and Lackeys richly cloath'd. On one Side of his Coach went *Strickland*, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of the Ceremonies, both on Foot. On the other Side went Colonel *Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Carlisle*, Captain of the Life Guard. In the Coach with him were his Son *Henry* and *Lambert*, both bare. After him came Mr. *Claypool*, Master of the Horse, with a Led Horse in rich Trappings. Next the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Lords of the Treasury, the Council in their Coaches, the Life Guards. When he alighted at the Door of *Westminster* Abbey, the Officers of the Army went first, then the Gentlemen, then four Maces, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Mr. *Whitlocke* carrying the Purse, then Lieutenant General *Lambert*, carrying the Sword bare before his Highness, who seated himself over against the Pulpit, the Members of Parliament on both Sides. After a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, the Lord Protector went in the same Equipage to the *Painted Chamber*, where he took his Seat in a Chair of State set upon Steps, and the Members upon Benches round about sate all bare. Then his Highness put off his Hat, and made a long and artful Speech to them; in which he told them of the *Danger of Levelling Principles, and of the Fifth Monarchy Opinions, of the Form of Godliness, and the two abus'd Pretensions of Liberty of Subject, and Liberty of Conscience*; *two as glorious Things, and as much to be contended for, as any Gift God hath given us*. He reminded them *of the great Judgments which had fallen upon the Nation by the Civil Wars and the late Foreign Wars*; and then he shew'd how a Remedy had been apply'd to those Evils, which he told them in so many Words *was his Government*. He instanc'd *his reforming the Laws, putting good Men into Seats of Justice, regulating the Chancery, setting a Way for the Approbation of able Ministers*: His making *Peace with* Holland, Denmark, Portugal, Sweden, *and his being in a Treaty with* France. He minded them *of the Expence of the Fleet, and of the Abatement of Thirty Thousand Pounds of the three Months Assessment*. He exhorted them *to be zealous for the Protestant Interest abroad*. He added, *Though Peace is made, yet it is Interest that keeps Peace, and further than that, Peace is not to be trusted*. He clos'd all thus: *I shall conclude with my Perswasion to you, to have a sweet, gracious, and holy Understanding one of another, and put you in Mind of the Counsel you have heard this Day in order to it. And I desire you to believe that I speak not to you as one that would be a Lord over you, but as one that is resolv'd to be a Fellow-Servant with you to the Interest of this great Affair*. There is more solid Sense, more Truth in this Speech, which is at large in *Whitlocke*, than in most of the Speeches from the Throne since Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death. There is more true Eloquence in some Parts of it: *In such a Heap of Confusion was this poor Nation; and that it might not sink into Ruin, a Remedy must be apply'd. A Remedy has been apply'd, This Government*. Read the Earl of *Clarendon*'s, and the Speech-making Speaker *Turner*'s Speeches after the Restoration, and compare them with *Cromwel*'s, notwithstanding it is incumber'd with certain seraphical Expressions, according to the Mode of the Times, and you'll soon distinguish the Truth and Eloquence of *Cromwel*'s, from the Flattery, Affectation, from the Abundance of Words and Deficiency of Sense in those tedious *Harangues*. *Oliver* told the Assembly they should repair to their House, and exercise their Liberty in the Choice of a Speaker; which they did, and chose *William Lenthal*, Esq; who had been so long Speaker of the House

A. D. 1654.

p. 582.

Ech.

A. D. 1654. Houſe of Commons before and after the Death of the King; Mr. *Scobel* was appointed to be their Clerk, and Mr. *Birkhead* their Serjeant.

The next Day the Houſe call'd over their Members, and appointed their Committees. The Lord *Broghill* was one of the Members for *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Argyle* one of them for *Scotland*; and this Convention was for the moſt part compos'd of as good Gentlemen as were in *England*, tho' the Majority were Commonwealth's Men, who did by no Means approve of the Government in a ſingle Perſon, ſuch as *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, *John Highlord*, Eſq; *John Bradſhaw*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *John Wildman*, Eſq; *Thomas Honeywood*, Eſq; *Henry Nevil*, Eſq;. *Ludlow* is very well pleas'd with the Difficulty they made in recognizing the Protectorate, and highly extols their Courage in taking to Pieces the *Inſtrument of Government*, in which his Republican Principles prevail'd over his good Senſe, for without the *Inſtrument of Government* they were no Parliament; and *Oliver* ſhew'd his Reaſon as well as his Power was greater than all theirs, when he told them in another Speech a Week after, *The ſame Government which made them a* Parliament *made him a* Protector; *and as they were entruſted with ſome Things, ſo was he with others.* He then explain'd to them upon what Foundation they ſtood, and what Buſineſs they had to do; after which he appointed a Teſt of *Recognition* to be taken before they went any more into the Houſe, which was both juſt and reaſonable for him to do as he was *Protector*. Could any Man of common Senſe imagine the Protector ſent for them to diſpute the Authority by which they were to ſit, or ſuffer them to ſpend their Time in angry and inſolent Debates with Reſpect to the Government? The Recognition Teſt was ingroſs'd in Parchment, and three hundred Members ſubſcrib'd it. However they voted, *That the* Recognition *did not comprehend, nor ſhould be conſtru'd to comprehend therein the whole Government, conſiſting of Forty-two Articles, but that it does only include what concerns the Government of the Commonwealth by a ſingle Perſon and ſucceſſive Parliaments.* They reſolv'd, *That all Perſons return'd, or who ſhould be return'd to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, ſhould, before they be admitted to ſit in this Houſe, ſubſcribe the* Recognition; *That thoſe Subſcriptions ſhould be taken in Preſence of any two Members, who have ſubſcrib'd it.* They voted, *That the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority ſhall reſide in the Lord Protector and the People aſſembled in Parliament, and that the preſent* Lord Protector *ſhall continue during Life.* By this Vote *Oliver*'s Authority was eſtabliſh'd, and all Attempts afterwards to encroach upon it were factious and illegal, according to that Conſtitution, which it became his conſummate Wiſdom to provide againſt and ſuppreſs. The Parliament enter'd into a Debate on the other Articles of the *Inſtrument of Government*, according to the Power they reſerv'd to themſelves by their Vote. They particularly debated whether the *Protector* ſhould be elective or hereditary, and it paſs'd for Election. They continu'd the ſtanding Army of Ten Thouſand Horſe and Twenty Thouſand Foot, and gave an Aſſeſſment of Sixty Thouſand Pounds a Month to maintain them. They voted a Triennial Parliament, the Protector to ſummon one oftner upon Occaſion, and the Commiſſioners of the Seal to iſſue Summons by a limitted Time, if he did not. They order'd a Bill againſt Drunkenneſs and Gaming, another againſt Hereſies, and reſolv'd, *That the true Reform'd Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion ſhall be publickly profeſs'd and maintain'd*, and that the Protector ſhould have no *Negative* to Bills for *ſuppreſſing Hereſies*. They voted Liberty to all ſcrupulous Conſciences that gave no Diſturbance to the Publick. They confirm'd the Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year Civil Liſt to the Protector, and aſſign'd *Whitehall*, St. *James*'s, the *Mews*, *Somerſet Houſe*, *Greenwich*, *Hampton Court*, and *Windſor*, for his Uſe. However, the Freedom they took in canvaſſing the *Inſtrument of Government*, which *Oliver* would have had thought as ſacred and inviolable as *Magna Charta*, and their dwelling ſo much and ſo long upon it, gave him ſo great Offence, that he loſt all Patience with them, and on the 22d of January diſſolv'd them, having firſt made a Sermon inſtead of a Speech full of Upbraidings and Reproaches. He could not but be very much provok'd by the Preſumption and Ingratitude of an Aſſembly, which was a Creature of his own creating, and ow'd to him its very Being. One of the Members, Col. *Whetham*, when it was mention'd to make him King, apply'd to him the Saying of the Prophet to *Ahab*, *Haſt thou kill'd, and alſo taken Poſſeſſion?* It is certain the diſguſted Members of this Parliament, the *Republicans*, in an unnatural Mixture with the *Cavaliers*, had produced a very powerful Party againſt *Oliver*, who knew well enough that they were not idle, and his Meſſengers ſurpriz'd Major *Wildman* at *Exton*, near *Marlborough*, in his Chamber, dictating to his Amanuenſis a Libel againſt the Protector, with this Title, *The* Declaration *of the free and well-affected People of* England, *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwel, *Eſq*;. *Whitlocke* ſays, "Many who "read this Declaration knew there was too "much of Truth in it, and had not the De"ſign been nipt in the Bud, and timely "diſcover'd and prevented, it might have "caus'd ſome Diſturbance to the *Protector*, "and to the Peace of the new Government; "but by the Commitment of the chief Con"ſpirators, their Plot was cruſh'd, and the "Peace not interrupted. Divers wonder'd "moſt that Major *Wildman*, and others of "his Party who had ſerv'd the Parliament, "ſhould now join in this Deſign with "thoſe of the King's Party; but they al"ledg'd it was to ſtrengthen themſelves, "and they could eaſily ſuppreſs the Ca"valiers afterwards." This was the Opinion all along of thoſe firſt who oppos'd the Commonwealth, of thoſe afterwards who oppos'd the Protector; in a Word, of all thoſe who oppos'd any of the Governments from the Time of the King's Death to the Reſtoration. The *Royaliſts* were out of the Queſtion, an abandon'd ruin'd People, who were made Tools to every Faction that was ſet up, to be thrown by when their Point was carry'd. This *Declaration* was probably to be publiſh'd when the Inſurrection was made: Sir *Thomas Harris* was to riſe

A. D. 1654.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

Royaliſts impotent.

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in *Shropſhire*, Sir *Thomas Middleton* in *Wales*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Sir *Richard Maleverer* in *Yorkſhire*, Sir *Henry Moore* and Sir *George Brown* in other Places, Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* and Colonel *Penruddock* in *Wiltſhire*, Sir *Hugh Pollard* in *Devonſhire*, Mr. *Arundel* in *Cornwall*. *London* was full of Conſpirators, and the Conſpiracy was almoſt general; but ſuch was the Protector's good Intelligence, that he had timely Information of their general and ſeparate Deſigns, which he ſuffer'd them to carry on juſt as far and no farther than he thought fit. *Wagſtaff* fearing a Diſcovery, precipitated the Buſineſs, and with *Penruddock*, Mr. *Grove*, Mr. *Mompeſſon*, Mr. *Jones*, Capt. *Wake*, Mr. *Maſon*, Mr. *Lucas* of *Hungerford*, and others, took Arms. The Lord *Wilmot* was come over to *England* to command in Chief thoſe that were to riſe in the *Northern* Counties. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Newport*, and Col. *Birch*, were in the Plot; but *Wagſtaff* was the only Man who appear'd at the Head of a Body at *Salisbury*, and being Aſſize Time, they got together under Pretence of coming to the Aſſizes. He had with him Three or Four Hundred Horſe, ſuch as they were, and getting together in the Night, they ſeiz'd the Lord Chief Juſtice *Rolles*, Juſtice *Nicholas*, Mr. *Dove* the High Sheriff of the County, who refus'd to proclaim the King, and ſome Gentlemen whom they ſuſpected to be Enemies to their Deſign. They took away the Judge's Commiſſion, and ſome of their Leaders, with a true Cavalier Spirit, were for hanging up the Judges and Sheriff, who were very like to have the hanging of them in a few Days. The Earl of *Clarendon* blames them very much for not truſſing up the Judges and Sheriff: *It would have been a ſeaſonable Act of Severity*, ſays he, without conſidering that it would have provok'd *Cromwel* to have ſacrific'd a *Hecatomb* of them whom he had in his Power. *Wagſtaff* and *Penruddock* finding No-body come to them at *Salisbury*, remov'd to *Dogtown*, taking Mr. *Dove* along with them, but they extended their Mercy to the Judges and let them go. From thence they march'd to *Blandford* in *Dorſetſhire*; *Moſt Men*, ſays Ludlow, *looking upon them rather as flying than marching*; but the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* look'd upon them as ſo many Heroes, who with the Help of half a Dozen IF's, might have done a great deal more Miſchief than they did before they were hang'd. Some Troops of Horſe purſu'd them into *Devonſhire*, where Capt. *Unton Crook*, with two Troops only, fell upon them, routed them, took Colonel *Penruddock*, Mr. *Jones*, Capt. *Grove*, Capt. *Wake*, and ſome more of theſe *notable Men*, to uſe the Lord *Clarendon*'s Phraſe, which, with the Senſe of it, is ſuper-excellent in what follows: *The Succeſs and Triumph at* Salisbury *produc'd ſuch a Conſternation throughout the whole Kingdom, as would have endanger'd it*, IF *there had not happen'd ſome accidental Confuſion among the Undertakers. Monſtrum horrendum!* A Parcel of Mob, *Ludlow* tells us they were not above Two Hundred beſides their Captains, to throw an Army of Thirty Thouſand Veterans, Horſe and Foot, under Captains who had ten Years been us'd to Conqueſt, into Conſternation; and as laughable as this is, 'tis one of the moſt ſerious Paſſages in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*; but this ridiculous Paſſage muſt be attended with ſome Falſities too, to make it of a Piece with the reſt.

A. D. 1654.

Wiltſhire *Inſurrection.*

Clarendon.

One ſingle Troop of Horſe routed them.

Crook *rather intreated than compell'd them to deliver themſelves.*

Crook *promis'd their Lives ſhould be ſav'd.*

The Chief Juſtice Rolles *was afraid to look thoſe Men in the Face, and would not try them, raiſing ſome Scruples in Law.*

Whitlocke.

Capt. Unton Crook *purſu'd them with his Troops.*

Crook *after a ſharp Conflict routed them.*

Ludlow.

Crook *abſolutely deny'd that they had Articles for Life.*

Rolles *refus'd to act on Account that the Priſoners had done him a particular Injury, and he might be thought a Party.*

The *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* is made up of the like Paragraphs, and if it was turn'd up and down, it would be as true as it is now. Some of the Priſoners were condemn'd at *Salisbury*, and ſome at *Exeter*, of which Number were Colonel *Penruddock* and Captain *Grove*; and in Aggravation of their Crimes, it was urg'd, that this was their ſecond Offence. They were both beheaded at *Exeter*. Mr. *Jones* of *Newton Tony* being ally'd to *Oliver*, was pardon'd. Captain *Crook* had Two Hundred Pounds a Year given him of the Eſtate of Mr. *Mompeſſon*, who with Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, Mr. *Maſon*, and others, made their Eſcape.

Cromwel, who had lately highly careſs'd the Cavalier Party, was exaſperated againſt them by this Rebellion, and reſolv'd to ſhew them ſome *ſeaſonable Severity*. He commanded a tenth Part of their Eſtates to be levy'd, in order, ſays *Ludlow*, *to maintain thoſe extraordinary Forces, which their turbulent and ſeditious Practices oblig'd him to keep up.* To put this in Execution, he the next Year plac'd Major Generals over all the Counties in *England*, with much more Power than ever the Lord Lieutenants had; and to ingratiate himſelf with our two famous Univerſities, he ſettled One Hundred Pounds *per Annum* for a Divinity Reader at *Oxford*, and gave Money to both of them; which is a ſevere Rebuke on thoſe Hiſtory Writers who ſay he endeavour'd to ſuppreſs Learning, and deſtroy'd all the Publick Libraries he could come at; though the contrary is well known, that he encourag'd Learning,

Oliver makes Major Generals.

A. D. 1654. Learning, and patroniz'd Men of Letters; and it was about the End of this Year that Doctor *Ralph Bathurſt*, afterwards Head of *Trinity* College, *Oxford*, and Dean of *Wells*, Phyſician to the Navy, took his Doctor of Phyſick's Degree, and produc'd a Certificate from General *Blake*, and the other Generals at Sea, of his Behaviour to their full Satisfaction.

A. D. 1655. *General* Blake. General *Blake* had been ſent to the *Streights* with a ſtrong Squadron of Men of War, to demand Satisfaction of all Princes and Powers that had injur'd the *Engliſh* in the Time of War and Confuſion at home. The General receiv'd great Honours where-ever he came, and executed his Commiſſion much to the Advantage and Reputation of his Country.

Being in the Road before *Cadiz*, a *Dutch* Admiral then there would not wear his Flag while General *Blake* was in the Harbour. He enter'd the *Streights* with thirty Men of War. The Treaty between *England* and *France* not being quite concluded, *Blake* made for the Coaſt of *Naples* in Hope to meet with the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Fleet, which had a Deſign upon that City, but *Guiſe* was gone before the General arriv'd there. From thence he ſail'd to *Leghorn*. The City of *Rome* and all the Pope's Territories were allarm'd at the Name and Approach of *Blake*. Several of the principal Citizens retir'd with their Effects to the Mountains, though Sir *Richard Tambot*, as *Leti* calls him, aſſur'd Cardinal *Barberino* that *Cromwel* had given no Orders to *Blake* to inſult the Patrimony of St. *Peter*. However, the Terror of the People was ſuch, that publick Proceſſions were made, and the Hoſt was expos'd forty Hours to avert the Wrath of Heaven, and prevent *Blake*'s attacking the Dominions of the *Church*. New Works were rais'd all around our Lady of *Loretto*'s Chapel to defend it from Pillage, and all thoſe Precautions taken which would have ſignify'd nothing if *Cromwel* had given Orders to *Blake* to fall upon the Pope's Towns and Countries, which he and his Seamen would very willingly have done had it conſiſted with *Oliver*'s good Policy, to have drawn all the Powers of Popery upon him, by aſſaulting the Papacy. Upon his Arrival in Sight of *Leghorn*, he diſpatch'd his Secretary to demand of the Great Duke ſixty Thouſand Pounds for Damages ſuſtain'd by the *Engliſh* in his Dutchy, where Prince *Rupert* had taken ſo many Ships belonging to the Commonwealth of *England*, as amounted to that Value, and having ſold them to the Great Duke's Subjects, the Commonwealth requir'd Satisfaction, that Prince having no Right to ſell them. The great Duke of *Tuſcany* offer'd to pay Part of the Sum, and deſir'd Time to conſult the Pope about Payment of the reſt. *Blake* reply'd, That the Pope had nothing to do with it, and he expected the whole Sum, which was paid him, thirty five Thouſand *Spaniſh*, and twenty five Thouſand *Italian* Piſtoles. The Duke pretended, that ſome of the Ships had been ſold to Subjects of the Pope, and therefore the Court of *Rome* ought to pay Part of the Damage, which *Alexander* the Seventh, who ſucceeded *Innocent* the Tenth, did, and paid him twenty Thouſand Piſtoles.

From *Leghorn* General *Blake* ſail'd over to the *Barbary* Shore, and ſent an Officer to the King of *Tunis*, to demand the Delivery of *Engliſh* Slaves in that Kingdom. The King anſwer'd, he was very ready to deliver them, provided the Knights of *Malta* would do the ſame by the *Tuniſeens*, whom they held in Slavery. *Blake* reply'd, he ſhould not concern himſelf about the Knights of *Malta*, but if the *Engliſh* were not ſent him, he would take all the Ships of *Tunis* which he met. Accordingly he took a Fleet loaden with Proviſions for *Candia*, and having put his Ships in order, he thunder'd with his great Guns upon the Town, while he ſent out ſeveral long Boats mann'd with ſtout Mariners, who at the ſame Time enter'd into their Harbour with undaunted Courage, and ſet Fire to all the Ships there, being nine Men of War, which were burn'd to Aſhes, and this with the Loſs only of twenty five *Engliſh* Men. This was one of the moſt gallant Actions that was ever perform'd at Sea. The King of *Tunis* immediately ſent to the General to beg a Peace, and deliver'd all the Slaves he had belonging to *England*, about four Hundred in Number. *Blake* concluded an advantagious Treaty with the *Tuniſeens*, and plac'd there an *Engliſh* Conſul. *A. D.* 1655.

From *Tunis* he ſail'd to *Algiers*, where the *Dey* pay'd him all the Reſpects due to a General who commanded the Fleet of a Republick that was Miſtreſs of the Sea; he anchor'd in the Mole, and concluded a Treaty with the *Dey* on what Conditions he thought fit. The chief was, that Satisfaction ſhould be made for all *Engliſh* Ships taken, and all *Engliſh* Priſoners be releaſed. The *Algerines* were ſo proud of his Friendſhip, that whenever they met with any *Sally* Men of War that had *Engliſh* Men aboard, they took them out and ſent them to *Blake*, who oblig'd the Knights of *Malta* to make Satisfaction for Piracies committed by their Ships upon *Engliſh* Merchant Men. General *Blake* ſent home ſixteen Ships richly loaden with the Effects he had receiv'd for Satisfaction and Damages, and they were order'd to ſail up the River of *Thames* together, to make a grateful Spectacle to the People, who were told that ſuch Ships were coming, and with rich Freight.

One Mr. *Gage*, who had been a popiſh Prieſt, and Miſſionary in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, being return'd home to *England*, with Intention to renounce the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, and embrace the Reform'd Religion, gave *Cromwel* Information of the great Riches in thoſe Parts of the World, and of the Means to come at them. *Oliver*'s Treaty with *France* being pretty forward, and the Subſtance of it being for mutual Aſſiſtance between *England* and that Kingdom, 'twas impoſſible to prevent a Rupture with *Spain*, which the Protector reſolved to be provided for betimes; and as *Gage* had adviſ'd him, he fitted out a Fleet under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Pen*, and five or ſix Thouſand Land Forces under Colonel *Venables*, to attack *Hiſpaniola*. *Oliver* kept the Deſign very ſecret, and it was not known to what Part of the World the Fleet was bound, till ſome Time after it was ſail'd *Pen and Venables.*

A. D. 1655. fail'd. *Spain* would never admit of a Peace with *England* between the *Tropicks*, *ſo he was in a State of War with them in thoſe Parts*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *even before he declar'd War againſt the* Spaniards *in* Europe. Colonel *Stoupe* the *Swiſs*, who had been a Miniſter at the *Savoy*, was very intimate with *Oliver*; he had ſent him to *France*, to feel the Pulſe of the Proteſtants, whether they were in any Diſpoſition to join with the Prince of *Conde*, if *Cromwel* enter'd into a League with that Prince, then at *Bruſſels*, and *Spain*, againſt *France*, which he inclin'd to do. But *Stoupe* found the *Hugonots* very much at Eaſe under Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Adminiſtration, who obſerv'd their Edicts very juſtly; and that the Prince of *Conde*'s Offers to turn Proteſtant, to land in *Guienne*, and to raiſe the *Hugonots* in *South France*, were vain and chimerical, which determin'd the Protector to enter into a Treaty with *Mazarine*, upon which this Fleet was equipp'd and ſent to *America*. *Stoupe* conjectur'd whither it was going, by *Cromwel*'s being very curious in Surveying a Map of the Bay of *Mexico*, and meaſuring Diſtances, which he ſaw him very intent upon in his Cloſet. *Stoupe* happening to ſay as much in Company, *Don Alonſo de Credenas*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ſent for him very privately, and offer'd him ten Thouſand Pounds if he could make any Diſcovery. The *Swiſs* had a great Mind to take the Money, and thought it fair, ſince it was only his Conjecture, and nothing had been truſted with him, but he expected to make a Fortune by the Lord Protector's Favour, and ſaid only, *that in a Diverſity of Conjectures, that ſeem'd to him more probable than any others.* However, *Stoupe* wrote of it to one about the Prince of *Conde*, who at firſt hearing was perſwaded it muſt be ſo, and immediately acquainted *Don John* of *Auſtria*, Governor of the *Netherlands*; but he having no Notice of it from *Cardenas*, ſlighted the Information, till he had the like Conjecture from others, and then he ſent over the Marquis *de Leyde*, a Grandee of the firſt Rank, to know what Cauſe of Complaint the Protector had againſt the King his Maſter. *Oliver* reſolving to temporize no longer, declar'd, *He expected Liberty to trade to the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *and to have the Laws of the* Inquiſition *repeal'd.* The Ambaſſador reply'd, *His Maſter had but two Eyes, and he would have him to put them both out at once.*

Lord *Clarendon*, who would make us believe that every Body thought of King *Charles* and his Affairs as much as he did, whoſe Subſiſtence depended entirely upon them, ſeem to have been in ſome Hopes that *Pen* and *Venables* would have run away with the Fleet and Army, and have *ſet up the Royal Standard*, which is ſaid without the leaſt Foundation in Reaſon or Fact, and might have been built upon as much from a Dream as from any Authority he had for it.

Pen and *Venables* ſail'd directly to *Barbadoes*, where they were to open their Commiſſion, and where they publiſh'd a Proclamation, that all Servants who would liſt under them, ſhould be made free by that Service. The ſame was made known in the other Iſlands, St. *Chriſtopher's*, *Nevis*, and above three Thouſand Men came in to them from all of them. Thus reinforc'd they ſail'd to *Hiſpaniola* with a Fleet and Army, thirty Men of War, and nine Thouſand Men at leaſt at their ſetting out from *Barbadoes*, ſufficient to have driven the *Spaniards* from one Sea to the other, had any other two Generals of the Parliament's Forces been appointed to command them. They came within View of *Santo Domingo*, the chief City and Port of the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, about the Middle of *April*. The firſt Step they took was an Omen of their ill Succeſs. They broke *Cromwel*'s Orders as to the Landing Place: He had given them Inſtructions to enter the Port immediately, foreſeeing that the *Spaniards* in the firſt Surprize and Conſternation would expoſe themſelves to be an eaſy Conqueſt, if the *Engliſh* behav'd as they had been wont to do. It fell out ſo with reſpect to the *Spaniards*, they abandon'd the City and fled into the Woods. *Venables* with ſeven Thouſand Men landed about ten Leagues from the Town by miſtake. The other Part of the Army, under Colonel *Butler*, landed near the Town, and thoſe under *Venables* having a long March, through a deſart Country, open to the ſcorching Heat of the Sun, without Water or Refreſhment, were ſo waſted with Famine, Thirſt and Sweat, that they could hardly carry their Arms. In this Condition the *Spaniards* ſally'd upon them from the Woods, not above fifty or ſixty at a Time, harraſs'd them through their whole March, and kill'd no leſs than ſix Hundred of them. They hardly made any Reſiſtance, and were the more diſpirited, for that they expected Mountains of Gold and Silver, inſtead of which it was proclaim'd, that no Man ſhould plunder Gold, Silver, Jewels, or any other rich Moveables, or kill any Cattle, on Pain of Death. Add to this their great Want of Proviſions, ſo little Care had they taken to bring Stores with them, that in a few Days they were forc'd to feed upon their Horſes. Colonel *Haynes* making Head againſt the *Spaniards* was ſlain fighting reſolutely in the midſt of them, and after that the *Engliſh* thought of nothing but retreating to their Ships as faſt as they could. *Venables* and *Butler* being join'd at the Place appointed, they ſhipp'd their Men and ſet Sail for *Jamaica* the third of *May*, having been three Weeks in *Hiſpaniola*, and leaving that Place more ſhamefully than ever Place was left by *Engliſh* Men. The Iſlanders of *Jamaica* not having heard of the Diſgrace of theſe Invaders, left their Town and Plantations and retir'd to the Mountains, and upon Treaty were permitted to depart the Iſland, which was poſſeſs'd by the *Engliſh* in the Name of *Oliver Cromwel*, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, and Colonel *Forteſcue* was left Governor there with three Thouſand Men, who were afterwards reinforc'd with one Thouſand Men under Major *Sedgwick*, and with a Regiment commanded by Colonel *Humphreys*. Fifteen Hundred Men were ſent from *Ireland* under Colonel *Brayne*, who with three Hundred Men was caſt away in the Voyage. He was follow'd by fifteen Hundred more under Colonel *Moor*, Captain

A. D. 1655.

Pen *and* Venables *diſgrac'd.*

Jamaica *taken.*

A. D. 1655. tain *Cheſter*, and other good Officers. And whatever Loſs the Nation was at in the Expedition of *Pen* and *Venables*, it has ſince got more by this Acquiſition, than the Charge of all the Commonwealth's Wars amounts to, *Jamaica* being the moſt flouriſhing Colony in the New World, and the Inhabitants live with as much Splendor as the moſt ſplendid of any City in *Europe*.

Venables was diſabled by Sickneſs to perform the Functions of his Office, and was permitted by the Council of Officers to return into *England*. *Pen* ſuſpecting he would lay the whole Blame of that Affair on him, obtain'd the ſame Leave alſo, and being both arriv'd, they were heard at *Whitehall* one againſt the other, where the Accuſations of both ſeem'd to be of more Weight than the Deſerts of either of them; ſo *Pen* was committed to the *Tower*, and *Venables* confin'd to his Lodging, his Diſtemper excuſing him from a ſtricter Confinement.

The *Protector* was extreamly mortified at the Miſcarriage of this Expedition, which had not only alarm'd *Spain*, but *France* and *Holland*, both very well appriz'd of the great Acceſſion of Power which would have redounded to *England* by his making himſelf Maſter of the Riches of *New Spain*, and judging by his former Succeſſes, what had they not all to fear from ſuch a Fleet and Army? And what Puniſhment did not *Venables* and *Pen* deſerve, for bringing ſo much Shame and Loſs on a Government, till then always Triumphant, and a Stranger to Diſgraces?

Manning *a Traytor to the King.*

We have mention'd the Conſpiracy againſt the Protector in *England*, the full Diſcovery of which was owing to the Correſpondence which *Thurloe*, *Oliver*'s Secretary, kept with *Henry Manning*, Son to Colonel *Richard Manning*, a Papiſt, kill'd in the late King's Service at the Battle of *Alresford*. *Thurloe*, by *Cromwel*'s Order, furniſh'd this Mr. *Manning* with Money, and ſent him to the Place King *Charles* reſided at, to be his Spy. He there got into the Confidence of Sir *Edward Hyde*, Author of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, though he ſlurs over the Matter in that Hiſtory, and takes upon himſelf the Credit of diſcovering the Traytor, at the ſame Time that he excuſes the Treaſon, *there being not a Syllable of Truth in it*. He aſſures us, that *Manning* bubbled *Thurloe*, *and ſent him Lies for Money*; and again, *not one of the King's Counſels was diſcover'd*; all which is alike true. *Manning* was ſent over to *Cologne* by *Thurloe*, on Purpoſe to get Intelligence for him; when he came thither he told the Exiles, *He was ſent thither from ſome Friends in* England, *who deſir'd to* P. 608. *have their Names conceal'd*. *Ludlow* informs us, that the Cavaliers made him very welcome for the Sake of *Thurloe*'s Money, of which the King himſelf had Part; and *ſeveral leſſer Sums were diſtributed to his neceſſitous Followers*; one of whom was Sir *Edward Hyde*, with whatever Airs he adorns his Hiſtory; and it will be prov'd that ſeveral of thoſe Followers were *Oliver*'s Pentioners, as by a Liſt extant in the Hand Writing of Colonel *Sydenham*, one of the then Lords of the Treaſury. Thus continues General *Ludlow*, "*Manning* was eaſily admit- "ted amongſt them," very eaſily no doubt, when he had Money in his Pocket. Inſtead of Chancellor *Hyde*'s finding out the Fraud, it was detected in this Manner, as in the Words of *Ludlow*, "It happen'd that a Gentleman, *Leti* ſays the Duke of *Richmond*, "who had "ſerv'd the late King, deſir'd Leave from *Crom-* "*wel* to travel, which he obtain'd on Conditi- "on he ſhould not ſee the King, which he "promis'd; accordingly when he arriv'd at "*Cologn*, he ſent a Meſſage to the King, "that he might be permitted to wait on "him at Night, which was granted, and "having diſcours'd fully concerning the Af- "fairs he came about, he took Leave and "receiv'd a Letter, which he ſew'd within "the Crown of his Hat. Upon his Return "to *England*, he came with Confidence to "*Cromwel*; and being demanded by him if "he had punctually perform'd his Promiſe? "He anſwer'd he had: But ſaid *Oliver*, *Who* "*was it that put out the Candles when* "*you ſpoke to* Charles Stuart. This unex- "pected Queſtion ſomewhat ſtartled him: "*Cromwel* proceeding, ask'd *what he ſaid* "*to him*? To which the Gentleman reply'd, "*Nothing at all*. Says *Oliver*, *Did he* "*not ſend a Letter by you*: The Gentle- "man denying that alſo, *Cromwel* took his "Hat, and having found the Letter, ſent him "immediately to the *Tower*: From thence "he took the firſt favourable Occaſion to "acquaint *Charles Stuart* with all that had "happen'd to him relating to this Affair, "aſſuring him that one of the three Perſons "who were in the Room with him at the "Time abovemention'd, muſt neceſſarily "have betray'd him. Upon this Informa- "tion, *Manning*'s Study was ſearch'd, and "his Correſpondence being diſcover'd, Leave "was obtain'd from the Duke of *Newburg*, "to execute him at *Duynwald*, within his "Territories; and accordingly he was ſhot "to Death: *But though* Manning's *Acti-* "*on was baſe and perfidious*, continues "*Ludlow*, very juſtly, *as proceeding from a* "*domeſtick Servant*; yet by what Law he "was executed, I confeſs *my ſelf utterly* "*ignorant*." *Echard*, with his uſual Simplicity, tells us *all Authors, except the Lord* Clarendon *himſelf, have been miſtaken in this*; for the good Archdeacon knows no better than to believe that the Truth is in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. What Advices *Manning* ſent were ſo far from being *Lies*, that the Conſpiracy was detected and diſappointed by means of them, and ſeveral of the Chiefs of all Parties ſeiz'd and impriſon'd, and caſhier'd:

A. D. 1655.

Of the King's,

Mr. *Compton*, Mr. *Littleton*, Mr. *Peyton*, Colonel *Ruſſell*, Mr. *Philips*, Mr. *Halſey*, &c.

Of the Commonwealth Party,

Mr. *Courtney*, Colonel *Birch*, Sir *John Danvers*, —— *Lewſon*, Cornet, now Colonel *Joyce*.

A. D. 1655.

Of the Fifths *Monarchiſts*,

Major General *Overton*, Major *Bramſton*, Major *Holmes*.

The latter liv'd long enough to join with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and lay down his Life, as he thought, for the Cauſe which he had ſo often fought for and conquer'd.

Major Generals.

The turbulent, reſtleſs Spirits of all theſe Malecontents, oblig'd *Cromwel*, otherwiſe *good natur'd*, as *Whitlocke* tells us, to Acts of Severity, and particularly to eſtabliſh the Major Generals before ſpoken of.

For *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, — Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; his Deputy Maj. *Haynes*.

For *Kent*, *Surrey*, — Col. *Kelſey*.

For *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Barkſhire*, — Col. *Goffe*.

For *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, — Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*.

For *London*, — Maj. Gen. *Skippon*.

For *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, — Commiſſary General *Whaley*.

For *Northamptonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Rutlandſhire*, — Major *Butler*.

For *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *North-Wales*, — Colonel *Berry*.

For *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, — Colonel *Wortley*.

For *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, *Northumberland*, — Major General *Lambert*.

For *Middleſex*, and C. of *Weſtminſter*, — Colonel *Barkſtead*.

For *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Cornwal*, — Col. *Desborough*. *A. D.* 1655.

For *South-Wales*, — Maj. Gen. *Harriſon*.

Theſe Major Generals were to have the Inſpection and Government of a Committee in every County, with Orders to ſeize the Perſons and diſtrain the Eſtates of ſuch as ſhould be refractory, and to put in Execution ſuch further Directions as they ſhould receive from the *Protector*: Thoſe of the ordinary Sort of People who were ſeditious and turbulent, were threaten'd with Tranſportation to *Jamaica*: This Scheme ſeem'd very extraordinary and extravagant, in a free Republick as this Government was pretended to be, under a Protector; and it is cry'd out againſt as Tyrannical, more by the Commonwealths Men than the Cavaliers; but neither the one nor the other were ſenſible of the Neceſſity of *Machiavel*'s Rule, That all Governments muſt ſupport themſelves by the Principles on which they were founded. *Oliver*'s Government had no Principle but that of Power; and having been ſo lately threaten'd with almoſt a general Inſurrection, he had no Way to ſecure himſelf but by Rigour, and keeping a ſtrict Hand over the Diſaffected.

Among theſe were ſeveral hearty Friends to the Commonwealth, particularly Mr. *George Cony*, a Merchant; *Echard* calls him a *great Fanatick*; for Railing is not inconſiſtent with Stupidity. Mr. *Cony* refuſing to pay certain Cuſtoms, the Collector took it from him by Violence; and the Merchant brought his Action againſt the *Cuſtom-houſe* Officer. This was a daring Violation of the *Inſtrument of Government*, and unhing'd it all at once. *Oliver* had not a Title to any Thing, but by that Inſtrument; and if he permitted it to be call'd in Queſtion in the Common Law Courts, there was an End of his Authority, which had no Law to maintain it but the *Inſtrument*, and that was of his own making. However, be it what it will, his Government had no other Pillar to ſupport it; and 'tis very ſtrange to hear People cry out againſt him for doing what there was a Neceſſity upon him to do by the grand Law of Self-Preſervation. Mr. *Cony*'s Counſel were Sergeant *Maynard*, Sergeant *Twiſden*, and Mr. *Wadham Windham*, whom the Protector order'd to be ſent to the *Tower* for Preſumption, in offering themſelves to be Council in a Caſe that ſo nearly touch'd the Fundamentals of his Power. They had not been there above four Days before they acknowledg'd their Fault, and petition'd to be ſet at Liberty. Judge *Rolles* declar'd, *Something muſt be allow'd to Caſes of Neceſſity*; but however, he did not care to give Judgment in this Caſe, which he put off till the next Term; and before that came had his *Quietus*, which made Room for Sergeant *Glynne* to be Lord Chief Juſtice. *Cony*'s Affair was afterwards accommodated, and Sir *Peter Wentworth*, who had boldly commenc'd ſuch another Action againſt a Collector, withdrew it after a little Expoſtulation by *Cromwel*.

About

A.D. 1655 Cromwel *aſſiſts the* Vandois.

About this Time *Chriſtina*, Dutcheſs Regent of *Savoy*, Siſter to King *Charles* the Firſt's Queen, rais'd a terrible Perſecution againſt the Proteſtants inhabiting the Valleys of *Piedmont*, where, *Leti* aſſures us, they have dwelt Time out of Mind. No new Sect, as the Lord *Clarendon* wou'd make us believe the *Presbyterians* are, but according to that *Italian* Papiſt, as old as their oldeſt Hiſtory. He adds, that this Aunt of King *Charles* II. commanded this bloody Maſſacre of the *Vaudois*, at the Inſtigation of the Prieſts, and her chief Miniſter the Marquis *de Pianezza*, who march'd into the Valleys in Perſon with 6000 Men, and cut the Throats of Men, Women and Children. Some of thoſe brave Proteſtants ſold their Lives dearly inſomuch that *Pianezza* loſt half of his Men. The reſt of the *Vaudois* fled to the Mountains, and thence ſent their Agents to all Proteſtant Princes and Powers to implore their Charity and Aſſiſtance. The Lord Protector immediately order'd a Day of Humiliation to pray for the Deliverance of thoſe Confeſſors, as alſo a Collection to be made all over *England* for their Relief; and it is ſaid the Contributions were larger than had ever been known before on any Occaſion whatſoever. Moſt of the Lord Protector's Council were of the Committee for the Buſineſs of *Piedmont*; and it is affirm'd that the Contributions

In *England* amounted to — —	50000	Pounds.
In *France* to — — —	50000	Pounds.
In *Holland* to — — —	25000	Pounds.
In *Swiſſerland* to — —	25000	Pounds.
In *Germany* to — — —	25000	Pounds.
	175000	

Which, and much more from Places not nam'd, was as much as the Valleys were worth. 'Twas remitted to Mr. *Stephen Turretin*, Receiver for the *Vaudois*. The large Collections made for theſe Proteſtants are generally allow'd to be owing to the Lord Protector's powerful Inſtances with Foreign Princes and States; for beſides his Letters to the *French* King and Cardinal *Mazarine* in their Favour, he wrote to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* to mediate for them, and ſent Mr. *Morland* and Mr. *Crown* to *Geneva*, to ſee that the Moneys collected were fairly diſtributed, as intended, among the Proteſtants of the Valleys, and that the Treaty the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould grant them be fairly executed. He alſo gave *Morland* a Letter to the Duke of *Savoy*, then near or in his Majority, conceiv'd in Terms, which confirm'd a Report, that *Cromwel* ſhou'd have ſaid, *My Ships in the* Mediterranean *ſhall viſit* Civita Vecchia, and the *Sound of my Cannon be heard in* Rome; which ſufficiently terrified the *Italian* Princes. *Oliver*, in his Letter to *Charles Emanuel* II. Duke of *Savoy*, after having repreſented the Cruelty and Injuſtice of his Actings againſt the Proteſtants, adds, *Cum autem non humanitatis modo, ſed ejuſdem Religionis communione adeoq; fraterna peritus neceſſitudine cum iis conjunctos nos eſſe fateamur, ſatis fieri a nobis neque noſtro erga Deum efficio, neque fraternæ Charitati neque Religionis ejuſdem profeſſioni poſſe exiſtimavimus, ſi in hac fratrum noſtrorum calamitate ac miſeria ſolo ſenſu doloris afficeremur, niſi etiam ad ſublevanda eorum tot mala inopinata quantum in nobis eſt ſitum, omnem operam noſtram conferemus.* " He is pierced with Grief at " the News of the Sufferings of the *Vaudois*, be- " ing united to them, not only by the common " Ties of Humanity, but by the Profeſſion of the " ſame Faith, which obliges him to regard them " as his Brethren; and he ſhou'd think himſelf " wanting in his Duty to God, to Charity, and " to his Religion, if he ſhou'd be ſatisfied with " pitying them only, whoſe miſerable Condition " is enough to raiſe Pity in the moſt barbarous " Mind, if he did not exert himſelf to the ut- " moſt of his Power to deliver them out of it." *A.D.* 1655

Cromwel's *Letter to the Duke of* Savoy *in their Favour.*

Before this Letter arriv'd, the *French* King and the Cardinal had preſs'd the Court of *Savoy* to give Peace to their Proteſtant Subjects. To which King *Charles* the Second's Aunt return'd Anſwer in her Son's Name, *That ſhe cou'd not enough admire to ſee* France, *and his Eminence in particular, ſo earneſt in behalf of Hereticks, and to endeavour to hinder the Chaſtiſement of the Duke her Son's rebellious Subjects, out of pure Complaiſance to* Cromwel, *while the* Engliſh *Catholicks are entirely abandon'd, and languiſh miſerably under the Yoke of that Tyrant.* Cardinal *Mazarine* reply'd, *We muſt leave to God the Care of defending the Cauſe of the Catholicks, it being moſt juſt, but that of the Hereticks needs for its Support the Clemency of Princes.* The Title of Royal Highneſs being by Miſtake omitted in the Addreſs of *Cromwel*'s Letter to the Duke of *Savoy*, the major part of the Council of *Savoy* was for ſending it back unopen'd. But the Marquis *de Pianezza*, who had more Experience than the reſt, repreſented to them, that *Cromwel* was as Haughty as he was Powerful, and wou'd not let ſuch an Affront go unpuniſh'd; that he wou'd certainly lay *Villa Franca* in Aſhes, and ſet the *Swiſs* Proteſtant Cantons upon *Savoy*; which, with his ſhewing that Royal Highneſs was in the Contents of the Letter, ſatisfied them all, and Peace was made with the *Vaudois*, who had all their antient Privileges confirm'd to them, and what had been taken from them reſtor'd.

All the Negotiations of the four Kings, whoſe Reigns are in this Hiſtory, amount not in Value and Reputation to this one of *Cromwel*'s. He talk'd *en maitre*, and he prevail'd. But the Credit of *England* was before and after him in ſo low a State, that a Recommendation from thence was enough to ſpoil any Buſineſs it was intended to advance. An *Italian* Popiſh Author obſerves, that *Oliver* did this for the Proteſtants of *Piedmont* at the ſame time that he publiſh'd the moſt ſevere Edicts againſt the Papiſts in *England*, and not a Power in *Europe* durſt intercede for them.

Chancery. *Cromwel* and his Council having paſt an Ordinance for regulating the Court of Chancery, by which the Proceſſes there would be alter'd and expedited, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, and *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, ſcrupled the obeying it, as being contrary to the Oath of Office which they had taken. The Lord Protector, who wou'd be obey'd in all things, demanded the Seal of *Widdrington* and *Whitlock*. *Lenthal* complied, and was continu'd Maſter of the Rolls, though he had ſaid, *He would be hang'd at the Rolls-Gate before he would execute the Ordinance.* Upon this Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and *John Liſle*, Eſq; were made Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, —— *Fell*, Eſq; Chancellor of the Dutchy, *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, *John Sadler*, Eſq; *Nathaniel Hobart*, Eſq; *Arthur Barnardiſton*, Eſq; *Thomas St. Nicholas*, Eſq; *Robert Aldworth*, Eſq; Six Clerks in Chancery. But to ſhew *Widdrington* and *Whitlock* he was not angry with them, he made them both Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

Cromwel *will not ſee the Queen of* Sweden.

We have ſpoken of *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden*'s abdicating her Kingdom with an Intention to abdicate her Religion. To this Purpoſe ſhe reſolv'd to go to *Rome*, and to ſee as much as ſhe could in her way thither. As ſhe had a kind

A.D.1655 of Romantick Genius, the Renown of *Cromwel* made her very desirous to see a Hero, whose Wisdom and Valour were the Subject of the Discourse of the World. The Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* think King *Charles* II. highly honour'd by a Visit from that Princess in his Exile in the Territory of *Mentz*: But it seems the Court of the *Protector* had other Sentiments of that Honour, and would by no means receive her Visit. The Protector was for something solid in every thing that had Shew, and all the Pains she took to see him were lost. It not being customary for Princes to make Visits before they know they shall be welcome, she sent her Secretary *Maldeschi*, an *Italian*, from *Fountainbleau* in *France* to *London*, to procure an Invitation from *Cromwel*, who receiv'd *Maldeschi* with particular Marks of Respect and Esteem, which flatter'd the *Italian* with Hopes that the Protector wou'd invite his Mistress to his Court. He often hinted, that her Majesty wou'd be extremely pleas'd with the Sight of so illustrious a Captain, and was almost always talking of his Highness's heroick Qualities. The Protector gave him the Hearing, but wou'd not understand his Meaning: He return'd Compliment for Compliment; and 'twas not long before *Maldeschi* perceiv'd his Errand wou'd not succeed. *Oliver* had three Reasons against inviting her: The Expence of her Stay here; His Resentment of her Apostacy, and the ill Example of her Life and Conversation, too gallant and intriguing for a *Puritan* Court, which was far from being an Objection to that of *Charles* II. And *Christina* had two Reasons for coming, the one to satisfy her Curiosity, which was insatiable, the other, at the Instance of Cardinal *Mazarine*, to propose a Marriage between one of *Oliver*'s Family and his Niece, which at sight seems impracticable, and wou'd have been the most chymerical Proposition she cou'd have made to the Protector,

Menasses *the* Jew *and* Cromwel.

Who much about the same time had People come out of the *East* to be Witnesses of his Glory. *Menasses ben Israel* was deputed, with other chief Men amongst the *Jews*, to negotiate a Treaty with *Oliver* for their living and trading in *England*. The Protector sent for several Ministers to consult with them about the Lawfulness of admitting them, wherein he seems to be over-scrupulous; for if Religion hinder'd us from trading with none but *Christians*, we must lose the best part of our Commerce. *Echard* assures us, they offer'd *Cromwel* 200,000 *l.* for St. *Paul*'s Church, and that the Offer of so much Money for that Cathedral, and Liberty to trade, tempted him so strongly, that he look'd upon it as *the Cause of God*. If I, or any other Lay-Historian, had thus profan'd the awful Majesty of Heaven, it wou'd not have been excusable; but for an Archdeacon, who owes his very Subsistence to the Ministry, and is bound by it to teach others not to take the Lord's Name in vain, to be no more sensible of that Sin, is Matter of Astonishment and Lamentation. But it is so with too many Divines of a certain Denomination; they are us'd so much to Form, that they have little Feeling of the Power of Godliness. His Skill in Politicks and Commerce is equal to his other Knowledge. The Merchants foresaw the *Jews* would soon engross the Trade of the Nation. He makes their Foresight to be no better than his own. The *Jews*, who have liv'd and traded here above threescore Years, have not engross'd one Trade, instead of which the Nation have been Millions of Money Gainers by them. He then makes some foolish Jests about *Oliver*'s *Hopes of converting the* Jews, and the People's Fears that the *Jews* would convert the *Christians*. But the most ridiculous part of his Story is, that *Menasses* went to *Huntingdon*, to enquire at the *Brewhouse* there, if none of *Cromwel*'s Family came not from some *Israelitish* Tribe; which, if he had found, the *Jews* wou'd have acknowledg'd him to be the *Messias*. I was well pleas'd to find this Passage in the same History with the Account of *Oliver*'s selling his Soul to the Devil, it confirming the Opinion I had conceiv'd of a Writer, whose Judgment and Capacity were capable of such Stuff for History. *Oliver* gave *Menasses* 200 Pounds, and permitted the *Jews* to trade and to reside in *England*, which they have done ever since, to the great Benefit of our Commerce. His Care of Commerce was exemplary to all future Governments, if they had known what Care was for any thing but their Pleasures and Passions, and those who flatter'd them in them. He and his Council appointed a *Committee of Trade*, to consider how to improve, order and regulate the Trade and Navigation of the Common-Wealth; upon which Letters were sent to several Persons in this Form, A.D.1655

Sir,

" His Highness, considering of how great Importance it is to this Nation, that the Trade " and Commerce thereof be, by all good Ways " and Means, advanc'd and duly regulated, hath, " by the Advice of his Council, thought fit to " appoint a certain Number of Persons (whose " Abilities and Experience have qualified them " to be serviceable to their Country herein) to be " a Committee for Trade; impowering them to " take into Consideration the Trade and Navi- " gation of this Common-wealth, and in what " Manner, and by what Ways and Means the " same may be encourag'd, improv'd, order'd " and regulated: And having named you to be " one of that Committee, have thought fit to " signify the same unto you, to the end you may " be present at their first Meeting, which is ap- " pointed to be on the 27th of this Instant *No- " vember*, in the *Painted Chamber* at *Westminster*, " not doubting of your Readiness to join with " the rest of the Committee, in contributing your " best Assistance to a Work so highly tending to " the publick Good.

Whitehall, 2 *Nov*, 1655.

Sign'd in the Name, and by Order of his Highness and the Council,

Henry Lawrence, *President*.

Whitlocke informs us, *this was a Business of much Importance to the Common-wealth, and the* Protector *was earnestly set upon it*. At the same Time, the *Ratification* of the Treaty concluded with *France*, was deliver'd to the Lord Protector by Monsieur *de la Bastide*, Envoy from the *French* King. In this Treaty he wou'd not allow the *French* King to call himself King of *France*, but of the *French*: Whereas he took to himself not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but also of *France*: And which is yet more surprising, in the Instrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the *French* King's, *Lewis* the XIVth. By the Articles of this Treaty, *Cromwel* was to furnish 6000 Land Men, and 50 Men of War to take the Maritime Towns belonging to the King of *Spain* in *Flanders*; on Condition that *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* shou'd, when taken, be put into *Cromwel*'s Hands, That *Charles Stuart* (for they wou'd not allow him the Stile of King) his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, and some say, the Queen, their

Oliver's Greatness.

Puffendorf *de rebus gestis* Fred Wil. *Elect.* Brand. *p.* 313.

A.D.1655 their Mother, and their Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, ſhou'd not remain in *France*. Colonel *William Lockhart*, who had marry'd a Niece of *Cromwel*'s, and was reckon'd one of the wiſeſt Miniſters of the Age, was ſent Ambaſſador to the *French* Court, and repreſented to Cardinal *Mazarine*, that there cou'd be no ſolid Peace between *England* and *France*, while any one of the Houſe of *Stuart* was ſuffer'd to reſide there. The King had withdrawn himſelf in Time; the Duke of *York* was in the *French* Army; Notice was however given him, that Reaſons of State required him to follow the King his Brother, and the Cardinal engag'd Abbot *Montagu*, the Queen Mother's Almoner, to let her know that *Cromwel* demanded ſhe ſhou'd be obliged to leave *Paris*, and the Court of *France*. He was order'd to offer her the City of *Moulins*, and all the *Bourbonnois*, for her and her Daughter's Reſidence and Maintenance; but the Queen would not accept of the Offer, tho' preſt to do it by the Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, to whom *ſhe ſaid, What a Shame is it for the King, my Nephew, to endeavour to drive from his Court a poor afflicted Queen, only to pleaſe an Uſurper, and a Tyrant? This muſt needs be reckon'd a glorious Thing among the Catholicks for the Cardinal who adviſ'd it.* The King and his two Brothers being ſent away, *Cromwel* did not think fit to inſiſt on the ſending away the Queen and her Daughter. The Duke of *York* ſerv'd in the *Spaniſh* Army againſt *France*; and the Duke of *Glouceſter* remain'd with his Brother at *Cologne*, from whence the two Princes, and their Siſter, the Princeſs of *Orange*, went to the Fair at *Frankfort*. 'Twas in this Progreſs that Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden* viſited them in the Caſtle of *Coningſtein*.

King Charles and his Brothers.

Monſieur, now Sir *Peter Coyet*, he being Knighted by *Oliver*, Ambaſſador of *Sweden*, at the Court of the Protector, having concluded a Treaty with his Commiſſioners, Colonel *Fiennes*, *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; and Mr. *Thurloe*, Secretary of State, gave a noble Entertainment to the Lords of the Court and others, As the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Miniſter, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Oſſory*, Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Ogylvie*, two or three other young Lords, the Lord *George Fleetwood*, Count *Holac*, a *German*, and a great Number of Perſons of Quality, which I mention to ſhew that the *Engliſh* Nation began to have a good Underſtanding with one another, and a mutual Acquieſcence in the preſent Government.

Ordinantes.

The Preſs, abus'd by all Factions, was reſtrain'd by an Order of Council, that no Perſon ſhou'd preſume to publiſh in print any Matter of publick News or Intelligence without Leave and Approbation of the Secretary of State. Another Order was publiſh'd againſt Printing unlicens'd and ſcandalous Books and Pamphlets, and for regulating the Preſs.

A Proclamation was iſſu'd requiring all who had been of the King's Party to depart out of the Lines of Communication. Indeed their frequent Conſpiracies, moſt of them Aſſaſſination Plots, oblig'd the Government not only to have a watchful Eye over them, but to raiſe an additional Force of Horſe in every County to obſerve their Motions, and the Motions of the Diſaffected of all Denominations, who had no other Occaſion of Diſguſt againſt the Management of Affair, than that they were not the Managers. This Charge was paid by the *Tenth* of the Royaliſts Lands. Their Writers call it *Decimation*, and it was a very tender one, conſidering the Miſchiefs they had been the Authors of ſince the End of the Civil War. The Protector's Reaſon for loading them with the Burthen is unanſwerable. *The Charge ſhall be laid upon thoſe who have occaſion'd it, and not upon the honeſt Party, who have already been ſo much Sufferers.* The Malecontents knew the Laws in Force, if they diſobey'd them, they knew the Penalty; if they put the Government to Charge, ſhou'd the Innocent defray it? And yet hear how they roar againſt this reaſonable Impoſition upon them! One wou'd think they were decimated indeed, as in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, and *Echard*'s Hiſtory, that in the Military Senſe of the Word, every tenth Man's Throat was cut. A.D.1655

This Year *Cromwel* receiv'd a Preſent of ſix fine Coach Horſes from the Count of *Oldenburg*, of the Houſe of *Denmark*; and being ſometimes troubled with the Stone, he wou'd drink great Quantities of *Diuretick* Liquors, as his Phyſician, Dr. *Bates*, tells us in his *Elenchus*. After he had drunk them, his Cuſtom was to uſe ſome violent Exerciſe to quicken their Paſſage. It was for this Purpoſe he got into his Coach-Box in *Hyde-Park*, leaving *Thurlo* in the Coach, and wou'd needs drive thoſe fiery *Oldenburgh* Horſes, which at the Snap of his Whip ran away, flung the Poſtilion, and *Oliver* himſelf from the Box upon the Pole, from whence falling to the Ground, his Coat was ſo intangled, that he cou'd not clear himſelf, but was dragg'd along till his Horſe-Guards diſengag'd him. A Piſtol he had in his Pocket went off, without doing him any hurt. The Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory* has a Libel in Rhyme on this Occaſion, which does not ſeem to be any Temptation to Wit and Mirth, if their merry Fellows and Wits could have ſaid any thing that was worth remembring. Oliver *thrown from a Coach-box.*

In *Ireland* and *Scotland* Things are all quiet, except ſome Hubbub in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, among the Followers of *Glencairne*, *Athol*, *Seaforth*, *Middleton*, who made ſome Oppoſition, but were at laſt entirely ſuppreſt.

At the latter End of this Year, the Lord Protector ordered a Scheme to be drawn for erecting and endowing a College, in the City of *Durham*, for the Convenience of the Northern Students. The Reverend and Learned Mr. *Richard Frankland*, A. M. was Fellow of this College. Among the infinite Number of notorious and abſurd Falſities that the King's Party have ſaid and written of *Cromwel*, nothing is more falſe and impertinent than that he was an Enemy to Learning, which Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us he lov'd and encourag'd. Durham *College.*

The *Spaniards*, upon News of the Loſs of *Jamaica*, ſeiz'd all the *Engliſh* Effects in *Spain*, which if conſiderable was the Fault of the Merchants; for they had Notice, and Time enough to remove them, and the Protector had ſent particular Orders to General *Blake* to ſecure their Trade, and give them all poſſible Aſſiſtance.

Having mention'd General *Blake*'s Orders to cruiſe upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, and carry on a Maritime War there, we will remember an Action of his, which ſhew'd his Zeal both for the Religion and Honour of his Country, juſt before he receiv'd thoſe Orders, and while the Peace ſubſiſted yet between the two Nations of *England* and *Spain*. A.D 1656 *General* Blake.

General *Blake* being at *Malaga*, ſome of his Seamen going aſhoar, met the Hoſt carrying about, and not only paid no Reſpect to it, but laugh'd at thoſe who did. One of the *Spaniſh* Prieſts put the People on reſenting this Indignity, and they fell upon them, and beat them ſeverely. When they return'd to their Ships, they complain'd of this Uſage; upon which *Blake* ſent *His Zeal for the Religion and Honour of his Country.*

A.D.1656 ſent a Trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the Prieſt, who was the chief Inſtrument in that ill Uſage. The Viceroy anſwer'd, he had no Authority over the Prieſts, and ſo cou'd not diſpoſe of them. General *Blake*, upon that, ſent him Word, *He wou'd not enquire who had the Pow'r to ſend the Prieſt to him; but if he were not ſent within three Hours, he wou'd burn their Town.* The *Spaniards* hearing this, oblig'd the Viceroy to ſend the Prieſt to *Blake*, and he juſtified himſelf upon the petulant Behaviour of the Seamen. *Blake* anſwer'd, if he had ſent a Complaint to him of it, he wou'd have puniſh'd them ſeverely, ſince he wou'd not ſuffer his Men to affront the eſtabliſh'd Religion of any Place at which he touch'd, but he took it ill that he ſet on the *Spaniards* to do it. For he wou'd have all the World to know, *That an* Engliſh *Man was only to be puniſh'd by an* Engliſh *Man*; ſo he treated the Prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him in his Power. *Cromwel* was much delighted with this, and read the Letters in Council with great Satisfaction; ſaying, *he hop'd he ſhould make the Name of an* Engliſh *Man as great as ever that of a* Roman *had been.* But alas! all thoſe Hopes vaniſh'd with him, and twenty Years after his Death, the Name of an *Engliſh* Man was as inglorious as it was twenty Years before his Protectorate; ſo much is this Nation indebted to the Governments that went before him, and came after him. *Cromwel* did not heartily affect *Blake*, who had no other Intereſt in view, but that of the Publick, and never affected his Government. It was for this Reaſon that Colonel *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, was ſent to command under him in the Streights, to gain Experience in Sea Affairs, and get an Intereſt in the Seamen: *Blake*, after War was declar'd, block'd up the Port of *Cadiz*, whither the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet us'd Yearly to come and unlade; hoping to intercept them at their Return. *Blake* lay before the Harbour almoſt all the Winter, but cou'd not provoke the *Spaniards*, who had then there a Squadron of Men of War ſecur'd by Forts and Caſtles in the Iſland. The *Spaniards* were in Hopes to tire out the *Engliſh*, and that want of Water and Proviſions wou'd oblige them to quit their Coaſts, but they were plentifully ſupply'd with both in *Wyer's* Bay in *Portugal*. The Admirals *Blake* and *Montague* were gone to this Bay, when Captain, afterwards Sir *Richard Stayner*, who was left with ſeven Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour, ſpied the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet making directly for *Cadiz*. *Stayner* was ſomewhat to the Leeward, but he bore up in the Head of them, with all the Sail he cou'd make, and in a few Hours time, himſelf in the *Speaker*, the *Bridgewater* and *Plymouth* Frigates, got up with the *Spaniards*. With theſe three Ships, while the reſt were behind, *Stayner* bravely fought eight *Spaniſh* Men of War and Galleons, within four Leagues of *Cadiz*. The Admiral, Don *Marco del Porto*, with 600,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, ran his Ship on Shoar. The Vice-Admiral, in which were 1200,000 Pieces of Eight, and another Galleon were fir'd; one deſignedly by the *Spaniards*, and another by Accident. In the former the Marquis of *Badajox*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, with his Wife and eldeſt Daughter, who was to have been married to the Duke *de Medina Celi*, periſhed in the Flames. But his other Daughter, his two Sons, and near a Hundred more, were ſaved by the *Engliſh*. The Rear-Admiral, with 2,000,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, was taken and ſecured, as alſo another Ship richly laden with Hides and Cochineal. A Man of War and an Advice Boat got into *Gibraltar*, and the other two Ships ran aſhoar and bulg'd. Six of theſe Eight were deſtroy'd, or made Prize. Admiral *Montague* was order'd home with the Plate Ships, and coming to *Portſmouth*, the Silver was taken out and carry'd by Land in many Carts to *London*, and ſo through the City to the Tower, where it was coin'd. As there never had been any thing like a Prize brought to *England* in the two former Reigns, or any worth remembring, This Sight occaſion'd great Diſcourſe and Joy, and the Protector, whoſe Glory was ſo radiant before, receiv'd a new Encreaſe of it by this Atchievement. A.D.1656

Blake's *Ships take the* Spaniſh *Galeons.*

All *Europe* was ſo ſenſible of his Power, that the Diſtreſs'd in all Parts of it flew to him for Refuge, and found it even when their Caſe was moſt deſperate, as that of the Proteſtant Inhabitants of the City of *Niſmes* in *France*. There aroſe a Difference between the Burghers, who were moſtly Hugonots, the Magiſtrates, and the Biſhop, which growing tumultuary, the Intendant of the Province repair'd thither to prevent an Inſurrection. When he came there, the Inhabitants oppos'd him, and Preparations were made to reduce them by Force. The Proteſtants in *France* fearing to be involv'd in the Guilt of the Mutiny at *Niſmes*, and theſe Burghers expecting ſevere Chaſtiſement, applied to *Cromwel* to intercede for them. This was done very ſecretly, and the Protector, with equal Secrecy, aſſur'd them of his Protection, and immediately diſpatch'd a truſty Agent with this Letter to Cardinal *Mazarine*. *Eminentiſſimo Cardinali Mazarino. Eminentiſſime Domine Cardinalis, cum nobilem hunc virum cum literis, quarum exemplar hic incluſum eſt, ad Regem mittere neceſſare ſtatuiſſem, tum ei ut Eminentiam veſtram meo nomine, ſalutaret, ſimul in mandatis dedi, certaſque res vobiſcum communicandas ejus fidei commiſi. Quibus in rebus eminentiſſimam rogo veſtram, uti ſummam ei fidem habere velit, utpote in quo ego ſummam fiduciam repoſuerim. Eminentiæ veſtræ ſtudioſiſſimus* OLIVERIUS *Protector Rep. Angliæ Alba Aula* 26 Decemb. 1656. Oliver *relieves the* French *Proteſtants.*

To his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Mazarine.

" Having thought neceſſary to diſpatch this " Gentleman to the King, to deliver him the " incloſed Letter; I have alſo recommended to " him to Salute your Eminence on my Part, and " have charg'd him to communicate to you cer- " tain Affairs which I have entruſted him with. " I therefore pray your Highneſs to give Credit " to what he ſhall ſay, having an entire Con- " fidence in him. Your Eminence's moſt affectionate, *Oliver*, Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Whitehall*, &c. To which he added a Poſtſcript in *French* of his own Handwriting; *Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des habitants de Niſmes. Je recommande a votre Eminence les Interets de Reformez.* " I have been " inform'd of the Tumult at *Niſmes*, I recom- " mend to your Eminence the Intereſts of the " Reformed." He alſo ſent his Inſtructions to *Lockhart* to ſecond the Sollicitations of the Agent, and if he prevail'd not, to come away immediately. *Mazarine* complain'd of this way of Proceeding as too imperious, but he fear'd *Cromwel* too much to quarrel with him; and the Cardinal ſent Orders to the Intendant to make up the Matter as well as he cou'd. *Wellwood*, tells us, Cardinal *Mazarine* wou'd *change Countenance whenever he heard him nam'd, ſo that it paſt into a Proverb in* France, *The Cardinal is not ſo much afraid of the Devil as of* Oliver Cromwel. His Ambaſſador at *Paris*, Mr. *Lockhart*, told Biſhop *Burnet*, *that when he was afterwards ſent Ambaſſador by King* Charles, *he found he had nothing of that Regard that was paid him* Mazarine *afraid of him.*

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A.D.1656 *in* Cromwel's *Time*. At which I wonder not, nor at the mean, or rather contemptible Figure the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors made in all the Courts of *Europe*, from the Year 1602 to the Year 1642, and from the Year 1660 to the Revolution. For all *Europe* ſaw, that Princes, whoſe Heads were turn'd with Pedantry, Bigottry, Luxury and Superſtition, wou'd never vindicate the Honour of the Nation, or regard the Intereſts of their Subjects: In ſhort, that they wou'd do Foreigners no Hurt, whatever Hurt they did the *Engliſh*. *Boreel* told King *Charles* II. as much, as will be ſeen when we come to that King's ſecond *Dutch* War.

The Lord *Broghill* was one of *Cromwel*'s Cabinet Counſellors, and was ſent for from *Ireland* to go to *Scotland*, and be Preſident of the Council there, where he was ſoon weary of the Country and Company, or rather of ſo great Diſtance from Court, tho' he had a Salary of 2000 Pounds a Year. The Author of his Manuſcript Life pretends, that he abhorr'd *Oliver*'s Practices, tho' he was a chief Agent under him. But that Author, who turn'd Churchman after the *Bartholomew* Act, prevaricates in it, or was impos'd upon by the Information his Patron gave him; for no Man had the Confidence of *Cromwel* more than this Lord *Broghill*, afterwards Earl of *Orrery*, till the Protector grew cold in his Behaviour towards him, upon his Uneaſineſs in the *Scots* Service; tho' they were both reconciled again,

M. S. and the Lord *Broghill* was the Perſon who adviſ'd him to take upon him the Stile and Dignity of *King*, expreſſing to him, that it was impoſſible to govern this Kingdom, that had been ſo long accuſtom'd to Monarchy, without Kingly Authority. *Cromwel* very well reliſh'd the Motion, tho' his Party, and ſome even of his Family, did not; and upon their leaving him in that Deſign, he gave into another, which is hinted at by Biſhop *Burnet*, who had it from the Earl of *Orrery* himſelf; and it is thus told by his Chaplain, who had it from him more at large. The Lord *Broghill* keeping Correſpondence with ſome about the King, put them upon ſounding his Majeſty's Inclinations, as to accommodating Matters with *Cromwel*, by marrying his youngeſt Daughter the Lady *Frances*, and receiving Advice that the *King's Inclinations were very favourable*, he procured Permiſſion to propoſe it to the Protector, which he did in this Manner, it being too delicate an Affair to be fallen upon directly. The Lord *Broghill* firſt acquainted *Cromwel*'s Wife and Daughter with it, that a Rumour of it might be whiſper'd about, and he report it to *Oliver* as ſuch. So coming one Day out of the City to Court, he had Admittance into *Cromwel*'s Cloſet, who ask'd him *whence he came, and what News he had brought*? The Lord *Broghill* ſaid, *He came out of the City, and had heard ſtrange News*. *Cromwel* was impatient to know what it was, and the more for that *Broghill* ſeem'd to heſitate, and to be loth to tell him, ſaying however with a Smile, 'tis *ſtrange News*. The Protector preſs'd him ſo earneſtly that there was no avoiding it, had it not been his Intention to tell him. *Perhaps*, ſays the Lord *Broghill*, *you will be offended. I will not*, reply'd *Oliver* haſtily, *be it what it will*. Then *Broghill* in a laughing way ſaid, *All the News in the City is, that you are going to reſtore the King, and marry him to Lady* Frances. *Cromwel*, with a pleaſant Countenance, cry'd, *And what did the Fools think of it*? The Lord *Broghill* anſwer'd, *They all like it, and think it the wiſeſt thing you can do, if you can accompliſh it*. *Oliver* ſaid, looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, *Do you believe ſo too*? *Broghill* finding the Propoſal was grateful to him, reply'd, *I do really believe it is the beſt thing you can do to ſecure your ſelf*.

Cromwel's *Deſign to marry his Daughter to the* King.

Upon which the Protector walk'd up and down the Room with his Hands behind him in a muſing Poſture, and turning about upon Lord *Broghill*, cry'd, *Why do you believe it*? His Lordſhip then repreſented to him, "That he cou'd "make little Dependance on his own Party, "who, upon every ſlight Occaſion, were apt to "murmur and grumble; and the very ſame "Perſons who were ſo eager to put him up, "were now the moſt likely to pull him down: "That the King was in ſuch great Exigencies, "he wou'd be ready enough to hearken unto "any Propoſitions, rather than live always in "Exile and Miſery: That he might make his "own Terms, and retain the ſame Power, by "being General of all the Forces, during his "Life: That all the Royaliſts would join with "him in it: That if his Daughter had Children "by the King, which was likely enough, he "wou'd thereby be endear'd to King and Coun-"try, and have ſuch Intereſt in the Crown, as "none wou'd ever attempt any thing againſt "him, having the King his Son in Law, and "the Heir apparent to the Crown his Grandſon, "with all the Power of the Kingdom in his "Hands, which wou'd eſtabliſh his Greatneſs in "his Family after him; whereas, if he neglected "the doing this, he cou'd not expect to tranſmit "it to his Poſterity, or indeed to preſerve it as "long as he liv'd. A.D.1656

Cromwel heard him with great Attention, and taking two or three Turns in the Room ſaid, *The King will never forgive me the Death of his Father*. *Sir*, ſays *Broghill*, *you were one of many who were concern'd in it, but you will be alone in the Merit of reſtoring him; employ ſome body to ſound him upon it, and ſee how he will take it: I'll do it, if you think fit*. The Protector told him *No*, adding, *He will never forgive me his Father's Death; beſides, he is ſo damnably debauch'd* (this is Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account) *he will undo us all*. But as debauch'd as he was, I have heard him a hundred times call'd our *moſt religious and gracious King* in very ſacred and ſolemn Places. Here the Diſcourſe dropp'd. *Broghill* finding he did not fall in with it at once, durſt not tell him what Steps he had taken, for fear of giving him Offence. Before he left *Whitehall*, he ſaw Madam, the Protector's Conſort, and Lady *Frances*, who were both very earneſt for the Buſineſs, and as ſoon as he came to them, ask'd how he had ſucceeded. He told them what had paſt between him and *Oliver*, and that they muſt uſe their Intereſt to bring him to it, or 'twou'd come to nothing. Mrs. *Cromwel* try'd more than once to perſuade him, but his Anſwer was, *The King is not ſuch a Fool as to forgive me the Death of his Father*; and they cou'd get nothing elſe from him.

Monk, *Cromwel*'s main Tool while he was in *Scotland*, before my Lord *Broghill* went thither, had ſhewn all Favour to the *Remonſtrants* (ſo the Independents in *Scotland* were call'd) and impriſon'd many of the Kirk Miniſters, who were generally well inclin'd to the King. *Broghill* eas'd them of the Difficulties they lay under when *Monk* was amongſt them; for which they deputed Mr. *Douglas* and Mr. *David Dicks* to return him Thanks; but *Gileſpie*, Head of the *Remonſtrants*, articled againſt him to *Cromwel*, who clear'd his Lordſhip at the firſt Hearing after his Return to *London*, when the Protector told him, *There's a great Friend of yours in Town. Broghill* ſaying Who? *Oliver* reply'd, The Lord *Ormond*: *He came to Town ſuch a Day, and is at ſuch a Place*, naming it. The Lord *Broghill* ſaid, *I know nothing of it*. *Cromwel* bad him ſend *Ormond* Notice that he knew where he was.

A.D.1656 ſent a Trumpet to the Viceroy to demand the Prieſt, who was the chief Inſtrument in that ill Uſage. The Viceroy anſwer'd, he had no Authority over the Prieſts, and ſo cou'd not diſpoſe of them. General *Blake*, upon that, ſent him Word, *He wou'd not enquire who had the Power to ſend the Prieſt to him; but if he were not ſent within three Hours, he wou'd burn their Town.* The *Spaniards* hearing this, oblig'd the Viceroy to ſend the Prieſt to *Blake*, and he juſtified himſelf upon the petulant Behaviour of the Seamen. *Blake* anſwer'd, if he had ſent a Complaint to him of it, he wou'd have puniſh'd them ſeverely, ſince he wou'd not ſuffer his Men to affront the eſtabliſh'd Religion of any Place at which he touch'd, but he took it ill that he ſet on the *Spaniards* to do it. For he wou'd have all the World to know, *That an* Engliſh *Man was only to be puniſh'd by an* Engliſh *Man*; ſo he treated the Prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him in his Power. *Cromwel* was much delighted with this, and read the Letters in Council with great Satisfaction; ſaying, *he hop'd he ſhould make the Name of an* Engliſh *Man as great as ever that of a* Roman *had been.* But alas! all thoſe Hopes vaniſh'd with him, and twenty Years after his Death, the Name of an *Engliſh* Man was as inglorious as it was twenty Years before his Protectorate; ſo much is this Nation indebted to the Governments that went before him, and came after him. *Cromwel* did not heartily affect *Blake*, who had no other Intereſt in view, but that of the Publick, and never affected his Government. It was for this Reaſon that Colonel *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, was ſent to command under him in the Streights, to gain Experience in Sea Affairs, and get an Intereſt in the Seamen: *Blake*, after War was declar'd, block'd up the Port of *Cadiz*, whither the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet us'd Yearly to come and unlade; hoping to intercept them at their Return. *Blake* lay before the Harbour almoſt all the Winter, but cou'd not provoke the *Spaniards*, who had then there a Squadron of Men of War ſecur'd by Forts and Caſtles in the Iſland. The *Spaniards* were in Hopes to tire out the *Engliſh*, and that want of Water and Proviſions wou'd oblige them to quit their Coaſts, but they were plentifully ſupply'd with both in *Wyer's* Bay in *Portugal*. The Admirals *Blake* and *Montague* were gone to this Bay, when Captain, afterwards Sir *Richard Stayner*, who was left with ſeven Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour, ſpied the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet making directly for *Cadiz*. *Stayner* was ſomewhat to the Leeward, but he bore up in the Head of them, with all the Sail he cou'd make, and in a few Hours time, himſelf in the *Speaker*, the *Bridgewater* and *Plymouth* Frigates, got up with the *Spaniards*. With theſe three Ships, while the reſt were behind, *Stayner* bravely fought eight *Spaniſh* Men of War and Galleons, within four Leagues of *Cadiz*. The Admiral, Don *Marco del Porto*, with 600,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, ran his Ship on Shoar. The Vice-Admiral, in which were 1200,000 Pieces of Eight, and another Galleon were fir'd; one deſignedly by the *Spaniards*, and another by Accident. In the former the Marquis of *Badajox*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, with his Wife and eldeſt Daughter, who was to have been married to the Duke *de Medina Celi*, periſhed in the Flames. But his other Daughter, his two Sons, and near a Hundred more, were ſaved by the *Engliſh*. The Rear-Admiral, with 2,000,000 Pieces of Eight aboard, was taken and ſecured, as alſo another Ship richly laden with Hides and Cochineal. A Man of War and an Advice Boat got into *Gibraltar*, and the other two Ships ran aſhoar and bulg'd. Six of theſe Eight were deſtroy'd, or made Prize. Admiral *Montague* was order'd home with the Plate Ships, and coming to *Portſmouth*, the Silver was taken out and carry'd by Land in many Carts to *London*, and ſo through the City to the Tower, where it was coin'd. As there never had been any thing like a Prize brought to *England* in the two former Reigns, or any worth remembring, This Sight occaſion'd great Diſcourſe and Joy, and the Protector, whoſe Glory was ſo radiant before, receiv'd a new Encreaſe of it by this Atchievement. A.D.1656

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in

A.D.1656 *in* Cromwel's *Time*. At which I wonder not, nor at the mean, or rather contemptible Figure the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors made in all the Courts of *Europe*, from the Year 1602 to the Year 1642, and from the Year 1660 to the Revolution. For all *Europe* ſaw, that Princes, whoſe Heads were turn'd with Pedantry, Bigottry, Luxury and Superſtition, wou'd never vindicate the Honour of the Nation, or regard the Intereſts of their Subjects: In ſhort, that they wou'd do Foreigners no Hurt, whatever Hurt they did the *Engliſh*. *Boreel* told King *Charles* II. as much, as will be ſeen when we come to that King's ſecond *Dutch* War.

The Lord *Broghill* was one of *Cromwel*'s Cabinet Counſellors, and was ſent for from *Ireland* to go to *Scotland*, and be Preſident of the Council there, where he was ſoon weary of the Country and Company, or rather of ſo great Diſtance from Court, tho' he had a Salary of 2000 Pounds a Year. The Author of his Manuſcript Life pretends, that he abhorr'd *Oliver*'s Practices, tho' he was a chief Agent under him. But that Author, who turn'd Churchman after the *Bartholomew* Act, prevaricates in it, or was impos'd upon by the Information his Patron gave him; for no Man had the Confidence of *Cromwel* more than this Lord *Broghill*, afterwards Earl of *Orrery*, till the Protector grew cold in his Behaviour towards him, upon his Uneaſineſs in the *Scots* Service; tho' they were both reconciled again, and the Lord *Broghill* was the Perſon who adviſ'd him to take upon him the Stile and Dignity of *King*, expreſſing to him, that it was impoſſible to govern this Kingdom, that had been ſo long accuſtom'd to Monarchy, without Kingly Authority. *Cromwel* very well reliſh'd the Motion, tho' his Party, and ſome even of his Family, did not; and upon their leaving him in that Deſign, he gave into another, which is hinted at by Biſhop *Burnet*, who had it from the Earl of *Orrery* himſelf; and it is thus told by his Chaplain, who had it from him more at large. The Lord *Broghill* keeping Correſpondence with ſome about the King, put them upon ſounding his Majeſty's Inclinations, as to accommodating Matters with *Cromwel*, by marrying his youngeſt Daughter the Lady *Frances*, and receiving Advice that the *King's Inclinations were very favourable*, he procured Permiſſion to propoſe it to the Protector, which he did in this Manner, it being too delicate an Affair to be fallen upon directly. The Lord *Broghill* firſt acquainted *Cromwel*'s Wife and Daughter with it, that a Rumour of it might be whiſper'd about, and he report it to *Oliver* as ſuch. So coming one Day out of the City to Court, he had Admittance into *Cromwel*'s Cloſet, who ask'd him *whence he came, and what News he had brought*? The Lord *Broghill* ſaid, *He came out of the City, and had heard ſtrange News. Cromwel* was impatient to know what it was, and the more for that *Broghill* ſeem'd to heſitate, and to be loth to tell him, ſaying however with a Smile, 'tis *ſtrange News*. The Protector preſs'd him ſo earneſtly that there was no avoiding it, had it not been his Intention to tell him. *Perhaps*, ſays the Lord *Broghill*, *you will be offended. I will not*, reply'd *Oliver* haſtily, *be it what it will.* Then *Broghill* in a laughing way ſaid, *All the News in the City is, that you are going to reſtore the King, and marry him to Lady* Frances. *Cromwel*, with a pleaſant Countenance, cry'd, *And what did the Fools think of it*? The Lord *Broghill* anſwer'd, *They all like it, and think it the wiſeſt thing you can do, if you can accompliſh it. Oliver* ſaid, looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, *Do you believe ſo too*? *Broghill* finding the Propoſal was grateful to him, reply'd, *I do really believe it is the beſt thing you can do to ſecure your ſelf.*

M. S.

Cromwel's *Deſign to marry his Daughter to the* King.

Upon which the Protector walk'd up and down the Room with his Hands behind him in a muſing Poſture, and turning about upon Lord *Broghill*, cry'd, *Why do you believe it*? His Lordſhip then repreſented to him, "That he cou'd "make little Dependance on his own Party, "who, upon every ſlight Occaſion, were apt to "murmur and grumble; and the very ſame "Perſons who were ſo eager to put him up, "were now the moſt likely to pull him down: "That the King was in ſuch great Exigencies, "he wou'd be ready enough to hearken unto "any Propoſitions, rather than live always in "Exile and Miſery: That he might make his "own Terms, and retain the ſame Power, by "being General of all the Forces, during his "Life: That all the Royaliſts would join with "him in it: That if his Daughter had Children "by the King, which was likely enough, he "wou'd thereby be endear'd to King and Coun-"try, and have ſuch Intereſt in the Crown, as "none wou'd ever attempt any thing againſt "him, having the King his Son in Law, and "the Heir apparent to the Crown his Grandſon, "with all the Power of the Kingdom in his "Hands, which wou'd eſtabliſh his Greatneſs in "his Family after him; whereas, if he neglected "the doing this, he cou'd not expect to tranſmit "it to his Poſterity, or indeed to preſerve it as "long as he liv'd. A.D.1656

Cromwel heard him with great Attention, and taking two or three Turns in the Room ſaid, *The King will never forgive me the Death of his Father. Sir*, ſays *Broghill*, *you were one of many who were concern'd in it, but you will be alone in the Merit of reſtoring him; employ ſome body to ſound him upon it, and ſee how he will take it: I'll do it, if you think fit.* The Protector told him *No*, adding, *He will never forgive me his Father's Death; beſides, he is ſo damnably debauch'd* (this is Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account) *he will undo us all.* But as debauch'd as he was, I have heard him a hundred times call'd our *moſt religious and gracious King* in very ſacred and ſolemn Places. Here the Diſcourſe dropp'd. *Broghill* finding he did not fall in with it at once, durſt not tell him what Steps he had taken, for fear of giving him Offence. Before he left *Whitehall*, he ſaw Madam, the Protector's Conſort, and Lady *Frances*, who were both very earneſt for the Buſineſs, and as ſoon as he came to them, ask'd how he had ſucceeded. He told them what had paſt between him and *Oliver*, and that they muſt uſe their Intereſt to bring him to it, or 'twou'd come to nothing. Mrs. *Cromwel* try'd more than once to perſuade him, but his Anſwer was, *The King is not ſuch a Fool as to forgive me the Death of his Father*; and they cou'd get nothing elſe from him.

Monk, *Cromwel*'s main Tool while he was in *Scotland*, before my Lord *Broghill* went thither, had ſhewn all Favour to the *Remonſtrants* (ſo the Independents in *Scotland* were call'd) and impriſon'd many of the Kirk Miniſters, who were generally well inclin'd to the King. *Broghill* eas'd them of the Difficulties they lay under when *Monk* was amongſt them; for which they deputed Mr. *Douglas* and Mr. *David Dicks* to return him Thanks; but *Gileſpie*, Head of the *Remonſtrants*, articled againſt him to *Cromwel*, who clear'd his Lordſhip at the firſt Hearing after his Return to *London*, when the Protector told him, *There's a great Friend of yours in Town. Broghill* ſaying Who? *Oliver* reply'd, The Lord *Ormond: He came to Town ſuch a Day, and is at ſuch a Place*, naming it. The Lord *Broghill* ſaid, *I know nothing of it. Cromwel* bad him ſend *Ormond* Notice that he knew where he was.

A.D. 1656 *Broghill* went to him himſelf, and acquainted him with what the Protector had told him; upon which the Marqueſs haſten'd away: But his Lady's Papers were ſeiz'd on, ſhe living then in *London*, and having no Friend to ſpeak for her, apply'd to Lord *Broghill*, who immediately went to the Protector to interceed for her. *Oliver* had by thoſe Papers diſcover'd that ſhe, as well as her Husband, held Intelligence with his Enemies; and aſſoon as he ſaw *Broghill*, he ſaid angrily, *You have undertaken indeed for the Quietneſs of a fine Perſon! The Lady* Ormond *is conſpiring with her Husband againſt me*, and *by your Procurement I have allow'd her* 2000 *Pounds a Year of the Marqueſs's Eſtate, becauſe they are Sufferers in* Ireland. *She's a wicked Woman, and ſhall not have a Farthing of it.* My Lord *Broghill* ſeeing him in a Paſſion, return'd a ſoft Anſwer, which ſeldom fail'd to mollifie him, *I am ſorry my Lady* Ormond *has given Occaſion for ſuch Diſturbance, I cannot well tell what to think of it, and humbly deſire to know what Grounds you have for ſo ſevere a Cenſure? Grounds enough*, reply'd *Cromwel*, *There*, giving him a Letter, *read it, 'tis her own Hand.* Lord *Broghill* looking upon it, ſaid, *You are miſtaken, it is not Lady* Ormond's *Hand, but the Lady* Iſabella Thynn's, *between whom and Lord* Ormond *there has been an Intrigue. How will you prove that*, cry'd *Cromwel? Eaſily*, reply'd *Broghill, for I have ſome Letters of Lady* Iſabella's; which he ſhew'd *Oliver*, who being ſatisfy'd of his Miſtake, the Storm againſt the Lady *Ormond* blew over.

Ld. Broghill's *Conference with* Cromwel.

The Protector's Intelligence.

We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of the exact Intelligence which the Protector had of Affairs he concern'd himſelf in: An infallible Proof of the Juſtneſs of his Judgment, and the Depth of his Policy. Tho' it did not coſt him 200,000 Pounds a Year, as *Echard* aſſures us, it did coſt him more Money in one Year than probably the Royal Houſe of *Stuart* ſpent on that Article in their four Reigns; for having no Wars, nor no Intention of Wars, I don't ſee of what Uſe Intelligence cou'd be to them, or that it wou'd have been Policy in them to pay any thing for knowing what, when known, they intended not to trouble themſelves about.

The following Incident is touch'd upon by Biſhop *Burnet*. Lord *Broghill* once walking in a Chamber with the Protector, ſaw an ugly, ill-look'd Fellow peeping thro' the Arras Hangings; and ſpying him before *Cromwel* did, he immediately drew his Sword and ran at him, ſuppoſing him to be ſome Rogue come to do Miſchief. The Protector ſeeing him draw his Sword with ſuch a Fury, ask'd *what he meant*? His Lordſhip anſwer'd, *I ſaw ſome body look through the Hangings like a Villain*; and going towards the Place, *Cromwel* follow'd him, ſaw the Fellow over Lord *Broghill*'s Shoulders, and cry'd, *A Friend, my Lord, a Friend*, deſiring him to walk back again, and he wou'd come to him preſently. *Broghill* left them talking together, and when *Oliver* return'd, he ſaid, *I'll write a Line or two, and be with you immediately*, which he did; and then my Lord ask'd him, *Whether he might know who that Fellow was*? The Protector reply'd, *He is one to whom I have given* 1000 *Pounds for Intelligence: He has now brought me Word of a rich* Dutch *Ship on our Coaſts, which has* Spaniſh *Money aboard, and Meaſures are taken for intercepting it*; which was accordingly effected by Captain, afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*, who came up with her as ſhe paſt by *Dover*. *Smith* demanded Leave to *ſearch her*: The *Dutch* Captain anſwer'd, *None but his Maſters might ſearch his Ship*. *Smith* ſent him Word he had ſet up his Glaſs, and if he did not ſubmit before it was run out, he wou'd board her. The *Dutchman* ſeeing 'twas in vain to reſiſt, ſuffer'd the *Engliſh* to ſearch her, and they found all the *Spaniſh* Money, which was a prodigious Treaſure. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, *Oliver* knew *every thing that paſt in the King's little Court, and yet not one of his Spies were diſcover'd but* Manning *above-mention'd.* A.D. 1656

Lord Clarendon *a Means of* Oliver's *Intelligence.*

It will be Mirth to the Reader, after he has ſeen what Merit the Lord *Clarendon* takes to himſelf in detecting that Traitor's Correſpondence with *Thurloe*, and how ſharp the King's Counſellors were in detecting Spies, and keeping Counſels, to find that he himſelf was the very Perſon by whoſe Means *Cromwel* had moſt of his Intelligence from the King's Court. After this bold Charge, I muſt produce better Authority than my own, and it is in the Words of the Biſhop of *Salisbury*. *Hiſt. p.* 65.

" *Oliver* underſtood that one Sir *Richard* " *Willis* was Chancellor *Hyde*'s chief Confident, " to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the " Party ſubmitted, looking on him as an able " and wiſe Man, in whom they confided abſo- " lutely. So he found a Way to talk with him; " he ſaid, *He did not intend to hurt any of the* " *Party, his Deſign was rather to ſave them* " *from Ruin: They were apt, after their Cups* " (you ſee what ſort of Men they were) *to run* " *into fooliſh Plots, which ſignify'd nothing but* " *to ruin thoſe who were engag'd in them: He* " *knew they conſulted him in every thing. All* " *he deſir'd of him was to know thoſe Plots, that* " *he might ſo diſconcert them that none might* " *ſuffer for them. If he clapp'd any of them up in* " *Priſon, it ſhou'd be only for a little Time, and* " *they ſhou'd be interrogated only about ſome tri-* " *fling Diſcourſe, but never about the Buſineſs* " *they had engag'd in. He offer'd* Willis *what-* " *ever he wou'd accept of, and to give it when, or* " *as he pleas'd.*" They ſtruck up a Bargain, *and none was truſted with this but his Secretary* Thurloe, *who was a very dextrous Man at getting Intelligence. Thus* Cromwel *had all the King's Party in a Net*, and, by the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, one wou'd think they had all *Cromwel*'s Party at Mercy, and whenever they had Courage enough to ſhew themſelves, the *Cromwellians* wou'd fly faſter from them than they us'd to run after them.

The *Spaniſh* War exhauſting the Treaſury, notwithſtanding the Numbers and Riches of the Prizes that were taken, the Protector thought it neceſſary to call a Parliament; for which Writs were iſſu'd, and a Day ſet for their Meeting, the 17th of *September*, when they met accordingly at *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where they heard a Sermon preach'd by the learned and eminent Dr. *Owen*, Dean of *Chriſt-church*, and Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, who had in him more of the Gentleman and of the Divine, than any of the Doctors who dealt ſo inſolently with him after the Reſtoration. The Sermon over, the Lord Protector and the Members repair'd to the *Painted-Chamber*, where, ſays *Echard*, he made a *dark Speech to them.* Prodigious! that Darkneſs it ſelf ſhou'd diſcover Darkneſs! But it was not a Diſcovery of his; the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory* led him into that Term, tho' theſe illumin'd are eternally groping in the Mazes of falſe Hiſtory; they inſult all other Hiſtorians, as ignorant and blind. He made a ſhort Speech, and directed them to make Choice of a Speaker. *Ludlow*, who is far from favouring thoſe Times, informs us, That unwarrantable Practices were made uſe of to get a Court Parliament; but it is very obvious, that the like Means were us'd to get in as many Members as poſſible who were Enemies to the preſent Government;

A.D.1656 Government; and unleſs the Protector had reſolv'd to be *felo de ſe*, and murder his own Authority, he muſt have been a Fool (which the wiſe Cavaliers have not often call'd him) to have ſuffer'd them to ſit, if he had not been ſure of them. Somebody put it into the Head of *Monk* to tell the Parliament, a Month or two before he brought in the King, *No Parliament admits new Members to ſit, without a previous Engagement*, which is what *Oliver* inſiſted upon, and for which his Opponents of all Denominations, ſay, he was a greater Tyrant than the Greek *Agathocles*, or the Roman *Nero*; but they do not ſeem to have a clear Notion of Tyranny, and till they do, it wou'd be Labour loſt to anſwer them.

As the Members went into the Houſe, they receiv'd Certificates in this Form.

Theſe are to certify, that Bulſtrode Whitlock, *Eſq; of the County of* Bucks, *is return'd, by Indenture, to be one of the Knights in this preſent Parliament for the ſaid County, and approv'd by his Highneſs's Council.*

Sept. 17. 1656. Nath. Taylor, *Clerk of the Common-wealth in Chancery.*

Third Parliament. All thoſe who had this Certificate, were ſuch as had ſubſcrib'd the *Engagement*, to make no Alteration in the *Government*; and the following are,

Secluded Members. Thoſe Members who were ſecluded for not taking that Engagement, and for publiſhing a Declaration againſt it. Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*, *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *Herbert Morley*, Eſq; *John Bulkley*, Eſq; *John Burch*, Eſq; *George Fenwick*, Eſq; Sir *Anthony Irby*, *Thomas Lyſter*, Eſq; *Thomas Saunders*, Eſq; *Henry Darley*, Eſq; *John Weaver*, Eſq; *John Goodwyn*, Eſq; *Francis Thorpe*, Eſq; *John Southby*, Eſq; *Richard Greenhil*, Eſq; *Richard Browne*, Eſq; *Thomas Adams*, Eſq; *Richard Darley*, Eſq; *Thomas St. Nicholas*, Eſq; *William James*, Eſq; *John Boyſe*, Eſq; *Charles Hall*, Eſq; *John Jones*, Eſq; *William Wolley*, Eſq; *Richard Radcliff*, Eſq; *William Saville*, Eſq; Sir *Theophilus Biddulph*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, *William Welby*, Eſq; *Charles Huſſey*, Eſq; Sir *Ralph Hare*, *John Buxton*, Eſq; *Edward Hooper*, Eſq; *William Fiſher*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Sir *John Hobart*, *Edmund Harvey*, Eſq; *Charles Huſſey*, Eſq; *John Sicklemore*, Eſq; *William Doyley*, Eſq; *Oliver Raymund*, Eſq; *Jeremy Bentley*, Eſq; Sir *Philip Woodhouſe*, *William Blois*, Eſq; *William Gibbs*, Eſq; *Thomas Southerton*, Eſq; *Thomas Bowes*, Eſq; Sir *Edward Harley*, *John Hanſon*, Eſq; *Clement Throgmorton*, Eſq; *Daniel Wall*, Eſq; *John Buckland*, Eſq; *Robert Long*, Eſq; —— *Salisbury*, Eſq; *Edward Tooker*, Eſq; *William Morris*, Eſq; *John Hale*, Eſq; *Edward Turner*, Eſq; *Daniel Shatterden*, Eſq; *Thomas Styles*, Eſq; *Richard Beale*, Eſq; *Samuel Moore*, Eſq; *Thomas Minors*, Eſq; *Samuel Jones*, Eſq; *John Aſton*, Eſq; *Andrew Lloyd*, Eſq; *Richard Wyren*, Eſq; *Charles Lloyd*, Eſq; Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, *Henry Wroth*, Eſq; *Richard Lucy*, Eſq; *John Witwrong*, Eſq; *George Cowrthorp*, Eſq; *Samuel Got*, Eſq; *John Northcot*, Eſq; *John Young*, Eſq; *John Dodderidge*, Eſq; *Henry Hungerford*, Eſq; *Challoner Chute*, Eſq; *John Silliard*, Eſq; *Walter Moyle*, Eſq; *Walter Vincent*, Eſq; *John Gell*, Eſq; *Henry Atlington*, Eſq; *Henry Tempeſt*, Eſq; *James Clavering*, Eſq; *John Stankope*, Eſq; *Peneſton Whaley*, Eſq; *Abel Barker*, Eſq; *John Bowyer*, Eſq; *John Fagg*, Eſq; *Rowland Litton*, Eſq; *John Gore*, Eſq; *Thomas Rivers*, Eſq; *John Thurland*, Eſq; *Henry Peckham*, Eſq; *Richard Hinton*, Eſq; Theſe Gentlemen preſented a Petition to the ſitting Members, acquainting them, that being choſen by the Country to ſerve with them, they were ready to diſcharge their Duty, but were prevented by the Power of the Sword: Upon which a Committee was appointed to inquire of the Protector and his Council, concerning the Reaſons of that Proceeding, who gave them for Anſwer, That if the Perſons complaining wou'd addreſs themſelves to them, they ſhou'd be reliev'd, and they were order'd to addreſs to them. A.D.1656

Sir *Thomas Widdrington* being choſen Speaker, the Houſe appointed their Grand Committees for Elections, Religion, Grievances, Courts of Juſtice and Trade. A Bill was read, *For renouncing and diſannulling the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart; which Act paſt in a few Days, and the Houſe

Reſolv'd,

That the War againſt the Spaniard *was undertaken upon juſt and neceſſary Grounds, and for the Good of the People of this Common-wealth, and the Parliament doth approve thereof, and will, by God's Bleſſing, aſſiſt his Highneſs therein.*

General *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, coming into the Houſe, took his Seat, and had their Thanks for his great and good Services done at Sea.

On the 27th of *October*, the Lord Protector came to the *Painted-Chamber*, and ſent a Serjeant at Arms to give Notice to the Houſe, that he was come. The Speaker, and the whole Houſe went to the *Painted-Chamber*, where the Protector, in the Preſence of the Lord Preſident *Lawrence*, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, *Fiennes* and *Liſle*, and the two Lord Chief Juſtices *Glynne* and *St John*, the Maſter of the Rolls, *Lenthal*, the Lords of the Treaſury, *Montague Whitlock Sydenham*, and the reſt of the Judges, gave his Conſent to the following Bills. *An Act for renouncing and diſannulling the pretended Title of* Charles Stuart. *An Act for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries. An Act for the Security of his Highneſs the Lord* Protector's *Perſon. An Act for Exportation of ſeveral Commodities of the Breed and Growth of this* Common-wealth. When the Protector had given his Aſſent to theſe Bills, he ſaid, *As it has been the Cuſtom of the chief Governor, to acknowledge the Care and Kindneſs of the Commons, upon ſuch Occaſions; ſo I do very heartily acknowledge your Kindneſs herein.*

The Major Generals in the ſeveral Counties, having by themſelves, or their Deputies, given great Diſguſt to the People, were put down by this Parliament, *John Claypole*, Eſq; who had marry'd *Oliver*'s beloved Daughter, Lady *Elizabeth*, being the firſt that mov'd for it; by which the Protector's Diſpoſition in that Buſineſs was conjectur'd.

The Account that *Echard* and others give of the Hereſies and Blaſpemies of *James Naylor* the *Quaker*, is deny'd by all that Fraternity, who repreſent him as a plain Man, of great Zeal, and no great Capacity. Mr. *Pen*, Mr. *Arclidae*, Mr. *Ellwood*, eminent Men among the *Quakers*, whom I knew intimately, have ſpoken of him thus to me. *Echard* and the *Eccleſiaſticks* take infinite Pleaſure in telling us he was condemn'd *to be whipp'd by the Hang-man, to be pillory'd, to be ſtigmatiz'd with the Letter* B, *to have his Tongue bor'd thro', to be carry'd to* Briſtol, *and convey'd thro' the City on a Horſe bare back'd, his Face to the Tail, and his Body to be there whipp'd.*

The

A.D. 1656 The *Eccleſiaſticks*, inſtead of melting with Compaſſion at this ſlaviſh and barbarous Sentence, ſay with *Echard*, 'twas with ſome Reproach to humane Nature, that his Followers admir'd him; as if all humane Nature was not liable to Frailty, and Fools were not apt to admire a Fool. If this Maxim had not been true, there are ſeveral Hiſtories which wou'd have been waſte Paper, almoſt as ſoon as printed. Mr. *Whitlock*, with the Sentiments of a Layman, a Lawyer, and an *Engliſh* Man, obſerves, *It was thought by many, he was too fiercely proſecuted.* A Word like this, is not in the *Compleat Hiſtory*, or in the Archdeacon's; which ſhews us what Spirit theſe Men are of. Had they order'd *Shaving*, *Bleeding*, *Phyſick*, *Faſting*, and ſome hard Labour, it wou'd have done every whit as well, and ſav'd the Scourging and Mangling, which is indeed a Reproach to humane Nature as it is, that there ſhou'd be thoſe, whoſe Calling is to teach Charity and Love, that are not ſenſible of it.

A.D. 1657 In the Beginning of the Year enſuing, a Plot was diſcover'd, which, like all the Cavalier Plots, was to terminate in Murder. For tho' they durſt no more think of fair Means, and of meeting the Protector in the Field, they had Rage enough to thirſt after his Blood, and more than once conſpir'd to aſſaſſinate him.

Syndercomb's Plot. *Miles Syndercomb* and one *Cecil*, tamper'd with *Troop*, a Soldier of *Oliver*'s Life-Guard, to kill the Lord Protector, and burn *Whitehall*. *Troop* ſeem'd to joyn with them in the Plot, but diſcover'd it in the Beginning; ſo *Cromwel* had Notice of the Conſpirators Contrivances, till he thought it time to ſieze and puniſh them. The burning *Whitehall* was laid aſide, and 'twas reſolv'd to ſhoot him as he paſt to *Hampton* Court, near the very Place where the Succeſſors to thoſe Cavaliers conſpir'd to ſhoot King *William*; a narrow Paſs beyond *Turnham-Green*. The Conſpirators had provided a Blunderbuſs, loaden with twelve Bullets, which was to be fir'd out of an Arbor near the Road. *Troop* told all, *Syndercomb* was apprehended; the Parliament appointing a Day of Thankſgiving for the Diſcovery of the Plot, reſolv'd to wait on the Protector to congratulate the Mercy and Deliverance. On the 9th of *February*, the Aſſaſſin *Syndercomb* was try'd before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Glynne*, who declar'd, that *by the Common Law, to compaſs or imagine the Death of the chief Magiſtrate, by what Name ſoever he was call'd, whether Lord Protector, or otherwiſe, is High Treaſon, and that the* Stat. 25. Edward III. *was only declaratory of the Common Law*; which is ſaid to be a very unjuſt Interpretation of that Statute, tho' it is ſo agreeable to common Senſe, that the Intention of the Law was the Preſervation of the chief Magiſtrate, whatever Name he went by. The Reader is doubtleſs ſatisfy'd, that I cite nothing out of the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory to prove it falſe only, for that wou'd be citing the whole Book, but to ſhew where it is improbable, incredible, and ſometimes impertinent, as in this Paſſage. *Syndercomb* being condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, Oliver *caus'd him to be poiſon'd, as not daring to bring him to Juſtice.* It is below Reflection. The Aſſaſſin's Siſter was with him the Night before he was to be executed, and it is thought, brought him Poiſon, for he was found dead in his Bed the next Morning, drawn naked at a Horſe's Tail, to the Gallows where he ſhou'd have been hang'd, and his Body bury'd under it, with a Stake driven thro' it. Among other Characters in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, is this of Mr. *Syndercomb*. *He was a very ſtout Man, his Behaviour was ſo reſolute at his Examination and Trial, as if he thought he ſhould ſtill be able to murder the Uſurper. His Carriage and Words were ſuch, as if he knew well how to avoid the Judgment.* It is glorious for thoſe Heroes who have a Place in this Hiſtorian's Panegyricks that the Memory of Mr. *Syndercomb* has alſo a Share of that Glory.

Biſhop Burnet.

Syndercomb's Character, by the Earl of Clarendon.

A.D. 1657

The Speaker, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, being indiſpos'd, *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, Eſq; was appointed Speaker during his Indiſpoſition, and led to the Chair by Colonel *Sydenham*, and Major General *Howard*. About a Week after, *Feb.* 6, there was a great Meeting of learned Men at his Houſe at *Chelſea*, purſuant to this Order of Parliament.

Ordered, " That it be referr'd to a Committee " to ſend for and adviſe with Dr. *Walton*, Mr. " *Hughes*, Mr. *Caſtle*, Mr. *Clerk*, Mr. *Poulk*, Dr. " *Cudworth*, and ſuch others as they ſhall think " fit, and to conſider of the Tranſlations and Im- " preſſions of the Bible, and to offer their Opi- " nions therein." About a Week after, Dr. *Walton* publiſh'd the *Polyglot* Bible; which, with ſeveral other Encouragements given to Learning at this Time, proves the Falſhood and Ingratitude of thoſe who repreſent it as immers'd in Illiterature and Ignorance, tho', in Reality, the moſt Learned and Polite were Friends to the Common-wealth; as *Selden*, *Wilkins*, *Milton*, *Bathurſt*, *Wallis*, *Clarkſon*, *Waller*, *Pool*, and the Scholarſhip of their Adverſaries was as contemptible to Men of Genius and Taſte, as their Courage was to Men of true Gallantry, as is eaſy enough to be prov'd, were this a Place for Particulars.

Polyglot Bible.

On the 23d of *February*, the Parliament took into Conſideration the *Settlement of the Nation*, and in the Courſe of this Debate, Colonel *Jephſon*, one of the Members who ſerv'd for *Ireland*, mov'd that *Cromwel* might be made King, but Matters were not thoroughly concerted, and *Cromwel* having Notice of the Motion, as he had of every thing that paſt, reprov'd the Colonel gently at Table, ſaying, *I wonder what you cou'd mean by ſuch a Propoſition!* To which *Jephſon* reply'd, *While I am permitted the Honour of ſitting in that Houſe, I muſt deſire the Liberty to diſcharge my Conſcience, tho' my Opinion ſhou'd happen to diſpleaſe. Oliver* clapp'd him on the Shoulder and ſaid, *Get thee gone for a mad Fellow, as thou art.* A Farce on both Sides: For ſoon after, *Cromwel* gave his Son, then a Scholar at *Oxford*, a Company of Foot, himſelf a Troop of Horſe, and ſent him Agent to the Court of *Sweden*. In the Concluſion of the Debates about the *Settlement of the Nation*, the Houſe agreed upon a new Inſtrument, entitil'd, *The humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *to his Highneſs*. The main Buſineſs of it was, for the Protector to have the Title of *King*. This Petition being preſented by the Parliament to the Lord Protector, he deſir'd a Committee might be appointed to confer with him about it, which was nam'd accordingly; and *Whitlock* was made Chairman. This Committee attending his Highneſs, *Whitlock* ſpoke to him upon the Point of the *Title of King*, giving Reaſons why he ſhou'd accept of it. The Protector urg'd his Reaſons againſt it, and *Whitlock* reply'd. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, " All the Law- " yers, *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, *St John*, were " vehemently for it: They ſaid, no new Govern- " ment cou'd be ſettled legally, but by a King, " who ſhou'd paſs Bills for ſuch a Form as ſhou'd " be agreed on; till then, all they did was like " building upon Sand. Men were ſtill in Dan- " ger of a Revolution, and in that Caſe, all that " had been done would be void of it ſelf, as con- " trary to a Law yet in being, and not repeal'd, &c. " And in ſhort, this Point was made out beyond " the

Cromwel to be King.

A.D.1657 " the Poſſibility of anſwering it, except upon En-
" thuſiaſtical Principles." The Reaſoning in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion on this Queſtion, is the moſt ſober and rational Part of the Book. " The " wiſeſt Perſon of the King's Party trembled at " this Overture, and believ'd it was the only " Way utterly to deſtroy the King, and to pull " up all future Hopes of the Royal Family by " the Roots. They ſaw all Men even already " tir'd in their Hopes, and that which was left " of Spirit in them, was from the Horror they " had of the Confuſions of the preſent Govern- " ment. *A Spirit that comes from Horror, is " perfectly Cavalier, and none cou'd have thought " of ſuch an Expreſſion but the noble Author.* " That very many who had ſuſtain'd the King's " Quarrel in the Beginning, were dead; that " the preſent King, by long Abſence out of the " Kingdom, was known to very few; ſo that " there was too much Reaſon to fear that much " of that Affection that appear'd. *Very fine " Language!* So that that *much of* that that went " under the Notion of Allegiance to the King, " was more directed to the Monarchy, than to " the Perſon, and that if *Cromwel* were once " made King, and let the Government run again " in the old Channel, tho' thoſe who were in " love with a Republick, wou'd poſſibly fall from " him, he wou'd receive abundant of Repara- " tion of Strength, by the Acceſs of thoſe who " preferr'd the Monarchy, *&c.*" I wou'd repeat more of it, but nothing can be more fatiguing than the Wordineſs of every Paragraph of that Hiſtory. The *Royaliſts* did indeed fall in with the Republicans on this Occaſion with no other View than to diſtreſs *Oliver:* For tho' they pretended to publick Spirit, and to aſſert Liberty, they meant only to perplex and deſtory the Government. Minds capable of preferring the Principles of Slavery to thoſe of Freedom, are incapable of generous Sentiments, and whenever they profeſs them, 'tis with ſome wicked Deſign. Who have talk'd more of the Good of the Country, of *Old England*, of Liberty and Property, than the Diſaffected ſince the Revolution? whoſe Meaning have always been to create Difficulties and Perplexities, and by any Means and Pretences to overturn this free Government, and reſtore Tyranny. They learnt it of their Predeceſſors the Cavaliers, who, as Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, " were all zealous " Common-wealths Men, according to the Di- " rections ſent them from thoſe about the King. " Their Buſineſs was to oppoſe *Cromwel* on all " his Demands, and ſo to weaken him at home, " and expoſe him abroad. When ſome of the " other *Party* took notice of this great Change " from being the Abettors of Prerogative, to be- " come the Patrons of Liberty, they pretended " their Education in the Court, and their Obli- " gations to it, had engag'd them that way; but " now ſince that was out of Doors, they had the " common Principles of humane Nature, and the " Love of Liberty in them. By this Means, as the " old Republicans aſſiſted and protected them, ſo " at the ſame time they ſtrengthen'd the Faction " againſt *Cromwel.*" What follows, is a Leſſon to all *Engliſh* Men, living at this Time, to be on their Guard againſt the falſe Profeſſions of thoſe who having been Inſtruments of all the deſtructive Changes that have happen'd in the Adminiſtration in the three laſt Reigns; do now awkardly affect a Loyalty to that Government which they heartily hate, and will betray and ſubvert whenever Occaſion offers, which God forbid. " Theſe " very Men, at the *Reſtoration*, ſhook off the Diſ- " guiſe, and reverted to their old Principles for " a high Prerogative, and abſolute Power. They " ſaid they were for a Liberty when it was a " Means to diſtreſs one who they thought had no " Right to govern: But when the Government " return'd to its old Channel, they were ſtill " as firm to all Prerogative Notions, and as great " Enemies to Liberty as ever." It is hop'd the Reader will ſeriouſly reflect on this, when he ſees any ſuch Perſons thruſting themſelves into Offices, and not be diſappointed if he is abus'd by them; but neither the *Republicans* nor *Royaliſts*, nor both in Conjunction wou'd have hinder'd the Lord Protector's accepting the Title of King, which the Parliament offer'd him, if the Officers of the Army, and particularly Lieut. General *Fleetwood*, his Son in Law, and Major General *Desborough*, his Brother in Law, had not declar'd warmly againſt it. The Officers preſented a Petition to the Parliament to that Purpoſe, which alarm'd him extremely; and *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* waiting his coming into St. *James*'s Park, to his uſual Walk, the Day before he was to accept or refuſe the Kingſhip, gave him their Reaſons againſt it in a long Conference. *Cromwel* ſaid, *It's a tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy Men to Death and Poverty, when there is a certain Way to ſecure them.* The others inſiſted on the Oaths they had taken. *Oliver* reply'd, *Theſe Oaths were againſt the Power and Tyranny of Kings.* In Concluſion, they believing from his Diſcourſe, that he intended to accept of it, told him, " They ſaw great Confu- " ſions would follow on it, and as they cou'd not " ſerve him to ſet up the Idol they had pull'd " down, and had ſworn to keep down; ſo they " wou'd not engage in any thing againſt him, " but wou'd retire and look on." They then offer'd him their Commiſſions, ſince they were reſolv'd not to ſerve a King. *Stay, ſays* Cromwel, *'till you hear my Anſwer.* It is believ'd this Reſolution of theirs, and the Diſpoſition of the Soldiery, determin'd him to refuſe the Crown. For moſt certainly he wanted not the Perſwaſions or Argument of Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Charles Wolſely*, the Lord *Broghil*, or Colonel *Jones*, mention'd by *Echard* to accept it, ſince he was fully convinc'd, that the Government of a ſingle Perſon cou'd not be firmly eſtabliſh'd without the Title of King, and his Judgment, as well as his Ambition, led him to take it; however, in Complacency to the Army and the Republicans, he put a Force on his Inclinations, and as ſolemnly refus'd the Title of King, as it had been ſolemnly offer'd him.

A.D.1657

The Diſaffected imitate.

Cavalier Practices.

Oliver *refuſes the Kingſhip.*

But the new Inſtrument of Government, call'd, *The Petition and Advice*, which was brought into the Houſe by Sir *Chriſtopher Pack*, a very buſy Alderman of *London*, paſt, after much debating. It was forwarded by the Lord *Broghill*, *Whitlock*, *Glyn*, and others, and conſiſted of ſeveral Articles, to which was afterwards added other Articles, and the whole confirm'd, and ſwore to by his Highneſs, the Lord Protector, the 26th Day of *June*. That Dignity and Title was ſettled upon him, and his Succeſſor, to be nam'd by himſelf, with all the Powers and Prerogatives of a Sovereign, more extenſive than ever the Laws of *England* made them, and perhaps thoſe Powers and Prerogatives were neceſſary for the Eſtabliſhment of a Government ſo odious to both Friends and Enemies, as was that of the Protectorate. I mean not as to the Execution of it, but as to the Form of it.

Faction not to be truſted with Power.

By this *Petition* and *Advice* the Lord Protector was impower'd not only to call and diſſolve Parliaments, but alſo to iſſue out Writs to ſummon Perſons to ſit as Members of the *other Houſe* of Parliament. They were not to be ſtil'd the Houſe of Lords, tho' the Writs were the ſame with thoſe that were ſent to ſummon *Peers*. The

*A.D.*1657 Parliament order'd Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, to give Notice to all Foreign Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of the intended Inaugauration of his Highneſs the Lord Protector,

Crom-wel's *Inaugu-ration.*

For which a Place was prepar'd at the upper End of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in the midſt of which was a rich Cloth of State ſet up, and under it a Chair of State, upon an Aſſent of two Degrees, cover'd with Carpets. Before it a Table, and a Chair by it for the Speaker. On each Side of the Hall were Seats built one above another, and cover'd, for the Members of Parliament. Below them Seats on the one Side for the Judges, and on the other Side for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. About two a Clock in the Afternoon the Protector met the Parliament, and gave his Conſent to a Bill for *adjourning it from this 26th of* June *to the 20th of* February *next*, and to ſome other Bills. Then the Speaker and Members went to their Places in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Judges and Aldermen took their Places. A little Time after this his Highneſs came, attended with his own Gentlemen, and with the Heralds and Sergeants at Arms, the Officers, Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, Lords of the Treaſury, Lords of the Council, the Earl of *Warwick* carrying the Sword before him, and the Lord-Mayor of *London*, Sir *Robert Tichburne*, carrying the City Sword.

His Highneſs ſtanding under the Cloth of State, the Speaker of the Parliament preſented to him a *Robe of Purple Velvet, lin'd with Ermines*, which the Speaker, aſſiſted by *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; and others, put upon his Highneſs. Then he deliver'd to him the *Bible*, richly gilt and boſs'd. After that the Speaker girt the *Sword* about the Lord Protector, and deliver'd into his Hand the *Sceptre* of maſſy Gold. He then made a Speech to him upon thoſe ſeveral Things preſented to him, wiſhing him all Proſperity in his Government, and gave him the Oath. Dr. *Manton*, by Prayer, recommended his *Highneſs, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by Sea and Land*, the whole Government and People of the three Nations, to the Bleſſing and Protection of God. After this the People gave ſeveral great Shouts, and the Trumpets ſounding, the Lord Protector ſat in the Chair of State, holding the Sceptre in his Hand. On the right ſide ſat Monſieur the firſt Preſident *Bourdeaux*, Ambaſſador of *France*; on his left, Mynheer *Van Beuning*, Ambaſſador of the *United Provinces*. Near to his Highneſs ſtood his Son, the Lord *Richard Cromwel*, the Lord Deputy *Fleetwood*, *John Cleypole*, Eſq; Maſter of the Horſe, the Lords of the Council, and the Officers of State. The Earl of *Warwick* held the Sword on the right Side of the Chair, the Lord-Mayor of *London* held the Sword on the left Side. Near the Earl of *Warwick* ſtood the Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, General *Montagu*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, each of them having a drawn Sword in his Hand. Then the Trumpets ſounded, and a Herald proclaim'd his Highneſs's Title. After which the Multitude with loud Acclamations cry'd, *God ſave the Lord Protector*. The Ceremonies ended, his Highneſs having his Train born by the Lord *Sherrard*, the Honourable Mr. *Rich*, Grandſon to the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Honourable Mr. *Roberts*, Son to the Lord *Roberts*, accompany'd by the Lords Ambaſſadors, and attended as before, went in State to *Weſtminſter-Hall* Gate, where he took his rich Coach.

In the upper End of it himſelf ſat in his Robes: In the other End ſat the Earl of *Warwick*. In one Boot ſat his Son the Lord *Richard*, and Mr. *Whitlock* with a drawn Sword in his Hand; and in the other Boot ſat the Lord Viſcount *Liſle* and General *Montagu* with Swords drawn in their Hands. Mr. *Cleypole* led the Horſe of State in rich Capariſons. The Life-Guard and other Guards attended the Coach. The Officers and the reſt follow'd in Coaches to *Whitehall*, where he heard a Sermon preach'd by Mr. *Lockier*. *A.D.*1657

There was a fine Medal ſtruck on this Occaſion, perform'd by that excellent Graver *Simmonds*, whoſe Dies for Coining are the beſt that ever were; and yet after the Reſtoration he was turn'd out of the Mint, becauſe he work'd for *Cromwel*, to make room for a Blunderer. This Medal had on one ſide the *Buſt* of *Oliver* excellently well done, and round it *Oliver D.G.R.P. Ang. Sco. Hiberniæ Protector. Oliver*, by the Grace of God, Protector of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. On the Reverſe was an Olive-Tree flouriſhing in a Field with this round it, *Non deficient Oliva*, Sept 3. 1658. The Olive-Trees ſhall not fail.

The Acts above-mention'd to be paſt by the Lord Protector, with that for *adjourning the Parliament*, were, *An Act for preventing Multiplicity of Building in* London, *An Act for the quiet enjoying of ſequeſter'd Parſonages by the preſent Incumbents, An Act for diſcovering, convicting and repreſſing of Popiſh Recuſants, An Act appointing Surveyors of Forreſts.*

Sherwood Forreſt.

Joſeph Ayloffe, Eſq; *Thomas Skipwith*, Eſq; *Jeremy Baines*, Eſq; *Adam Ayre*, Eſq; Mr. *James Robinſon*, Mr. *William Marre.*

Needwood Forreſt.

Robert Frank, Eſq; *John Kenſey*, Eſq; *Thomas Wats*, Eſq; *George Sergeant*, Eſq;

Kingwood Forreſt.

James Stedman, Eſq; *Robert Taylor*, Eſq; *Thomas Tatmer*, Eſq; *John Halſey*, Eſq;

Lancaſter great Park.

Henry Dewell, Eſq; *William Dawges*, Eſq; *Joſeph Gammage*, Eſq; Mr. *Richard Johnſon.*

Enfield Chace.

John Baynton, Eſq; *Hugh Web*, Eſq; *Nicholas Gunton*, Eſq; Major *Rolph.*

As *Cromwel* is now in the Zenith of his Empire, ſo is King *Charles* II. in the Extremity of Diſtreſs. *France* having thrown him off, he apply'd to *Spain*; and *Echard* informs us, he enter'd into a Treaty with *Don John* of *Auſtria*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, by which he was to have 9000 Pounds a Year for his and the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Maintenance; in Conſideration of which he was to put all his Forces into the *Spaniſh* Service, being 4 Regiments of *Iriſh* Papiſts then in *Flanders*, who were not only to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* to drive the *French* out of the *Netherlands*, but alſo to be in a Readineſs, if any favourable Juncture ſhou'd invite them over to *England*. By Virtue of this important Treaty, the King was allow'd to live at *Bruges*, where he made Sir *Edward Hyde* Lord High Chancellor of *England*, which cou'd not be ſo beneficial as a *Tipſtaff*'s Place after the Reſtoration. For the Poverty of this Court was ſuch, that when a Gentleman, who follow'd the King's Fortune, made his Addreſſes to a young Lady in *Holland*, who was worth about 100,000 Guilders, not only the King, but the Duke of *York*, the Princeſs Royal, the Lord *Jermin*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, importun'd her by Letters to make him her Husband. The King ſays in his Letter, K. Ch. II.

Le

A.D.1657 *Le Marqueſs d'* Ormond *lequel envoye expres pour ce ſujet vous en dira plus particulierment mes ſentimens, auquel je vous prie d'ajouter Foy en toute cequil vous dira de ma part & de croire que je ſuis,*

Mademoiſelle,

Voſtre tres affectione Ami,

Charles R.

His low Condition. "The Marqueſs of *Ormond*, whom I ſend "Expreſs about this Affair, will diſcourſe you "more particularly, and acquaint you with my "Sentiments. I deſire you to put Confidence in "what he tells you from me, and to believe that "I am, &c.

The Princeſs of *Orange* clos'd her Letter thus, *J'eſpere que ces ſerviſes vous ſeront agreable come le ſouhait paſſionnement,*

Mademoiſelle,

Voſtre bien bonne bon Amie,

MARIE.

I had Thoughts of inſerting more ſuch Paſſages out of the other Letters, the Originals of which I have by me; but they being all to the ſame Purpoſe, it is needleſs. The Gentleman obtain'd the Lady; and ſoon after he was married, the King got moſt of the Marriage Portion from him, which was never made good to him till after he return'd to *England*, unleſs it was by making him a Baronet, tho' the Gentleman never took the Advantage of the Patent.

Lambert's Commiſſion taken away. The Protector's reſerving to himſelf, by the humble Petition and Advice, to name a Succeſſor, diſguſted ſeveral of his moſt intimate Friends, eſpecially Major General *Lambert*, who refus'd to take the Oath, enjoyn'd by that Inſtrument, not to *do any thing againſt the preſent Government*. *Cromwel* ſending for him, ſaid, *I am well aſſur'd your Refuſal proceeds not on account of this Authority, for you may remember you your ſelf did at firſt preſs me to accept the Title of King; and therefore, if you are now diſſatisfied with the preſent Poſture of Affairs, I deſire you to ſurrender your Commiſſion.* To this the Major General reply'd, *Having no Suſpicion that it wou'd be demanded of me, I have not brought it; but if you pleaſe to ſend for it, I will deliver it.* Which was done two or three Days after; but he had a Penſion of 2000 Pounds a Year ſettled upon him to keep him quiet. Sir *Henry Vane* brought himſelf into Trouble by a *Pamphlet* call'd the *Healing Queſtion*, wherein he upbraided the Protector with acting contrary to their firſt Engagement. *Vane* truſted this Writing with *Fleetwood*, and he ſhew'd it *Cromwel*, which Sir *Henry* had not caution'd him againſt. The Protector was nettled at ſome Expreſſions in it concerning himſelf, and requir'd him, by a Day limited, to give Security not to act againſt him; which Time being expir'd, *Vane* appear'd again before the Council, and deliver'd into *Oliver*'s own Hand another Paper, containing the Reaſons of his diſapproving the preſent Government; which provoking the Protector's Patience ſtill more, he was ſent Priſoner to *Carisbrook-Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Wight*. *Cromwel* commanded Preſident *Bradſhaw* to take out a new Patent for the Chief Juſticeſhip of *Cheſter*, which he refus'd, and yet went the Circuit, the Protector not thinking fit to ſtop the Courſe of Juſtice by poſtponing the Aſſizes.

Sir Henry Vane *impriſon'd.*

Cromwel's other Houſe. In *December* the Lord Protector iſſu'd his Writs of Summons to the Lords and Gentlemen, who were to compoſe his other Houſe of Parliament; they were in all about ſixty. The Lord *Richard Cromwel*, the Lord *Henry Cromwel*, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Eſq; *John Liſle*, Eſq; Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; *Henry Lawrence*, Eſq; Lord Preſident of the Council; the Lord *Charles Fleetwood*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Mulgrave*, *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *William* Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Sele*, Lord *John Cleypole*, Maſter of the Horſe, *Charles* Viſcount *Howard*, *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Thomas* Lord *Falconbridge*, Lord *Edward Montagu*, *George* Lord *Eure*, the Lord *Whitlock*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Lord *Strickland*, Col. *William Strickland*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, Sir *William Strickland*, *John Fiennes*, Eſq; Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Honeywood*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, *Edmund Thomas*, Eſq; Sir *John Hobart*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Roberts*, *William Pierpoint*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; Lord Chief Juſtice *Saint John*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Glyn*, *Francis Rous*, Eſq; Sir *George Fleetwood*, Sir *Richard Ingoldsby*, *David* Earl of *Caſſils* in *Scotland*, *Roger* Lord *Broghill*, Sir *Archibald Johnſtoun*, Laird of *Wariſton*, Col. *Edmund Whalley*, Col. *George Monk*, *John Jones*, Eſq; Sir *Chriſtopher Pack*, Sir *Robert Tichburn*, Sir *John Barkſtead*, Sir *Thomas Pride*, Sir *John Hewſon*, *Thomas Berry*, Eſq; *William Goffe*, Eſq; *Thomas Cooper*, Eſq; Sir *William Lockhart*, *Willian Steel*, Eſq; Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, Col. *Tomlinſon*.

A.D.1657

The Names of three Quarters of this Aſſembly prove that they were of the beſt Birth and Rank in *England*, and thoſe who were Officers of the Army ought not to have been inſulted for their Meanneſs before they took to Arms, ſince they had by Victory acquir'd their Greatneſs. Wou'd it not be baſe to enquire of what Origin were *Craven*, *Cranfield*, *Hicks*, in the former Reigns, who had Coronets given them, and Seats in the Houſe of Peers, yet not one of them ever drew a Sword, or perhaps ever ſaw a Sword drawn in the publick Service, and were all of as Mechanick Deſcent as *Barkſtead* the *Silverſmith*, *Berry* the *Woodmonger*, *Pack* the *Woollendraper*, or *Whalley* the broken *Clothier*, mention'd with ſingular Modeſty by Mr. Archdeacon? Now it happens that Col. *Whalley* was of as good a Family as Col. *Goring*, being the Son of *Richard Whalley*, Eſq; of *Kirton* in *Nottinghamſhire*, by Mrs. *Frances Cromwel*, Niece to Sir *Oliver Cromwel* of *Hintchinbroke* in *Huntingdonſhire*; and one of the above Citizens is thought to have been rich enough to have bought the whole Court of *Bruges*, Sir *Edward Hyde* included, and the Princes, the Duke of *Ormond* and two or three Lords only excepted. Such Reflections as theſe are ſcandalouſly trivial; but you have them every where in the Archdeacon's Hiſtory, and very much in Sir *Edward Hyde*'s, whoſe Example only has made them inexcuſable.

The Protector, at a Conference between his two Houſes, ſpeaking of the State of the publick Revenue and Expence, told them, The Charge of the Forces by Sea and Land amounted to 2,426,989 Pounds, that the whole Revenue of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* was but 1,900,000 Pounds, that the Charge of the Government was 300,000 Pounds; ſo that the Deficiency of the Funds towards the Expence was 826,989 Pounds. The Army in *England* requir'd 1,100,000 Pounds for their Pay.

General Blake's Victory at Sancta Cruz. The Succeſs of the *Engliſh* Arms at Sea this Year was ſuch, that the Name of *Blake*, ſays *Echard*, cannot be forgotten. That General with his Fleet rode out all the Winter Storms before *Cadiz*, and on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, when he receiv'd

A.D.1657 receiv'd certain Information, that another *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, much richer than the laſt he had taken and deſtroy'd, was making homewards; but having Intelligence of the *Engliſh* Fleet, that wou'd probably ſtop at the *Canaries*, *Blake* immediately weigh'd Anchor with twenty five Men of War, and on the 20th of *April* ſtood with his Fleet off the *Offing* in the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, in the Iſland of *Teneriffe*, where he found the Galeons already arriv'd, to the Number of 16 Men of War, protected, beſides their own Strength, by all the Methods of Art: For the Bay was ſecur'd by a ſtrong Caſtle well fortify'd with Canon, beſides ſeven Forts more in ſeveral Parts of it, mounted each with 4, 5 and 6 good Pieces of Ordnance, all united by a Line of Communication from Fort to Fort, mann'd with Musketeers. *Don Diego Diagues*, the *Spaniſh* Admiral, order'd all his ſmaller Ships to moar cloſe to the Shoar, cover'd by the Caſtles and Forts, and poſted the ſix large Galeons farther off at Anchor, with their formidable Broadſides to the Sea, ſending out Word by a *Dutch* Merchant there, *Let* Blake *come if he dares.* And come he did with a Vengeance; but finding it impracticable to carry off the Galeons, he reſolv'd to burn them in the midſt of all theſe Dangers: He commanded Capt. *Stayner*, in the *Speaker Frigate*, to ſtand into the very Bay with a Squadron, and by Eight the next Morning he fell couragiouſly on the *Spaniards*, who fought near half an Hour. General *Blake* ſeconded *Stayner*, and poſted ſome of the great Ships to batter the Forts and Caſtles, which, firing on them without ceaſing, drove the Enemy out of their Caſtles, Forts and Lines. *Blake* fought the Galeons four Hours, and the *Spaniards* made a Reſiſtance, which they had not been us'd to; but *Blake* ply'd them ſo faſt with his Broadſides, that they cou'd ſtand no longer. They abandon'd their Galeons, of which the leaſt was bigger than the biggeſt of General *Blake*'s Ships. The Seamen quitted the ſmaller Ships that lay under the Forts, and *Stayner* burnt every one of them, while the General did the ſame with the larger Galeons. Thus was the whole Plate-Fleet deſtroy'd, which, with the Deſtruction of the Fleet a Year before by *Blake*, made the Loſs to the *Spaniards* amount to at leaſt 10 Millions Sterling. No ſooner was the Fight over, but the Wind, which before blew ſtrong into the Bay, ſuddenly veer'd about, and brought the *Engliſh* Fleet out to Sea without loſing a Ship. Of the *Engliſh* only 48 Men were kill'd, and 120 wounded.

The whole Action was unparallel'd and ſtupendous, as the Archdeacon phraſes it. All Sea-Fights, antient and modern, have nothing to compare to it for Danger and Succeſs, for Greatneſs and Glory. He fought at once with Ships and Caſtles; he dar'd the Fury of all Elements, and left an Example to Poſterity, which is too incredible to be imitated. The News of this Victory arriving in *England* before the Parliament was adjourn'd, the Houſe order'd him a Preſent of a Diamond Ring, to the Value of 500 Pounds. All ſuch Preſents, which were Demonſtrations of the publick Acceptance of his Services, were grateful to him: But he had no Conception of Rewards in Dignities and Penſions, and an extreme Contempt for all Honours that were not ſolid and the Effect of heroick Deeds, as uſeful to the State as glorious to the Man.

His Death and Character.

The General himſelf having been on Board three Years, contracted an ill Habit of Body by living in that Manner ſo long, and dy'd in his Return home on the 17th of *Auguſt*, as his Ship enter'd into *Plymouth* Sound, in the 59th Year of his Age. The next Day his Body was embalm'd and inclos'd in a Sheet of Lead, and the Bowels were interr'd in the great Church at *Plymouth*. A.D.1657

This famous General was the Son of Mr. *Humphry Blake* of *Bridgwater*, Merchant, of the antient Family of the *Blakes* of *Plancheſield*, in the County of *Somerſet*. In his younger Years he was a Student of *Wadham* College in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he took the Degree of Maſter of Arts, and ſtood for a Fellowſhip in *Merton* College with ſeveral eminent Scholars, as *Edward Reynolds*, *John Earl*, both afterwards Biſhops, and others. He loſt the Fellowſhip on account of his Stature, being not high enough. Sir *Henry Saville*, the Warden, meaſuring his Scholars, as the Officers do now their Soldiers, by Feet and Inches. When the War broke out, he liſted in that Cauſe which ſeem'd to be moſt for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty. He was made Governor of *Taunton* by the Parliament; which Town, and afterwards *Lyme*, he defended with great Valour againſt ſeveral famous and forcible Sieges, of which mention has been made.

His Character in *A Wood* is thus:

" He was a fortunate Vindicator of his Country's Privileges from the Encroachments of inſulting Neighbours, a victorious Enemy of the *Spaniards*, highly valu'd of all, even of the Royaliſts. He devoted himſelf wholly to the publick Service, was reſolute in his Undertakings, and moſt faithful in the Performance of them. With him Valour ſeldom miſs'd it's Reward, nor Cowardice Puniſhment. When News was brought him of a Revolution in the State at home, he wou'd then encourage the Seamen to be moſt vigilant abroad, ſaying, *It is not our Duty to mind Politicks, but to keep Foreigners from fooling us.*

The Lord *Clarendon*, another Enemy to his Cauſe, writes of him thus: " He was the firſt Man who declin'd the old Track, and made it manifeſt, that the Science of *Sea Service* might be attain'd in leſs Time than was imagin'd, and deſpis'd thoſe Rules that had been long in Practice to keep his Ship and his Men out of Danger; which had been held in former Times a Point of great Ability and Circumſpection, as if the principal Art, requiſite in the Captain of a Ship, had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt Man who brought the Ships to contemn Caſtles on Shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcover'd by him to make a Noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who cou'd rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt Man that infus'd that Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by making them ſee by Experience what mighty Things they cou'd do if they were reſolv'd, and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water.

Tho' no Funeral Pomp cou'd be in any manner equal to the Services and Merit of this illuſtrious Captain, yet the Government beſtow'd on his Corpſe thoſe Honours which were then paid to deceas'd Heroes. 'Twas brought by Sea from *Plymouth* to *Greenwich*, where it remain'd for ſome Time. From thence it was convey'd by Water on the 4th of *September* following, with all due Solemnity, in a Barge of State cover'd with Velvet, adorn'd with Eſcutcheons and Pencils, accompany'd with his Brother, Captain *Humphry Blake*, ſeveral of his Kindred and Servants in Mourning, together with the Lord Protector's *Privy-Council*, the Lords of the Admiralty, the Commiſſioners of the Navy, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, the Field-Officers of the Army, and ſeveral other Perſons of Honour and Quality, in a great Number of Barges

A.D.1657 Barges and Boats cover'd all with Mourning and marſhall'd by the Heralds at Arms, who directed and attended the Proceſſion. In this Order they paſt to *Weſtminſter-Bridge*, and at their Landing proceeded in the ſame manner thro' a Guard of ſeveral Regiments of Foot-Soldiers to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where the Corpſe was interr'd in a Vault made on Purpoſe in *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel.

But after the Reſtoration, to the eternal Infamy of all that had a Hand in it, the ſacred Remains of this General, whoſe Memory and Fame will be immortal, were pull'd out of the Place where they were depoſited, and flung into a Pit. Judge of the Men and their Cauſe by this one Action, and reconcile it in any Degree to common Senſe, common Morals, and common Shame. *Cannibals* and *Mamalucs* wou'd have ador'd the Relicts of a General that had gain'd one Battle for them. Here is the Corpſe of a Captain, whoſe Life had been a Series of Victories in the publick Service, dragg'd from the Place of its Burial to be cover'd with the Dirt of a Ditch! Can any Paint or Daubing give a Colour to this hideous Image? And now let the Reader run over the Characters the Lord *Clarendon* gives of himſelf and thoſe unparallel'd Worthies, who thus barbarouſly inſulted the Remains of the ever renown'd General *Blake*, whoſe Family was not treated much better by them, himſelf being a Batchelor. His Brother *Humphry* above-mention'd, with whom I liv'd when I was a Boy, ſuffer'd ſo many Hardſhips for *Nonconformity* in the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles* II. that he was forc'd to ſell the little Eſtate left him by the General, ſcarce 200 Pounds a Year, and tranſport himſelf and his Children to *Carolina*, of which his great Grandſon, I ſuppoſe, is at this Time one of the Lords Proprietors.

Corpſe unbury'd by the Royaliſts.

When General *Blake* was unbury'd, and his Corpſe ſerv'd ſo ignominiouſly and inhumanely, the like was done by thoſe of Admiral *Popham*, Admiral *Dean*, Col. *Humphry Mackworth*, Col. *Boſcawen*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *John Meldrum*, *William Stroud*, Eſq; *Thomas May*, Eſq; Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Strong*, two Miniſters. And to compleat the Triumph, the dead Bodies of ſeveral Ladies were alſo taken up and thrown into the ſame Pit on the 12th of *September*, 1661. I think the Men need no other Character, and this Digreſſion cou'd no where elſe come in ſo properly as in this Place. It was propos'd after the Reſtoration, to take up all the dead Bodies of the Common-wealth's Men, *&c.* and fling them into Pits; and 'tis thought the Propoſal wou'd have been effected, had not the Duke of *Ormond* ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it, as a Scandal to Religion and Humanity.

A Wood, p. 206.

Morgan *and* Reynolds *in* Flanders.

In Purſuance of the Lord Protector's Treaty with *France*, he ſent 6000 choice Men to the *Netherlands* under the Command of Sir *John Reynolds*, Commiſſary General, and Major General *Morgan*. The *French* at firſt had no Inclination to attack *Dunkirk* with thoſe Forces, they being oblig'd to ſurrender it to the *Engliſh*, when taken; therefore they march'd into *Artois*, and laid Siege to St. *Venant*, which they carry'd with a Suddenneſs and Bravery beyond Expectation. But *Cromwel*'s Ambaſſador, Sir *William Lockhart*, made ſuch Lively Inſtances with the Cardinal, and complain'd ſo much of Breach of Faith, adding Menaces, that *his Maſter knew where to find a more punctual Friend*, That as ſoon as they had taken *Montmedy* and St. *Venant*, the Army march'd into *Flanders*, and the Seaſon being too far ſpent to engage in the Siege of *Dunkirk*, they inveſted *Mardyke*, and carry'd on their Attack ſo vigorouſly, that *October* 13th it was deliver'd in about eight Days to Major General *Morgan*, with Conſent of the *French* King; and that General fortify'd it ſo well as to fear no Enemy. But before the Fortifications were finiſh'd, the *Spaniards* ſent a Body of Horſe and Foot to recover it; the Loſs of it very much facilitating that of *Dunkirk*. Of that Body 2000 were *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*. Here all Hiſtory is laviſh in the Praiſes of the Duke of *York*, who, ſays *Echard*, made two very *deſperate Storms upon it, the laſt continuing ſix Hours, but was both Times repuls'd, and forc'd to retire with Loſs.* The future Conduct of that Prince makes me believe there muſt be ſome Miſrepreſentation in this, as well as in the reſt of his Hiſtory; I'll therefore ſee what *Ludlow* ſays, *Many of thoſe who were kill'd on the Enemies ſide were* Engliſh *under the Duke of* York: *And as it was conſeſs'd by all preſent, that the* Engliſh, *who took part with the* French, *behav'd themſelves with more Bravery than any*; *ſo it was obſerv'd, that thoſe of the* Cavalier *Party, who had join'd with the* Spaniards, *behav'd themſelves worſt.* Brave Sir *John Reynolds*, who had fought his Way thro' ſo many Dangers in the War, being about to paſs over to *England* at the End of the Campaign with Col. *White* and others, the Pink they were in was caſt away upon the *Goodwyn* Sands, and all the Men were drown'd, the only melancholy Accident that happen'd to the *Engliſh*. The Army that took *Mardyke* was commanded by the Mareſchal *Turenne*, to whom *Mazarine*, preſs'd by the Lord Ambaſſador *Lockhart*'s Inſtances, wrote thus before he beſieg'd it, *Nothing can be of more fatal Conſequence to* France *than the Loſs of* Cromwel's *Friendſhip and the Breach of the Union with him, which certainly will be broken, if ſome ſtrong Town is not taken and put into his Hands.* The Protector was wonderfully pleas'd to hear that *Morgan* was in Poſſeſſion of it, and he immediately ſent ten Men of War to guard the Port of *Mardyke*, and cruize on that Coaſt. A Foreigner and a Papiſt ſpeak thus of this Conqueſt, *En effect rien ne flatta d'avantage l'Ambition de* Cromwel, *&c.* "In Effect "nothing cou'd flatter the Ambition of *Cromwel* "more than this Acquiſition, knowing he had "thereby won immortal Glory: He had, with-"out the Loſs of a Man, accompliſh'd a De-"ſign, which the greateſt Kings of *England* had "often attempted in vain at the Expence of their "People's Blood and Treaſure: He had re-eſta-"bliſh'd the *Engliſh* on the Continent, and put "them in a Condition to make themſelves Ma-"ſters of both Sides of the Channel, which had "been deſpair'd of ſince the Loſs of *Calais*. He "ſucceeded, I ſay, in this vaſt Deſign, without "coſting him hardly any thing." Read over the Reigns of the Royal Houſe we are writing of again and again, and ſhew me ſuch a Paragraph. The *Dutch* were alarm'd as well as the *Spaniards* at *Cromwel*'s having poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Mardyke*, almoſt on their Frontiers: And the Protector, whoſe Wiſdom foreſaw all Conſequences, diſpatch'd a Miniſter to *Holland* to aſſure the *States General*, "That Neighbourhood ſhou'd "ſerve only to make their mutual Friendſhip the "more firm. He deſir'd them to join with him "and *France* in a League againſt *Spain*, their "old Enemy, which ſhou'd be very much to "their Advantage by enlarging their Barrier." The *States*, jealous equally of the *French* and *Spaniards*, excus'd themſelves; upon which *Oliver*'s Miniſter had Inſtructions to pray them at leaſt not to aſſiſt the *Spaniards*; for if they did, *It wou'd oblige him to take other Meaſures, which might not turn very much to their Profit.* Such was the Language of the Lord Protector of

A.D.1657

Mardyke taken.

Cromwel's Glory.

A.D.1657 the Common-wealth; and the *Hollanders* anſwer'd mildly, *They had no Intention to do any thing to the Prejudice of* England, *their only Deſign being to preſerve Peace and Tranquillity in their Provinces.*

We have no ſuch Height as this to ſtand on and take a View of the Government of *England*, ſince the Reign of *Henry* V. But the View is like the Viſion of the Night: The golden Rays vaniſh, and black and thick Darkneſs ſucceeds, till a new Morning dawns, and a Bright Day, as at the Revolution, bleſſes our Eyes and Hearts.

A.D.1658 *The Parliament.* The 20th of *January*, to which the Parliament was adjourn'd, approaching Writs, as has been hinted at, were iſſu'd to the Lords and Gentlemen, who were to form the other, or *Upper Houſe*. *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Maſter of the Rolls, was very much diſturb'd that he was not ſummon'd, ſaying, *I, who have been for ſome Years the firſt Man of the Nation, am now deny'd to be a Member of either Houſe of Parliament; for I am uncapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons by my Place, which obliges me to ſit as Aſſiſtant in the other Houſe.* *Cromwel* hearing of his Complaint, order'd a Writ of Summons to him, at which he was ſo elevated, that, riding in his Coach thro' the *Strand*, and ſeeing Mr. *Osbaldeſton*, Maſter of *Weſtminſter* Shool, whom he knew to be a great Lover of Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*; he ask'd him what Sir *Arthur* intended to do in Anſwer to the Writ he had receiv'd, Mr. *Osbaldeſton* replying, *I know not. Write to him*, ſays Mr. *Lenthal*, *and deſire him by no Means to omit taking his Place, and aſſure him from me, that all that do ſo ſhall themſelves and their Heirs be for ever Peers of* England; as was reaſonable to think, if they had not quarrel'd among themſelves; for the *Cavaliers* were not likely to be ever in a Condition to quarrel with them.

The two Houſes met according to Adjournment and Summons, The *other Houſe* in the Houſe of Lords, whither came the Protector, and, by the Uſher of the Black Rod, ſent for the Houſe of Commons to whom he made a ſhort Speech, beginning, as is uſual, from the Throne, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons. He recommended Union and a good Underſtanding between them, thank'd them for their fair Correſpondence the laſt Seſſion, minded them of the Neceſſities of the State, deſir'd their Aſſiſtance*, and then, as Monarchs have been us'd to do, referr'd them to the Lord Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, who made a very long Harangue on the Foundation of the Government, and the ſeveral Branches of it. 'Tis in that Stile which was then in Vogue, and being pretty much adorn'd with Texts of Scripture, is a very great Jeſt with the Archdeacon and the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory* of *England*, whoſe Talents in Elocution qualify'd them wonderfully to judge of Language. I will venture one Paragraph of the Lord Commiſſioner's Speech, and that Paragraph ſhall be above half Scripture, againſt the beſt Piece of Oratory in their Hiſtories, or the Lord *Clarendon*'s.

For thoſe of our Friends who content themſelves with their Privacy and Country Retirement in theſe great Difficulties of the Common-wealth, we may ſay, Why abideſt thou among the Sheepfolds to hear the Bleatings of the Flocks? Surely for the Diviſions of *Reuben* there are great Searchings of Heart! How ſhall we bind up the Wounds we receive in the Houſe of our Friend? What ſhall we do for our Siſter that hath no Breaſts? That will afford no Milk? If ſhe be a Wall, we will build a Palace of Silver upon her; and if ſhe be a Door, we will encloſe her with Boards of Cedar. *If they will give us any Foundation to work upon, we will build upon it, we will improve it, we will multiply Obligations upon them,* we will heap Coals of Fire on their Heads: *If they will not let us follow them, let them follow us, we will either lead or follow in the Work of God.* A.D.1658 Fiennes's Speech.

But a Spirit of Madneſs and Diviſion had poſſeſs'd them: Ambition and Avarice had blinded ſome, ſuch as *Haſelrigge*, *Scot*, *Harrington*, *Lambert*, *Fleetwood*. A Spirit of Enthuſiaſm had blinded others; as *Harriſon*, *Overton*, *Rich*. The former run mading after a *Republick*, the latter after the *Fifth Monarchy*. The Protector's Party were againſt both, and both againſt them, and the Royaliſts againſt them all; all which was like to make fine Work in the End; there needed but a ſmall Portion of plain Senſe to direct to that End, and unite the three firſt Parties againſt the laſt, their common Enemy. Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* refus'd to ſit in the other Houſe, but took the Oath, and got into the Houſe of Commons. Mr. *Scot*, and many other ſecluded Members, got in alſo, who, with the diſcontented that remain'd, were ſoon found to be a Majority. The *Houſe of Lords* ſending a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Juſtice *Windham* and Mr. Baron *Hill*, the latter took no Notice of it, but on the contrary debated what Appellation ſhou'd be given to the *other Houſe*, or indeed whether they ſhou'd have any Appellation at all, or be look'd upon as a Houſe, tho' conſtituted by their own Act the laſt Seſſion. *Whitlock* obſerves, That one of the chief Reaſons ſome Members had to ſpeak againſt it was, *Becauſe they were not of it.* The Protector looking upon himſelf as ſtruck at thro' their Sides, and being incens'd at the Diſcovery of a *Fifth Monarchy* Plot, carry'd on by Major General *Harriſon* and his Adherents, he reſolv'd to diſſolve the Parliament. Accordingly he came to the Houſe of Lords the 4th of *February*, and caus'd the Uſher of the *Black Rod* to go to the Houſe of Commons, and acquaint them that his Highneſs was in the Lords Houſe, and there expected them. Upon which the Speaker and the whole Houſe went to the Lords Houſe, where the Protector made a Speech to them, declaring, *Several urgent and weighty Reaſons making it neceſſary for him, in order to the publick Peace and Safety, to proceed to an immediate Diſſolution of this Parliament*, and accordingly he did there diſſolve them, having *firſt rapp'd out a dreadful Oath*, as we are told by Mr. Archdeacon.

Fifth Monarchy Plot. The *Fifth Monarchiſts* carry'd on Matters ſo ſecretly, that they had prepar'd themſelves for a general Rendezvous, when their Plot was diſcover'd the Night before it was to have been executed; at which Time he ſent a Guard of Soldiers, who ſeiz'd the Principal of them as they were conſulting about it. Their Declarations were alſo taken with them, and their Standard, which had in it a Lion couchant, with theſe Words, *Who ſhall rouſe him?* Theſe Men were for the moſt part Tradeſmen, as *Venner*, *Jawler*, &c. and were carry'd Priſoners to the *Gatehouſe*, where they lay long in a miſerable Condition, but were not proſecuted capitally, as they might have been.

Cavalier Plot. *What made moſt Noiſe*, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, *with the Protector and the Nation, was a new and formidable Plot of the* Cavaliers. For my part, if we know as much of them by Hiſtory, as we cou'd have known had we been then living, I don't ſee any thing formidable in them ſince King *Charles* I. was in *Cornwall*, and much leſs in theſe Conſpirators than in the others, as will appear by their Names, Dr. *Hewett*, Parſon of St. *Gregory*'s, *London*, Mr. *Stacy*, Mr. *Beſtly*, Mr. *Aſhton*, Mr. *Haley*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Carent*, Mr. *Mallory*, Mr. *Rivers*, Mr. *Dyke*, Mr. *Staley*. Plotters.

One

A.D. 1658 One can ſcarce read the Names of them without trembling, after what the *Archdeacon* has ſaid of their being formidable. I do not add Sir *Henry Slingsby*, becauſe he was a Priſoner in *Yorkſhire*, and therefore can't be in a Plot of his own. The Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory*, to juſtify what he affirms of *Cromwel*'s Cruelty, affirms that he *nominated* the Members of the High Court of Juſtice, who try'd and condemn'd as many of theſe Priſoners as were convicted, which
Pag. 605. is not true; for as *Ludlow* aſſures us, this High Court of Juſtice was nominated by his laſt Parliament. Mr. *Mordaunt*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterburgh*, was alſo charg'd with Plotting againſt the Government. Dr *Hewet* diſpers'd Commiſſions from King *Charles* the Second. Sir *Henry Slingsby* had endeavour'd to debauch ſome of the Garriſon of *Hull*, where he was a Priſoner, and deliver'd a Commiſſion to them from the King. The other Conſpirators were charg'd with a Deſign to fire the City in ſeveral Places at the Time appointed for their Party to take Arms.

Dr. Hewet. The firſt Conſpirator brought before the Court, was Dr. *Hewet*, who mov'd for a Jury, and demurr'd to their Juriſdiction, but was over-rul'd; and at any time to plead againſt the Juriſdiction of a Court, who has the Authority and Power to back it, ſeems to me to be extremely abſurd and uſeleſs. He was told twice, that if he wou'd not plead, they wou'd proceed againſt him as if the Fact was confeſt. The Queſtion being put to him a third Time, he ſaid, he wou'd plead if the Judges declar'd it was according to Law. The Court told him, the Commiſſioners there preſent were his Judges, and if he wou'd not plead, they wou'd regiſter his Contempt the third Time, which upon his Refuſal a third Time was done.

The Hiſtorians, the *Compleat One*, and Mr. *Archdeacon* hold up their Hands at this extraordinary Way of Proceeding, and condemning a Criminal, becauſe he will not plead, as if there was any other Way of doing Juſtice; or that Juſtice cou'd ever be done, if Priſoners might plead or not plead at Pleaſure. *Whitlock* ſays, *Hewet* carry'd himſelf *very impudently*.

Sir Henry Slingsby. Sir *Henry Slingsby*'s Plea was, that what he ſaid was in jeſt, that the Commiſſion he ſhew'd was an old one, which had lain long by him, and that the Perſons he wou'd have corrupted, trapann'd him, by promiſing to ſerve the King. 'Tis eaſy to ſee that this muſt end in Conviction and Condemnation.

Mr. *Mordaunt* refus'd to plead at firſt, but being threaten'd to be condemn'd as a Mute, he pleaded *Not Guilty*; and by ſpiriting away *Mallory*, one of the Witneſſes againſt him, the Court was ſo divided in Opinion, that he was acquitted by one Vote. The reſt of the Conſpirators were try'd and condemn'd; *Woodcock* excepted, who behav'd ſo handſomely at his Trial, that the Court diſcharged him. Juſt as Judgment was given, Sir *Thomas Pride* came into Court, whoſe Voice being for Conviction, as that of the Lord Preſident *Liſle* wou'd have been, he had been condemn'd if *Pride* had come ſooner. Tho' *Echard* affirms, that there is not the like Inſtance of acquitting a Priſoner by a High Court of Juſtice, as that of Mr. *Mordaunt*, what does he take the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen* to be? *Aſhton* was hang'd at *Mark-lane* End, *Stacy* in *Cornhill*, *Beſtly* in *Cheapſide*, and all the reſt were repriev'd. Great Endeavours were us'd to ſave Sir *Henry Slingsby*, tho' a Papiſt, by the Lord *Falconbridge*, his Nephew, who had lately marry'd Lady *Mary Cromwel*; and Lady *Elizabeth Cleypole* earneſtly ſollicited the Protector to pardon Dr. *Hewet*, but the Ingratitude of the Cavaliers, to whom he had of late been very gracious, had ſo exaſperated him, that he was reſolv'd to let Juſtice take its Courſe: So they were both beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. I am very far from thinking that Lady *Cleypole*'s Death was haſten'd becauſe her Father wou'd not ſave Dr. *Hewet*, or that *Cromwel* broke his Heart, becauſe his Daughter broke hers. It is neither true in Fact nor in Reaſon. That Lady had been ill ſometime of a Diſtemper, as mortal as Heart-breaking, an Ulcer in her Womb, of which ſhe dy'd, the 7th of *Auguſt*, at *Hampton-Court*, a Month after the Execution of *Slingsby* and *Hewet*, to the great Affliction of the Protector, who lov'd her entirely, ſhe being a Lady of uncommon Merit; and this Affliction, with his own ill State of Health, which had hung upon him ſeveral Months, ſo broke him, that 'twas viſible his Life wou'd not be of long Duration. A.D. 1658

Sir *Humphry Bennet*, another of the Conſpirators in the late Conſpiracy, was to have been try'd as the reſt had been, and his Fate wou'd doubtleſs have been the ſame, but upon Application made by his Friends to the Commiſſioners of the High Court of Juſtice for Favour to him, his Life was ſav'd. *Whitlock* informs us, *This Kindneſs of his Friends was not remember'd*, which is not at all ſtrange, for Generoſity and Slavery never dwell in the ſame Breaſt, and to be grateful 'tis requiſite that a Man ſhou'd be generous, which an Enemy to Liberty cannot be. After theſe Trials were over, the High Court of Juſtice was diſſolv'd, and the Protector, by Advice of Mr. *Whitlock*, referr'd all future Trials of Conſpirators to the *Upper Bench*, after the Courſe of the Common Law; and having lately made Major General *Howard*, a *Viſcount*, he was afterwards Earl of *Carliſle*; he ſign'd a Patent to make *Whitlock* a *Viſcount*, and three other Patents to make the Attorney General *Prideaux*, and the Sollicitor General, Baronets, and *John Maynard*, Eſq; his Highneſs's Serjeant; which are plain Proofs that he reſolv'd to exerciſe all the Prerogatives of a Sovereign, and be a King in every thing but the Name, which probably he wou'd ſtill have taken upon him, had he liv'd a few Months longer. Sir Humphry Bennet.

He ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, inform'd them of the Plots carrying on againſt the Government, and deſir'd them to take Care of the Peace of the City, and they preſented an Addreſs to him, aſſuring him of their *Faithfulneſs* and *Duty*.

He receiv'd alſo an Addreſs from *Monk*'s, and other Regiments in *England* and *Scotland* of the like Tenour, for which he thank'd them; and in his Anſwer to ſome of them, he imparted to them *The preſent Deſigns of the Enemy, that Commiſſions were ſent over hither from the King of the* Scots, *and that he had* 4000 *Men in* Flanders, *ready to be imbark'd for* England, *to joyn with his Party here; and therefore it behov'd all honeſt Men, to provide for a Defence, and to joyn heartily together.*

I have not taken any Notice of *Echard*'s Story, concerning an *execrable Plot* form'd by *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; *John Thurloe*, Eſq; and Sir *Richard Willis*, to murder the King of the *Scots*, the Duke of *York*, and Duke of *Glouceſter*, becauſe there is not a Syllable in it that's credible. They were to be tempted by pretended Letters from Cavaliers, to come over to *Suſſex* in a ſingle Ship, where 500 Foot, and 2000 Horſe were to receive them, tho' the Deſign was, according to Mr. *Archdeacon* and his Manuſcript, to cut their Throats at *their firſt Landing, and extirpate the Royal Family*. *Thurloe*'s under Secretary, *Samuel Moreland*, heard *Oliver* and *Thurloe* in Conference about it, pretending to be aſleep. Immediately he *A Fiction concerning* Morland *and* Willis.

A.D.1658 he runs away to Major *Henſhaw*, a Priſoner in the *Tower* for a Conſpiracy, tells him all, and deſires him to tell the King. Away runs *Henſhaw* out of the *Tower*, finds the King in *Flanders*, informs him of *Oliver* and *Thurloe*'s Aſſaſſination Plot, and the King ſent a Letter of Excuſe, in Anſwer to the pretended Letter of the Cavaliers. *Willis* is ſuſpected to make a Diſcovery, and he ſuſpects *Moreland*. They two have an Interview in a dark deep Cellar, where, by profeſſing only that he was Innocent, and demanding of *Willis* a Reaſon of his Suſpicion; that Knight, who when he was Governor of *Newarke* for the King, is repreſented as one of the braveſt of his Majeſty's brave Officers, *was damp'd by it, and* Moreland *eſcap'd that imminent Danger*, tho' it ſeems not to be ſo imminent neither, for *Willis* had only a *Bible* by him, but *Moreland* had two good Piſtols in his Pocket. *Echard* brags that this Account never appear'd in Print before, and came from the Mouths of three Perſons, two of them Knights, and the third a Perſon of undoubted Worth and Honour, of which this Story is an incomparable Proof; and I doubt not, moſt of his Manuſcript Hiſtory and Informations came from Perſons of the like Honour and Worth. He Prints alſo a Letter of *Moreland*'s, which denies that *Moreland* had given the King any Information relating to *Willis*; and the Lord *Clarendon* has no leſs than three or four Folio Pages of Informations given by *Moreland* againſt *Willis*. This Contradiction, no ſtrange Thing amongſt them, confeſs'd by the ingenious Mr. *Echard* himſelf, and the Narrative being the Child of Invention, cou'd not poſſibly have Agreement with any other Narrative that was not the Work of the ſame Brain. It is not pretended, that the King had any ſuch Cabinet Spies, or any Money to give them, as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, but *Oliver* had both, and thought no Expence or Hazard too great to procure them. An Inſtance of which, and of his Caution in the Uſe of them, " *Thurloe* was wont to tell that " he was once commanded by *Cromwel* to go at " a certain Hour to *Gray*'s-*Inn*, and at ſuch a " Place deliver a Bill of 20,000 Pounds to a Man " he ſhou'd find walking in ſuch a Habit and " Poſture as he deſcrib'd him; " which accordingly *Thurloe* did, and never knew to the Day of his Death, either the Perſon or the Occaſion. At another Time the Protector coming late at Night into *Thurloe*'s Office, which he kept in the laſt Stair-Caſe in *Lincoln*'s-*Inn*, towards *Holborn*, that has a Way down into the Garden, made on Purpoſe for *Cromwel*'s coming to him unobſerv'd, the Protector began to diſcourſe with his Secretary, about an Affair of the laſt Importance, but ſeeing *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, afterwards Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the Office, whom he had not ſeen before, and fearing he might have over-heard them, tho' he pretended to be aſleep upon his Desk, he drew out a Dagger which he always carried under his Coat, and was going to diſpatch *Moreland* on the Spot, if *Thurloe* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to deſiſt, aſſuring him *Moreland* had ſate up two Nights together, and was certainly faſt aſleep. Probably this Incident gave Riſe to the Fictions of *Moreland* and *Henſhaw*, and *Moreland* and *Willis*, but no queſtion *Moreland* did betray his Maſter, when he found Things were like to take another Turn, and indeed I never heard much of his Integrity or Merit.

Cromwel *and* Thurloe.

The Siege of *Dunkirk* being reſolv'd on at the opening of the Campaign, chiefly at the Inſtigation of General *Morgan*, who inſiſted upon it in the Council of War, held in the Mareſchal *Turenne*'s Camp, the *Engliſh*, to the Number of 6000, under *Morgan*, and Sir *William Lockhart*, who ſucceeded *Reynolds* in that Command, did Wonders, by Acknowledgment even of the *French*. The Cavaliers under the Duke of *York*, were ſtill part of the *Spaniſh* Army, which march'd to the Relief of the Place, almoſt as ſoon as *Turenne* had inveſted it, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of a *Sand* Hill, from whence they gall'd the *Engliſh*, who reſolv'd, if poſſible, to drive them from that Poſt. The Ground was ſo deep and looſe they cou'd not without extream Difficulty march up the Hill; yet at laſt they affected it, and having put the *Spaniards* to flight, purſu'd them to their main Body. But having engag'd themſelves too far, and being overpower'd by great Numbers of Horſe and Foot, the *French* leaving the whole Streſs of the Fight upon them they were in Danger of being entirely cut off; which being obſerv'd by Major General *Drummond*, a *Scot*'s Officer, who ſerv'd with the *Engliſh* as a Voluntier, he rode up to the *French* Horſe, and by reproaching them with Treachery and Negligence, procur'd a Body of Cavalry to be ſent to their Succour. Upon the Arrival of this ſeaſonable Relief, the *Engliſh* took freſh Courage, renew'd their Attack, and defeated the Enemy, of whom they kill'd 1200, many of them *Engliſh*; ſo that when the *French* Army came up, they had little more to do than to take Priſoners. Here were taken moſt of the *Engliſh* Officers, of that which was term'd the King's own Regiment, commanded by Colonel *Blague*, Governor of *Wallingford*, in the Civil Wars. The greateſt Loſs the Protector's Forces had, was in the Death of Colonel *Fenwick*, and Captain *Sherwyn*, who were both kill'd. Soon after the Battle the Town was ſurrender'd to the *French*, and deliver'd to the *Engliſh*, tho' contrary to their firſt Intentions, as we are told by *Wellwood*.

A.D.1658

" There was an Article in the Treaty between " the Protector and *France*, That if *Dunkirk* " was taken, it ſhou'd be put into the Poſſeſſion " of the *Engliſh*, and his Ambaſſador, *Lockhart*, " had Orders to receive it from them, when the " *French* and *Engliſh* Armies were marching to " beſiege it. *Cromwel* one Morning ſent for Monſieur *Bourdeaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador, and " upbraided him publickly for his Maſter's deſign'd Breach of Promiſe, in giving ſecret Orders to the Mareſchal *Turenne*, not to deliver " the Town in caſe 'twas taken, contrary to the " Treaty between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the Matter, as indeed he did not, and beg'd Leave to aſſure " him there was no ſuch Thing thought of, " Upon which *Cromwel*, pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, *Here*, ſays he, *is the Copy of the Cardinal's Order: And I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an Expreſs, to let him know that I am not to be impos'd on, and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk, *to* Lockhart, *within an Hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him I'll come in Perſon, and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. Has this been the Language of the Kings of *England*, ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*? There were but four Perſons ſaid to be privy to this Order, the *Queen Mother*, the *Cardinal*, the *Mareſchal de Turenne*, and a *Secretary*. The Cardinal for a long Time blam'd the Queen Mother, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd it out to ſome of her Women, as another Deſign upon *Dunkirk* 30 Years afterwards was ſo blabb'd; whereas a Correſpondence between *Oliver*, and the *French* Secretary, was diſcover'd upon the Death of the latter, and it was not doubted but he ſent him the Copy of the Order above-mention'd. The Meſſage had it's Effect, and *Lockhart* took Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*

Engliſh *victorious at* Dunkirk.

A.D.1658 *kirk*, in the Name of the Lord Protector of *England*; upon which *Mardyke* was reſtor'd to the *French*.

It was not to palliate this Matter, as *Wellwood* and *Echard* aſſures us, that the Duke *de Crequi* was ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Oliver*, but to return a Compliment, his Highneſs paid the *French* King on his Arrival at *Calais*, juſt before *Dunkirk* was ſurrender'd. *Oliver* diſpatch'd his Son in Law, the Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, with a numerous and ſplendid Retinue, of 150 Gentlemen and Servants, to congratulate the moſt Chriſtian King upon his coming into the Neighbourhood of *England*. The King and Cardinal arriv'd at *Calais* the 20th of *May*, and were receiv'd by the *Engliſh* Fleet on the Coaſt in a continual Fire of the Artillery, for four Hours together, which was anſwer'd by the Cannon at *Calais*. The *French* King preſented the *Engliſh* Admiral with his Picture, hanging in a Gold Chain, and Medals of Gold to the Captains; 20 Ton of the beſt Brandy, and 2000 Piſtoles were diſtributed among the Seamen, in all to the Value of above 20,000 Crowns. The like Preſents he made the *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers in his Army, whom he reveiw'd with a great deal of Pleaſure. The Lord *Falconbridge* brought a Letter from the Protector to the King, written with his own Hand, and another to the Cardinal, preſſing the Reduction of *Dunkirk*, as it was a Neſt of Pyrates. More Honour cou'd not be paid to a ſovereign Prince, than was done to the Lord *Falconbridge*. All Rules in the Ceremonials were paſt over. The Cardinal receiv'd him as he alighted out of his Coach, and conducted him back to the very Gate. He gave him the right Hand in his Apartment, which was never done to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, or the Pope's Nuncio, and at which all the Miniſters of other Princes grumbled. The Lord *Falconbridge* ſtaid at the *French* Court five Days, and was royally treated all the while, both by the King and the Cardinal: When he had taken his Audience of Leave, the King preſented him with a Gold Box inlaid with Diamonds, the Arms of *France* on the Cover, and three large Jewels for the three *Flower de Luces*. Within it was the King's Picture ſet in Diamonds: The whole worth 5000 Crowns. Several Medals of Gold were given to the Gentlemen of his Retinue, and a 1000 *Louis d'Ors* among his Servants. The Cardinal preſented his Lordſhip with 12 Pieces of *Genoua* Velvet of incomparable Fineneſs and Beauty; and as the Lord Viſcount had preſented the King with two Sets of *Engliſh* Horſes, from the Lord Protector, eight in a Set, and the beſt that cou'd be got, as alſo a Set to the Cardinal, the King return'd a Preſent of a Sword, valu'd at 10,000 Crowns: And the Cardinal ſent *Cromwel* a Suit of Tapiſtry Hangings, wrought in the *Gobelins* at *Paris*, after the *Perſian* Manner.

Lord Falconbridge's magnificent Embaſſy to the French King.

The Duke deCrequi's Embaſſy to Cromwel.

The King on his Part diſpatch'd the Duke *de Crequi*, firſt Lord of his Bed-chamber, to *England*, to compliment *Cromwel*, which the King's of *France* never do, but to the greateſt Monarchs in Chriſtendom, as he thought the Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*. When the ſame Duke was afterwards ſent Ambaſſador to *Rome*, he made nothing near the Figure as he did at *London* in the Court of *Cromwel*. He had 150 Gentlemen and Servants in his Train, as had the Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, and was accompany'd by 60 Gentlemen more, who were of Rank, and among whom was a Prince of the Blood, to do Honour to the Embaſſy. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* receiv'd him at his Landing at *Dover*, accompany'd by ſeveral great Officers in twenty Coaches with ſix Horſes, one hundred Life-Guard, and two hundred Horſe, who all attended the Ambaſſador with Swords drawn in their Hands, beſides above one hundred and fifty Gentlemen who came with *Fleetwood* on Horſeback. The Protector met him at the third Stair, and had no more Regard to the Rules of the *Ceremonial*, than the Court of *France* ſhew'd with Reſpect to the Lord *Falconbridge*. The next Day he entertain'd him at Dinner, ſeating the Duke at his right Hand, and his Son, the Lord *Richard*, at his left. He ſtay'd ſix Days at *London*, and during that Time, was feaſted and treated with the utmoſt Magnificence. Some ſay he preſented the Protector with the Keys of *Dunkirk*, telling him, *His Maſter took Pleaſure in parting with them to the greateſt Captain upon Earth*. At his Departure, he was accompany'd to *Dover*, as he came from thence, *Cromwel* preſented him with a Sword, worth 3000 Crowns, with a ſtriking Watch ſet with Diamonds of the ſame Value, and above forty Pieces of fine *Engliſh* Broadcloth. He gave thirty fine Gold Watches to the Officers and Gentlemen of his Retinue, and 1000 Broad-pieces to be diſtributed among his Servants.

A.D.1658

The Cardinal, not content with this Compliment from the King, ſent his Nephew *Mancini*, with a moſt obliging Letter to the Protector, to aſſure his Highneſs, *That being within View of the* Engliſh *Shore, nothing but the King's Indiſpoſition*, who lay then ill of the Small Pox at *Calais, cou'd have hinder'd him to come over to* England, *that he might enjoy the Honour of Waiting upon one of the greateſt Men that ever was, and whom next to his Maſter, his greateſt Ambition was to ſerve. But being depriv'd of ſo great a Happineſs, he had ſent the Perſon that was neareſt to him in Blood, to aſſure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon, and how much he was reſolv'd, to the utmoſt of his Power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendſhip betwixt his Maſter and him.*

Mazarine's Nephew brings him a Letter.

This was the mighty Man, whom the greateſt Politician in *Europe* terms, not only the *greateſt Man* that was then, but that *ever was*. Yet this too was he, of whom the Earl of *Clarendon* ſays, *No Man with more Wickedneſs ever attempted any thing; no Man brought any thing to paſs more wickedly. He was guilty of many Crimes againſt which Damnation is denounc'd, and for which Hell Fire is prepar'd*. If ſuch Preachment as this can come from any Head but the Head of a College, it muſt be void of that Humanity which is the Grace of good, as well as Chriſtian Minds.

Some time before *Oliver* was taken ill of his laſt Sickneſs, dy'd the Earl of *Warwick*, and his Grandſon, Mr. *Rich*, who had marry'd Lady *Frances*, the Protector's youngeſt Daughter, a young Lady of great Beauty and Virtue. The Death of the Protector's faſt Friend, the Earl of *Warwick*, touch'd him very ſenſibly, and the ill Humours in his Blood did not a little ſtir up thoſe in his Mind, which, afflicted and diſturb'd as it was, ceaſt not to form vaſt Deſigns even to the very laſt of Life. It is ſaid, he intended to tranſport 40000 Men to *Flanders*, and to have a Fleet of fifty Men of War, but upon what Scheme is not told us, whether to ſupport a Proteſtant League, or to take the *Netherlands* from the *Spaniards*.

Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, He deſign'd to ſet up a Council for the Reform'd Religion, in Oppoſition to the Congregation *de propaganda fide* at *Rome*: He intended it ſhou'd conſiſt of ſeven Counſellors, and four Secretaries for different Provinces. Theſe were; The firſt *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Vallies*. The ſecond were the *Palatinate*, and the other *Calviniſts*. The third were *Germany*, the *North*, and *Turkey*. The fourth were the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*. The Secretaries were to have 500 Pounds a Year each, and to

*A.D.*1658 keep a Correſpondence every where, to know the State of Religion all over the World, that ſo all good Deſigns might by their Means be protected and aſſiſted. They were to have a Fund of 10,000 Pounds a Year, but to be further ſupply'd as Occaſions ſhou'd require. *Chelſea* College was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble Project, as the Biſhop obſerves, and muſt have extraordinary Effects under the Protection of a Power which was formidable and terrible to all Nations to whom it was known.

Crom-wel's *laſt Sickn.ſs.*

The Lord Protector was taken ill of a kind of Ague, on St. *James*'s Day, which ſome ſuch Hiſtorians as the *Archdeacon*, have interpreted to be a Judgment on him, for being one of the Judges of King *Charles*, Son of King *James*, which being a Fortnight before the Death of Lady *Cleypole*, her Death cou'd not bring it on upon him. After this a malignant Humour broke out in his Foot, which hindring him from the Exerciſe of Walking or Riding abroad; he oblig'd his Phyſicians to endeavour to diſperſe it, which they endeavouring to do, drove it upwards to his Heart. By this Means he became deſperately ſick, and in the Beginning of *September* the Symptoms of Death appear'd upon him, and he asking one of his Phyſicians, *What he thought of his Caſe*? The Doctor reply'd, *My Lord, there is no more Oil in that Lamp which has given ſo much Light to both Church and State.* The dying Protector, reply'd with a Courage worthy of him, *When do you think it will go out*? The Phyſician reply'd, *In two Days at fartheſt. It is Time then, ſaid* Cromwel, *to ſettle my Mind, and provide for the Safety of the State.* Accordingly he ſent for his Council, and recommended to them the Choice of a Succeſſor, tho' by the humble *Petition* and *Advice*, he might nominate one himſelf, which it was expected he wou'd have done; but he had not ſo good an Opinion of the Genius of his eldeſt Son *Richard*, and he did not care to prefer any other Perſon of his Family to him. In this Uncertainty he departed this Life the 3d of *September*, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, the ſame Day on which he was born, and on which he won the Victories at *Marſton-moor*, *Dunbar*, and *Worceſter*. Some affirm he did name his Son *Richard* to be his Succeſſor, and *Warwick*; that he was never enough in his Senſes, during his Sickneſs, to be able to do it; which is notoriouſly falſe, as I cou'd prove very eaſily. As falſe is what we are told in the *Hiſtory* of the *Rebellion*, that *Cromwel* had but *two Daughters*, whereas he had four by his Conſort *Elizabeth*, Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*. 1. *Bridget*, Wife of Lieutenant General *Ireton*. 2. *Elizabeth*, Wife of *John Cleypole*, Eſq; of *Northamptonſhire*. 3. *Mary*, Viſcounteſs *Falconbridge*. 4. *Frances*, the Wife of the Honourable *Robert Rich*, Eſq; He had four Siſters, 1. Marry'd to Major General *Deſborough*. 2. To Colonel *Jones*. 3. To Colonel *Walton*. 4. To Dr. *Wilkins*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*. She was Mother to Mrs. *Tillotſon*, Wife of Dr. *Tillotſon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. One of his Aunts marry'd *Francis Barrington*, Eſq; another marry'd *John Hampden*, Eſq; by which Match the famous *Hampden* was his Nephew, and Mr. *Waller*, the *Goodwyns* and *Ingoldsbies* of *Bucks*, his Relations: A third marry'd *Richard Whalley*, Eſq; of *Nottinghamſhire*, Father to Colonel *Whalley*; which ſhews that no Gentleman had a more powerful Family Intereſt. *Cromwel* is blam'd by judicious Writers, for not taking more Care of his Family, but leaving them expos'd to Want, conſidering their Rank, at the Pleaſure of their prevailing Enemies of all Parties; for beſides the Eſtate which his Son *Richard* had with his Wife, one of the Coheirs of *Richard Mayor*, Eſq; of *Hurſely* in *Hampſhire*, he left not enough for them to keep a Coach after the Charge of his Funeral was defray'd. However his Care of them while living, in matching them well, both Sons and Daughters, was very laudable, of which there's a pleaſant Inſtance. *A.D.*1658

One of his domeſtick Chaplains, Mr. *Jeremy White*, a ſprightly Man and a top Wit of his Court, was ſo ambitious as to make his Addreſſes to Lady *Frances*, the Protector's youngeſt Daughter. The young Lady did not diſencourage him; and this Piece of innocent Gallantry in ſo religious a Court, cou'd not be carry'd on without Spies. *Oliver* was told of it, and he was much concern'd at it, obliging the Perſon who told him to be on the Watch; and if he cou'd give him any ſubſtantial Proof, he ſhou'd be well rewarded, and *White* ſeverely puniſh'd. The Spy follow'd the Matter ſo cloſe, that he hunted *Jerry White*, as he was generally term'd, to the Lady's Chamber, and ran immediately to the Protector with this News. *Oliver* in a Rage haſten'd thither himſelf, and going in haſtily, found *Jerry* on his Knees kiſſing the Lady's Hand, or having juſt kiſs'd it. *Cromwel* in a Fury ask'd what was the Meaning of that Poſture before his Daughter *Frank*? *White*, with a great deal of Preſence of Mind, ſaid, *May it pleaſe your Highneſs, I have a long Time courted that young Gentlewoman there, my Lady's Woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her Ladyſhip to intercede for me.* The Protector turning to the young Woman, cry'd, *What's the meaning of this, Huſſey*? *Why do you refuſe the Honour Mr.* White *wou'd do you*? *He is my Friend, and I expect you ſhou'd treat him as ſuch.* My Lady's Woman, who deſir'd nothing more, with a very low Courteſy reply'd, *If Mr.* White *intends me that Honour, I ſhall not be againſt him. Sayſt thou ſo, my Laſs, cry'd* Cromwel, *Call* Goodwyn, *This Buſineſs ſhall be done preſently, before I go out of the Room.* Mr. *White* was gone too far to go back. The Parſon came. *Jerry* and my Lady's Woman were marry'd in Preſence of the Protector, who gave her 500 Pounds for her Portion; and that, with the Money ſhe had ſav'd before, made Mr. *White* eaſy in his Circumſtances, except in one Thing, which was, that he never lov'd his Wife, nor ſhe him, tho' they liv'd together near fifty Years afterwards. I knew them both, and heard this Story told when Mrs. *White* was preſent, who did not contradict it, but own'd *there was ſomething in it.* This Lady *Frances* and her eldeſt Siſter, Lady *Mary Falconbridge* (indeed all *Cromwel*'s Daughters) were belov'd, admir'd and eſteem'd for their Beauty, Virtue and good Senſe. Lady *Mary* eſpecially is ſaid, with all theſe fine Imbelliſhments, to have inherited a Portion of her Father's Spirit, and to have deſerv'd Empire better than either of her Brothers, of whom ſhe was wont to ſay, *Thoſe who wear Breeches deſerve Petticoats better: If thoſe in Petticoats had been in Breeches, they wou'd have held faſter.* This was the Lady whom a valiant *Cavalier* inſulted in the *Park*, after the Reſtoration, on her Father's being taken out of his Grave and hung up at *Tyburn*; to whom ſhe reply'd, *Had he been living, he wou'd have made you all ſmell worſe.* The Character of *Cromwel* has been ſo often drawn by Friends and Foes, that I ſhall not attempt to add to what has been already ſaid of him in this Hiſtory.

Mr. *Baxter*'s Saying of his Religion is moſt certain, *He kept as much Honeſty and Godlineſs as his Cauſe and Intereſt wou'd allow him.* And a Foreigner has this Paradox on him, which the Reader will perceive, when it is duly explain'd, takes in his whole Character, *Un Tyran ſans Vice, Un Prince ſans Virtue.* A Tyrant *without* Vice, A Prince *without* Virtue.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

During the PROTECTORATE of

RICHARD CROMWEL.

A.D.1658 LUDLOW ſeems to doubt whether *Oliver* did really nominate his Son *Richard* to be his Succeſſor: But *Whitlock*, who was at that Time much more in the Secret of Affairs, ſpeaks of it thus: "Immediately upon the *Protector*'s Death, "the *Council* aſſembled, and being ſatisfy'd that "his late Highneſs had in his Life-time, according to the *Petition* and *Advice*, declar'd "his Son *Richard* to be his Succeſſor, they "caus'd the ſame to be proclaim'd in a ſolemn "Manner in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and they went the ſame Day to *Richard* "to acquaint him with it, and ſent a Committee "of the Council into the City to inform the "Lord Mayor of it." Accordingly *Richard* was proclaim'd *Lord Protector* in the following Words,

Whereas it hath pleas'd the moſt wiſe God, in his Providence, to take out of this World the moſt Serene and Renown'd Oliver, *late Lord Protector of this Common-wealth: And his Highneſs having in his Life-time, according to the* humble Petition *and* Advice, *declar'd and appointed the moſt Noble and Illuſtrious the Lord* Richard, *eldeſt Son of his ſaid late Highneſs, to ſucceed him in the Government of theſe Nations; we therefore of the Privy-Council, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of* London, *the Officers of the Army, and Numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full Voice and Conſent of Tongue and Heart, publiſh and declare the ſaid Noble and Illuſtrious Lord* Richard *to be Rightfully Protector of this Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: To whom we acknowledge all Fidelity and conſtant Obedience, according to Law, and the ſaid humble Petition and Advice, with all hearty and humble Affections, beſeeching the Lord, by whom Princes rule, to bleſs him with long Life, and theſe Nations with Peace and Happineſs under his Government.* Sign'd by *Richard Chiverton*, Lord Mayor, *Henry Lawrence*, Eſq; Lord Preſident, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Eſq; *John Liſle*, Eſq; Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Major General *Desborough*, Col. *Montagu*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, Major General *Skippon*, Col. *William Sydenham*, *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; *Philip Jones*, Eſq, *John Thurloe*, Eſq; Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, Commiſſary General *Whaley*, Col. *William Goff*, Col. *Thomas Cooper*, Col. *Edward Salmon*, Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Col. *John Clerk*, Sir *Thomas Pride*, *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; Col. *Joſias Bridge*, Col. *John Biſcoe*, *Waldine Lagee*, Eſq; *John Mills*, Eſq; Quarter-maſter General *Groſvenor*, *&c.* - - - - - - *God ſave his Highneſs* Richard, *Lord Protector.* A.D.1658

The Council then gave the new Protector the Oath, and with his Conſent publiſh'd another Proclamation, for all that were Officers in his Father's Time to continue in their Places.

On the 8th of *September* Sir *Oliver Fleming*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, acquainted all foreign Ambaſſadors with the Death of the late Protector, and the Succeſſion of his Son *Richard*, who was as ſolemnly proclaim'd all over *England* as ever any King had been; and more Addreſſes were ſent him from all Parts of the three Kingdoms, than had been ſent to all the Kings from the firſt *Richard* to this: All declaring their *Satisfaction in his Succeſſion, and their Reſolution to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.*

This

A.D. 1658 This Man's Acceſſion to the Sovereign Power without one of his Father's great Qualities, and hardly any Quality of a Gentleman but Indolence, very juſtly elevated the Hopes of the Royaliſts and Republicans; but the latter, by dividing their Intereſt from that of the Protectorate, and taking in the Royaliſts to encreaſe their Party, had indeed ſo weaken'd themſelves, that they cou'd never effectually recover the Government which they had ſo long labour'd for.

His Letters to foreign Princes. Two Days after the late Protector's Death, his Son *Richard* wrote a Letter to the *French* King, *Au ſereniſſime & tres puiſſant* Louis *Roy de* France. *Sereniſſime & tres puiſſant Roy Ami & Allie*, &c. wherein he ſays, *I am now to deſire your Majeſty to look on me as one who is reſolv'd to maintain, with an entire and conſtant Fidelity, the Friendſhip that was between you and my Father of ever glorious Memory.* Sign'd RICHARD, *Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of* England. He wrote at the ſame Time to Cardinal *Mazarine*; and ſoon after he wrote two Letters to *Charles Guſtavus*, King of *Sweden*; the firſt notifying his Father's Death; the other was a Credential Letter for Sir *George Ayſcue*, whom he ſent Ambaſſador to that Prince. In theſe Letters he ſays, *Pray God grant your Majeſty Succeſs in all your Affairs, for his Glory and the Support of the Orthodox Church.* In his Letter to the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, he recommends the Caſe of a Widow, Mrs. *Mary Grinder*, who having lent that Gentleman of King *Charles* the Second's Retinue, for whom he was ſollicitous to get a Wife, a good Sum of Money, he refus'd to pay it, pleading that he who had made himſelf a Subject of the *States*, was free from any Suit or Action for a Debt contracted in *England*. The Protector ſays, *Je ne croi pas qu'il ſoit neceſſaire devous en dire d'avantage ſur ce ſujet*, &c. *I don't think it neceſſary to add any thing farther on this Subject, you know the Commandments of the Lord, and how much we are expreſly forbidden to oppreſs the Widow and the Fatherleſs.* He wrote a ſecond Letter to the *French* King in Behalf of the Proteſtants of *Provence*, eſpecially in and about the City of *Agde*, where their Churches were ſhut up on Complaint of the Clergy of the Dioceſs aſſembled in Convocation. But alas! his Recommendations and Interpoſitions had not the Weight in them which his Father's had. All the Princes and Powers of *Europe* knew the Court and Army were divided and ſubdivided, and that this Government was upon a ſandy Foundation: However, all the Princes and Powers paid him the uſual Compliments on the Death of one Prince, and the Succeſſion of another to his Power; and if *Lambert*, *Fleetwood*, the Army, and his own Family had ſtood by him, all Oppoſition wou'd have ſerv'd only to have given a Pretence to take Vengeance on his Enemies. But inſtead of this Attachment they all fell off from him one after another, and left him a poor, deſtitute, forſaken Creature in an empty Court at *Whitehall*.

Forſaken by his Family.

Monk *flatters* Richard. A very loyal Addreſs was ſent by *Monk* from *Scotland* to *Richard*, and one from *Buckinghamſhire*, wherein moſt of the principal Gentlemen were engag'd, was preſented to him by *Whitlocke*, accompany'd with a great Number of them. *Whitlocke* made a ſhort Speech to the new Protector, who thank'd them for their Affections, and, as 'tis ſaid, in his Memorials return'd a *very prudent Anſwer*. We read a little after, "*Richard* "gave Audience to the *French* Ambaſſador, and "carry'd himſelf diſcreetly, and *better than was* "*expected.*" For the vulgar Notion conceiv'd of *Richard*, from ſuch Hiſtories as *Clarendon* and *Echard*'s, that he was a *Fool*, is idle and groundleſs:

Richard's *Character.*

He wanted not Underſtanding but Reſolution. He was capable of Buſineſs, but hated it, tho' 'tis likely that Hatred wou'd have worn off with Practice; and as he was well natur'd and virtuous, tho' no Zealot nor Sectary, had his Father's Friends been as willing that he ſhou'd have kept the Power, as he was to keep it, I do not ſee how Mr. *Mordaunt*, Major General *Maſſey*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the *Shropſhire* Gentry, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Arundel* and *Pollard*, to whom the Lord *Clarendon* is giving Arms as faſt as he can, cou'd have taken it from him. A.D. 1658

The Truth is, the *Cavaliers* were in the loweſt State of Dejection and Impotence, and might as well have expected the Reſurrection as a Reſtoration, had their Opponents been as true to the publick Intereſt as they were to their private, tho' they were miſtaken in the Purſuit of it.

Republicans *and* Cromwellians *impolitick.* The Party, who had a *Common-wealth* in their Heads, did not conſider that moſt of the *Cromwelians* had been Common-wealths Men; that half of their Strength was gone from them, and were ready to join with any ſingle Perſon, rather than ſubject themſelves to a Parliament, whom they had turn'd out of Doors.

Neither did the *Cromwelians* conſider, that by dividing from the *Republicans*, their old ſure Friends, they had made a Breach for the *Cavaliers*, their old ſure inveterate, revengeful and cruel Enemies, to enter in at.

The *Fifth-Monarchy* Party conſider'd nothing but the *Milleniums*, that they were all to be Favourites under a *Theocracy*, which being the Height of Madneſs, was incapable of any other Remedy than the *Reſtoration*: When the State Surgeon, fell into an infallible Way of Practice, and to cure an aking Head, cut it off. The Common-wealths Men, blinded with their Zeal for the long Parliament, and imagining a diſgrac'd forgotten Power, might, like an old Tree, get new Root, and ſprout and branch as in the Vigor of Youth, began their Machinations immediately on the Death of *Oliver*.

Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Weaver*, Colonel *Eyres*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Col. *Kendrick*, Mr. *Scot*, Colonel *Dixwell*, Major *Salloway*, Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Nevill*, Colonel *Morley*, were the main Sticklers for the Common-wealth; and theſe had their Meetings at Sir *Henry Vane*'s Houſe, near *Chairing-Croſs*, where they conſulted how they ſhou'd behave upon the Election of a Parliament, which was talk'd of, and Writs ſoon after iſſu'd for electing Members, and for the other Houſe to meet; but before the Writs were iſſu'd, 'twas debated in Council, whether the Elections ſhou'd be according to the Diſtribution practis'd by *Cromwel*, or the old Way, by Counties, Cities and Boroughs, and the latter was reſolv'd upon, not as being according to the ancient Law and Form, but becauſe *it was well underſtood, that mean and decay'd Boroughs might be much more eaſily corrupted than the numerous Counties and conſiderable Cities.* Yet, contrary to this Argument, to the Fact and Truth, the Earl of *Clarendon* aſſures us, Richard *follow'd the Model that was left him.* And *Coke* errs as much, *His Parliament were of his Father's Compoſition*, to conſiſt of 400 *Engliſh*, &c.

Parliament.

656.

Notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by the Court, ſeveral Leaders of the Republican Party got to be elected. Sir *Henry Vane* had the Majority of Voices at *Hull* and *Briſtol*. The Sheriffs of *Briſtol*, Mr. *Francis Gleed*, and Mr. *Timothy Parker*, refus'd to return Sir *Henry*, ſo did the Mayor of *Hull*; but by the Intereſt of Mr. *Wallop*, he was choſen at *Whitchurch* in *Hampſhire*, and return'd. Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr.

A.D.1658 Mr. *Weaver*, Colonel *Kendrick*, Colonel *Ludlow*, and ſeveral other Republicans got into the Houſe. Serjeant *Bradſhaw* was return'd for the County of *Cheſter*, by the Sheriff; but ſome of the County returning another Perſon, he was kept out of the Houſe.

Before the Parliament met, *Richard*, as the Lord *Clarendon* tells us, very truly, *inherited all the Greatneſs, and all the Glory of his Father*, as Protector. *Foreign Princes addreſs'd their Condolences to him, and deſir'd to renew their Alliances, and nothing was heard in* England *but the Voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector; ſo that the King's Condition never appear'd ſo hopeleſs and ſo deſperate, for a more favourable Conjuncture his Friends cou'd never expect than this, which now ſeem'd to blaſt all their Hopes, and confirm their utmoſt Deſpair.*

If this was the ſad Situation of their Affairs, can we have a better Leſſon to teach us to avoid Diviſion as we wou'd Deſtruction? For nothing elſe cou'd have given the leaſt Glimmering of Hope amidſt that *utmoſt Deſpair*.

Richard's Council having reſolv'd to celebrate the Funeral of his Father in the moſt magnificent Manner, ſent for Mr. *Kinnerſley*, Maſter of the Wardrobe, and deſir'd him to find out ſome Precedent by which they might govern themſelves in this Affair. *Kinnerſley* recommended to them the Solemnities us'd on the like Occaſion, for *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain*. That vile Inſult of *Echard*, on the Corpſe of the late Protector, *They were oblig'd to bury it ſuddenly by Reaſon of the uncommon Stench*, puts me in Mind of a Story, which I had forty Years ago, from a Gentlewoman who attended *Cromwel* in his laſt Sickneſs. She was a religious Woman, and her Authority is at leaſt as good as *John Thorowgood*, the Boy from whom, at the third and fourth Hand, *Echard* took the Fable of the Bargain between the *Devil* and *Oliver*. She told me, that the Day after *Cromwel*'s Death, it was conſulted how to diſpoſe of his Corpſe. They cou'd not pretend to keep it for the Pomp of a publick Burial. Among other Propoſals this was one, that conſidering the Malice, Rage, and Cruelty of the *Cavaliers* it was moſt certain, they who never ſpar'd either Living or Dead, in the Luſt of their Revenge, wou'd inſult the Body of this their moſt dreadful Enemy, if ever it was in their Power; and to prevent its falling into ſuch barbarous Hands, it was reſolv'd to wrap it up in Lead, to put it aboard a Barge, and ſink it in the deepeſt Part of the *Thames*, which was done the Night following: Two of his near Relations, with ſome truſty Soldiers, undertaking to do it. There is as much Reaſon to believe this Story, as any thing told us from Hear-ſay, by either of the two Hiſtorians, whom we have ſo much Cauſe to object againſt.

Crom-wel's *Funeral.*

A Coffin without the Corpſe, which was certainly interr'd ſomewhere before the 26th of *September*, was on that Day carry'd in a mourning Hearſe, from *Whitehall* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, where in a ſhort time his Effigy was, with mighty State and Magnificence, expos'd to the View of infinite Multitudes, who daily throng'd to that Place. Four large Apartments were hung with Black, illuminated with Wax Tapers, and adorn'd with rich Eſcutcheons, *&c.* of which the fourth was compleatly cover'd with Velvet, where the lively Image lay under a noble Canopy, upon a Bed of State, apparelell'd in the Protectorial Robes, lac'd with Gold, and furr'd with Ermines, having in one Hand a *Scepter*, in the other a *Globe*, and a rich Cap on the Head, ſuitable to the Robes: Behind was plac'd a Chair and Cuſhion of Tiſſu'd Gold, in which lay an Imperial Crown beſet with Diamonds and precious Stones. The Bed of State was inclos'd with Rails and Balaſters, and beſides ſolemn Mourners, ſurrounded with Banners, Banner-rolls, and all Kinds of Trophies of Military Honours. The Effigy having for ſome Weeks been ſeen in this Poſture, was on the firſt of *November* remov'd to the great Hall, and expos'd ſtanding on a Bed of Crimſon Velvet, cover'd with a Gown of the like colour'd Velvet, a *Scepter* in his Hand, and a *Crown* on his Head. That Part of the Hall, wherein the Bed ſtood, was rail'd in, and the Rails and Ground within them, cover'd with Crimſon Velvet; four or five Hundred Candles ſet in flat ſhining Candleſticks were ſo plac'd round, near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave ſeem'd like the Rays of the Sun. Having continu'd thus to the 23d of *November*, the Waxen Effigies, with the Crown on his Head, Globe and Scepter in his Hands, was plac'd in a ſtately open Chariot, cover'd with black Velvet, and drawn with ſix Horſes, cover'd in the like Manner, and adorn'd with Plumes and other Ornaments. The Streets from *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, were guarded by Soldiers in new Mourning Habits, with their Enſigns wrap'd in Cypreſs, thro' which the Chariot was attended by all the Officers and Servants of the Houſhold, the chief Officers both of the Army and Navy, the Maſters in Chancery, the Counſellors and Judges, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Members of the Privy Council, the Members of the late Upper Houſe, and the Lord Mayor, *John Ireton*, Eſq; and Aldermen of *London*, beſides ſeveral Foreign Miniſters and Ambaſſadors, as thoſe of *France*, *Portugal* and *Holland*, all in deep Mourning. Theſe all mov'd in a ſolemn and pompous Proceſſion, each Diviſion or Company being diſtinguiſh'd by Drums, Trumpets, Banners, and led Horſes, particularly the Horſe of State cover'd with black Velvet; and laſtly, the Horſe of Honour, trapp'd with Embroidery upon crimſon Velvet, adorn'd with white, red and yellow Plumes, led by the Maſter of the Horſe, with other Ceremonies uſed at the Obſequies of the greateſt Monarchs of the World. At the Weſt End of the *Abbey* Church, the Effigies being taken out of the Chariot, was carry'd thro' the Church, under a Canopy of State, up to the Eaſt End, where it was plac'd on a ſumptuous *Mauſoleum* fram'd for that Purpoſe, with Pilaſters and other Decorations of Architecture, carv'd, painted and gilt, to remain for a certain Time exhibited to publick View. Innumerable were the Spectators who came from the fartheſt Part of *Scotland*, *Cornwal* and *Wales*, to behold this aſtoniſhing Spectacle; the like of which had not been ſeen in *England*, perhaps not in the World; and may not the ſame be ſaid of the Deceas'd, to whom theſe Funeral Honours were paid? The Expence amounted to 60,000 Pounds, and if it was not all defray'd by the Publick, the Publick who caus'd it ſhou'd bare the Blame. The inſolent Reflection at the End of *Echard*'s Tale, that the Monumental Pile was broken down two Years after, *and the Body carry'd to a Place more proper for his Interment* (he means the Gallows) very well becomes his Perſon and his Party, who, as they were not capable of great and generous Sentiments, muſt take Pleaſure in every thing baſe and barbarous, to hang a Man after he was dead, whoſe Look or Name was Death to them while he was living, is equal to ſuch as made a Prey of the Minds and Bodies of their fellow Subjects.

A.D.1658

I abhor *Cromwel*'s traiterous Deſigns as much as the moſt inveterate of them; but I abhor alſo Inſolence and Inhumanity, tho' I am very well ſatisfy'd they never had *Oliver*'s Corpſe at their Mercy.

A.D.1658 The Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory*, and the Archdeacon, do take ſome Pains with the Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Hiſtory of the Times they write of, and I cou'd, with very little Pains, fix upon them Miſrepreſentation and Prevarication, if the Subject was within my Province.

Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. They have confounded all Church Hiſtory by a Parcel of Technical Terms or Cant, as *Schiſm*, *Sect*, *Fanatick*, *Enthuſiaſt*, *Church*, *Orthodox*, and the like on one Side and t'other; Names to which no Ideas are affix'd that have the leaſt Conformity to the one or the other. Can any Man in his Wits imagine, that by *Schiſmatick* or *Sectary* was meant a Chriſtian of the Reform'd Religion, worſhipping God in the Purity of Primitive Chriſtianity? or that by *Orthodox*, theſe Hiſtorians, or any one elſe, underſtood Lords and Lordſhips, Honours and Revenues, Prerogatives and Powers? yet ſo it is throughout all their Hiſtories.

In the Time of the Republick, the *Presbyterians*, *Independants* and *Baptiſts*, were alike tolerated, but not favour'd alike; the two latter being univerſally for a Common-wealth, as the former were for Monarchy. The *Epiſcopalians* were then conniv'd at. In *Oliver*'s Time *Presbyterians*, *Independants*, *Baptiſts* and *Epiſcopalians* were alike tolerated by Turns, alike favour'd, except the *Presbyterians*, whom *Cromwel* had an Averſion to, for oppoſing the Death of the King. Dr. *Gunning*, afterwards the Rigid Biſhop of *Ely*, kept a Conventicle in *London* before the Reſtoration, in as open a Manner as Dr. *Burgeſs* did after it; ſo did ſeveral other Epiſcopal Divines without Diſturbance: Nay, ſome Papiſts were in *Cromwel*'s good Graces, inſomuch that Father *White* wrote a Book in Vindication of his Government. *Oliver* never perſecuted the Churchmen for their Religion, tho' they were perpetually in Conſpiracies to deſtroy him. King *Charles* II. ſuffer'd the *Presbyterians* to be perſecuted without Mercy, tho' they were perpetually in Conſpiracies to reſtore him to his Kingdoms, and in the End accompliſh'd it. Such was the Generoſity of the one, and ſuch the Ingratitude of the other! But I have frequently obſerv'd, that Gratitude and Generoſity are not of the Growth of ſuch Minds as produce Slavery and Perſecution.

A.D.1659 Parliament. On the 27th of *January* the Parliament met, and *Richard* went to the *other Houſe* with as much Solemnity as ever King had done; and having ſent for the Houſe of Commons by the Uſher of the Black Rod, he made a Speech to them, in which he repreſented "The Happineſs of his Father's Government, and how he "had left theſe Nations in great Honour abroad, "and in full Peace at home, all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* dwelling ſafely, every Man "under his Vine and under his Fig-tree: He "ſaid, he believ'd a Parliament was never ſummon'd upon ſo important Occaſion as this was, "and ſo recommended to them the Care of the "Fleets and Armies, the Proſecution of the War "with *Spain*, the Aſſiſtance of the King of "*Sweden*, the Reformation of Manners, the "Proteſtant Religion, *&c.*" There was nothing more remarkable in the Speech made after the Protector had done, by the Lord Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, than the Beginning of it, *What can a Man ſay after the King*? The Parliament made Choice of *Challoner Chute*, Eſq; to be their Speaker. *Whitlock* informs us, *He was an excellent Orator, a Man of great Parts and Generoſity.*

Ludlow *ſits in it.* Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who was choſen a Member of this Parliament, ſat in the Houſe without taking the Oath not to act or contrive any thing againſt the Protector. One Mr. *Bodurda*, a *Corniſh* Member, complain'd of it, and was ſeconded by Sir *John Trevor*, whoſe Name we ſhall meet with often after the *Reſtoration*; not he who was expell'd the Houſe of Commons when he was Speaker for Bribery, but he who was Secretary of State. Mr. *Weaver* and others oppos'd them, alledging, *That for the moſt part Oaths prov'd only Snares to honeſt Men, it being generally obſerv'd, that thoſe who were leaſt conſcientious in keeping an Oath, were the moſt forward to take it.* Col. *Eyres* alſo inform'd the Houſe, "That he had ſat in the "*Long Parliament* without taking the Oath "then preſcrib'd: That Lieutenant General "*Ludlow* mov'd the Houſe in his Behalf, and "was the Perſon nominated by them *to bring* "*him into the Houſe without taking the Oath*; which afterwards was not inſiſted upon. Sir *Walter Saint John*, Grandfather to the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, was one of the Perſons appointed to adminiſter the Oath; and whatever is inſinuated of the meaneſt of this Convention by our impartial Hiſtory Writers, it conſiſted of Gentlemen of as good Ranks and Fortunes, though they did not, and wou'd not have brought in the King, as the ſucceeding Convention, that did. *A.D.1659*

The firſt Things debated by this Aſſembly, were the *Militia* and the *Negative Voice*, to which the Protector pretended by his Father's *Magna Charta*, the *Petition* and *Advice*. But Mr. *Thurloe*, Secretary of State, preſented the Houſe with a Declaration ready drawn, wherein was contain'd an Acknowledgment of *Richard Cromwel* to be *Protector*, and that *Petition* and *Advice* to be the Rule of Government; which Declaration was receiv'd and debated; in which Debate it was urg'd, that inſtead of *Recognizing*, the Word *Agnizing* might be us'd, that ſo his Right might appear to be founded on the Conſent of the People. But the Court Party depending on the major Vote, carry'd every thing by the *Queſtion*; a very ſhort Way, and a great Saver of Time and Argument: However, by purging the Houſe of ſeveral Malignants, who had crept into it, and by convincing ſeveral young Gentlemen, that were Members, of the Sincerity of their Intentions, the Common-wealth Party grew upon that of the Court; to which a warm Speech of Sir *Henry Vane*'s contributed not a little: It was to this Purpoſe;

Mr. *Speaker*,

Sir Henry Vane's Speech. "Among all the People of the Univerſe, I "know none who have ſhewn ſo much Zeal for "the Liberty of their Country, as the *Engliſh* "at this Time have done: They have, by the "Help of Divine Providence, overcome all Obſtacles, and have made themſelves *Free*. We "have driven away the *Hereditary Tyranny* of "the Houſe of *Stuart*, at the Expence of much "Blood and Treaſure, in Hopes of enjoying Hereditary Liberty, after having ſhaken off the "Yoke of *King-ſhip*; and there is not a Man "amongſt us, who cou'd have imagin'd that "any Perſon wou'd be ſo bold as to dare to attempt the raviſhing from us Freedom, which "coſts us ſo much Blood and ſo much Labour.

"But ſo it happens, I know not by what Miſfortune, we are fallen into the Error of thoſe "who poiſon'd the Emperor *Titus* to make "room for *Domitian*, who made away *Auguſtus* "that they might have *Tiberius*, and chang'd "*Claudius* for *Nero*. I am ſenſible theſe Examples are foreign from my Subject, ſince the *Romans* in thoſe Days were bury'd in *Lewdneſs* "and *Luxury*; whereas the People of *England* "are

A.D.1659 " are now renown'd, all over the World, for their " great Virtue and Diſcipline; and yet ſuffer an " Idiot, without Courage, without Senſe, nay " without Ambition, to have Dominion in a Coun- " try of Liberty. One cou'd bear a little with " *Oliver Cromwel*, tho' contrary to his Oath of " Fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his Duty " to the Publick, contrary to the Reſpect he " ow'd to that venerable Body from whom he " receiv'd his Authority, he uſurp'd the Govern- " ment. His Merit was ſo extraordinary, that " our Judgments, our Paſſions might be blinded " by it. He made his Way to Empire by the " moſt illuſtrious Actions; he had under his " Command an Army that had made him a " Conqueror, and a People that had made him " their General.

" But as for *Richard Cromwel* his Son, Who " is he? What are his Titles? We have ſeen " that he had a Sword by his Side, but did he " ever draw it? And what is of more Impor- " tance in this Caſe, Is he fit to get Obedience " from a mighty Nation, who cou'd never make " a Footman obey him? Yet we muſt *recogniſe* " this Man as our King, under the Stile of Pro- " tector! A Man without Birth, without Cou- " rage, without Conduct. For my part, I de- " clare, Sir, it ſhall never be ſaid that I made " ſuch a Man my Maſter.

His Speech was heard with ſingular Applauſe. My Lord *Falconbridge* ſpoke in Anſwer to it, but 'twas viſible that it had ſuch an Effect on the Houſe, as gave the Court no Hopes of a good Iſſue to this Seſſion, tho' they carry'd the Queſtion for the *other Houſe*, with this Addition, That it ſhou'd be *no Bar to ſuch Peers who had faithfully ſerved the Parliament*, who by this Vote were admitted to ſit if they pleas'd. But this very Vote was clogg'd with another, *That in all Meſſages to, and Conferences with the* other Houſe, *equal Ceremonies ſhou'd be uſed, and no other Reſpect obſerv'd by the Members of this Houſe, than what is obſerv'd by the Members ſitting in the other.* There was ſomething which look'd ſomewhat odd in this Convention, and that was in the Debate of the Members for *Scotland* and *Ireland*, thoſe Gentlemen ſitting, arguing, and voting for themſelves, which was thought indecent, if not unjuſt; however, the Court cou'd have carry'd their Point without their Vote.

The Lord *Clarendon* inſinuates, that the Houſe was very buſy in examining the Publick Accounts, as if there had been enormous Embezlements. He gives every thing he takes in Hand a Turn different from what it really was, *pro* or *con*. The Truth of this Matter is, the Houſe ordered the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury to bring in the State of the Account of the Publick Treaſure; accordingly Mr. *Sherwyn*, Secretary to the Treaſury, and a Member of Parliament, deliver'd it, and *Whitlock* tells us, it was found to be very exact.

Other Houſe. The Houſe of Commons having paſt a Declaration for a Publick Faſt, ſent it to the *other Houſe* by Mr. *Grove*, for their Concurrence, which I take to be the only Matter tranſacted between the two Houſes. The latter were diſguſted at the Neglect put upon them by the former, and well enough pleas'd that at laſt they were recognis'd by this Meſſage, which the Lords Commiſſioners *Fiennes*, *Liſle*, and *Whitlock*, receiv'd at the Bar of the other Houſe, who anſwer'd, *That they would take it into further Conſideration*; and this Claſhing between the two Houſes, weaken'd the Authority of both, and ſapp'd the very Foundation of the *Petition and Advice*, the great Charter of the preſent Government.

A.D.1659 Diviſions in Parliament and Army.

Theſe Diviſions were not confin'd within the Walls of the Parliament Houſe, but broke out in the Army itſelf, the Officers every where diſcovering their Jealouſies one of another. They were divided into Three Parties, and neither of them much ſuperior to the other in Number. One Party was known to be well affected to the Common-wealth; another to the Council of Officers, meeting by their own Authority at *Wallingford-Houſe*, where Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* liv'd; the Third Party was the Protector *Richard*'s.

The *Common-wealth* Officers.

Col. *Aſhfield*, Col. *Lilburn*, Col. *Fitz*, Lieutenant Colonel *Maſon*, Lieutenant Colonel *Moſs*, Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*, Major *Creed*, &c.

The *Wallingford-Houſe* Officers.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Desborough*, Treaſurer *Blackwell*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Clerk*, Col. *Kelſey*, Col. *Berry*, Major *Haines*.

Richard Cromwel's Officers.

Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, Lord Viſcount *Howard*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Gough*, Col. *Norton*, Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Goodrich*, Lieutenant Col. *Kains*.

Fleetwood, intended Succeſſor to Cromwel.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* did, without doubt, expect to have been declar'd Succeſſor to *Cromwel*, and without doubt had been ſo promis'd by his Father in Law, who thought worſe of his own Son than he really deſerv'd, which is not common in Parents. But *Oliver* was above any Kindred, but that of Souls; and his Son's Soul not being ſo great as he wou'd have had it, he took it to be leſs than it was: For *Richard* did not want Senſe; his Want was Firmneſs and Reſolution.

My Manuſcript Author, who had his Memoirs from the Earl of *Orrery*, affirms *Oliver* made *Fleetwood* his Heir; but one of his Daughters knowing where his Will was, took it away and burnt it, before *Fleetwood* cou'd come at it; and a few Minutes before *Cromwel*'s Death, when he was ask'd, *Who ſhould ſucceed him*? he made Reply, and ſaid, *In ſuch a Drawer of the Cabinet, in my Cloſet, you will find it. Fleetwood* found himſelf trick'd indeed, and the whole Council againſt him; ſo he fell in with them, waiting an Opportunity to right or revenge himſelf; which offer'd in the Diviſions between the two Houſes, the Court and Parliament, and between the Court, Parliament, and Army.

Richard Cromwel's Friends, to increaſe their Party, had cajol'd and careſs'd the Royaliſts ſo much, that it gave Offence to the well-affected in Parliament and City. A certain inferior Officer having publickly murmur'd at it, was carry'd to *Whitehall* to anſwer for it. *Richard*, beſides other reproachful Language, ask'd him in a ſcornful way, *Whether he wou'd have him prefer none but the Godly*? *Here*, continues he, *is* Dick Ingoldsby, *who can neither Pray nor Preach, and yet I will truſt him before ye all.* Upon which *Ludlow* reflects thus: " Theſe im- " prudent, as well as irreligious Words, ſo clear- " ly diſcovering the Frame and Temper of his " Mind, were ſoon publiſh'd in the Army and " City of *London*, to his great Prejudice. And " from this time, all Men amongſt them, who *Common-wealth and Army Parties agree.* " made but the leaſt Pretences to Religion and " Sobriety, began to think themſelves unſafe " whilſt he govern'd; and thereupon ſoon form'd " a Reſolution to uſe their utmoſt Endea- " vours to divide the Military from the Civil

" Power,

A.D.1659 " Power, and to place the Command of the Army " in Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; who having Intimation of this Diſpoſition in his Favour, thought to confirm it, by joining in with the *Republicans*. To this end, he prevail'd with his Party to ſend Col. *Kelſey* to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and let him know, that the Gentlemen at *Wallingford-Houſe* wou'd give him a friendly Reception, if he wou'd come thither and confer with them; which he did, and the *Wallingford-Houſe* Officers conſented, that an Agreement ſhou'd be propoſed to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge* and Sir *Henry Vane*, who readily approved of it, and promis'd to be aſſiſting in all things for the Publick Service. With this Anſwer *Ludlow* went to Col. *Sydenham*, and deſir'd him to acquaint the Company at *Wallingford-Houſe* with it. *Sydenham* told the Lieutenant General, that thoſe Gentlemen deſign'd to call a General Council of Officers, and if they cou'd effect it, they doubted not to go a great way towards a good Settlement.

General Council of Officers.

All theſe Steps were againſt the Protector. His Brother in Law, *Fleetwood*, and his Uncle in Law, *Desborough*, were the main Agents; and two or three of the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party finding him alone, took the Opportunity to perſuade him of the Neceſſity of calling a General Council of Officers in order to preſent ſomething to the Houſe for the Regulation and Maintenance of the Army. *Richard*, not ſuſpecting their Deſign, conſented to the Propoſition; and having iſſu'd out an Order to that Purpoſe, a General Council of Officers met. The Protector's Cabinet Council were the Lord *Broghill*, afterwards Earl of *Orrery*, Dr. *Wilkins*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and Col. *Phillips*. Theſe were not made acquainted with the calling of this Council, till after the Order was iſſu'd, and when they knew it, they repreſented to the Protector the dangerous Conſequence of it to his Perſon and Government. However, *Broghill*, as a General Officer, aſſiſted at the Council, having promis'd *Richard* to do him what Service he cou'd. There met at *Wallingford-Houſe* above Five hundred Officers, in the Beginning of *April*. Dr. *Owen* made a long Prayer, and then Major General *Desborough* ſpoke for near an Hour, repreſenting *How great the Lord had been to them, how proſperous their Arms had been, which Proſperity, he fear'd, wou'd not continue; ſeeing, ſince their Peace and Happineſs, there were ſeveral Men, Sons of* Belial, *crept in amongſt them; for whoſe ſakes there wou'd be great Judgments upon the Army; and therefore, he thought, 'twou'd be convenient to purge it by a Teſt, which every Officer ſhou'd take,* " That they did believe in their Con- " ſciences that the putting of the late King, *Charles* " *Stuart*, to Death, was lawful and juſt. Which Motion was receiv'd with Applauſe, till another was ſtarted which puzled the Cauſe. 'Twas obſerv'd, that as ſoon as *Desborough* had done ſpeaking, the Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, and the Lord Viſcount *Howard* roſe up and left the Aſſembly. It was ſuppos'd to carry Advice of it to the Protector. The Lord *Broghill* ſtood up to anſwer *Desborough*, beginning his Speech thus: *I am not of the ſame Opinion with the Noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, being againſt all Teſts put upon the Army, as Things which wou'd enſlave them, and which they have declar'd againſt. If they once put Teſts upon themſelves, they will quickly have others put Teſts upon them; and ſo will act againſt their own Liberty of Conſcience, which they have ſo much fought and pleaded for. I am in particular againſt the Teſt propos'd, becauſe it is unjuſt and unreaſonable to require Men to ſwear to the Lawfulneſs of that which they were not preſent at the doing of. And many, beſides myſelf, were not preſent when the late King was Try'd and put to Death, and how can they ſwear that what they did not and cou'd not know, was Juſt and Lawful? But if you will have a Teſt to purge the Army, I think I have Liberty to propoſe one, as well as others; which is, That all ſhall be turn'd out of the Army, that will not ſwear to defend the Government, as it is now eſtabliſh'd, under the Protector and Parliament. This is reaſonable, becauſe your Being depends upon it; and lawful, becauſe it is to maintain that Authority by which you ſit. I declare I am againſt all Teſts, and for the Continuance of the Liberty of the Army. If you will have a Teſt, I am for this; and if you will not paſs it here, or do paſs the other, I will move for this Teſt to Morrow in Parliament, where I am confident it will paſs.* Many cry'd out, *Well mov'd*; and Col. *Gough* and Col. *Whaley*, between whom Lord *Broghill* ſat, were brought over by him for his Teſt or none, as they declar'd in two warm Speeches. Upon this, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Desborough*, and others who were in their Secret, withdrew to conſult among themſelves; and when they return'd, *Fleetwood* ſaid, *We have conſider'd what my Lord* Broghill *has ſpoken, and did not ſee the ill Conſequences of impoſing Teſts upon the Army, till his Lordſhip had hinted them; wherefore we will not put it to the Vote which of them ſhall paſs, but deſire both may be drop'd.*

Richard's Cabinet Council.

Col. Deſborough's *Speech.*

Lord Broghill's *Speech.*

The *Wallingford-Houſe* Party ſucceeded better in their other Motions: One of them was, " That it wou'd be more advantageous to the " Army, and more conducing to the Good of the " Nation, if the Military and Civil Power might " be plac'd in different Hands, that the one " might be a Balance to the other. At this Motion there was a *Hum*. And the next was a Step further declaring their Apprehenſions, *That the Common Cauſe was wholly to be ruin'd by the Subtilty and Artifices of thoſe, who had never been able to do it by open Force.* Wherefore they deſir'd the *Command of the Army might be intruſted to the Care of ſome few Perſons, in whom they might all confide.* This Propoſition found ſo general an Approbation, that it was impoſſible for the *Protector's* Party to reſiſt the Stream: They were extremely alarm'd at theſe Proceedings, well knowing, that a *Protector* wou'd make a ſorry Figure, when there was a General of the Army who had the whole Military Power. He and his Courtiers put ſome Members of Parliament upon charging the *Council* with mutinous Words againſt the Government, and againſt the two Houſes; which Accuſation was ſo well ſeconded, that the Houſe of Commons Voted, *That the Officers of the Army ſhou'd no more meet as a General Council.* Notwithſtanding this Vote, they ſtill met, and the Parliament having Notice, *declar'd the Protector General of their Army*, authorizing him to diſperſe the Officers to their reſpective Poſts, to turn out ſuch as ſhou'd diſobey, and place others in their room. They alſo Voted *it to be High Treaſon in the Officers to meet in Council, contrary to their Orders; and promis'd to cauſe the Arrears of thoſe that ſhou'd yield Obedience, to be forthwith paid*, with Aſſurances to take Care of them for the future. The Lord *Broghill* advis'd *Richard Cromwel* to join in with the Parliament, and diſſolve the Council of Officers. *How ſhall I do it*, ſays *Richard*? *Broghill* reply'd, *If you pleaſe, I'll draw up a ſhort Speech for you, and to Morrow Morning go to the Council, where, after an Hour's ſitting among them, you may ſtand up and ſpeak it.* The Protector promis'd to do ſo, and the Lord *Broghill*

Parliament and Army quarrel.

A.D. 1659 drew up a Speech for him, of about eight or ten Lines, to this Effect.

Gentlemen,

Lord Broghill makes a Speech for Richard.

" I accept of your Service with all Thankfulneſs. I have conſider'd what does moſt aggrieve you, and think the beſt and propereſt Way to redreſs what is amiſs amongſt you, is to do it in the Parliament now ſitting, of which many of you are Members, where I will ſee Things righted, and therefore declare my Commiſſion for holding this Council to be now void, and the Council diſſolv'd, and deſire you to get to your ſeveral Commands.

Who diſſolves the Council of Officers.

Lord *Broghill* gave *Richard* this Speech, and he learnt it by the next Morning, when, at ten o'Clock, he came to *Wallingford-Houſe*, and ſat down in a Chair of State, which pleas'd ſome, and troubled others. After an Hour's Stay, he roſe up and ſpoke, as above; which, tho' mild, gave great Diſtaſte to *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and that Party, who complain'd in Parliament how much they had been abus'd and affronted by a certain Lord in that Aſſembly, looking ſtedfaſtly on the Lord *Broghill*, and deſiring Satisfaction; to which End they mov'd for an Addreſs to his Highneſs, to know who advis'd him to diſſolve the *Council of War*, during the ſitting of Parliament, without the Parliament's Conſent or Knowledge. *Broghill* ſtanding in his Place, ſaid,

" At the ſame time there is an Addreſs made, " to know who advis'd the Diſſolution of the " Council without the Parliament's Knowledge " or Conſent; I humbly move there may be alſo " another Addreſs, to know who advis'd the " Calling of a Council of War without the Conſent or Knowledge of the Parliament; for if " he be guilty who advis'd the Diſſolution of " the Council, he muſt be much more guilty " who advis'd the Calling it without the Parliament's Knowledge and Conſent." The Houſe cry'd, *Well mov'd*; and *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and their Party withdrew to conſult further, and take new Reſolutions, upon which *Richard*'s Fate depended.

Tho' the Protector had diſſolv'd the Council of Officers, yet they continu'd their Meetings in a more private Manner, and try'd all imaginable Ways to oblige *Richard* to a Compliance with them. But being made General by the Parliament, a Poſt which he knew *Fleetwood* aſpir'd to, he reſolv'd to ſtick cloſe to his new Friends.

Fleetwood and Richard quarrel.

He ſent for his Brother in Law, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, to come to him, hearing of the Continuance of the Officers Meetings: But the Meſſenger brought no Anſwer. He then order'd his Guards to fetch him; but they deſir'd to be excus'd. The Lieutenant General having Intimation of this Deſign, retir'd to St. *James*'s, where many chief Officers of the Army reſorted to him, and it was concluded the whole Army ſhou'd rendezvous there. The Protector being inform'd of this, made a Shew of diſputing his Authority by Force, and, as General of the Army, order'd a Counter Rendezvous at *Whitehall*. Accordingly Col. *Gough* ſent Orders to his Regiment to march to *Whitehall*; but the Major had already prevail'd with them to draw to St. *James*'s. Three Troops of Col. *Ingoldsby*'s Horſe march'd alſo to St. *James*'s, with Part of two more; ſo that he had only one entire Troop to ſtand by him. Col. *Whalley*'s Regiment of Horſe, for the moſt Part, left him, and went off to St. *James*'s; which he ſeeing, open'd his Breaſt and deſir'd them to ſhoot him. Col. *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horſe being drawn up near *Cheapſide*, the Protector ſent a Meſſage to the Colonel, with an Order for him to march to *Whitehall*; but he excus'd himſelf, and ſaid he had receiv'd Orders from Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to keep that Poſt. Many of the Life-Guard alſo went to St. *James*'s, and moſt of the Troops that ſtay'd with *Richard*, declar'd they wou'd not oppoſe any that ſhou'd come to them by Order of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*. Thus here was a General without an Army, and ſeveral great Officers without Soldiers, who having boaſted of their Intereſt in the Army, and thereby led the Houſe into their late raſh Proceedings, now being utterly diſappointed in their Hopes and Expectations, knew not what to adviſe, or what to do. A.D. 1659

Let us here pauſe a little, and examine where the *Cavaliers* are, what they are doing? Every Step taken from this Time draws nearer to the *Reſtoration*. Who takes theſe Steps? Is there not one *Royaliſt* come yet into the Scene of Action? Not one of thoſe noiſy Pretenders, who, when it was effected, claim'd the Merit, and had the Reward? Not one, a few Months only before the King came in?

The Lord Viſcount *Howard*, who was Captain of *Cromwel*'s Guards, was the firſt Man that had any Thoughts of the King, of all thoſe who had any Power to ſerve him. He was made a Lord by *Oliver*, was a Favourite to both the Protectors, and had ſerv'd them faithfully. But ſeeing *Richard*'s Affairs deſperate, and being aſſur'd that the Common-wealth wou'd not employ him, he reſolv'd to make his Terms with the Exil'd Monarch, and do what he cou'd to reſtore him. However, he harbour'd no ſuch Thoughts, till he had try'd, by all the Arguments he cou'd think of, to prevail with *Richard* to endeavour to ſtand his Ground. *'Tis Time to look about you*, ſays the Lord *Howard*, *Empire and Command are not now the Queſtion. Your Perſon, your Life are in Peril; you are the Son of* Cromwel, *ſhew your ſelf worthy to be his Son. This Buſineſs requires a bold Stroke, and muſt be ſupported by a good Head. Do not ſuffer your ſelf to be daunted now, and my Head ſhall anſwer for the Conſequence.* Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Vane, *are the Contrivers of all this: I will rid you of them, do you ſtand by me, and only back my Zeal for your Honour with your Name. The Neceſſity of preſerving your ſelf diſpenſes with the ſevere Laws of Juſtice. If this is not done, the Army will be againſt you, and you are infallibly ruin'd; and you have nothing to fear, I'll take it upon my ſelf, and be anſwerable for the Conſequence.*

Lord Howard's Propoſal to Richard.

Richard was ſurpriz'd at theſe Words: He anſwer'd in a Conſternation, *That every one ſhou'd ſee he wou'd do no body any Harm: He never had done any, nor ever wou'd: That he ſhou'd be very much troubled, if any one was injur'd on his Account; and inſtead of taking away the Life of the leaſt Perſon in the Nation for the Preſervation of his Greatneſs, which was a Burthen to him, he wou'd not have a Drop of Blood ſpilt.* The Lord *Howard* heard him refuſe his Propoſal with Indignation, when he offer'd to run all the Riſque of it himſelf. Do you think, ſaid he, *this Moderation of yours will repair the Wrong your Family has committed by its Elevation? Every body knows, that by Violence your Father procur'd the Death of the late King, and kept his Sons in Baniſhment. If the Father's Crimes cry for Vengeance, ſhall the Son have them paſt over in Silence? Mercy in the preſent State of Affairs is unſeaſonable; we may ſhed that Blood that ſtrives to ſhed ours without being bloodthirſty or cruel; tho' Conſcience may ſometimes obſtruct a Sovereign's ſacrificing an innocent Perſon to his Ambition, it does not oppoſe his execut-*

Richard's peaceable Diſpoſition.

A.D. 1659 *ing a Criminal for his own Safety. Lay aſide this Puſilanimity ſo unbecoming the Succeſſor of* Cromwel. *Be quick, for every Moment is precious. Conſider your Enemies ſpend this Time in Acting which we waſte in Conſulting.* Lord *Howard*'s Heat cou'd not make it's Way into *Richard*'s Heart. He own'd his Obligation, but did not alter his Mind, cloſing all thus, *Talk no more of it, my Reſolution is fix'd. Violent Counſels ſuit not with me; and all you can perſwade me to by what you now give, is, that it proceeds from true Friendſhip, for which I am thankful.* *Howard* having gone ſo far, and finding there was no Hope left in *Cromwel*, left *Whitehall*, and engag'd in the Conſpiracies for reſtoring the King, which began to be form'd in *London*, and ſeveral Parts of *England*, on *Richard*'s diſſolving the Parliament, and the Diſſolution of his Protectorate ſoon after.

Lord Howard deſerts to the King.

The Officers drew up a Remonſtrance, which they preſented to *Richard*, *April* the 14th, ſetting forth the *Army's Want of Pay, the Inſolences of the Royaliſts, and their Deſigns, together with ſome in Power, to ruin the Army, and the* good old Cauſe, *and to bring in the Enemies thereof: To prevent which, and to provide againſt free Quarter, they deſire his Highneſs to adviſe with the Parliament, and to provide effectual Remedy.*

This, according to *Whitlock*, was the Beginning of *Richard*'s Fall. The Houſe diſguſted at the general Meeting of the Council of Officers without their Knowledge and Conſent, not only paſs'd thoſe harſh Votes before-mentioned, but neglected this Remonſtrance, took no Courſe to provide Money, and exaſperated the Soldiery.

Lambert *againſt* Richard.

Lambert, after *Oliver* had taken away his Commiſſion, retir'd to his Country-houſe at *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*, and ſeem'd to have forgotten that he had ever been a General, in the pleaſant and harmleſs Exerciſe of a Gardiner, with which he diverted himſelf in his fine Gardens, and became ſo skilful, that he was reckon'd the beſt Floriſt in *England*; but upon an Invitation from the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party, he came and took a Seat amongſt them, and was as forward as any in puſhing Things to Extremity. The Council of Officers ſent *Desborough* to *Richard* to tell him, *If he wou'd diſſolve the Parliament*, who had ſlighted and abus'd the Army, *they wou'd take Care of him. If he refus'd to do it, they wou'd diſſolve them without him, and leave him to ſhift for himſelf.* *Richard* put off giving his Anſwer till the next Morning, and in the mean time held a Cabinet Council upon it, with the Lord *Broghill*, the Lords Commiſſioners *Fiennes* and *Whitlock*, Sir *Charles Wolſeley*, and Secretary *Thurloe*. *Whitlock* was againſt diſſolving the Parliament, and adviſ'd their ſitting a little longer, eſpecially now they had begun to conſider of raiſing Money, which wou'd reconcile them to the Soldiery. But moſt were for complying with the Army, who, by the Union of almoſt all the three Parties, were become formidable to Court and Parliament, and indeed had both in their Power.

The next Morning, *April* the 22d, the Houſe met, and ſeveral Members made extravagant Motions, rather, as was ſuppos'd, to vent their own Paſſions, than from any Hopes of Succeſs; for whatever were the Reſolutions that were made by the Court *Junto*, they cou'd not ſuddenly be brought to vote, becauſe the contrary Party was conſiderably encreas'd by this Change of Affairs, which made *Richard* the more willing to part with them. Few of the Houſe knew of the Diſſolution which was intended; or if they did, were unwilling to take Notice of it; ſo that when the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, who attended the other Houſe, came to let the Sergeant at Arms know, it was the Pleaſure of the Protector that the Houſe of Commons ſhou'd attend him at the other Houſe, ſeveral Members were againſt admitting the Sergeant into the Houſe to deliver the Meſſage; but the Commonwealth Party demanded and obtain'd that he ſhou'd give the Houſe an Account of what the Gentleman of the Black Rod had ſaid to him. The Aſſembly being under this Confuſion, adjourn'd themſelves till eight a Clock next Morning; but Care was taken to prevent their meeting again, by publiſhing a *Proclamation*, declaring them to be diſſolv'd, by putting a Padlock on the Door of the Houſe, and by placing a Guard in the Court of Requeſts, with Orders to refuſe Admittance to all thoſe that ſhou'd demand it. This Parliament was fatal to two Speakers, tho' it did not ſit quite three Months, *Challoner Chute*, Eſq; dying, his Succeſſor was Sir *Liſlebonne Long*, who dying alſo, Mr. *Bampfield* kept the Speaker's Chair to the Diſſolution; after which the Protector, his *Privy* and *Cabinet* Councils ſat cloſe, to conſult what was fit to be done. Some there were who, rather than ſubmit to be dictated by *Fleetwood* and the Army Officers, inclin'd to enter into a Treaty with the King, and the Protector himſelf was of the ſame Opinion; but the Majority, deterr'd by the juſt Notions they had of the looſe Principles, and implacable, revengeful Spirit of the Exiles, wou'd not hearken to it. The Lord *Falconbridge* and the Lord *Howard* gave themſelves up to that Intereſt, and under Pretence of engaging *Monk* to ſupport his Maſter *Richard*'s tottering Condition, they went to *Scotland*, where, no Doubt, they all three came to an Underſtanding, tho' the reſtoring the King was the laſt Thing *Monk* wou'd comply with.

A.D 1659

Parliament diſſolv'd.

The Character of that *Monk* is in *Ludlow* and *Whitlock*. The former tells us, *He was a Man of a covetous Temper, of no Principles, of a vicious and ſcandalous Converſation*, which fitted him exactly for the Work they were going to ſet him about. And *Whitlock* informs us, that the *French* Ambaſſador ſaid of him, *He had neither Senſe nor Breeding*; conſequently, his true Character muſt be, that he was a *Dull, Clowniſh, Covetous, Vicious Perſon of no Principles.* I cou'd have gather'd as much out of his Hiſtory, but I choſe to put it in the Words of *Whitlock* and *Ludlow*, whoſe Authorities are more than ſufficient againſt *Gumble*, and *Price*, and *Webſter*, and *Echard*, and the beſt of them, who wou'd make ſomething more of *Monk* than Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, and the *French* Ambaſſador have made of him. Let it not be imagin'd that I have conceiv'd ſuch a contemptible Opinion of him from any thing, but the Accounts that are left us concerning him by judicious Writers, and not from his Perjury and Treachery in betraying the Parliament, who put ſuch Confidence in him. I am as ſenſible, as a grateful Soul can be, of the Bleſſings of the *Reſtoration*, without which we cou'd have had no King *William*, no Queen *Mary*, no Queen *Anne*, no King *George*, no Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, in whoſe glorious Reigns theſe Nations have been happy at home, and renown'd abroad, enjoy'd, and have, and do enjoy the greateſt Felicities of Life, Spiritual and Temporal Liberty. As for any other Bleſſing, which *Monk* was a Means of procuring us, I know nothing of it, and therefore ſhall not belie Hiſtory to pay him a Complement.

Monk's Character. P. 643. P. 700.

The *Wallingford-Houſe* Party were in Poſſeſſion of the Supreme Power upon the Diſſolution

*A.D.*1659 of the Parliament. For tho' *Richard* publiſh'd a Proclamation for all *Papiſts* and *Cavaliers* to depart twenty Miles from *London*, yet that was the only Act of Government we read of him after the Parliament was diſſolv'd. So we may fix his Protectorate to ſeven Months; at the End of which he was laid down as gently as a Fall cou'd be, and hardly any thing more heard of him. The Common-wealth that was reſtor'd, having ſent a Committee to him, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Mr. *Ludlow* and Mr. *Scott*, *to know whether he wou'd acquieſce in the preſent Proceedings, and that they wou'd proviae for the Payment of his Debts, and an Honourable Subſiſtence for himſelf and his Family*, they return'd with this Anſwer under his Hand, *That he wou'd acquieſce.* He ſent them a Liſt of his Debts, and thought of them no more than they did of him. He awoke, as out of a Dream, and return'd to a private Life with more Content and Pleaſure than he aſſum'd the Supreme Authority. He was Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, which Office he voluntarily reſign'd by a Paper under his own Hand, which he ſent to that Univerſity. His Debts were computed at about 29,000 Pounds; but no due Care was taken by the Common-wealth for the Diſcharge of them. They ſent to him in a few Days to quit *Whitehall*, which he did with great Satisfaction, and retir'd to his Seat at *Hurſely* in *Hampſhire*. When he was to remove from his Palace, and the Houſhold Goods were pack'd up, the *Quondam* Protector order'd his Servants to be particularly careful of two old Trunks, which were depoſited in his Wardrobe. The Men wonder'd why he was ſo ſolicitous for their Preſervation, ſince by their Appearance, and the Place they were put in, they did not ſeem to contain a Treaſure of ſuch Conſequence. And one of his Friends hearing him enquire after them with more Concern than for any Part of the Lumber, ask'd him what was in them, that made him value them ſo much? *Why, no leſs*, ſays *Richard*, *than the Lives and Fortunes of all the good People of* England, alluding to the numberleſs *Addreſſes* in which they made him thoſe Offers. *A.D.*1659

Richard *depos'd.*

Richard generally went by the Name of Mr. *Wallis*; not, as is pretended, that he wanted an *Alias* to defend him againſt any Debts, except thoſe which were indeed the Debts of the Publick; but becauſe the Curioſity of the People to gaze at a Man who had been in the State of the greateſt Prince in *Europe*, and was now reduc'd to the State of a plain Country Gentleman, wou'd have been very troubleſome to him, had he always gone by the Name of *Richard Cromwel*. He liv'd above fifty Years after his Abdication, and dy'd at *Cheſhunt* in *Hartfordſhire*. He had a Son, *Oliver Cromwel*, who had the Look and Genius of his Grandfather, who was very active at the *Revolution*, and offer'd to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe for the Service in *Ireland*, if he might name his Captains. But, among other ſuch Advice given King *William* by ſome falſe Friends, he was refus'd, under Pretence that his Name and his Poſt, with ſuch Advantages, might make him too popular and too powerful at ſuch a Juncture. It was the ſame ſort of Advice that hinder'd Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, of the Deanry of *Durham*, and that put ſeveral pretended Friends to the *Revolution* into Places of Truſt, by which King *William* was ſo often in Danger of his Predeceſſor's Fate, and of loſing his Life as well as his Crown.

THE

HISTORY of *ENGLAND*,

DURING THE

COMMON-WEALTH *Reſtor'd.*

THE Council of Officers at *Wallingford-Houſe* were very willing to keep the Power they had got in their own Hands, and had Thoughts of raiſing Money by their own Authority; but upon Conſultation with their Friends, they took a ſafer Method, which was, to reſtore the Members of the Long Parliament. This they did by a Declaration, dated the 6th of *May*, *inviting the Members of that Parliament, who continu'd ſitting till* April *the* 20*th*, 1653, *to return to the Exerciſe and Diſcharge of their Truſt.*

Sign'd by the Direction of the Lord Fleetwood *and the Council of the Officers of the Army.*

Tho. Sandford, *Secretary.*

Several Meetings were held at Sir *Henry Vane*'s, between the chief Officers of the Army and the chief Members of the Long Parliament.

Members,

Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Major *Salloway*.

Officers,

Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Jones*, Col. *Kelſey*, Col. *Berry*,

Who after many Debates about Satisfaction to the Army, reſolv'd that the Long Parliament ſhou'd be reſtor'd. Accordingly Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Berry*, Col. *Cooper*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Col. *Lilburn*, Col. *Aſhfield*, Col. *Zanchy*, Col. *Kelſey*, Col. *Okey*, Treaſurer *Blackwell*, Major *Haynes*, Col. *Allen*, Col. *Packer*, and Col. *Pierſon*, went to the old Speaker *Lenthal* with their Declaration to the *Rolls*, and preſented it to him and ſeveral Members of that Parliament, who were with the Speaker, and all declar'd their Willingneſs to meet again, which they appointed to do the next Day, *May* the 7th, in the *Painted-Chamber*, and about twelve o'Clock the Members went to take their Places in the Houſe, Mr. *Lenthal* their Speaker leading the Way, and the Officers of the Army lining the Rooms for them as they paſt thro' the *Painted-Chamber*, the Court of *Requeſts*, and the *Lobby* itſelf, the principal Officers

A.D.1659 cers having plac'd themſelves neareſt to the Door of the Parliament-Houſe, every one ſeeming to rejoyce at their Reſtitution, and promiſing to live and die by them. The ſame Day the Houſe appointed a *Committee of Safety*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Major *Salloway*, Col. *Sydenham*, Major General *Lambert*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *John Jones*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Berry*, Mr. *Scot*.

First Committee of Safety.

This Committee were order'd to notify to foreign Ambaſſadors the *Reſtoration* of the *Common-wealth*. They impower'd them to diſplace and place all Officers that had behav'd ill in the late Times of Uſurpation. Writs and all Proceedings in Law were directed to run, as formerly, in the Name *of the Keepers of the Liberties of* England. They ſent down Colonel *Whetham* to *Portſmouth*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Government of it, the Houſe being diſatisfied with the Behaviour of Colonel *Morley*.

There was ſtill a Party, who wiſh'd well to the late Protector *Richard*, out of Averſion to the Common-wealth, and the Committee of Safety had much ado to get Major General *Overton*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Altured*, Major *Braman* receiv'd into Service, they being rigid *Republicans*, whom the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party no more affected, than they did the *Cromwelians*. The Lord *Howard*'s Regiment of Horſe was given to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Col. *Gough*'s Regiment to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and Col. *Altured* was made Captain of the Parliament Guards.

The Houſe paſs'd a Declaration concerning their Meeting, and their *Purpoſe to ſecure the Property and Liberty of the People, both as Men, and as Chriſtians, and that without a ſingle Perſon, King-ſhip, or Houſe of Peers, and to uphold Magiſtracy and Miniſtry*. The next Day after their Meeting, Dr. *Owen* preach'd a Sermon in the Parliament-Houſe, and an Order was made by the Committee of Safety, *That all Officers ſhou'd be ſuch as fear'd God, and had been faithful to the* Common-wealth. The former Part of this Order is that which occaſions all the Mirth in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s, and Mr. *Echard*'s Hiſtory, where the Railery is as coarſe as if it had been learnt in a Market; but the Language of theſe Court Writers may be beſt imag'd to the Reader by that of Sir *Philip Warwick*, who ſpeaking of the Reſtoring the Common-wealth, calls it *Subventaneous*, or *Addle-Eggs*, and a Page or two afterwards, a *Twiſting of the Guts*. They are inimitably polite. They were of the *Court* when it was at *Oxford*, and beſides the refin'd Expreſſion of the Rank and Quality, they had that of the *Colleges* and *Schools*, and above all that of the Court Paper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, to refine and poliſh them.

Council of State. Seven Days after the Meeting of the Parliament, they choſe a Council of State, Twenty one to be of their Body, and Ten not to be of it.

The Ten were,

The Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Major General *Lambert*, Col. *Desborough*, Col. *Berry*, Sir *Horatio Townſend*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Robert Honeywood*, Sir *Archibald Johnſtown*, Lord *Warriſton*, *Joſias Berners*, Eſq;

The Twenty one, who were Members of Parliament,

Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *James Harrington*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Col. *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Nevil*, Eſq; Col. *Morley*, *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; Col. *Walton*, *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Col. *Dixwel*, *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; Col. *Sydenham*, *Robert Reynolds*, Eſq; Col. *Thomſon*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, Col. *John Jones*, Leiutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *Downs*, *Humphry Salloway*, Eſq; A.D.1659

The Reſt of the Members of the Parliament, term'd in reproach the Rump.

List of the Rump. *William Lenthal*, Eſq; *Speaker*, *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; Col. *William Purefoy*, Eſq; Sir *Henry Mildmay*, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Eſq; *John Liſle*, Eſq; Lord *Munſon*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *Iſaac Penington*, Eſq; *Luke Robinſon*, Eſq; *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; *Daniel Blagrave*, Eſq; *Serjeant Wylde*, *Robert Goodwin*, Eſq; *Thomas Atkins*, Eſq; *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; *John Weaver*, Eſq; *John Dove*, Eſq; ----*Rolls*, Eſq; *Auguſtine Skinner*, Eſq; *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; *Gilbert Millington*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Col. *Richard Ingoldsby*, Sir *John Fagg*, Col. *Laſſels*, Mr. *Lechmere*, Mr. *Gold*, Col. *Okey*, *Michael Oldſworth*, Eſq; Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Rawleigh*, Mr. *Brewſter*, Col. *Bennet*, Mr. *Pury*, Mr. *Say*, *Henry Martin*, Eſq; Col. *Hutchinſon*, Mr. *White*, Col. *Eyres*, *Philip Smith*, Eſq; Mr. *Bingham*, Col. *Brooke*, Mr. *Dunch*.

Secluded Members had no Right to vote. *Echard* tells them but Forty. Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and other Members, were afterwards elected and admitted: However, the Archdeacon's Forty were a *Quorum*, and *Ludlow* obſerves, that the ſecluded Members being declar'd incapable of Sitting and Voting by a fair *Quorum* of Parliament, which is the Law of the Houſe, how will the Lawyers prove that they had afterwards a Right to ſit, and that thoſe who did ſit, were not a legal Parliament? A *Quorum* can ſeclude twenty as lawfully as two, and I do not ſee how any thing can be determin'd in Parliament, if what is done by a *Quorum*, is not determinative. The Houſe appointed an Oath to be taken by all Officers of the Army and others, *To be true and faithful to the Common-wealth, in Oppoſition to* Charles Stuart, *or any ſingle Perſon*. The Soldiery boggl'd at this Teſt, not on Account of *Charles Stuart*, none of them thought of him, but of a *ſingle Perſon*, which many of them thought of, and to ſet up *Fleetwood* againſt the Parliament, or *Lambert*, or to reſtore *Richard*, who, tho' driven from *Whitehall*, had ſtill an Intereſt among the Soldiers.

Monk's Addreſs to the Parliament. One of the firſt and moſt zealous Addreſſes to the Parliament after their Reſtoration, was from *Monk*, and the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, in which they ſay, *A glorious Cauſe, whoſe Intereſt was laid low, even in the Duſt, is in one Day reſtor'd to its Life and Luſtre, when almoſt all the Aſſerters of it had ſo manifeſtly deſerted it by a Dejection of many Years.* One of theſe Deſerters was *Monk* himſelf, as may be ſeen by his Addreſſes to *Oliver* and *Richard*. *In the Senſe of this, the greateſt of our temporal Mercies, we now come to addreſs your Honours, as thoſe whoſe Preſence we have ſo long wanted.* Notwithſtanding their Joy at the Exaltation of both the *Cromwels*, *They beſeech the God of all their Mercies, to heal the Back-ſlidings of his People, and not to charge to their Account, in this his Day of their Deliverance, their Miſcarriages, while they were wandering in dark and ſlippery Places, after the Imagination of their own Hearts, and with all Humility and Affection congratulate their Honours in their happy Reſtoration to the Government of theſe Nations, which God was pleas'd once ſo to own in their Hands.* This is General *Monk*, who a few Months after brought about the happy Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second; and having taken the Oath call'd the *Engagement*, to

A.D. 1659

be true and faithful to the *Common-wealth*, without King or Houſe of Peers, and having ſworn to be true and faithful to both the *Cromwels*, and having betray'd the Common-wealth, whom he had engag'd to maintain, I think there is no great Wrong done him, when he is charg'd with Treachery and Perjury. In the mean time the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party, not forgetting their Deſign, drew up an Addreſs to the Parliament, and preſented it by the chief Officers of the Army. The Heads of it were, *That thoſe who had acted under the late Power, might be indemnify'd; that Leiutenant General* Fleetwood *might be appointed Commander in chief of the Forces; that the Protector's Debts might be ſatisfy'd, and* 10,000 *Pounds a Year added to his Revenue; that the Government of the Nation might conſiſt of a Repreſentative of the People, and a ſelect Senate; that Care might be taken for Payment of the Debts of the Army; that Liberty of Conſcience might be ſecur'd.* The Houſe anſwer'd, that they wou'd give them all poſſible Satisfaction, and that no Man for the future might have an Opportunity to pack an Army to ſerve his Ambition, as had been formerly practis'd, a Bill was prepar'd and brought in, conſtituting the ſeven Perſons following, to be Commiſſioners for the Nomination of Officers, to be preſented to the Parliament. Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *Desborough*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Col. *Berry*.

He is treacherous and perjur'd.

Officers of the Army petition.

Commiſſioners for Officers.

Another Bill was brought in *to appoint Lieutenant General* Fleetwood *Commander in Chief*, and that all Commiſſions ſhou'd be ſign'd *by the Speaker*. Both theſe Acts paſs'd, and were notify'd to the Officers, that they might obey them, and particularly take new Commiſſions from the *Speaker*.

Speaker *to grant Commiſſioners.*

The Parliament took very prudent Meaſures for their Preſervation, but having nothing but Prudence to oppoſe to Power, the Army obey'd them juſt as much, and as long, as they pleas'd. The Officers did not reliſh the laſt mention'd Acts, which made them entirely dependant on the Parliament; and as they had reſtor'd them to their Seats in that Houſe, they began to wiſh it undone, and to meditate how to undo it. *Deſborough* ſaid, he had a good Commiſſion already, and he wou'd take none from the *Speaker:* But Matters not being ripe enough for a new Change, his Stomach came to him, and he, and all the Officers took their Commiſſions from the Hands of the *Speaker*.

The Houſe was indefatigable in their Proceedings, and had an Eye to foreign, as well as domeſtick Affairs. They appointed Col. *Sidney* and Sir *Robert Honeywood*, to go Ambaſſadors to *Sweden*, to mediate a Peace between that King, and the King of *Denmark*. They ſent Mr. *George Downing* to *Holland* to tranſact Matters with that Common-wealth, and appointed Col. *Lockhart*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, to be their Ambaſſador at the *Pyrenean* Treaty. The Envoys and Reſidents of *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holſtein*, *Tuſcany*, *Hamburgh*, *Hanſe* Towns, &c. had Audience, and were referr'd to Commiſſioners concerning their ſeveral Negotiations. They alſo wrote Letters to *Charles* King of *Sweden*, and *Frederick*, King of *Denmark*, to offer them a Mediation for a Peace between them. Theſe Letters were ſign'd, *The Parliament of the Commom-wealth of* England, WILLIAM LENTHAL, *Prolocutor of the Common-wealth of* England.

They made Serjeant *Bradſhaw*, Serjeant *Tyrrel*, and Serjeant *Fountain*, Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal.

Upper-Bench.

Lord Chief Juſtice *Newdegate*, Mr. Juſtice *Hill*, Mr. Juſtice *Nicholas*.

Common-Pleas.

Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Mr. Juſtice *Windham*, Mr. Juſtice *Archer*.

Exchequer.

Lord Chief Baron *Wilde*, Mr. Baron *Thorp*, Mr. Baron *Parker*.

About this time, Mr. *Scot*, one of the Council of State, inſinuated to them that he had Intelligence of a dangerous Correſpondence carry'd on by Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, with Sir *Edward Hyde*, beyond the Seas. Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* made the higheſt Profeſſions that could be of his Innocence, denying he had ever any Correſpondence with the King, or Sir *Edward Hyde*, or any of the King's Miniſters or Friends. His Expreſſions were ſo high, that they bred the more Suſpicion of him in ſome of the *Council*, tho' he was clear'd by the major Vote. The Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlocke* poſitively deny'd what he was charg'd with, and the Spy being a beggarly *Iriſh* Friar, the Matter was wav'd, and no more ſaid of it.

On the 5th of *June* the Parliament voted, *That this Parliament ſhall not continue longer than* May *the 7th*, 1660; but the Officers did not deſign they ſhou'd ſit ſo long. They had in Debate the Regulation of the Law, and order'd a Bill *to reform Abuſes in Clerks, Attorneys, Sollicitors and Lawyers.* They alſo referr'd *it to the Council to take care, that the People be not wrong'd by Bailiffs and Juries.* 'Twas worthy the Wiſdom of the Nation to redreſs ſuch enormous Grievances, but were they then redreſs'd, or are they redreſs'd to this Day? It is worth obſerving who have been the Occaſion of the Stop that has been put to ſuch generous Deſigns, and they are found to be Perſons who make their Market of ſuch Wrongs and Abuſes. It is by no Means worthy the Wiſdom of the Nation to be impos'd upon by them.

Monk had little or nothing to do in *Scotland*, but to enjoy the Fulneſs of his Fortune, with as much Luxury and Licence as a Man of no Principles cou'd allow himſelf. And there's no Reaſon to imagine he had any Thoughts of ſtirring from the Place where he was, till Applications were made to him from *England*. His Eye-ſight was not good enough to ſee from *Edinburgh* to *London*, nor his Fore-ſight to provide for Conſeqences, unleſs they were put into his Head, as we ſhall ſee preſently they were.

As ſoon as *Richard* was outed of the Government, Sir *Charles Coote*, then in his Court, went Poſt for *Ireland*, to carry the News of this great Alteration, to the Lord Lieutenant *Henry Cromwel*. After him haſten'd Col. *Henry Ingoldsby*, and it was ſuppos'd, the Deſign was to ſee whether there was any likelihood of their being able to maintain themſelves in the Government of that Kingdom: But the Army there declaring, they wou'd do as the Army did in *England*, they had no Encouragement to defend *Richard* againſt the *Parliament*, tho' Sir *Charles Coote* try'd what he cou'd do in *Connaught*, and the Lord *Broghil* did the ſame in *Munſter*, as did alſo Lieutenant Col. *Flower* in *Ulſter*; and this Party being diſappointed in their Aims to continue *Cromwel's* Authority, which they divided with him in their ſeveral Stations, out of Deſpight to the *Common-wealth*, enter'd into Engagements for the

Ireland.

Coote and Broghil for Richard.

A.D.1659 King; and it is obſervable, that of all thoſe who ſerv'd his Majeſty in his Reſtoration, there is hardly one Man of Note and Intereſt, who did it out of Principle and Affection, till the Work was done to their Hands.

Ludlow made Commander in Chief.

The Parliament ſent Orders to *Henry Cromwel* to come to *England*, and give the Council of State an Account of Affairs there, which oblig'd him to leave that Kingdom; where Lieutenant General *Ludlow* arriv'd ſoon after, with a Commiſſion to command the Forces in Chief; and, with other Commiſſioners of Parliament, to take upon him the Government. We ſhall leave him there, and ſee what he ſays of the Counſels in *England*.

Opinions about a Scheme of Government.

At this Time the Opinions of Men were much divided concerning a Form of Government to be eſtabliſh'd amongſt us. The Great Officers of the Army, as has been hinted, were for a *ſelect ſtanding Senate* to be join'd to the Repreſentative of the People.

Others labour'd to have the Supream Authority to conſiſt of an Aſſembly choſen by the People, and a Council of State choſen by that Aſſembly, to be veſted with the Executive Power, and accountable to that which ſhou'd next ſucceed. At which Time the Power of the ſaid Council ſhou'd determine.

Some were deſirous to have a Repreſentative of the People conſtantly ſitting, by a perpetual Rotation.

Others propos'd, that there might be join'd to the Popular Aſſembly a ſelect Number of Men in the nature of the *Lacedemonian Ephori*, who ſhou'd have a *Negative* in Things wherein the Eſſentials of the Government ſhou'd be concern'd; *ſuch as the Excluſion of a ſingle Perſon*, touching *Liberty of Conſcience*, *Alteration of the Conſtitution*, and other Things of the laſt Importance to the State.

Some were of Opinion it wou'd be moſt conducive to the Publick Happineſs, if there were two Councils choſen by the People; the One to conſiſt of about Three hundred, and to have the Power only of propoſing and debating Laws; the Other to be in Number about a Thouſand, and to have the Power finally to reſolve and determine. Every Year a third Part of each Council to go out, and others to be choſen in their Places.

There were ſome, whoſe Scheme was, that there ſhou'd be a King, who might govern without a Parliament, and Impriſon Men, Impreſs Men, and take away Men's Money by his Prerogative only. That he might enter the Parliament-Houſe, and hale away the Members at Pleaſure. That he ſhou'd have a *High Commiſſion Court* to perſecute, impriſon, and beggar all thoſe that did not think according to a *Form* preſcrib'd them: And another Court, to cut off the Ears and Noſes of ſuch as gave them the leaſt Offence. That there ſhou'd be a *Convocation* to make Canons and Creeds too, if they thought fit, to make People do and ſwear as the ſaid Canons enjoin'd; with a Power to turn Religion into Ceremony, and the *Lord's Day* into a *Revel*. This Scheme, indeed, was ſo monſtrous, that it was not offer'd to the Publick; but was had up very often in Cabals and Converſations, and produc'd ſomething at laſt, as will be ſeen, if the Reader has Patience to go through this Hiſtory.

Some Members of the *Council* of State propos'd at the Board, That the Parliament ſhou'd be mov'd to appoint Twenty of their own Number, and Ten of the Principal Officers of the Army, to conſider of a Form of Government, to be reported to the Parliament; and if they ſhou'd approve it, that then the whole Army ſhou'd be drawn out, and declare their Conſent to it; which Propoſition, though it ſeem'd thus to find a general Approbation, yet prov'd abortive; and the Parliament themſelves paſs'd a Reſolution, That on every *Wedneſday* the Houſe ſhou'd go into a *Grand* Committee to conſider of that Matter. A.D.1659

To the Act of Indemnity a Clauſe had been incerted, to reſtrain the Favour of the Parliament, in regard of thoſe who, under the *Cromwels*, had receiv'd exorbitant and double Salaries: Which was to the great Diſcontent of ſeveral conſiderable Perſons, who fear'd they might be concern'd in it. In particular Major General *Lambert*, now the moſt *conſiderable Perſon* in the Nation, bitterly exclaim'd againſt it to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, ſaying, *There is no Security given by the Act to indemnify us for what we have done, but the Parliament have taken Care to make us accountable for whatſoever we have receiv'd.* *Ludlow* reply'd, *In my Opinion, all the Soldiers are indemnify'd for what they have receiv'd; and if the Parliament ſhou'd ever make uſe of the Clauſe, it will only be againſt thoſe*, who have enrich'd *themſelves by the Ruin of the Common-wealth, and have oppos'd the Return of the Parliament to the Exerciſe of their Authority. I am perſuaded, you cannot think ſuch a Sort of Men worthy of their Favour and Conſideration, equally with thoſe who contributed to their Reſtitution.* Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, who then join'd them, and heard what they were upon, ſaid, *The Act is as full and comprehenſive as can be juſtly deſir'd.* Major General *Lambert* reply'd, *It ſignifies nothing, it leaves us ſtill at their Mercy. You are*, ſaid Sir *Arthur*, *only at the Mercy of the Parliament.* *Lambert* retorted, *I know not why they ſhou'd not be at our Mercy, as well as we at theirs.* Both *Haſelrigge* and *Ludlow* began from this Converſation, to be jealous of *Lambert's* Deſigns; which, perhaps, had broke out ſooner, had not the Conſpiracies all over *England* broken out; which, under the Pretence of a *Free Parliament*, intended the Reſtoration of the King. A.D.1659

Lambert diſcontented.

Sir George Booth's Riſing.

The firſt Man who appear'd in Arms, was Sir *George Booth*, in *Cheſhire*. With him join'd Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Colonel *Brook*, and Mr. *Dunch*, all *Presbyterians* and *Covenanters*; though they had not taken the Covenant ſo often as the King had done. Mr. *Whitley*, of *Cheſhire*, had been with his Majeſty in *Flanders*, to tell him, I ſuppoſe, what the *Presbyterians* intended to do for him, rather than to deſire any Help from him. The *Cavaliers* promis'd to join with theſe *Covenanters*. But whether it was that they were diſpirited with ſo many Routs and Executions, or whether they did not care to truſt their new Confederates, Dr. *Calamy* tells us they fail'd them, and *Coke* ſays the ſame. However, Sir *George Booth* put the Thing to the Venture. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, another *Preſbyterian* and *Covenanter*, and Sir *Horatio Townſend*, one of the preſent Council of State, had contriv'd to poſſeſs *Lynne*. Another *Presbyterian* and *Covenanter*, Major General *Maſſey*, was to ſurprize *Glouceſter*, a City he had ſo bravely defended againſt King *Charles* I. Where are the Royaliſts all this while? The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, *Arundel*, *Pollard*, *Greenvile*, *Trelawney*, did indeed *hope* to poſſeſs *Plymouth*; which is all that I hear of them, unleſs it be two or three Gentlemen who kept their Words with Sir *George Booth*; as *Oneale*, the Lord *Kilmurry*, Col. *Egerton*; as did alſo the Earl of *Derby*, Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, Mr. *Lee* of *Limehouſe*, and Capt. *Morgan*.

The

A.D. 1659 Conſpirators taken.

The Earl of *Stamford*, another Covenanter, had promis'd to join with *Booth*; but that Earl, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Sir *Horatio Townſend*, and Major General *Maſſey*, were apprehended before they cou'd appear in Arms; ſo were the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Delaware*, and the Lord *Falkland*. One *Baſſet*, ſays *Ludlow*, appear'd with about Sixty Horſe near *Bath*, and as many near *Malmesbury*, who were to have *Maſſey* for their Head, hearing the County Militia only was marching againſt them, diſpers'd. The *Shropſhire* Gentlemen, Lord *Newport*, *Littleton*, &c. *were ready to ſecure Shrewsbury*, as we read in *Clarendon*; but prevented being ſecur'd themſelves by lying quiet; for Captain *Waring* with the *Militia* Troop, and ſome Aſſiſtance from *Wrexham*, being more in a Readineſs, ſecur'd the Place for the Parliament. The General Inſurrection all over *England* was appointed to be on the Firſt of *Auguſt*, and the King and Duke of *York* drew down to the Sea-Coaſts to tranſport themſelves on the firſt Occaſion. *Ludlow* was on his Way to *Holyhead* to imbark for *Ireland*, juſt before *Booth*'s Inſurrection happen'd; and receiving a Viſit from Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the Knight proteſted, *He was reſolved to continue ſtedfaſt in the Intereſt of the Common-wealth*, which was only a Week or two before he rode into *Wrexham* at the Head of a Troop of Horſe, and there, brandiſhing his Sword, heard the King proclaim'd in the Market Place. It's great pity ſo good a Cauſe as the *Reſtoration*, cou'd not have been accompliſh'd without the Breach of ſo many Words and Oaths, ſo many ſolemn Engagements Sacred and Civil!

Lud. p. 687.

King proclaim'd by Sir Tho. Middleton.

The County of *Warwick* and City of *Coventry* had like to have revolted by the Treachery of Col. *Fotherby*, who commanded there for the Parliament. But old Col. *Pureſoy* took upon him that Command, and ſecur'd that County and City. Col. *Crompton* and Capt. *Bathurſt* prevented any Stirring in *Staffordſhire*. Thus was Sir *George Booth* pent up in *Cheſhire* and Part of *Lancaſhire*, and very much ſtraighten'd by the Forces Lieutenant General *Ludlow* ſent over from *Ireland* under Col. *Zanchy* and Col. *Axtel*, of whom a Party under Lieutenant Col. *Walker* prevented a Riſing in *Carnarvonſhire* and other Parts of *North-Wales*.

Sir *George Booth* enter'd *Cheſter* with 400 Horſe. Col. *Croxton*, who commanded there, having not a Troop to oppoſe him, retir'd into the Caſtle, and kept it. When *Booth* came into this City Col. *Edmund Temple* was there, bound for *Ireland*: *Booth* order'd him to be ſeiz'd and brought to him. Upon Examination finding he was going to *Ireland*, he permitted him to proceed, having ask'd him *if he had heard of no Riſing in other Parts*? Col. *Temple* reply'd, *He had found all quiet on the Road from* London. At which Sir *George* ſeem'd much ſurpriz'd and diſcourag'd, ſaying, *Other Promiſes have been made me*. *Whitlock* tells us, the *Presbyterian Miniſters labour'd to further this Riſing*, and many of them appear'd in it; for which King *Charles* II. treated them as they might have expected he wou'd from every thing that had been ſeen or heard of him.

The Night before the Riſing was to be, Major General *Maſſey* was taken in *Glouceſterſhire* as he was going to *Glouceſter*. Information being given to a Captain of Horſe of his being in the Country, and whereabouts, the Officer came up with him, ſeiz'd him, and mounted him before a Trooper; but riding down a ſteep Hill, the Weather being wet, and the Night dark, the Horſe ſlipt in a Wood and fell down, which *Maſſey* caus'd by checking him. In the Fall he got away and hid himſelf in a Buſh in the Wood. The whole Troop ſearch'd for him; but he crept in ſo cloſe they cou'd not find him; ſo he eſcap'd, and got the next Morning to a Friend's Houſe, where he lay conceal'd two or three Weeks. A.D. 1659

The Parliament had order'd three Regiments of Horſe, one of Dragoons, and three Regiments of Foot to march againſt Sir *George Booth*, but were perplex'd in the Choice of a Commander. Whilſt the Matter was under Debate, ſome Perſons of the King's Party addreſs'd themſelves to the Wife of Col. *Lambert*, whom *Gregory Leti* repreſents as a Lady of Intrigue, who had an Amour not only with the Earl of *Holland*, but with *Oliver Cromwel*, by whom he ſays 'tis certain ſhe had a Child, *Il eſt pourtant certain que la Femme de ce major devint groſſe dans le Temps qu'elle etoit aimée de* Cromwel; but then he ſpoils all by ſaying, *Oliver* was deſir'd to be Godfather to his own Child; whereas it is moſt certain, that both *Cromwel* and *Lambert* were Independants, and that they never had a Godfather or Godmother at any of their *Chriſtnings*; and if no body elſe had them, 'twou'd prevent the Breach of ſo many thouſand ſolemn and ſacred Promiſes, as are made daily on thoſe Occaſions. Lady *Lambert* acquainted her Husband with the great Offers that were made him, if he wou'd be the Inſtrument of the King's Return. But *Lambert* receiv'd thoſe Offers with Diſdain. He thought himſelf as well deſerving, and as well qualify'd to reign as the King was, and had it doubtleſs in his Head. He diſcover'd the Contrivance to Sir *Henry Vane*, who having communicated it to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, he perſuaded them to renew their former Friendſhip with Aſſurances on each Part to unite their Endeavours in the Service of the Parliament. It was by this Means chiefly, that Major General *Lambert* was appointed to command thoſe Forces that were deſign'd to ſuppreſs the Inſurrection in *Cheſhire*. p. 363.

Lambert *appointed to command the Forces againſt Sir* George Booth.

Monk had about 7000 Men in *Scotland*, where *Echard* tells us, he lay upon the Watch *as a Cat watches a Mouſe*; a homely Simile indeed! But the Subject is every whit as homely. The Parliament ſent an Order to him to detach two Regiments of Foot, and two of Horſe to march to the North of *England*, and hinder any Increaſe of Forces coming to *Booth*. *Monk* excus'd himſelf under Colour of the Enemy's Strength and Intention to revolt, tho', according to *Ludlow*, "There were not wanting ſome, who then "thought that his Engagements with the com- "mon Enemy were the true Reaſon of his Re- "fuſal. And it is certain, that a Gentleman "from the King, *Nicholas Monk* his Brother, a "*Devonſhire* Parſon, had been with him, and "tho' what paſt between them was not made "publick, yet, ſince he did not ſeize him, as it "was his Duty, but permitted him to return "ſafely from whence he came, he may juſtly be "ſuſpected even then to have *betray'd* thoſe "whom he pretended to ſerve."

Monk's *Treachery.*

On the ſixth of *Auguſt* Major General *Lambert* march'd from *London* with the before-mention'd Troops, and a Train of Artillery. Sir *George Booth* had about 4000 Men with him, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Town of *Warrington* in *Lancaſhire*, of which the Reverend Mr. *Robert Yates* was then Vicar, and no doubt very forward in this Buſineſs, he having been try'd for his Life at *Lancaſter* before Judge *Twiſden* for only ſpeaking againſt the *Engagements*, which *Monk* had ſwallow'd very chearfully. Matters were carry'd ſo far, that Mr. *Yates* had prepar'd his laſt Speech, being reſolv'd not to retract what he had

A.D.1659 had preach'd: But by the Clemency of the Judge he was pardon'd. Mr. *Hiet*, Miniſter of *Croſton* in this Neighbourhood, was ejected for refuſing the *Engagement* againſt the King and the Houſe of Peers, as was alſo Mr. *Henry Finch*, Vicar of *Walton*. Mr. *Henry Newcome*, Miniſter of *Manchester*, engag'd heartily in this Inſurrection, and was much eſteem'd by Sir *George Booth*. Mr. *Robert Eaton*, joint Paſtor of *Walton* with Mr. *Finch*, was Chaplain to Sir *George Booth*. But all theſe pious and loyal Divines, and ſeveral others of this County, who had refus'd the *Engagement*, met with moſt grateful Returns from King *Charles* II. who had not been long reſtor'd before he paſs'd an Act to take away their Bread from them, and turn them out of their Houſes only for being *Presbyterians*, contrary to the *Covenant*, which he ſwore three Times, and contrary to the moſt ſacred and ſolemn Promiſes he made in his Declaration, and in his Diſcourſe with the *Presbyterian* Miniſters at *Breda*.

Presbyterian *Miniſters with* Sir George Booth.

Sir *George Booth* plac'd a Party of 300 Men in the Town of *Warrington*. The main Body was lodg'd on the other Side of the River, and a good Number poſted to defend the Bridge, where the Forces on each Side met, and *Booth*'s Forces began the Action, by ſending out a Party to skirmiſh with an advanc'd Party of Major General *Lambert*'s; but being repuls'd, and retreating beyond the Bridge, Sir *George*'s Body of Horſe, conſiſting of about 1800, one Half of which the Royaliſts brag'd were *Gentlemen*, ran before *Lambert*'s Horſe began to charge. The Cavaliers having not yet forgot their old way of fighting, and there were enough of them among *Booth*'s Presbyterians, to ſpoil a better Army than his was. The Foot might have been cut to Pieces without any Aſſiſtance from the Gentry on Horſeback, except only about forty commanded by Captain *Morgan*, who, endeavouring to ſecure their Retreat, were kill'd in the Action. Many of Sir *George*'s Foot eſcap'd, by leaping over the Hedges and hiding themſelves; but, according to *Ludlow*, their ſureſt Protection was, their having engag'd againſt thoſe that were more ready to ſave than to deſtroy them; ſo that tho' the whole Force of the Enemy was entirely defeated, yet there were not above forty of them kill'd. About 6 or 700 of their Horſe, in ſcatter'd and broken Parties, fled to *Cheſter*; but not thinking themſelves ſafe there, they went into *North Wales* with Sir *Thomas Middleton*, of Age and Experience too great to have engag'd in ſuch mad Work as this was, the Knight being above fourſcore. *Cheſter* was ſurrender'd to General *Lambert*, as was alſo *Liverpool*, which had been ſeiz'd by *Booth*'s Forces. One ſees all along, that this is one of the fooliſheſt Enterprizes in the whole Hiſtory, and yet there's much more Folly in *Echard*'s Remarks on it than in the thing itſelf: "Colonel "*Zanchy* might have been met and engag'd in "*Angleſey*; Col. *Lilburne* might eaſily have "been broken in *Yorkſhire*; many other little Par-"ties might have been met and diſperſs'd; and "that one Blow given might have brought "effectual Aid to Sir *George*'s Party;" and if *Echard* had known better, a great many ſuch idle Reflections might have been left out of his Book.

Sir George Booth *routed.*

In the mean time the Parliament publiſh'd a Proclamation, declaring Sir *George Booth* and his Adherents, Rebels and Traitors. The Lord Mayor of *London*, *John Ireton*, Eſq; the Aldermen and the two Sheriffs, Sir *Anthony Bateman*, and Sir *John Lawrence* attending the Council of State, the Preſident *Whitlock* declar'd to them, by Command of the Council, *the Deſigns of the Enemy; the Care and Vigilance of the Parliament and Council; the taking ſome of the Conſpirators, and defeating their Deſigns; the Enemy's Intention to deſtroy all that had been of the Parliament's Party, and to bring in the King.* He then *thank'd the City for their good Affections, and faithful adhering to the Parliament, wherein their own and the whole Nation's Safety and Peace were concern'd, and deſir'd them to perſiſt therein.* At this very Juncture was *Davenant* the Poet releas'd out of Priſon, which ſhews us, that the Government was not ſo much afraid of the *Royaliſts* as of the *Presbyterians*, *Davenant* having been an Agent for the King. While *Lambert* was reducing two or three ſmall Caſtles, and demoliſhing *Chirke*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s Caſtle, Sir *George Booth* was making as faſt as he cou'd to *London*, riding in a Woman's Habit behind a Servant of his, another going before them. They put up at an Inn in *Newport-Pagnel* in *Buckingamſhire*, where the pretended Gentlewoman, either by alighting from the Horſe, or ſome other Action, rais'd a Suſpicion in the Maſter of the Houſe, that there was ſome Myſtery under that Dreſs; upon which, reſolving to make a full Enquiry into the Matter, he got together ſome of his Neighbours to aſſiſt him, and with them enter'd the Room, where the pretended Lady was; but Sir *George* ſuſpecting their Intentions, and being unwilling to put them to the Trouble of a further Search, diſcover'd himſelf. The Miniſter of the Pariſh, Mr. *John Gibbes*, gave the Parliament an Account of his being taken in this Manner, and he was remember'd for it after the Reſtoration. The Biſhop of the Dioceſe had not Patience to ſtay till the *Bartholomew* Act took place, but turn'd him out before for refuſing to admit the whole Pariſh to the Lord's Supper. Sir *George Booth* was ſent up to *London*, and by the Parliament committed to the *Tower*, where he was examin'd by Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, and confeſs'd he had receiv'd a Commiſſion from the King, and that many of the Nobility and Gentry had promis'd to appear with him, of whom he diſcover'd ſome, and deſir'd more Time to recollect himſelf concerning others.

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Sir George Booth *in the* Tower.

The Earl of *Derby* was taken in the Diſguiſe of a Footman by one *John Roden*. Col. *Shelcroſs* and others were apprehended. Col. *Brook*, a Member, making his Appearance in the Houſe, confeſs'd at the Bar his joining with Sir *George Booth*, was expell'd, and ſent to the *Tower* for High Treaſon. The Parliament voted to diſſolve the Corporation of the City of *Cheſter*, and that the County be no more *Palatine* or diſtinct to puniſh them for their Forwardneſs in this Inſurrection. The Eſtates of thoſe who were concern'd in it were ſeiz'd, particularly Sir *Thomas Middleton*'s, and 3000 Pounds of his Perſonal Eſtate was diſtrubuted among *Lambert*'s Soldiers. The Eſtate of Mr. *Henry Finch*, a Presbyterian Miniſter above-mention'd, was alſo ſeiz'd for his endeavouring to reſtore the King, who afterwards ſuffer'd the Biſhop to take away his Living on account of his Religion, he being a *Reform'd Proteſtant*. The Houſe order'd a Letter of Thanks, and a Jewel of a thouſand Pounds for Major General *Lambert*; but on a Motion of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, to make him Major General of all their Armies, they avoided it, by voting, *That there ſhou'd be no more General Officers than what were already made. Fleetwood* mov'd it purpoſely to create a Difference between the Parliament and *Lambert*, who, he doubted not, wou'd reſent this Slur upon him.

Parliament diſguſt Lambert. P. 314.

On the 3d of *September* the Parliament paſs'd a Vote, That all Officers, when they receiv'd their Commiſſions, ſhou'd take an *Engagement* in this

A.D.1659 this Form of Words, and Dr. *Wellwood* aſſures us, *Monk* actually took it.

Engagement. *I* George Monk, *do hereby declare, that I do renounce the pretended Title of* CHARLES STUART, *and the whole Line of the late King* James, *and of every other Perſon, as a ſingle Perſon pretending to the Government of theſe Nations of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, and that I will by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, be true, faithful and conſtant to this Common-wealth, againſt any King, ſingle Perſon, and Houſe of Peers, and every of them, and hereunto I ſubſcribe my Name.*

It is pretended by *Gumble*, *Webſter*, *Price* and ſuch Hiſtory Writers, that *Monk* did not take this *Engagement*, tho' every one elſe in Office were oblig'd to take it. But what's all this to the Purpoſe, had he not taken the *Covenant*, and the following *Engagement* for ten Years before, enjoin'd by an Act, *You ſhall ſwear, that you ſhall be true and faithful to the* Common-wealth *of* England, *as it is now eſtabliſh'd, without a King or Houſe of Lords*, which is equivalent with the laſt Engagement, and was taken by *Monk*, or he wou'd not have had a Company under his Command? On the breaking out of *Booth*'s Buſineſs, *Monk* wrote a Letter to the Parliament, with freſh Proteſtations of his Fidelity to them, and his Zeal for their Service, alſo of his Diſapprobation of ſome Proceedings of the Army in *England*, meaning their Petition from *Derby*, " wherein " they aſpers'd the Parliament for not endea- " vouring to ſuppreſs the late *Rebellion*, with " ſuch Vigour as they ought, for not puniſhing " thoſe who had been engag'd in it, and for not " rewarding the Officers who had defeated the " Enemy. They preſs'd for a Settlement of the " Government, in a *Repreſentative of the Peo- " ple, and a ſelect Senate*, which wou'd have been " Officers, and ſuch only as the Officers pleas'd, " and what diſcover'd fully their arbitrary De- " ſigns." That *Lieutenant General* Fleetwood *might be made Commander in Chief of the Army, without any Limitation of Time*; *Major Gene- ral* Lambert, *Major General of the Armies*; *Ma- jor General* Desborough, *Lieutenant General*; Monk, *Major General of the Foot*: The latter was nam'd to keep him quiet, but he declar'd, *he wou'd not join in thoſe dangerous Counſels, and that he wou'd keep his Officers within the Rules of Modeſty and Obedience to the* Common-wealth. This was about four Months before he enter'd into a Treaty with the Common Enemy of that Common-wealth, contrary to all *Covenants*, *Oaths* and *Engagements*.

Whitl. *p.* 408. *taken by* Monk.

Monk's *Treachery.*

Monk *Treache- rous*, ibid. 701.

The Army, not unmindful of their grand Deſign, perſuaded ſome of their Friends in Parliament, to move for an Order to continue Alderman *Ireton*, then Lord Mayor, and one of their Confidents, a Year longer in that Office; and the Parliament ſeem'd at firſt inclin'd to grant their Requeſt, having perceiv'd great Diſcontents amongſt the Citizens of *London*, at the Time of the late Inſurrection; but, ſays *Ludlow*, " The " Spirit of *Sedition* was much allay'd, ſince the " Suppreſſion of the *Rebels*;" the very Stile of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, and the Lord *Clarendon*'s Artillery turn'd againſt him. " The Ci- " ty petition'd the Parliament, to permit them " the Enjoyment of their Priviledge, to elect " their Lord Mayor, promiſing to employ that " Favour, and all that they had for their Service; " upon which they were permitted to proceed " in that Affair, according to Cuſtom, and Sir " *Thomas Allen*, a Man of a moderate Spirit, " being choſen, they invited the Parliament, and

Ireton, *Lord Mayor.*

Ibid.

" chief Officers of the Army to a ſplendid En- " tertainment at Dinner." The two Sheriffs were, *Francis Warner*, Eſq; and *William Love*, Eſq; all three, Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, Preſbyterians, as were all the Aldermen, who were not Independants; tho' *Robinſon*, who was Sheriff, when *Chiverton* was Mayor, and *Brown*, who was Sheriff in the Mayorality of *Andrews*, being made *Baronets* after the Reſtoration, became moſt implacable Enemies, and cruel Perſecutors of all thoſe who were not of the Church of *England*, to which they had themſelves profeſs'd Enmity for twenty Years together. I cannot write Panegyricks upon a Cauſe which took Effect, and was ſupported by Apoſtacy, Treachery and Cruelty.

A.D.1659

The *Derby* Petition coming to the Knowledge of the Parliament, with the Endeavours that were us'd to procure Subſcriptions to it, ſome who knew it to be a Contrivance of Major General *Lambert*, mov'd that he might be ſent to the Tower, and as *Ludlow* obſerves, " It had been " well, either that the Motion had better ſuc- " ceeded, or that it had never been made; but it " ended only in paſſing a Vote to diſapprove the " *Petition*, and the Proceedings thereon, and to " require Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to ſend " Letters to all Parts, to obſtruct any further Pro- " greſs in it." This Petition was to have been preſented by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, but he ſhewing it to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, before it got into the Houſe, Sir *Arthur* procur'd this Order againſt it; upon which the Officers met at *Wallingford-Houſe*, and tho' it was pretended to be only in order to declare their *Acquieſcence* in the Reſolution of the Parliament, yet they fell into furious Debates againſt the Parliament for diſcountenancing the Petition. *Lambert*, who was the main Mover in this Affair, tho' behind the Curtain, ſitting all the while ſtill, as if he had had no Hand in it, and rather encouraging than reproving their Exceſſes. The Reſult of their Debate was, that a Committee of Council of Officers ſhou'd prepare an Addreſs to the Parliament, wherein, after the ſpecious Promiſes of Obedience, " They de- " ſir'd that thoſe who ſhou'd hereafter miſinform " the Houſe, as had been done in their Caſe, " might undergo the Cenſure of the Parliament. " That a Commander in Chief might be conſti- " tuted without Limitation of Time; that no " Officer might be diſplac'd, unleſs by a *Court* " *Martial*; that the Act of Indemnity might be en- " larg'd; that the Revenue of Mr. *Richard Crom- " wel* might be augmented, his Debts paid, *&c.*" The Parliament taking hold of that Clauſe in their Addreſs, wherein they promis'd Obedience, gave them Thanks for their Affections expreſs'd in it, and promis'd to take the Particulars of the Petition into their ſpeedy and ſerious Conſideration, and do therein according to Juſtice, and as far as they cou'd to their Satisfaction; in purſuance of this Promiſe, the Parliament proceeded to the Conſideration of the ſeveral Parts of the Addreſs, and had made a good Progreſs in it, when Col. *Okey* communicated to them a Letter, ſubſcrib'd by Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Desborough*, Col. *Berry*, Col. *Clerk*, Col. *Barrow*, the Committee nominated by the Council of Officers, which had been ſent to him to encourage Subſcriptions to the Petition lately read in the Houſe. It appear'd by this, that they intended the Petition to be the Ground on which they deſign'd to unite the Army againſt the Civil Authority: The Parliament finding that the Ways of Compliance, which they had been taking, ſerv'd only to encourage the Army to Mutiny and Rebellion, reſolv'd upon ſharper Counſels. And to that End, having caus'd the Door

The Officers Petition from Derby.

A.D.1659 *Parliament vote out the Officers of the Army.*

A Committee to command in chief.

of the Houſe to be lock'd, and fully inform'd themſelves of the Matter of Fact, they voted the Commiſſions of thoſe who had ſubſcrib'd the Letter to be void. They voted the Commiſſion of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* to be void alſo, and plac'd, by an Act, the Power of Commanding in Chief all the Forces in *England* and *Scotland*, in the ſeven following Perſons, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Major General *Overton*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Walton*, Col. *Monk*. Then they caus'd the Speaker to demand of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, who was then preſent in the Houſe, if he wou'd ſubmit to this Reſolution of the Parliament, to which he anſwer'd, *I will*. They alſo declar'd that no Tax ſhou'd be levy'd upon the People, unleſs by Act of Parliament, under the Penalty due to thoſe that are guilty of *High Treaſon*. This Affair, tho' carry'd with as much Secrecy as cou'd be, yet came to the Notice of the Officers without Doors, who being ſurpriz'd at the Reſolution of Parliament, and convinc'd that the leaſt Delay might prove dangerous, us'd all poſſible Diligence in drawing together their Party, and preparing themſelves for their deſign'd Work.

In the mean Time the Parliament order'd the Regiments of Col. *Morley*, and Col. *Moſs* to march forthwith to *Weſtminſter*, for their Security, and ſent for the reſt of the Troops that were about Town, to draw down to them alſo, with all convenient Speed. In purſuance of which Order, Col. *Okey* endeavour'd to bring down his Regiment of Horſe, but the greateſt Part of them deſerted him. Major General *Lambert* was the Perſon who made the firſt Attempt againſt the Parliament's Guard, endeavouring at the Head of a Party of Horſe, to break in upon that Part, where Col. *Morley* was poſted with his Regiment; but the Colonel advancing, and aſſuring him, he wou'd fire upon him, if he perſiſted; *Lambert* reply'd, *I will then go the other Way*, which he did, after he had given Orders to block up the *Avenues* by the *Mill-bank*, with Carts and other Impediments, to prevent the Guards of the Parliament from ſallying out upon his Men that Way. The Army plac'd alſo a Party of theirs in *King-ſtreet*, and in the Church-yard, near the *Abbey*, ſome of Col. *Morley*'s Regiment having already poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Old Palace-Yard*. In this Poſture they continu'd all Night. The next Morning, *October* the 13th, that Guard of the Army which lay in the Church-yard, advanc'd with one Major *Grimes*, at the Head of them, towards thoſe of Col. *Morley*'s Regiment that were in the *Palace-yard*. The Colonel being inform'd of this Motion, drew out thoſe he had with him, and haſten'd to their Relief. Both Parties being come within Piſtol ſhot, thoſe of the Army began to invite *Morley*'s Men to come over to them, deſiring them to remember they had hitherto fought together, and it was unreaſonable now to become Enemies. *Morley*'s Men endeavour'd to bring over *Grimes*'s Soldiers, and the chief Officers at length interpoſing, 'twas agreed that both Parties ſhou'd for the preſent, retire to their Stations. On the other Side, Major General *Lambert* being advanc'd near the Party, which was commanded by Col. *Moſs*, demanded of them, if they wou'd ſuffer nine of their old Officers, who had ſo often ſpent their Blood for them, and with them, to be diſgrac'd and ruin'd with their Families? The Colonel anſwer'd, *Tho' this ſhou'd be the Caſe, yet it was much better that nine Families ſhou'd be deſtroy'd than the civil Authority of the Nation be trampled under Foot, who deſign'd not the Ruin of any, but only to remove from their Commands nine Officers, who by their ſeditious Carriage, had render'd themſelves unworthy of that Truſt.* But *Lambert*'s Oratory was more prevalent with *Evelyn*, who commanded the Parliament's Life-Guard of Horſe, and marching forth at the Head of his Troop to do his Duty, was met by *Lambert*, at *Scotland Yard* Gate. His Men by the treacherous Perſwaſions of one *Cathneſs*, his Lieutenant, revolted, and the Major General commanded *Evelyn* to diſmount, which he did at the Head of his Troop, which went over to the General who was a Foot, and none with him. The ſame did ſome of Col. *Moſs*'s Regiment, each Party uſing their Rhetorick to bring over as many as they cou'd. And ſome came over to the Parliament's Party, particularly three entire Companies of Col. *Sydenham*'s Regiment. At laſt the Army gain'd their Point, and plac'd Guards both by Land and Water, to hinder the Members of Parliament from approaching the Houſe, tho' Sir *Peter Wentworth* being row'd by a Crew of able Watermen, broke thro' their Guard on the River, and got into the Houſe.

A.D.1659

Lambert *breaks the Parliament.*

In the mean Time, the Speaker endeavouring to paſs in his Coach, thro' the Guards of the Army, was ſtopp'd near the Gate of the *Palace-Yard*, by Lieutenant Col. *Duckenfield*, who had been very buſy about the *Derby* Petition. *Duckenfield* ask'd the Speaker, *whither he was going?* He anſwer'd, *to perform my Duty at the Houſe*, and turning himſelf to the Soldiers, he ſaid, *I am your General, and expect your Obedience*; but the Soldiers forc'd his Coachman to drive back, and as he paſs'd by *Wallingford-Houſe*, wou'd have compell'd him to drive in at the Gate, telling the Speaker, he muſt go to Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; but *Lenthal* commanded his Coachman to drive home, ſaying to the Officers, *If Lieutenant General* Fleetwood *has any Buſineſs with me, he may come to my Houſe*; ſo they deſiſted.

Col. *Sydenham* endeavouring to juſtify this Violence in the *Council* of State, ſaying, *'Twas the laſt Remedy made uſe of by a particular Call of divine Providence*, the Lord Preſident *Bradſhaw*, tho' in a languiſhing Condition, ſtood up, and interrupted him, telling the Council, *He was now going to his God, and had not Patience to hear his great Name ſo openly blaſphem'd*; ſo he left them, departed to his Lodgings, and withdrew himſelf from publick Employment. *Lambert* and *Desborough* for the Army, *Haſelrigge* and *Morley* for the Parliament, had a warm Debate in the Council about this Tranſaction, but the Officers prevail'd in it, and it was agreed to *ſave the Effuſion of Blood*, that the Parliament ſhou'd not ſit. So the general Council of Officers undertook the Government, and to draw up a Form for a new Parliament, who were to ſettle all Things. After which the *Council of State* ſent Orders to the Soldiers of each Party to draw off, and depart to their ſeveral Quarters, which they obey'd.

The Council of Officers declar'd *Fleetwood* Commander in Chief, ſent Col. *Barrow* to *Ireland*, and Col. *Cobbet* to *Scotland*, to acquaint the Officers of the Forces there, of their Proceedings, and to deſire their Concurrence. They nominated a Committee of Ten, to conſider of Affairs, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Humphry Salway*, Eſq; Sir *Archibald Johnſton*, Lord *Wariſtoun*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major General *Desborough*, Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Berry*.

Committee of State.

The old Council of State was diſſolv'd with the Common-wealth, which had laſted but five Months three Days. Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* and his Party, continu'd their Conſultations how to reſtore

A.D.1659 reſtore themſelves, and curb thoſe of *Wallingford-Houſe*, who had thus affronted them; and they had Hopes of *Monk*, who they doubted not wou'd be diſguſted at the making Major General *Lambert Major General* of all the Forces in *England* and *Scotland*. The Council of Officers appointed Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Deſborough*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and Col. *Berry*, to be a Committee to nominate Officers of the Army; and they alſo agreed upon a New Council to manage the great Affairs of the State till the Meeting of the new Parliament.

Committee for Officers.

COMMITTEE of SAFETY.

Committee of Safety. Sir *Archibald Johnſtoun*, Laird *Wariſtoun*, Preſident, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Lambert*, Commiſſary General *Desborough*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Sergeant *Steel*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Walter Strickland*, Eſq; *Henry Lawrence*, Eſq; Alderman *Ireton*, Alderman *Tichburne*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *Henry Brandreth*, Eſq; Mr. *Thompſon*, *Humphry Salway*, Eſq; Col. *Sydenham*, Col. *Berry*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Clerk*, Col. *Lilburne*, Col. *Bennet*.

The Writers of Hiſtory, who are tranſported with the Bleſſings of the Reſtoration, without telling us one of them, enter here into the Encomiums of Major General *Monk*, who, probably, about this Time began to think that he might make himſelf ſome Body, by ſiding with the weaker Party, which was that of the Parliament.

Monk and his Wife's Character. To imagine that a Man of his Head cou'd have foreſeen, amidſt the Deſpair the Royaliſts were in on the ſuppreſſing Sir *George Booth*'s Inſurrection, that he might be able to reſtore the King, is making him to have more Underſtanding, not only than ever he was thought to have had, but more than all the whole Party pretended to. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, *It put an end to all Endeavours* of Force, and that the King's Condition was a *State of Deſpair*, two or three Months only before he was reſtor'd. One need only conſider, that it was not reaſonable for *Monk* to expect that *Lambert*, who had reſtor'd the Commonwealth four or five Months before, wou'd deſtroy it again in ſo little time; and without his deſtroying it, *Monk* might have as well have thought of bringing in the Pope as the King. The Perſons he is ſaid to have conſulted, and to have been advis'd by, were *Nicholas Monk*, his Brother, a Country Parſon, of very mean Parts, afterwards a Biſhop; his Couſin *Morrice*, a *Pedant*, and a *conceited Perſon*, of no *true Judgment*, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, Dr. *Thomas Clarges*, an obſcure Apothecary, and his Siſter, *Monk*'s Wife, *a ravenous*, *mean*, *contemptible Creature*, as the Biſhop of *Salisbury* terms her, and *Greenvile*, who, ſays the Biſhop, thought *of nothing but of getting and ſpending*. I cou'd expatiate on all theſe Characters, and ſet them further in their proper Light, or rather, their proper Darkneſs, if I were not apprehenſive that I muſt have very good Authority for every thing within this Period. Theſe were excellent Managers to overturn the Government, if unforeſeen Accidents had not fallen out one after another to lead *Monk*, Step after Step, till the Buſineſs was done before he was aware of it. Yet *Echard*, putting on a grave Air, tells us, *After all, we have the greateſt Reaſons to believe* he has not one Reaſon in the World, *that his Intention to reſtore the King was very early*. Another ſuch Writer affirms, *He took a Commiſſion in the Parliament Service, the better to conceal his Intentions of ſerving his Majeſty ſecretly*. *Webſter*, and *Gumble*, and *Price*, Eccleſiaſticks, tell us the ſame, which is not only contrary to the Truth, but to Credibility. Dr. *Welwood*, who ſpeaks better Things of him than he deſerv'd, ſays, *I queſtion whether he deſign'd to reſtore the King till after* Richard Cromwel *was depriv'd*, and I queſtion whether he had ever any ſuch Deſign at all, till after he was afraid he wou'd be reſtor'd by ſome body elſe. He proceeds, If he had really ſuch an Intention, he did not prove himſelf to be a very good Chriſtian in it, *for he declar'd once again at that time for a* Common-wealth, without a King, a ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords, *and formally* renounc'd *the Family of the* Stuarts. All which is deny'd by the three Eccleſiaſticks above-mention'd. *Warwick*, after he has told us of another Twiſt of the Guts, tells us, *No Man can ſay, that* Monk *deſign'd any more than a general Quiet of the Land*; tho' Father *Orleans* affirms he was *timerous* and heavy, a Man of *ſlow Underſtanding*; yet it muſt be own'd he had Courage enough, of that ſort of Courage which proceeds from Inſenſibility of Danger, and not from a Deſire of Glory: Or if he had any Thirſt of Fame, it was no other than as it wou'd acquire him Poſts, and bring him in Pay, Biſhop *Burnet* informing us, that as to the latter he was perfectly *ravenous*. He and his Wife *ſold all that was within their Reach, nothing being deny'd them for ſome time, till he became ſo uſeleſs, that little perſonal Regard cou'd be paid him. But the King maintain'd ſtill the Appearance of it, for the Appearance of the Service he did him.* And indeed it was very little more than Appearance: Had much more been wanting to do the Buſineſs, it wou'd not have been done by him. He ſaid little, not having much to ſay; and when he did ſay any thing, 'twas with an ill Grace. He lov'd good Eating and Drinking, and had Plenty of it while he liv'd at *Dalkeith*, in the Houſe belonging now to the Dutcheſs of *Monmouth*, where he fed his Cavalier Gueſts high, and had always a Table for the Kirkmen, who wou'd come to him. A Man who can eat and drink well, is, in the vulgar Acceptation, very good Company; and he, who had no other Way of becoming popular, ſucceeded in that. While he was in *Scotland* he profeſs'd much Friendſhip for the Marqueſs of *Argyle*; and having receiv'd ſome Letters from that Lord, after he return'd to *England*, where he unboſom'd himſelf, as to a Friend, concerning the Cauſe they were then both engag'd in, *Monk* ſent thoſe Letters to *Scotland* when the Lord *Argyle* was to be try'd for his Life, which, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, was a *betraying the Confidence* they had liv'd in; and it was the more vile and wicked, for that the Marqueſs was condemn'd upon thoſe Letters. *He was little conſider'd*, according to the ſame Author, after he had modell'd the Army, and we ſhall ſee in the Courſe of the Hiſtory, that he was more conſider'd before it than the Merit of his Services to his Country amounted to.

A.D.1659

He is treacherous.

Welwood 106, 314. *Orl.* 194.

98.

Peerage, p. 11.

Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, a very Wiſe and Brave Man, perceiv'd that the Miſintelligence between the Parliament and Army would neceſſarily bring in the King; and as he had a very juſt Conception of the Characters of that Prince and his Followers, he did his utmoſt to prevent it. In order to which, he endeavour'd to reconcile both Parties: At a Meeting of both, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Salway*, and *Ludlow* for the Parliament; *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Sydenham*, and *Desborough* for the Army, the Matter was debated, and *Lambert* excus'd what he had done, by Promiſes of what he wou'd do. Mr. *Ludlow* procur'd another Meeting, and did all he cou'd to moderate the Warmth of his Brother-

*A.D.*1659 ther-Common-wealth's Men, who wou'd hear of no Accommodation, without being reſtor'd to their Seats in Parliament. Some of the Council of State wrote Letters to *Monk* to encourage him in his Reſolutions to ſtand by the Common-wealth, in Oppoſition to the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party. No ſooner was Col. *Cobbet* arriv'd at *Dalkeith*, than *Monk* order'd him to be ſeiz'd, together with ſome other Officers whom he ſuſpected, particularly Major *Holmes*, a very good Soldier, and good *Engliſhman*; who, Thirty Years after, loſt his Life, not in a very unwarrantable Conteſt, though againſt a very unwarrantable Government; he ſuffering Death for joining with the Duke of *Monmouth* againſt King *Charles*'s Brother, King *James*. Dr. *Welwood* tells a Story, which if it had come off as was deſign'd, wou'd have ſpoil'd all the Projects that *Monk* himſelf, his Wife, or her Brother *Clarges* cou'd have invented. The *Committee of Safety* had form'd a Deſign to ſecure his Perſon, juſt as he was about Marching into *England*. They diſpatch'd ſecret Orders to *Scotland*, by the ordinary Packet which us'd conſtantly to touch at *Dalkeith* while the General reſided there; but this Packet was order'd directly to *Edinburgh*, four Miles off.

It happen'd that one of *Monk*'s Life-guard accidentally met the Poſt turning out of the Road which led to *Dalkeith*, and finding he had not touch'd there, brought him back, notwithſtanding the Packet was directed to *Edinburgh*. *Monk* ſuſpecting ſomething, open'd all the Letters that were directed to the Officers of the Army; among which, there was one from the *Committee* to Col. *Wilks*, ordering him to uſe *the moſt effectual, ſpeedy, and ſecret Way to ſecure the Perſon of General* Monk, *and to ſend him up to* London *under a ſtrong Guard, in a Frigate which lay in* Leith *Road; and to take upon him the Command of the Army till farther Order*. Having taken out this, and what other Letters he thought fit, together with his own from the ſame *Committee*, full of high Compliments and Expreſſions of Truſt, he ſent away the Packet as it was directed. But having communicated the Matter to ſome particular Friends, he gave Orders for a *General Rendezvous* of the Army at *Edinburgh*, where he Arreſted Col. *Wilks*, and ſome other Officers of whom he was ſuſpicious, ſent them Priſoners to the Caſtle, and fill'd up their Commiſſions with others of his own Creatures; and alſo declar'd his Reſolution to his Soldiers, *To adhere to the Civil Authority, and to reſtore the Parliament*.

In the mean Time, the Officers at *Wallingford-Houſe* took away the Commiſſions of Col. *Okey*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Alured*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*; and were more ſolicitous to ſecure themſelves at Home, than to make Proviſion againſt *Monk* in *Scotland*; to whom Col. *Whalley*, Col. *Gough*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Mr. *Barker* were ſent to perſuade him to a right Underſtanding to prevent Effuſion of Blood. The Committee of Safety appointed Major General *Lambert* to command all the Forces in the *North*, where there were enough to have cut *Monk*'s, and another ſuch Army to pieces, had not the Parliament Party, under-hand, given him Encouragement, and prevail'd with the Soldiery almoſt to a general Defection.

On the firſt of *November* the Committee appointed Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Major *Salway*, and Alderman *Tichburne*, to conſider of a Form of Government for the Three Nations, as a *Commonwealth*, and to preſent it to the *Committee of Safety*; but nothing came of it. *Monk* ſecur'd *Berwick*, and attempted *Carliſle* in vain. *Lambert* having taken his Leave of the *Committee*, and earneſtly recommended to them to haſten and perfect the Form of Government, took Poſt for *York*; where he found Major General *Morgan*, famous for his Services in *Flanders* and *Artois*, who was then going to *Scotland* to confer with *Monk*; and promis'd *Lambert* to uſe his Credit with him, to bring him to an Accommodation. While *Morgan* was at *York*, he had ſeveral Conferences with the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Bowles*, one of the Four Miniſters maintain'd by the State in that City; who ſent a Letter by *Morgan* to *Monk*, importing, *That the* Lord Fairfax, *and many others of good Intereſt were willing to join with him, but diſapprov'd his Declaration which was reſtrain'd to that Parliament only, which ſat after the reſt were ſecluded, and was fill'd with Proteſtations for no other Government but a Common-wealth*. Thus we ſee here, that the firſt Perſon who inſiſted upon the Admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, which of courſe admitted the King, was a *Presbyterian* Miniſter. *Monk*, who was ſtill the Champion of the Republick, ſent *Clarges* to *York*, to ſatisfy Mr. *Bowles*, that whatever his Declaration ſaid, his Intentions were the reverſe of it, but *till he had more Strength, he muſt not talk otherwiſe*. *Clarges* was order'd to diſcourſe Mr. *Bowles* before he ſpoke to my Lord *Fairfax*: *Bowles* deſir'd him to ſtay privately in *York* while he tranſacted the Affair with that Lord, and he did it ſo effectually, that the Lord *Fairfax* return'd an Anſwer by him to *Monk*, aſſuring him of Aſſiſtance from himſelf, Mr. *Bethel*, Mr. *Smithſon*, and other leading Gentlemen of that large County, all *Presbyterians*.

*A.D.*1659

Compl. Hiſt. p. 216.

Whatever is ſaid in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s, *Warwick*'s, and *Echard*'s Hiſtories of *Monk*'s Reſervedneſs and Taciturnity, muſt be taken as the beſt Turn they cou'd give to his want of Genius and Expreſſion; for he was not ſo ſilent and ſo reſerv'd, but Men of Senſe knew the very Bottom of him, and wou'd have prevented his doing Miſchief, if the People had not been ſo tir'd with Changes of Government, that they were reſolv'd to ſubmit to any thing, rather than make new Experiments of the late Forms. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* writes, *It was manifeſt to me through all his Diſcourſes, by the Perſons he favour'd and advanc'd, by the Company he kept, and by the Courſe he ſteer'd, that he was not bound to the Harbour he pretended; and cou'd I have prevail'd with the majority of the Parliament to be of the ſame Opinion, he ſhou'd not have carry'd on his Deſign ſo ſmoothly*.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, Commiſſary General *Desborough*, with ſeveral Principal Officers of the Army, went to the Common-Council of *London* the eighth of *November*, and repreſented to them the Proceedings of *Monk*, and that his *real Deſign was to bring in the King*. They *ſhew'd the Danger of it to the City, and the People of* England, *and counſelled them to provide for their own Safety, and to join for the Safety of the whole Nation, and for the Preſervation of the Peace*. The Common-Council thank'd them, and ſaid they wou'd follow their Advice; the Officers of the Army in *Ireland*, and of the *Fleeet*, wrote to *Monk* not to oppoſe the General Council of Officers. The Officers of the Fleet, Capt. *Richard Stayner*, Capt. *Richard Haddock*, Capt. *Chriſtopher Myngs*, Capt. *Charles Wager*, and about twenty more, ſay, *It is obvious to us where-ever we come, that few or none take pleaſure in your Actions but the* Cavaliers, *who*

A.D.1659 *who make their Boaſt of you, and place their Confidence in you; which, as it is irkſom to us to hear, ſo we truſt, and ſhall pray that the Lord will preſerve you from ſuch a Defection, as knowing that never any proſper'd that help'd them.* Theſe diſcouraging Letters gave a Check to *Monk*'s Proceedings, and *Lambert*'s advancing Northward ſo ſtartled him, that he came to a Treaty, and nam'd his Commiſſioners, Col. *Wilks* (which ſhews that it muſt have been before *Welwood*'s Incident of the *Packet*) Col. *Knight*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Cloberry*, who coming to *London*, made ſuch ſtrong Profeſſions of *Monk*'s good Intentions, that they convinc'd many of his honeſt Meaning, and by their readineſs to accommodate Matters, took off much of Peoples Thoughts, either as to *Monk*'s Treachery, or their own Danger.

In the mean Time Col. *Whetham*, Governor of *Portſmouth*, was prevail'd with to admit Col. *Walton*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, and Col. *Morley*, with two Regiments, into that important Place; upon which they declar'd for the Parliament, and ſent for more Forces to join them. Theſe Officers, impos'd upon by *Monk*'s fair Pretences, gave out, that they were all engag'd in the ſame Cauſe; and this powerful Diverſion, with the Defection of Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, and the Officers of the Fleet, from the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party, gave *Monk* Encouragement to proceed, eſpecially after he had got 30,000 Pounds of the *Scots* to pay his Army; whereas the *Engliſh* Soldiers were unpaid, and in no likelihood of Pay, having a Vote of Parliament againſt raiſing Money without their Act, and there being no Parliament ſitting to raiſe any.

Monk's Intent was ſo well known, that 'twas the common Diſcourſe in Converſation; but the Parliament Party was ſo blinded by Reſentment againſt the Army, that they cou'd not, or wou'd not ſee it. *Whitlock* informs us, that having told the Convention in *Scotland* he had a Call from God to march into *England*, he caus'd an Engagement to be ſign'd, and then began his March about the twentieth of *November*. While this was tranſacting in *Scotland*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Alderman *Robinſon*, Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Loe*, came to the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, and confirm'd him in his Suſpicion of *Monk*'s Treachery, and propos'd to him to go to the Lord *Fleetwood*, and adviſe him to ſend forthwith to the King at *Breda*, to offer to bring him in upon good Terms. Theſe Gentlemen talk'd like reaſonable Creatures, and wou'd thereby have got beforehand with *Monk*, who, without queſtion, intended to bring in the King. *Whitlock*, upon ſerious Thoughts of it, went to *Fleetwood*, and they had a long private Diſcourſe together on the Twenty ſecond of *November*. The Lord Commiſſioner told him, "That by the deſire of his "Brother, Sir *William Fleetwood*, the Lord *Wil-* "*loughby* of *Parham*, and *the Gentlemen* above- "mention'd, he was come to diſcourſe with him "about their preſent Condition, and what was "fit to be done in ſuch an Exigency as their "Affairs were now in; that it was more than "evident *Monk*'s Deſign was to bring in the "King, and that without any Terms for the "Parliament, whereby all their Lives and For- "tunes wou'd be at the Mercy of the King and "his Party, who were ſufficiently enrag'd againſt "them, and in need of repairing their broken "Fortunes." How natural this was for Men to conſider! Their Fortunes, as *Whitlock* tells us, were broken, the King and his Followers enrag'd, and there cou'd hardly have been found ſuch another Man as *Monk*, to conſent to their Return, without ſome Proviſion againſt their Revenge and Rapine. *Whitlock* proceeded, "The "Inclinations of the *Presbyterian* Party gene- "rally, and of many others, and of the City, "and moſt of the Parliament's old Friends were "the ſame way, ſo was a great Part of the Sol- "diery; that thoſe here were revolted from "*Fleetwood*, and thoſe in the North were ready "to revolt from *Lambert*: That *Monk* had de- "luded *Haſelrigge*, and the reſt of the old Par- "liament Men; that all the incens'd Lords and "ſecluded Members wou'd be, and were active "in this Deſign; ſo that the coming in of the "King is unavoidable, and, *I think*, continues *Whitlock*, *being that muſt be, it is more Prudence for you and your Friends to be the Inſtruments of bringing him in, than to leave it to* Monk; *by this Means you may make Terms with the King, for Preſervation of your ſelf and your Friends, and of the Cauſe, in a good meaſure, wherein we have been engag'd; but if it be left to* Monk, *we, and all that has been done, will be left to the danger of Deſtruction.* We ſee what a wretched Opinion the Lord Commiſſioner had of his Head and his Heart, his Capacity and Conſcience. Had the King's Reſtoration, for which almoſt all Men wiſh'd, been in good Hands, as he was a well-natur'd Prince, he wou'd have comply'd with their reaſonable Requeſts; and though he wou'd not have put away his Followers, he wou'd not have put them in a Condition to bring ſo much Miſery on their Country as they did by their future Adminiſtration, in reviving the old *Laudæan* Perſecution, which was one of the Cauſes that produc'd ſuch terrible Effects in his Father's Time.

A.D.1659 *Conferences between* Whitlock *and* Fleetwood *upon it.*

Ld. Willoughby, *&c. deſires* Whitlock *to bring in the King.*

Whitlock again; *I therefore propound to you one of theſe two Things, either to give Orders for all your Forces to draw together, and your ſelf and your Friends to appear in the Head of them, and ſee what Strength you can make that will ſtand by you, and accordingly to take further Reſolutions. If you find their Strength but ſmall, as I doubt, then with theſe few you have, to go to the* Tower, *and take Poſſeſſion of it; and to ſend to the* Mayor *and* Common Council *of* London *to join with you, and declare for a Free Parliament, which, I think, the City will willingly do; and furniſh you with Money for your Soldiers, which will encreaſe their Number.*

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* ask'd Mr. *Whitlock*, *Will you go with me into the Field and to the Tower?* *Whitlock* reply'd, *I will.* Then ſaid *Fleetwood*, *What is the other Way you have to propoſe to me in this Exigency?* It is this, anſwer'd *Whitlock*, *Send away ſome Perſon of Truſt immediately to the King at* Breda, *offer him and his Friends Service for his Reſtoration, upon ſuch Terms as the King ſhall agree upon; and for this Purpoſe give your Inſtructions to the Party you ſhall ſend upon this Affair.*

Fleetwood ask'd *Whitlock*, *Are you willing to go your ſelf upon this Employment?* The Lord Commiſſioner reply'd, *I will go, if you think good to ſend me.* They had more Talk on this Subject; and *Fleetwood* ſeem'd fully ſatisfy'd to ſend *Whitlock* to the King, deſiring *Whitlock* to prepare himſelf forthwith for the Journey; and in the mean time *Fleetwood* and his Friends wou'd draw up Inſtructions for him, ſo that he might ſet out that Evening, or next Morning early.

Here was a Criſis for the Liberty and Happineſs of theſe Kingdoms, for the Glory and Happineſs of the King! If *Whitlock* had gone, and *Fleetwood* had prepar'd the Army to receive him, his Majeſty might have been on his Throne before *Monk* was got to *Yorkſhire*, and been reſtor'd by Men, who wou'd have taken equal Care of

A Criſis.

A.D. 1659 his Honour, and the Subjects Peace and Safety, Spiritual and Temporal: They were virtuous, ſenſible Men, of a quite different Character from *Monk*, who had never till now a greater Name in the World than that of *Oliver*'s Tool. But 'twas the King's and the People's ill Fate, that he fell into the Hands of a Set of Men, who thought of nothing but Titles, Honours, Riches, Pride, Vanity, Luxury, Revenge, Riot and Profuſion! In a Word, he was hardly warm in his Royal Seat, before we have this Deſcription of the Bleſſings he brought with him from Biſhop *Burnet*, "A Spirit of extravagant Joy ſpread "over the Nation, that brought on with it the "throwing off the very Profeſſions of Virtue and "Piety. All ended in Entertainments and Drunk-"enneſs, which over-run the three Kingdoms to "ſuch a Degree, that it very much corrupted "all their Morals," of which I ſhall have too much Occaſion to ſay more hereafter. For it is an undeniable Proof, that there was hardly any Shadow of Religion left, but what conſiſted in a flaming Zeal for the *Laudæan* Church, and more flaming Rage againſt the *Presbyterians*. All this wou'd have been prevented, had *Fleetwood*, *Whitlock*, and their Friends conducted this Affair. For without the Stale Covenant (which as much a Jeſt as it was, the King had taken all Sacraments to confirm as ſoon as he was reſtor'd to his Kingdoms) they wou'd have obtain'd ſuch reaſonable Terms, as wou'd have prevented the patching up of the broken Fortunes mention'd by *Whitlock*, at the Expence of the publick Treaſure, and the cruel Perſecutions which ruin'd the Men who had put it into the King's Power to ruin them. But the *Criſis* receiv'd it's unhappy Turn by Fate, againſt which no Wiſdom, no Care is a Defence.

The Bleſſings King Charles *brought in with him.*

Whitlock going away from *Fleetwood*, met *Vane*, *Desborough* and *Berry* in the next Room, and they deſir'd him to ſtay a little. *Whitlock* ſuſpected what wou'd be the Iſſue of their Conſultations; and within a Quarter of an Hour *Fleetwood* came to him, and in much Paſſion ſaid, *I cannot do it, I cannot do it.* The Commiſſioner deſir'd his Reaſons why he cou'd not do it? The Lieutenant General anſwer'd, *Theſe Gentlemen have remember'd me, and it is true, that I am engag'd not to do any ſuch thing without my Lord* Lambert's *Conſent.* *Whitlock* reply'd, Lambert *is at too great a Diſtance to have his Conſent to this Buſineſs*, which muſt be inſtantly acted. *Fleetwood* ſaid again, *I cannot do it without him.* The Commiſſioner reply'd, *You will ruin your ſelf and your Friends. I cannot help it*, ſaid *Fleetwood*; which put an End to this Diſcourſe and Negotiation. It was the King's Work to try every Thing, and every Body, as he did Col. *Lockhart*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, long enough after *Monk*'s Brother *Nicholas* and *Greenvile* had been with him. *Lockhart*, after the Peace of the *Pyrenees* was made, of which we muſt make further Mention, went from *Dunkirk* to *London*, where he found *Monk*, and took all the Pains he cou'd to ſift him. But *Monk* diſappointed his Penetration by the moſt ſolemn and ſacred Vows, that he wou'd be true to the *Common-wealth*, and againſt *Charles Stuart*, about a Month before he reſtor'd him. There's no Defence againſt deteſtable Treachery, ſuch ſteady Defiance of Truth, and of it's God. An honeſt Mind can have no ſuch Conception of Fraud in a Man's Heart, when with a ſettled Countenance he calls the Almighty to witneſs to the Sincerity of his Intentions. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us further, Lockhart *went away perſwaded that Matters wou'd continue ſtill in the ſame State; ſo that when his old Friend* Middleton *wrote to him to make his own Terms, if he wou'd invite the King to* Dunkirk, *Lockhart* ſaid, *I am truſted by the* Common-wealth, *and cannot betray it.* There are not, in a corrupt Age, many ſuch Traitors to be found, who for Lucre will betray a high Truſt, and his beſt Patrons and Friends that confided in him. A Man's Soul muſt be extremely callous, his Conſcience ſear'd, and his Corruption next to Infernal, to turn Traitor to loving and bountiful Maſters, and ſell his Country, his Religion, his Friends, and whatever is precious to good Men, for a ſwelling Title, and ill-got Goods. *Lockhart* ſaid, if it had not been for the Diviſion in *England*, the *Engliſh* might have had what Terms they cou'd have ask'd from *France* or *Spain*. Col. *Ingoldsby*, his Son in Law, Mr. *Lee*, and the Lord Viſcount *Howard*, who all bore Kindneſs to the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*, came to him the next Day, and had Diſcourſe of the Change which they ſaw coming on, inſinuating to him, that, as his Condition was, he cou'd not do better than go away to the King with the Great Seal. The Advice was good; and every ſuch Man wou'd have been a Treaſure to his Majeſty, to balance the raſh Counſels of the weak Men he had about him, if we may believe Cardinal *Mazarine*. But tho' his going off in that Manner wou'd have been only leaving a Truſt which was of no great Significancy in that State of Confuſion, yet Mr. *Whitlock* thought the very Appearance to be vile, wicked and abominable, and ventur'd his and his Family's Ruin, tho' of much more Conſequence than *Monk*'s, rather than give his Friends Cauſe to think ill of him. Upon which the three Gentlemen before-mention'd made their Peace with the King in their own Way.

A.D 1659

Treachery, the Infamy of it.

Ludl.

Whitlock *refuſes to go to the King.*

The Truth is, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had not ſuch an entire Command of the Soldiers, as to be able to draw them whither he wou'd. Moſt of them had ſhew'd a Willingneſs to ſubmit to the Parliament for their Pay; and he had no other Uſe to make of them, than to joyn with the City, and declare for a free Parliament, which probably they wou'd have fallen in with.

Before *Monk* left *Scotland*, he had modell'd his Army for his Purpoſe. A great many conſcientious Officers ſuſpecting his Intentions, laid down their Commiſſions, for which they are blam'd by *Ludlow*, as thereby giving *Monk* an Opportunity to put in his own Creatures.

Treaty between Monk's *and* Fleetwood's *Commiſſioners concluded*

The Treaty between the *Wallingford-Houſe* Commiſſioners and *Monk*'s was concluded: The latter *was to have Money to pay his Forces, to be one of the Committee for Nomination of Officers, a Repreſentative of the People to be ſpeedily call'd, and Commiſſioners appointed to conſider of the Qualifications for the Members*; and Commiſſioners were agreed upon by

Lockhart *refuſes to admit the King into* Dunkirk.

Monk's Party,

Thomas Scot, Eſq; Sir *James Harrington*, Col. *Thompſon.*

Wallingford-Houſe Party,

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Salway.*

Army in *Ireland*,

Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *Barrow*, Lieutenant Col. *Dobſon.*

By another Article of the foregoing Treaty, a General Council of the Officers of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were to meet at *Whitehall* on a certain Day, and to conſiſt of two Perſons choſen out of each Regiment; as alſo

Deputies

A.D.1659 Deputies from the *Fleet*; which Aſſembly were to prepare Matters for the Conſideration of the new Repreſentative, and to engage for the Army's being obedient to the *Settlement* they ſhou'd make. This very wiſe and rational Scheme was again fruſtrated by the Management of the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party, who were loath to part with the Power they had uſurp'd, the *Committee of Safety*, which was the preſent Government, being their own Creatures. *Cloberry* and the reſt of *Monk*'s Commiſſioners refus'd to ſhew what Authority they had from him to treat; it is thought they had no regular Authority: However, the *Wallingford-Houſe* Officers did treat and conclude with them, and by that Means *Lambert*'s Forces were kept from attacking *Monk*, which *Ludlow* ſays he was afraid of, having found his own Troops wavering and doubtful. The Confuſion of the Times had infected the Heads of the Officers of the Army, and *Lambert*, who had as good a one as any in *Europe*, was ſo confounded, that he gave *Monk* all manner of Advantages, by modelling his own Army, and corrupting *Lambert*'s, to prepare the Way for his fate March into *England*; whence he had good Intelligence that the Parliament Party were ſtirring every where, and wou'd be ready to receive and welcome him when he came: Beſides, the Taxes which maintain'd *Fleetwood*'s Soldiers expir'd in *January*, and then he doubted not they wou'd all deſert to the firſt fair Bidder. In Expectation of theſe Things, which might have been expected with as much Thought as he was capable of, he ſat down quietly at a Village call'd *Cold Stream*, on the *Scotch* Side of the River *Tweed*. From which Village, and his Stay there, his Regiment, made a Regiment of Guards, was call'd the *Cold-Stream* Regiment, as is the Second of Foot-Guards to this Day.

There was a Project which wou'd have balk'd his Politick Views relating to the Taxes, had it ſucceeded, which too much expoſes the Deſigns of Men of two *Faculties* to be remembred in my own Words; take it therefore in Lieutenant General *Ludlow*'s:

Tythes to be taken away.

" The Parliament had manifeſted, before their " laſt Interruption, an Inclination to eaſe the Peo- " ple of the Payment of Tythes." The Earl of *Clarendon*, Mr. *Archdeacon*, and the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, do in ſeveral Places urge this Sinking of *Tythes* againſt the Parliament, to prove they had no *Religion*, and were meer Infidels. We will not infer from thence, that theſe Hiſtorians and their Diſciples did build Religion on the Foundation of Revenue and Power, becauſe *Tythes* do inveſt Incumbents with ſo much of every Freeholder's Property, as to enable them to be very troubleſome to their Pariſhioners; but we can't help obſerving, that they avoid letting us know why the Parliament talk'd of it, and how they tended to ſupply the Room of Tythes. *Ludlow* has it, " The Parliament in lieu of them wou'd " have appropriated a certain Sum of Money for " the Maintenance and Encouragement of the Mi- " niſtry, to be diſtributed in a more equal manner " than had formerly been practis'd; hoping, that " if this cou'd be effected, the Clergy wou'd no " longer have any other Intereſt to promote than " that of the Publick, nor be a diſtinct Party " from the People." What Hopes theſe were? Why they might as well have hop'd for Reformation, Peace, and Union! If ſuch Clergy may not look upon themſelves as Independant of the State, and promote their own, or any other Intereſt, ſeparate from that of the Publick, they wou'd not pride themſelves much in the Eſtabliſhment.

Clergy, a diſtinct Party, p. 251.

The *Lawyers*, and ſurely they had as much Learning and Diſintereſt as the Lawyers of our own Time! were alarm'd at the Bill for Regulating their Practice, which, as it is now, is ſtill more a Grievance than it was then, fell in with the Clergy. *Ludlow* proceeds, " Theſe two Par- " ties therefore being equally concern'd to perpe- " tuate the Abuſes practis'd amongſt them, be- " came equally ſenſible of their common Dan- " ger; and in order to prevent it, *Whitlock* and " *St. John* for the Lawyers, Dr. *Owen* and Mr. " *Nye* for the Clergy, had at this time fre- " quent Meetings at the *Savoy*, and enter'd into " a private Treaty with the principal Perſons of " the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party, offering to raiſe " 100,000 Pounds for the Uſe of the Army, up- " on Aſſurance of being protected by them in " the full Enjoyment of their reſpective Advan- " tages and Profits; whereby we were left deſti- " tute of Hope to ſee any other Reformation of " the Clergy. *Good God! If there was no Hope* " *of their Reformation then, when there was* " *every where to be ſeen the Face of Purity and* " *Piety, what Hope have we now, when there* " *is every where to be ſeen the Face of* - - - - - - " *Our Enemies will tell the reſt with Pleaſure,* " than what they themſelves would conſent to, " nor any other Regulation of the Law, than " what the Chief Juſtice and the Commiſſioner " of the Seal wou'd permit." A bold Scheme this! But *Monk*'s approaching, and *Lambert*'s and *Fleetwood*'s Soldiers falling off, hinder'd it's taking Effect.

A.D.1659 *Lawyers againſt Regulations of the Law.*

There was a pack'd Aſſembly of Officers pur- *Army.* ſuant to the before-mention'd Agreement. But no Deputies came from *Monk*, and none from *Ireland*. Thoſe that did come quarrell'd amongſt themſelves, and it broke up without determining any thing. But there was a Meeting of ſome Officers and ſome Members of Parliament in private, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major *Salway*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Berry* and others, where the reſtoring of *Richard* was mov'd, and then the reſtoring of *Charles Stuart*, which was only hinted by Major *Salway*. The Officers and Members were ſo jealous of each other, that nothing which was ſaid by one had any Influence on another; they all ſtood on their Guard, in a Suſpicion that they all might have reconcil'd themſelves to *Monk* or the King, to the Parliament or the Army. No body knew on what Ground he ſtood. Every one fear'd it might every Minute give Way under him; and in this Perplexity, Diſtraction and Uncertainty, this Tyranny of Soldiers, this Impotence of the Parliament, what Government cou'd have been propounded to the Nation, which, if they had been in their Wits, they wou'd not have preferr'd to any they had liv'd under for twelve Months paſt? 'Tis true, they were reduc'd to one Choice, and they made it with the Succeſs of thoſe poor People who have but one Choice to make.

In the mean while the Parliament Party was *Parliament.* not wanting to promote their Intereſt, and to that End form'd a Deſign to ſeize the *Tower*. Colonel *Fitz* the Lieutenant had conſented to open the Gates to Colonel *Okey*, who was to bring 300 Men to change the Garriſon; but by ſome Accident or other the Deſign was diſcover'd to the Lord Mayor, who inform'd the *Wallingford-Houſe* Officers of it the Night before 'twas to be executed, and Major General *Desborough* went to the *Tower*, chang'd the Guards, caus'd *Fitz* to be apprehended, and left Colonel *Miller* to command there. Major *Croke* in *Wiltſhire* declar'd for the Parliament; ſo did the Governor and Garriſon of *Hurſt-Caſtle*; and what was much more to the Purpoſe, the Officers of the *Fleet* ſent Word to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*

A.D.1659 *rigge* at *Portſmouth*, that they wou'd not oppoſe the Parliament. With this News was Col. *Walton* diſpatch'd to *Monk*, who ſtill pretended to be the greateſt *Republican* and *Presbyterian* in the three Kingdoms. *Ludlow* very juſtly terms the Obſtinacy of the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party againſt the Parliament to be an Infatuation: Their Ruin was infallibly involv'd in that of the Common-wealth, yet they were harden'd as was *Pharaoh*, and as all proud Men are, who are fated to Deſtruction.

Cavalier-Plot. We are come within a few Weeks of the *Reſtoration*, and we yet hear not a Word of the *Cavaliers*, unleſs from thoſe whom Dr. *Davenant*, in one of his Political Eſſays againſt the Government, in King *William*'s Reign, calls *Under Spur-Leathers*. The firſt that *Ludlow* thought worth taking Notice of was, while *Monk* lay quiet at *Coldſtream*. Several of them who fled beyond Sea, return'd ſecretly to *London*, chooſing rather to venture their Necks at home, than to ſtarve any longer abroad; and hearing there were great Diviſions in the Army, General againſt General, and Regiment againſt Regiment, they hop'd to ſurprize them thus divided, and cut them off one after another, whom they durſt not look in the Face, when united in a Body. The Troops in and about *London* were moſt expos'd to their ſudden Attempts, the City being exaſperated againſt the Soldiery, for pulling down the Common-wealth, who had always taken Care to oblige them, and endear them by all the friendly Acts that were in their Power, and many of them deſpairing of ſeeing the Parliament reſtor'd, fell in with thoſe who were for reſtoring the King, which very much encreas'd that Party in *London*, the Suburbs, and Neighbourhood. It was contriv'd among them, that they ſhou'd riſe againſt the Army in ten ſeveral Parts of the City, ſurprize the Soldiers in their Quarters, knock them on the Head, and proclaim the King; but it happen'd that the Army receiv'd Information of that Deſign too, the Night before it was to be executed, and being alarm'd at the Danger, they immediately ſent ſeveral Parties of Horſe and Foot to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Places which were appointed by the Enemy for their drawing together, by which Means they ſeiz'd ſome of them, who at twelve o' Clock the ſame Night were already come together, compleatly arm'd in a Part of the *Temple*, near the Water-Side. Others of the ſame Company got over the Wall, and eſcap'd in Boats. Many of the Conſpirators were taken in other Parts of the Town, with Horſes and Arms; ſome of them confeſs'd that the Officer who commanded a Party plac'd near St. *Paul*'s Church, had promis'd to join with them; but here is not the Name of one *Royaliſt* of Note. They who had contributed ſo much to the driving the King out of the Kingdom, contributed little or nothing to the bringing him in again; for tho' there was an Inſurrection ſoon after, which the Earl of *Clarendon* writes the Hiſtory of, by the *Royaliſts*, yet no Man amongſt them was ſo conſiderable, as to deſerve to be remembred. Indeed they were not Men in their full growth of Mind or Body. They were only Apprentices, *What the Maſters durſt not publickly own*, ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, *the Apprentices did*; meeting in great Multitudes to Petition the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to procure a free Parliament, by which was always underſtood the King. *Many of the King's Party*, ſays *Ludlow*, *Men of deſperate Fortunes*, intermix'd with them, inſomuch that the Army thought it neceſſary to ſend Col. *Hewſon* with a Regiment to ſuppreſs them; accordingly he march'd into the City, where he was affronted to his Face, his Men fir'd upon from Windows, and Stones thrown down on them from the Tops of the Houſes, and as they proceeded in their March, they were ſo preſs'd on by the Multitude, that the Soldiers, to preſerve themſelves from Violence, were oblig'd to fire upon them, and having kill'd three or four of their Number, the reſt diſperſs'd themſelves for that Time; but Tumults were now become ſo frequent in the City, that the Army Party found themſelves oblig'd to ſend conſiderable Guards thither, almoſt every Day, to ſuppreſs them; one of which being commanded, by Col. *Desborough*, carry'd themſelves ſo roughly towards ſeveral eminent Citizens, that they greatly diſguſted the whole City. The Aldermen and Common-Council not thinking it convenient openly to patronize thoſe Diſorders, agreed upon a Paper to be preſented to the *Council* of Officers, wherein having diſown'd the late Tumults, they complain'd of the killing of their Men and of the Guards that were kept in the City, deſiring that they might be withdrawn, and the Guard of the City left to the civil Magiſtrate, who cou'd not otherwiſe undertake to ſecure the Peace, and that a Parliament might be call'd. The Council of Officers return'd for Anſwer, *That if the* Aldermen *and* Common-Council *wou'd declare againſt the Family* of the Stuarts, *and promiſe to be true and faithful to the* Common-wealth, *without a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords*, they wou'd withdraw their Soldiers, and leave the City to be guarded by itſelf. They acquainted them alſo that they had already reſolv'd to call a Parliament, and appointed Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and five other Members of the Council, to confer with the Aldermen and Citizens, touching the Reaſons of thoſe Reſolutions, and of the late Proceedings in the City. A.D.1659 *Tumults.*

The Officers, and Aldermen met at *Whitehall*, and Commiſſary General *Desborough*, having ſhew'd the Neceſſity of doing what had been done in the City for ſecuring the Peace, and made large Proteſtations of the Army's Friendſhip to them, General *Ludlow* ſpoke as follows. *Lieutenant General Ludlow's Speech to the Citizens.*

Gentlemen,

Thoſe who are Members of the Army, can beſt inform you of their own Intentions, in the late Proceedings in the City, wherein I ſhall not intermeddle; but having this Opportunity, and being a Well-wiſher to the Common-wealth, I will take upon me to put you in Mind, that we have all been engag'd together in the Defence of our Rights and Liberties, againſt arbitrary Power. The City has been eminently inſtrumental in aſſiſting the Parliament and Army, to carry on that weighty Affair, by which you have acquir'd Honour to yourſelves, Eſteem among good Men, and Satisfaction in your own Minds. But withal it ought to be conſider'd, that by this you have highly incens'd, and vehemently provok'd the common Enemy againſt you, who tho' they may careſs you for the preſent, and make you the moſt ſolemn Promiſes of future Kindneſs, will never forget the Aid and Support you have afforded to the Parliament, during the whole Courſe of the laſt War, but will certainly take a Time to be reveng'd on you to the utmoſt. Wherefore I deſire you, as you tender the Peace of the Nation, and the Preſervation of your Perſons and Eſtates, that you will not ſuffer yourſelves to be deluded by our common Adverſaries, and ſeduc'd by ſpecious Pretences to promote that Intereſt which, prevailing, will not only render all the Blood and Treaſure that have been ſpent in aſſerting our Liberties, of no uſe to us, but alſo force us under

London *Apprentices riſe for the King.*

ſuch

A.D.1659 *ſuch a Yoke of Servitude, that neither we, nor our Poſterity ſhall be able to bear.*

This Leſſon, for true Eloquence, Reaſon and Truth, is worth all the *Declamations* from the Beginning to the End of the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion.* It is what every good *Engliſh* Man ſhou'd learn by Heart, and it will defend him againſt the Deluſion and Seducements of the Enemies to the preſent Government.

Can one doubt but that the Cavaliers deluded and ſeduced the Citizens, and others with an extraordinary Concern for their Liberties and Properties, which they had been invading continually ever ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*? That they groaned under the Calamity of Standing Forces; that their Hearts bled for the immenſe Taxes which were laid on the People; that they cry'd out againſt any War abroad, which was for the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, as waſting of Blood and Treaſure for Allies only? That they were always preaching up *Peace*, if it was like to be attended with Loſs and Shame, and in deſpair of any Remedy to their imaginary Evils, but by bringing in the King? They were hearken'd to, they were believ'd! The King was brought in, and his Brother with him; to get rid of whom, it coſt the Nation more Blood and Treaſure, than had been expended in all their Wars from the *Reformation* to the *Revolution.*

Cavaliers falſe Pretences.

Lord Broghill for the King before Monk.

By the following Account taken out of the Manuſcript Memoirs of the Earl of *Orrery*, we ſhall ſtill find that *Monk* ran away with the Reward, when other Men did the Work; and that what is ſaid in the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion* about Sir *Charles Coote*'s ſending Sir *Arthur Forbes* to the King at *Bruſſels*, is injurious to the Merit and Memory of the Lord *Orrery*. His Lordſhip, ſoon after *Richard*'s Abdication, went to *Ireland*, where he was Lord Preſident of the Province of *Munſter*, and had great Power and Intereſt. He had not been long there before the Parliament's Commiſſioners in *Ireland*, Serjeant *Steel*, Lord Chancellor, Col. *John Jones*, *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; and Col. *Tomlinſon*, ſent for him to attend them at the Caſtle of *Dublin*, where he made his Appearance, and was required to give Security for his peaceable Behaviour under the preſent Government, the Commiſſioners telling him, he muſt be accountable for whatever Diſturbance happen'd within his Province. His Lordſhip anſwer'd, If the Power of the Province was committed entirely to him, he wou'd be accountable; but if any other Commander had Power in his Province, he wou'd not be reſponſible for what might happen where he had not the ſole Command. Serjeant *Steel* thought what he ſaid reaſonable, and prevail'd with the other Commiſſioners to take my Lord's Word of Honour, that he wou'd do his Utmoſt to keep the Province in Peace.

From that Time the Manuſcript Author informs us, the Lord *Broghill* finding all other Intereſts broken, or breaking to Pieces, reſolv'd to ſacrifice them all to the King's, and ſet himſelf heartily about it. He ſounded all the Officers of his own Regiment of Horſe, and Regiment of Foot, and found them very well diſpos'd to follow his Fortunes; only the Governor of *Limerick*, Col. *Wilſon*, not being immediately under his Command, he was for ſome time cautious of truſting him; but that ſtrong Place wou'd have been an inſurmountable Impediment to his Deſign; ſo he reſolv'd to venture, and try what he cou'd do with him: Accordingly he ſent a truſty Meſſenger to deſire him to come to my Lord as privately as he cou'd, for he had ſomething of the laſt Importance to confer with him about. The Governor came, and Lord *Broghill* taking him into his Cloſet, after due Preparations, began at firſt to diſcourſe in general of the preſent State of Affairs, how unſettled they were, and what Changes they were ſubject to, adding, *What think you of them, Colonel*? the latter reply'd, *I cou'd wiſh they were otherwiſe, and ſettled ſome way or other.* The Lord *Broghill* continu'd the Diſcourſe thus, *I ſee plainly thoſe at the Helm will rather unſettle than ſettle them, and therefore it wou'd be well if ſome Man of Spirit wou'd ſtir and try to bring things into better Order, for they can't laſt as they are now.* The Colonel ſaid, *You, my Lord, are a fit Man to ſtir, I wonder why you don't*; the Lord *Broghill* reply'd, *I am not a Man of any great Intereſt, and am ſuſpected already. No doubt*, ſays the Colonel, *many Perſons will be glad to join with you in ſo neceſſary an Undertaking: For my part, I will be one. Well then*, reply'd my Lord, *Will you indeed join with me in any good Deſign*? The Colonel anſwer'd, *I will, there's my Hand, and I will ſtick cloſe to you to the Death.* Lord *Broghill* proceeded, *Theſe Kingdoms will never be well without a free Parliament, every one complains of the Oppreſſions of Committees; Will you join with me in declaring for a Free Parliament*? *I will*, ſays the Colonel, *with all my Heart, I will: Will you do it*, continued my Lord, *if there were a King at the Bottom*? The Colonel anſwer'd, *I like it the better.* Then Lord *Broghill* acquainted him what his Intentions was, to ſend to his Majeſty and invite him to come to *Ireland*, where all *Munſter* was ready to receive him; adding, *I will ſend to Sir* Charles Coote *in the* North, *and to Colonel* Monk *in* Scotland, *to deſire them to declare for the ſame Thing*; which the Colonel highly approv'd of, and vow'd *he wou'd live and die with him in it.* My Lord enjoin'd him to Secrecy, upon which the whole Matter depended, and the Colonel immediately *ſwore it.* After which he return'd to *Limerick* to prepare for putting the Deſign in Execution; and by a Gentleman who accompany'd him thither from Lord *Broghill*'s Houſe, he return'd a Letter to my Lord, wherein he ſaid, *He wrote it and ſubſcrib'd it purpoſely with his own Hand, that if ever he prov'd falſe, that Letter might riſe up in Judgment againſt him.*

The Reader will obſerve, that this is before *Coote* or *Monk* had taken one direct Step towards reſtoring the King.

Lord *Broghill* diſpatch'd a Gentleman in whom he cou'd confide, to Sir *Charles Coote* in the North of *Ireland* to diſpoſe him to engage with him in declaring for a Free Parliament; which *Coote* did very readily, wanting only ſuch an Invitation from a Perſon of Name and Intereſt; for he had taken Diſguſt at the Superiority of Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and the Parliament's Commiſſioners, and thought that his Services, which had been very eminent, were not ſufficiently recompens'd by the *Preſidency* of *Connaught*. Lord *Clarendon* tells us, he had not ſo much Guilt as Lord *Broghill*, but I don't know how he cou'd make it out. He had kill'd more Papiſts than *Broghill*; he had hung up a Biſhop as well as *Broghill*; he had courted and ſerv'd both the Protectors as much as *Broghill*: But, in ſhort, there's no underſtanding what the Earl of *Clarendon* ſometimes means by Guilt, by Merit, by Religion, by Schiſm, by Rebellion, by Loyalty, and the like; they muſt very often be read backwards.

When the Gentleman return'd from Sir *Charles Coote*, and told the Lord *Broghill* what his Reſolution was, his Lordſhip got a Letter ſign'd by moſt of the Chief Officers in *Ireland* to invite the King, then at *Bruſſels*, to that Kingdom.

A.D. 1659 Lord *Broghill*'s Brother, the Lord *Shannon*, was ſent with this Letter, which his Majeſty receiv'd before Matters were quite ſettled with *Monk*, and reſolv'd to embark at *Calais* for *Cork*, where the Lord *Broghill* promis'd to receive him with a good Force; but before he cou'd take Shipping, an Addreſs came from the Convention in *England*, which invited him thither, and put off the Voyage to *Ireland*.

In the mean time it began to be rumour'd that *Broghill* and *Coote* held Intelligence with *Monk*, and that their Deſign was for a *Free Parliament*. *Coote*, impatient of Delay, or rather greedy of the Reward he might expect for the Service, made that Declaration, having engag'd a good Part of the Army in *Ireland* to join with him in it. Col. *Brayfield*, Governor of *Athlone*, refuſing to do it, Sir *Charles Coote* brought down his Forces before it, and by tampering with ſome of the Garriſon, and falſly affirming that *Brayfield* wou'd deliver them up to him, he prevail'd with them to ſet open the Caſtle Gates, and to betray the Governor into his Hands. You ſee how the Work is done, Falſhood and Treachery again! Col. *Temple* poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Carlo*, and turn'd out Col. *Pretty*; Capt. *Liſle* diſpoſſeſs'd Col. *Deſborough* of *Drogheda*; Col. *Fouke*, aſſiſted by the Cavaliers, ſeiz'd *Tonghall*; Major *Stanley* had done the ſame at *Clonmel*; Col. *Cooper* was remov'd from his Command in the *North*, and a Friend of *Coote*'s put into it with little or no Oppoſition, and leſs ſtill in *Munſter*, where the Lord *Broghill* declar'd for a Free Parliament, though not ſo haſtily as Sir *Charles Coote* did, which caus'd a Letter from the latter to his Lordſhip, wherein he tells him, *The Deſign of declaring for a Free Parliament begins to take Vent, and I am therefore forc'd to declare before the Time determin'd, leſt I ſhou'd be circumvented or hinder'd by the* Rump Party; *upon which Account I deſire your* Lordſhip *forthwith to do the ſame, that the whole Force of the Enemy may not be employ'd againſt me, but be divided.* Remember, your Lordſhip firſt put me upon this Deſign, and *therefore ſhou'd not leave me in what you firſt put me upon.* Lord *Broghill*, who was ready to begin the Work if he had thought the Time proper for it, cou'd not help thinking *Coote* had precipitated it; yet finding he had ſo done, he reſolv'd to ſupport him, and accordingly declar'd for a *Free Parliament*, which was then underſtood to be the King, whom they did not care directly to mention, it being made *Treaſon* by ſo many Laws. By this Means the Parliament Party were thrown into great Perplexity, and knew not which way to turn, being pent in as they were between two Powers, and Lord *Broghill* and *Coote* met with as little Oppoſition as cou'd well be expected from Perſons that were in Poſſeſſion of the Government. Theſe Gentlemen ſent Capt. *Campbell* to *Monk* to acquaint him with their Proceedings, but he had no more Concern in the Revolution in *Ireland*, than the Lord *Broghill* had in that of *England*: Both appearing in the ſame Cauſe, were both Inſtruments in carrying it on, and both ſucceeded in the ſeveral Iſlands where they commanded, without receiving the Aſſiſtance of a Troop or Company from each other. Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Major General of the Forces in *Ireland*, ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and one *Stanley*, a rank Republican, and a Major in the Parliament Army, Lieutenant Colonel *Warren*, and others, immediately join'd themſelves to him. It was reſolv'd amongſt them to ſend out a Party to ſeize Sir *Charles Coote*, Col. *Theophilus Jones*, and their Adherents, who were come to *Dublin* by Encouragement from the Citizens; inſtead of which, *Coote* tamper'd with the Garriſon of the Caſtle ſo effectually, that they deliver'd up their Governor and his Adherents. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* was oblig'd to return to *England*, and there found no very good Welcome; for *Broghill* and *Coote* declar'd firſt for the Parliament only, and ſent Word to *England* that *Ludlow* was againſt them, in favour of the Army, which occaſion'd his being recall'd to vindicate himſelf, as ſoon as the *Rump* were reſtor'd, which happen'd the 24th of *December*.

A.D. 1659

Cavaliers ſtir in Ireland *with* Coote.

Sir Ch. Coote's *Letter to Lord* Broghill.

Parliament reſtor'd.

Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* finding himſelf deſerted by moſt part of the Army ſent the Keys of the Parliament-Houſe to Mr. *Lenthal*, the Speaker, with Notice that the Guards were withdrawn, and that the Members of Parliament might attend the Diſcharge of their Duty. Col. *Miller*, Governor of the Tower, ſent him Word alſo, that he and his Garriſon were ready to receive his Orders. Col. *Alured* and Col. *Okey* muſter'd the Forces about Town in *Lincolns-Inn* Fields, where, after they had declar'd for the Parliament, they march'd by the Speaker's Houſe in *Chancery-Lane*, and ſaluted him as their General, as he ſtood at his Door. About the ſame Time Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Col. *Morley*, and the reſt of the Officers from *Portſmouth*, coming to *London* by the Bridge, were receiv'd with loud Acclamations. The Speaker, *Lenthal*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Weaver*, and Mr. *Berners*, went to the Lord Mayor, and diſcours'd with him and the Sheriffs concerning the Parliament's meeting again, and found them to like well of it.

Admiral *Lawſon* wrote to the City, and to the Militia of *London*, to declare for the Parliament, which was no ſmall Argument, conſidering he lay at the *Thames* Mouth with Twenty five Men of War; and that Officer, who was a rigid Independant, was brought into this Temper by the Perſuaſion of Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, whoſe Merit, as to the *Reſtoration*, will be found upon Enquiry to be much more than *Monk*'s. The *Committee of Safety* ſent Sir *Henry Vane*, and two other of their Members to confer with *Lawſon*, whom they knew to pay great Deference to *Vane*'s Judgment; but when they came aboard his Fleet, they found Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* had been there before them, and ſo wrought upon *Lawſon*, that he was determin'd to declare for the Parliament, telling Sir *Henry Vane* plainly, he wou'd ſubmit to no other Authority.

From the Lord Mayor, the Speaker, *Lenthal*, went to the Tower, and, as General of the Common-wealth, remov'd Col. *Miller*, and put Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* in his Place.

At the ſame Time Commiſſary *Desborough*'s Regiment, which was ſent by *Lambert* to keep the City in Awe, having march'd as far as St. *Albans*, and heard what was done by their Fellows at *Weſtminſter*, with whom they were to join, reſolv'd not to be laſt in their Submiſſions, but declar'd for the Parliament, and gave the Speaker Notice of their Obedience; which put an End to the *Committee of Safety*, after an Uſurpation of Ten *Weeks* Four *Days*.

The

The COMMON-WEALTH.

A.D.1659 ON the 26th of *December* the Speaker, Mr. *Lenthal*, and the Members of Parliament then in Town, met at *Whitehall*, and from thence walk'd together to the Parliament-Houſe in the Evening, the ſame Soldiers ſhouting as they paſs'd by, who not long before kept them by Force from ſitting.

Parliament. They immediately paſs'd ſome Votes for the Pay of the Army, and appointed a Committee to direct and order the Forces.

Committee for the Army. *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; Col. *Okey*, Col. *Thompſon*, Col. *Alured*, Col. *Markham*.

No ſooner was this Committee ſettled, than Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* gave a ſingular Proof of the Dexterity of his Management. He immediately procur'd a great Number of Clerks, whom they inſtantly order'd to tranſcribe as many Copies of a Form of a Letter as were wanted, wherein they recited, *That it had pleas'd God to reſtore the Parliament, who had given them a Commiſſion to command the Army; wherefore they commanded him, the Officer to whom the Letter was directed, immediately with his Troop, Company or Regiment, as it happen'd, to march to* - - - - - Theſe Letters were directed to the *Chief Officers* of any Part of the Army, who had their Quarters in any Part of the Kingdom. They were diſpatch'd away by particular Meſſengers that very Night; and coming to the ſeveral Officers ſo peremptorily to march immediately, they had not Time to aſſemble and debate among themſelves what to do. They had no other Intelligence but *that the Parliament was reſtor'd, and that* London, Portſmouth *and other Parts of* England had declar'd for them. The Officers durſt not diſobey, but all of them march'd according to their ſeveral Orders, ſome one Way, and ſome another; ſo that thoſe Forces which were the Support of the *Wallingford-Houſe* Party, were by this Means quite diſpers'd, and render'd perfectly uſeleſs to the *Committee of Safety*, who were hereby totally reduc'd under the Power in the Parliament, as ſo many diſarm'd Men, to be diſpos'd of as they thought fit. This fine Stroke of Policy is ſo ſuperior to any thing in *Monk*'s Character, or in any of the Characters of the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, that, after reading this, they will all appear lame and contemptible in the Article of Politicks. Thus is the Way every where clearing for *Monk*, tho' he was ſo far from being acceſſary to it, that he knew nothing of the Matter.

Digreſſion about Monk. Yet how do *Webſter*, *Gumble*, *Price*, *Warwick* and others labour to make him the main Mover in all things. *Warwick* calls him a great Man, without conſidering that there never was, and never will be a *great Man* a Traitor to his Truſt, Ingrate, Falſe and Forſworn. He was an Admiral, a Major General; he had beat, and been beaten, as was the Chance of War; but never had the ſole Conduct of any great Action, tho' he had the joint Execution, and was hardy enough to run into thoſe Dangers, of which he had no Foreſight. *Warwick* owns, that no earthly Power cou'd have deſtroy'd the *Common-wealth*, and that *Monk*'s Treachery and Army wou'd have ſignify'd nothing, *if God in this Work had not made his own Arm bare, and his Interpoſition viſible, by bowing the Hearts of all* Iſrael *to their exil'd* David. This cou'd be done by none but him who ſaid *he wou'd deſtroy* Iſrael, *but ſave* Judah, *but not by the Bow or Sword*. You ſee how they *cant*, and yet how loudly do they vilify the *Presbyterians* for canting? Wou'd not one think that this *exil'd David* was the Man after *God's own Heart*? and that his Followers in Exile were the *choſen People of the Lord*; whereas in Truth Col. *Doleman*, a Cavalier, ſaid, *If you call home the King, you will put the Government under Pimps and Whores*; and Sir *William Morrice*, *Monk*'s Couſin, afterwards made Secretary of State for calling him home, ſaid, *Colonel* Doleman *was the trueſt Prophet he ever met with in his Life*. Yet *Warwick*, fifteen or ſixteen Years after his Coming, and the fulfilling of the Prophecy, terms him the Favourite of Heaven, and the holy *David* of our *Iſraelites*, at the ſame Time that he rails at *Cromwel* for making uſe of Scriptural Phraſes. This is one of *Echard*'s chief Guides in Stile and Fact, and no doubt he learnt all his Delicacy from thoſe delicate Expreſſions in him, a third *Twiſting of the Guts*, and a Man *ſmells not his own Dung*. I digreſs thus to ſhew what Metal they are made of, and if there is now need of it, to prevent the Reader's being impos'd upon by Names, and nothing elſe.

A.D.1659 Ech.

Warwick.

The Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock* had very dexterouſly ſhifted with the Wind in almoſt all the Changes, and been almoſt of all the Councils, whether of *State* or *Safety*. The laſt ſtuck cloſeſt to him. The Republicans highly reſented his giving any Countenance to the Army, inſomuch that *Scot* ſaid, *He ſhou'd be hang'd with the great Seal about his Neck*; but *Scot*'s Menace came home to himſelf. *Whitlock* however abſented himſelf from the Houſe till he receiv'd a Letter from the Speaker, and when he attended, he found his old Acquaintance, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Nevill*, and others, very ſhy to him, which boded not well on that Quarter; ſo he retir'd into the Country till the Heat was ſomewhat abated, ſending the Great Seal to the Speaker by his Lady.

Major *Wildman* and Colonel *Henry Ingoldsby*, with 300 Voluntier Horſe, coming before *Windſor*, the Governor, Colonel *Whitchcot* ſurrender'd it for the Uſe of the Parliament, and Commiſſary General *Desborough* ſent them an humble Letter, acknowledging his Fault, and promiſing future Obedience.

The Houſe approv'd of *Monk*'s placing and diſplacing of Officers, and order'd a Letter of Thanks to him under their Seal *for his Fidelity and great Services*; and indeed the Services he did them were as ſignal as his Fidelity. They alſo order'd Thanks to Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; Col. *Walton*, Col. *Rich*, Col. *Whetham*, Col. *Morley*, Mr. *Nevill*, Mr. *Love*, Major *Braman*, *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Speaker.

Monk in *placing* and *diſplacing* Officers, little deſerv'd the Thanks of the Parliament, which moſt of the other Gentlemen did for their Fidelity and Zeal. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* informs us, "that in his March he remov'd many "Officers from their Commands, placing in their "room, Perſons of *profligate Lives and ruin'd* "*Fortunes*. In particular he diſcharg'd from "their Employments, ſeveral Officers of Col. "*Zanchy's Iriſh* Brigade, who had been the moſt "zealous for aſſerting the Parliament's Authority, and fill'd their Places with ſuch as had "been diſmiſs'd for their vicious Lives, and cor-"rupt Principles," which was extreamly natural

P. 810.

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ral and agreeable to the Account the ſame Author gives of his own Morals and Principles. *Harry Martin*, the only merry Member of the Rump, ſaid in the Houſe, *that* Monk *was like a* Taylor, *who being ſent for to make a Suit of Cloaths*, brought with him a *Budget full of* Carpenter's *Tools, and being told, ſuch Things were not at all fit for the Work he was deſir'd to do*, he reply'd, *It matters not, I'll do your Buſineſs I'll warrant ye.* The Lord *Clarendon*, and all writing Royaliſts, labour nothing more than to *ſilence* Monk's *Taciturnity*, his working like a Mole under Ground, and the like, whereas every one, but the Cavaliers, cry'd out againſt the Bare-facedneſs of his Deſign to bring in the King, and the Madneſs of the Parliament and Army to let him. If they cou'd have been reconcil'd, even after *Monk* had lodg'd himſelf at *White-hall*, they might have turn'd him out, as eaſily as they did *Richard Cromwel*: And he muſt have been content with *Richard*'s Impotence and Obſcurity afterwards.

P. 643 Martin's *Saying of* Monk.

The Order of the Army Commiſſioners abovemention'd coming to *Lambert* as well as to other Generals, he found himſelf all at once deſerted by both Officers and Soldiers. Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us, the Parliament ſent him no other Order, and that being abandon'd by his Soldiers, he was left in a moſt diſconſolate Condition, and with ſcarce 100 Men attending him, return'd towards *London*, where, as ſoon as he arriv'd, he was apprehended and confin'd firſt to his own Houſe, and then to *Holmby*, the Place of the late King's Confinement. Where was *Monk*'s Hand in all theſe things? He lies quiet at *Cold-Stream*, and when the Way is thus made for him, he moves heavily forward, as if he did not think himſelf out of Danger, tho' there was not a Man in Arms againſt him, after the Parliament reaſſum'd the Government, and own'd him in all his Proceedings. On the laſt Day of the Year the Houſe agreed upon Perſons to be a *Council of State*, whoſe Names were as follow; Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Walton*, *William Love*, Eſq; *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *John Weaver*, Eſq; *Robert Reynolds*, Eſq; *Luke Robinſon*, Eſq; *Miles Corbett*, Eſq; Major General *Monk*, Mr. *White*, Mr. *Rolls*, *John Say*, Eſq; *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; Alderman *Foot*, *John Fagg*, Eſq; Serjeant *Terrel*, *Hugh Bethel*, Eſq; Mr. *Berners*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, *Henry Nevil*, Eſq; ——— *Love*, Eſq; Col. *Dixwell*, Col. *Thomſon*.

Lambert *confin'd.*

Council of State.

Col. *Dixwell* was made Governor of *Dover*, and all Poſts and Offices diſpos'd of by the Parliament were given to Men in whom they might confide.

During theſe Tranſactions at home, the King and his Courtiers were in great Anxiety and Melancholy abroad. They were flatter'd from time to time with Hopes of ſome ſudden Change in *England* in their Favour, but ſcarce receiv'd the News which brought them Hope, before the next Letters brought them Deſpair. All Attempts for the King's *Reſtoration* prov'd in vain; and upon the Suppreſſion of Sir *George Booth*'s Inſurrection, the King, who was in *Bretagne* waiting for Advices to call him over to *England*, left *France*, and poſted away to *St. John de Luz*, on the Frontiers of *France* and *Spain*, where the Miniſters of the Two Kings were treating of a Peace and a Marriage to confirm it. This other ill-advis'd Step only expos'd him to ſuch ill Uſage as never Prince met with from Crown'd Heads, much leſs from their Miniſters. Princes ſhou'd be ſure of their Treatment before they put their Perſons into the Hands of Strangers. There's a long Account of this Journey in the Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard*'s Hiſtories, to which I refer thoſe whoſe Curioſity is inſatiable. What I ſhall ſay after good Authorities will, I think, ſhew, that it was not worth ſo many Words.

King Char. II.

Cavaliers in Deſpair.

A. D. 1659

It is very ſhort in Biſhop *Burnet*, "The King "went to the Meeting at the *Pyrenees*, where "Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Don Lewis de Haro* "were negotiating a Peace. He apply'd to both "Sides to try what Aſſiſtance he might expect "upon their concluding a Peace. It was then "known that he went to Maſs; yet it was carry'd ſecretly, and was confidently deny'd.

Dr. *Wellwood* is a little longer about it. "King "*Charles* made this long Journey to no Purpoſe. "It's true, *Don Lewis de Haro* receiv'd him "with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect: But the "Cardinal poſitively deny'd him Acceſs. All he "cou'd be brought to, after ſeveral Meſſages, "was to allow the Duke of *Ormond* to talk to "him upon the Road from *St. John de Luz* to "the Place of Treaty, as if it had been but an "accidental Rencounter. *Ormond* obtain'd no-"thing of the *Cardinal* but general ambiguous "Anſwers, till being preſs'd, he told *Ormond* "plainly, *All my Maſter can do for his Couſin "the King of* England, *is to compaſſionate his "Misfortunes, as not being in a Condition him-"ſelf to break with the Government of* England, "*with which his Affairs oblige him to keep a "good Correſpondence.* Beſides this Neglect of "*Mazarine*'s, King *Charles* had the Mortifica-"tion to ſee Ambaſſador *Lockhart* receiv'd at "the ſame time with the greateſt Pomp and "Splendor, having the *Cardinal*'s Coaches and "Guards ſent a Day's Journey to receive him, "and the *Cardinal* giving him the *Right Hand*, "which was a Reſpect he deny'd the Ambaſſa-"dors of *Crown'd Heads*. Nor was *Don Lewis* "kinder upon the Matter to King *Charles*; for "having ask'd the Command of the Army in "*Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by "the Treaty to quit, *Don Lewis* refus'd it, as "any one might have reaſonably expected.

The King's ill Reception at St. John de Luz.

Lock-hart's *good Reception.*

The Conteſts among Authors about King *Charles* the Second's Religion, are the more pleaſant, becauſe nothing is more certain than that he had no Religion at all in a Chriſtian Senſe of the Word; but if Profaneneſs and Lewdneſs may conſiſt with Religion in the ſame Perſon, he may be allow'd to be a *Papiſt*, tho' not of ſo late ſtanding as *Echard* makes it, this Journey to St. *John de Luz*, from whence paſſing to *Fonterabia* in *Spain*, he was there reconcil'd to the *Romiſh* Idolatry, as were alſo the Earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *Henry Bennet*, whom he made Secretary of State, an Earl, and Lord Chamberlain, if Dependance cou'd be made on any thing in *Echard*'s Hiſtory, which, as he boaſts of this, he had not from the *publick Writers*. This Vanity is the more extravagant and whimſical, for that there is not in any Book more Trifling, more Hearſay, more Poverty, and more of every thing which debaſes Hiſtory! The Biſhop of *Salisbury* affirms, he chang'd his Religion before he left *Paris*, ſeveral Years before this pretended Converſion in *Spain*, as was well known to Cardinal *de Retz* and the Lord *Aubigny*. The Marqueſs *de Roucy*, a Hugonet, related to *De Retz*, being much preſs'd by him to turn *Papiſt*, urg'd to him, that the *Proteſtant Religion muſt certainly be ruin'd*, for the Proteſtants cou'd expect no Protection from *England*, both the Princes, *Charles* and *James*, being turn'd Papiſts. Monſieur *de Roucy* told this in great Confidence to the Paſtor of the *French* Church, who, after his

P. 73.

A.D. 1659 Death, ſent Biſhop *Burnet* Advertiſement of it. Sir *Allen Broderick* declar'd on his Death, that King *Charles* the Second made Profeſſion of the *Popiſh* Religion at *Fontainbleau*, where Sir *Allen* attended him, before he was ſent out of *France* to *Colen*. After three ſuch Witneſſes, what becomes of *Echard*'s rare Account, never printed before, that he turn'd *Papiſt* at *Fonterabia*? and with what Front can People extol this King's Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Church of *England*, when he was a Member of the Church of *Rome*! and what Opinion muſt one have of the Honour, the Honeſty of thoſe, who got an Act paſs'd, after he was reſtor'd, which made it Ruin for any one to ſay the King was a *Papiſt*! one of the firſt Bleſſings of that Bleſſed Reign. *Echard* wonders why this ſhameful Hypocriſy is ſunk in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory. A little Thing will make him wonder. For my Part, whatever is ſaid, or not ſaid, in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, is not ſtrange to me, for they were to do, and ſay any thing that wou'd cover the Wolf with a Sheep's Cloathing, and the Sheep with a Wolf's. King *Charles* wanted not good Senſe, nor good Nature, when he was not a Slave to his Pleaſure or Paſſion, and his Severity and Ingratitude to the *Presbyterians*, were inſpir'd by *Hyde*, *Coſins*, *Morley* and others, his Companions in Exile, who cou'd never forget how they were pinch'd by Want for twelve Years together, and came home ready to burn with Revenge. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* writes, *He ſeem'd to have no Senſe of Religion, both at Prayers and Sacraments; he took Care to ſatisfy the People, that he was in no ſort concern'd in that about which he was employ'd, there was not the leaſt Appearance of Religion in him. He ſaid, he cou'd not think, God wou'd make a Man miſerable, only for taking a little Pleaſure out of the way.* "He diſguis'd his Po- "pery to the laſt, but cou'd not help ſpeaking "againſt the *Reformation*. He commended In- "fallibility and implicit Faith." This is the King whom *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and *Coſins* were wont to ſtile their moſt *religious King* in their moſt ſolemn Worſhip of God. This is the King whom *Hyde*, *Warwick*, *Turner*, &c. extol for his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and his Love to the *Church*! You have it in all their Hiſtories and Speeches at the ſame time that ſome of them knew he was a *Papiſt*, and all of them knew he was an Atheiſt in his Life and Converſation. This is the King of whom *Echard* tells us, that Sir *Edward Hyde* wrote in his Letters to Dr. *Berwick*, *The King has done all that is in his Power for the Church*; he means while he was at *Paris*, *Cologne*, *Bruſſels*, *Bruges*, St. *Maloes* and *Breda*. I'll quote no more of it, 'tis too incredible, as is the next Paragraph, that the Duke of *York*'s Marriage with Chancellor *Hyde*'s Daughter, was kept a Secret from the Chancellor. I cannot animadvert upon it out of Reſpect to the two great Queens that ſprang from it, whoſe Memory will be immortal and dear to all good *Engliſh* Men, and good Proteſtants. But the Chancellor's Hiſtory is never the truer for that, nor the leſs liable to Objection. His Majeſty return'd from *Fonterabia* to *Bruſſels*, while *Monk* lay on the Banks of the *Tweed*, and he had but cold Comfort from *England*; all Advices from thence, ſpeaking only of the *Reſtoration* of the *Common-wealth*, at whoſe Name only the Princes of *Europe* trembled, and the *Royaliſts* in Exile were confirm'd in their Deſpair.

King Charles turns Papiſt.

Echard.

A wicked Saying of his.

93.

1660 On the 1ſt of *January*, *Monk* paſt the *Tweed*, and enter'd *England* with four Regiments of Horſe, and ſix of Foot.

A.D. 1660

Horſe.

Major General *Monk*, Col. *Johnſton*, Col. *Knight*, Col. *Cloberry*.

Foot.

Major General *Monk*, Major General *Morgan*, Col. *Fairfax*, Col. *Rede*, Col *Lidcot*, Col. *Hubblethorn*.

In his March he enter'd *Werk* Caſtle, belonging to the Lord *Grey*, and took away a conſiderable Sum of Money, which *Gumble*, his Chaplain ſays, was reſtor'd after the *Reſtoration* of the King. Coke *p.* 87. Monk *enters* England.

On the 2d of *January* he took up his Quarters at *Weller*, where he receiv'd Letters from the Parliament, *thanking him* (to uſe *Whitlock*'s Words) for his high Deſervings, and to deſire him to come up to *London*, as ſpeedily as he can.

He came to *Morpeth* on the 5th of *January*, where he was met by Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Robinſon*, and a Committee of the City Common-Council, whoſe Inſtructions were to deſire him to uſe his Intereſt to procure a *Free Parliament*. The next Day he enter'd *Newcaſtle*, and thence diſpatch'd *Gumble* with Letters to the Parliament, and *Council of State*, full of Proteſtations of *Duty* and *Fidelity*. His Meſſenger receiv'd Aſſurances from both Parliament and City, that they wou'd favour his Patron's Deſign; the former gave him a hundred Pounds, and recommended him to be a Fellow of *Eaton* College, whoſe Abilities hardly qualify'd him to be an Uſher to a Country School; however, he was equal enough to the Poſt he was in. When he return'd to his Maſter, he found *Monk* at *Manſfield*, and acquainted him with the Diviſions at *London*, and the Inclinations of the City, which with the Reception he had met with in *Yorkſhire*, puff'd him up with a Swell of Pride and Arrogance, the ſure Effect of Succeſs in narrow Minds. *Vows Fidelity to the Parliament.* *His Pride.*

The Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Bethel*, Col. *Smithſon*, Mr. *Arthington*, and other *Yorkſhire* Gentlemen, had appear'd in Arms at *York*, before *Monk* came thither, and were immediately join'd by *Zanchy's Iriſh* Brigade of 1500 Men, the Rear of *Lambert*'s late Army. Lord *Fairfax* invited *Monk* to *Appleton*, his Seat in that County, and ſays *Echard*, "Much was expected "of two ſuch great Men and Soldiers." Then he gives the beſt Reaſon he had, why there were ſuch Expectations. *Becauſe of their Taciturnity.* Much was expected from Perſons noted for ſaying nothing. This way of Ratiocination runs thro' all their Books, whether Story Books or others. The Lord *Fairfax*, and all the Gentlemen with him, deſir'd either the reſtoring the ſecluded Members, or a Free Parliament, which he was well pleas'd with; but, ſays *Echard*, took all Occaſions *publickly to declare* for the Common-wealth. He adds, Mr. *Bowles* the Miniſter, one of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s illiterate factious *Aſſembly-Men*, *being alone with him at Mid-night, went further than a Free Parliament, urging him to ſtay at* York, *and declare for the King, aſſuring him of great Aſſiſtance; which being immediately told Mr.* Price, another ſuch worthy Chaplain as *Gumble*, *he put him in Mind of the Saying of* Guſtavus, *when he enter'd the* German *Empire*, *If my Shirt knew what I intended to do, I wou'd tear it from my Back and burn it.* The Truth is, he then intended nothing but to make a Penny of his Market in that Way which offer'd ſooneſt and ſafeſt. *Warwick* confeſſes, *No Man can poſitively* Monk *treacherous.*

A.D.1660 *ſay, he deſign'd any more than a general Quiet of the Land, and ſo he fram'd all his Deſigns ſuitable to the Opportunity*; then follows an Example of his Oratory and Politeneſs, *that were* p. 409. given him, *but* that he *wiſh'd that*, They were all bred at ſome Univerſity or other, all fine Scholars, Eloquent and Learned, tho' the *Remnants of Latin* in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, might eaſily have been pick'd up by Indexes, as the Texts of Scripture before each Book were by Concordances, and Doctors, and College-Men cou'd not be without ſuch Helps. *Echard* goes on, *So the General wiſely reſolv'd to ſleep, till he got within the Walls of* London, *and then to open his Eyes* extreamly metaphorical, and the more juſt, becauſe there is a Heavineſs in the Character of his Hero, which is very *dormitorious*. In *Yorkſhire*, he gave *Lambert* and *Lilburn*'s Regiments of Horſe, to Sir *Hugh Bethel* and Col. *Smithſon*, both *Presbyterians* ſtill, and there is not a Word ſaid of a Cavalier in all his Monk's *further Treachery.* March to *London*. He receiv'd a Letter from the *Devonſhire* Gentry, who for a long while Ludl. 811. were as proud of their Countryman *Monk*, as he was of his *Garter*, when he had one. They wrote to him for the Reſtitution of the *ſecluded Members*, and he in anſwer to them, ſaid, *I cannot do it, becauſe it is not only contrary to my own frequent Declarations, but directly oppoſite to the Intereſt of the* Common-wealth, *as well as to that of the Army, a Thing not to be done by me, or born by you, being a total Reverſing of all that has been done for the laſt twelve Years in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and tending to charge the Nation with all the Blood that has been ſhed during that Time.* Here does this falſe, forſworn Monk's *Letter againſt the Church and King.* Man, take on him the Blood of 2 or 300,000 Men, who fell during that twelve Years. For as we ſhall ſee preſently, he himſelf reſtor'd theſe ſecluded Members, and then, to ſhew how he hated the Church of *England*, he adds, *It will unſettle the Poſſeſſion of Deans, Chapters, Delinquents, Crown, and* Rebel *Lands*. He calls the *Royaliſts* Rebels, How does this agree with Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory of Rebels? *If we ſuffer* Monarchy *to return amongſt us after ſo long a Fruition of a* Common-wealth, *we ſhall be driven to* 812. *a worſe Condition than ever, and put paſt all Hopes of appearing to defend our Liberty*. He printed this Anſwer, that his Perfidy might remain upon Record againſt him. Is it not Prodigious that the Heart of Man ſhou'd be capable of ſuch a Mixture of *Bigotry* and Villainy? I am ſorry that it is made neceſſary to defile Hiſtory with ſuch a Word. There is an Hiſtorian, and a Dignitary, who ſpeaking of *Fleetwood*'s p. 749. Dejection, and that he ſaid, *God had ſpit in his Face*, upbraids him that he cou'd not be *bravely perfidious* for Church and King as *Monk* was: No, though every Man of common Underſtanding in the Kingdom muſt then have deſir'd the *Reſtoration* of the King and the old Conſtitution, to be deliver'd from an odious Anarchy, yet no Man but *Monk* cou'd have done it, in defiance of a hundred Oaths and Proteſtations, and with no manner of Concern for the future Intereſt and Liberty of his Country.

Parliament. In the mean while, the Parliament paſs'd a Vote to confirm the *Seclusion* of the Members in 1648, who about ſix Weeks after were admitted by Violence, *Monk* being the Agent, as they had been ſecluded by Violence, when *Pride* was the Agent. Nor muſt it be thought a Leſſening to *Monk*, that *Pride*, the Brewer, is nam'd with him, who, according to *Warwick*, deſcended from the *Plantagenets* by the help of ſome *Harlotry*: For I think they became ſo nearly related, as that *Pride*'s Son or Grandſon pretended Heirſhip to his Eſtate, in the great Trial between *Bath* and *Montague* about it in King *William*'s Reign. I heard his Name mention'd, and ſomething relating to *Monk*'s and his Lady's Virtue, which, though no Secret Hiſtory is too biographical and too ſcandalous for this. A.D.1660

The Parliament paſs'd a Bill to *Renounce the Title of* Charles Stuart, *and the Line of King* James. 'Tis pretended *Monk* and others boggled at it: What then, they had all done it before: They renounc'd *Charles Stuart* in renouncing a *King and Houſe of Lords*, as by the *Engagement* often mention'd; nay, *Monk* was not content with ſuch a Renunciation himſelf, he *made the* Scotiſh *Nobility abjure him and his Intereſt*, as we read in *Coke*; and in *Orleans*, *That he always* abhor'd *that wicked Oath*, which is p. 92. juſt as true as where he ſays he was a *great Genius*.

Sir *Henry Vane* being ſent for by the Parlia- *Sir* Henry ment, came and took his Place in the Houſe, and Vane was queſtion'd for his acting during the late In- *expell'd.* terruption; to which he made an ingenious Anſwer, and it was Voted, *That he ſhou'd forthwith repair to his Houſe at* Raby *in the County of* Durham, *and remain there during the Pleaſure of the Parliament, of which he was diſcharg'd from being a Member.*

Commiſſary General *Desborough*, Col. *Aſhfield*, Col. *Berry*, Col. *Kelſey*, and Major *Creed*, were confin'd to their Houſes furtheſt off from *London*.

Thomas Scot, Eſq; was made Secretary of State, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the City of *Weſtminſter*: He, and *Luke Robinſon*, Eſq; were order'd by the Houſe to meet *Monk*, to *congratulate his great Services, good Succeſs, and Repairing towards* London, *and to let him know the* Parliament *wou'd provide Money for his Forces.* They expell'd Col. *Sydenham* and Major *Salway* for acting againſt them during the Interruption, and ſent one *Downing* their Agent to *Holland*. Downing. He was an obſcure *New England* Fanatick, who had a ſort of *American* Learning, which got him the Character of a Man fit for Negotiation; and his Enthuſiaſm and blind Zeal againſt Epiſcopacy and Monarchy, prefer'd him under the two Protectors.

The Parliament appointed new Commiſſioners *Commiſſi-* for *Ireland*: Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *John Weaver*, *oners for* Eſq; *Robert Goodwyn*, Eſq; Sir *Charles Coote*, Ireland, Col. *Markham*; but *Coote* let them ſhare no more of the Government than he thought fit.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Serjeant *Tyrrel*, Ser- *and of the* jeant *Fountain* were made Commiſſioners of the *Great Seal.* Great Seal about four Months before the Author of the Hiſtory of the Rebellion was made Lord High Chancellor of *England*. The Parliament paſs'd an Order for ſelling the Eſtates of thoſe who were with Sir *George Booth*.

Before *Monk* arriv'd at *London*, he wrote to the Parliament, that for the greater Security of the publick Peace, the Forces which were in and about *London* amounting to 7 or 8000 Horſe and Foot, more than enough to have driven him and his Army into the *Caledonian* Sea, if the Parliament had kept them where they were, and made uſe of them for that Purpoſe, might remove. But Infatuation was upon them, and purely out of Spite to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, who pretended to have the greateſt Intereſt in theſe Forces. *They had ſo contriv'd it, that* Monk *ſhou'd write that Letter* for their Removal, as we are told by General *Ludlow*, who was upon the Spot, and in the Se- 814. cret of the Counſels at that Time. Yet *War-* Warwick *wick* aſſures us the Removal of thoſe Forces *was* *errs as to entirely owing to the Contrivance of* Monk, and Monk. *thoſe that deny him that Honour, intrench upon his*

A.D.1660 *his Foresight.* Such is their Infatuation, such their Judgment and Sincerity! *Warwick* intimates if you will allow nothing else, you must allow that this Arrow cou'd come out of *no Quiver but his own*; and *Ludlow* affirms, that in order to lessen *Haselrigge*'s Power in the Army, *it was contriv'd that* Monk *shou'd write to the Parliament*, &c. Sir *Philip Warwick* is one of the main Buttresses of *Echard*'s Stupendous Fabrick, and you see what his Authority is.

420. Mr. *Scot*, before mention'd, had by Letters been much courted by *Monk*, and always maintain'd a friendly Correspondence with him. In the Time of the *Committee of Safety*, Mr. *Scot* publish'd some of that Treacherous *Man*'s Letters, wherein *Monk* declar'd his Resolution *to live and die with the Parliament, without a King or single Person, or House of Lords.* I wou'd not have the Reader censure me for my plain dealing with this double Dealer, I am authoriz'd to do it by his own Confession; for the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock* tells us, Monk *sent Letters to the Parliament, frankly owning his Prevarications with* Fleetwood *for their Service.*

Monk *Treacherous.*

Lud. 812.

691. Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson* being at *Leicester*, went out six Miles to meet *Monk*, who, by his slow Marches, seem'd willing to keep near enough to run back to *Scotland* in case Peril came upon him, and Way was not made for him to approach with Safety. When *Robinson* and *Scot* met him, his Forces were drawn up, and saluted them with Vollies of Shot, and the Bells rung in every Village through which they pass'd. *Monk* alighted from his Horse to receive them, went with them into their Coach, and rode with them to *Leicester*, where they supp'd together in *Scot*'s Quarters. He profess'd inexpressible Devotion to the Service of the Parliament, and complemented their Commissioners, especially Mr. *Scot*, in an extraordinary Manner.

Several Addresses were presented to *Monk*, as he march'd along in great State and Security, for the Restitution of the *secluded Members*, or a Free Parliament, to which he avoided giving Answers, as not knowing what Answer to give, till he saw how Matters wou'd go at *London*. But as much as he *abhor'd* the *Abjuration Act*, when he came to *Northampton* he oblig'd those of his Officers who had not done it before, to *abjure*

Coke *p.* 91. Charles Stuart *and his Interest*. *Clarendon*, and *Echard*, and the rest of them, are positive that he abhor'd this *Abjuring*.

When the *London* Commissioners apply'd themselves to him about the *secluded Members*, he told them he reserv'd them to the Parliament,

again Lud. *p.* 816. *to whom he was resolv'd intirely to submit*; and Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* is reported to have said, Monk *can't be such a* Devil *to betray a Trust so freely repos'd in him*: But Sir *Arthur*, it seems, knew not how much of that Spirit was in him.

The Gentlemen of the *West* having drawn up a Remonstrance against the late Changes and Usurpations, sent it to *Monk*, to encourage him to come to their Assistance. The Gentleman whom they chose to carry it, was *Thomas Bampfield*, Esq; Recorder of *Exeter*, who had been Speaker of *Richard Cromwel*'s Parliament; and who, after the Restoration, was thrown into Goal for being a *Presbyterian.*

While *Monk* was at *Northampton*, a hundred Gentlemen presented an Address to him, that he wou'd be instrumental for the *secluded Members, or for a Free Parliament*; to which he answer'd, *I am a Servant to the Parliament in a Military Capacity, and these Things, of Great and Civil Concernment, are to be left to them.* The High Sheriff of *Hertfordshire* met him at St. *Albans* the 28th of *January*; and the Lord *Richardson*, Sir *John Hobart*, and Sir *Horatio Townsend*, brought an Address from *Norfolk* to the like Purpose, and had a like Answer. A.D.1660

On the first of *February*, Dr. *Clarges*, the Apothecary, was made Commissary General of the Musters: *Monk*, his Brother in Law, was made *Custos Rotulorum* of *Devon*, and Keeper of St. *James*'s Park. Orders were issu'd for the Soldiers in and about *London* to march forth to make room for *Monk*'s, which so disgusted them, that many refus'd to march till their Arrears were paid. The Mutiny began at *Somerset House*, where one whole Regiment were Quarter'd, who were join'd by several Parties of the rest. The *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians* of the City now lovingly united to the Ruin of the latter; hop'd to improve this Opportunity, and invited them to join with the City, as they term'd their Party then, promising them their whole Arrears, constant Pay, and a present Gratuity, giving them some Money in Hand as an Earnest of the rest. The Soldiers took their Money, but threaten'd them, that unless they departed immediately they wou'd fire upon them. *Ludlow* writes of it thus, "The Council of State, that they also might "cut the Grass from under their own Feet, "sent Orders to *Monk* to hasten his March, "and with all Diligence to come to their Re- "lief. These Malecontents were very numerous, "above 4000 Horse and Foot; but the Colonel "of the Regiment at *Somerset House*, Sir *John* "*Lenthal*, and their Officers, prevail'd with them "to march the next Morning, on promise of "Payment of their Arrears; and the other Sol- "diers march'd with them according to the Or- "ders they receiv'd.

Soldiers in London *Mutiny.*

On the 4th of *February Monk* march'd into *London* in all State with his Horse and Foot, not above 6000 Men, and came to *Whitehall*, where the Prince's Apartment was fitted up for him and his Wife, who had been a *Sempstress* in the *New Exchange*, before, if not whilst she was his Wife. The Speaker met him in the *Strand*. *Monk* alighted, and the Speaker came out of his Coach. They embrac'd each other with the extraordinary Signs of Joy; and in the Evening *Monk* went to the Council of State, who tendring the Abjuration Oath, the Substance of which he had so often sworn to, he desir'd Time to consider of it. Several of the King's Party came soon after to *London* from beyond Sea, giving out, they were sure the King wou'd be in *England* very shortly, but not one of them even yet is nam'd to have lent a helping Hand towards it.

Monk *comes to* London.

Cavaliers not yet concern'd in the Restoration.

Mr. *Scot*, *Monk*'s fast Friend, and Mr *Robinson*, were sent to him by the House to congratulate his Arrival in Town, and desire his Attendance the next Morning. All the Members of Parliament, and Persons of the best Quality, visited and complimented him.

Mr. *Scot* reported to the House, *Febr.* the 6th, that *Monk* was come to attend them, and in the Court of *Wards*, The Serjeant at Arms was sent for him, and brought him into the House, accompany'd still with his dear Friend Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinson*. A Velvet Chair was set for him on the left Hand within the Bar, and he having made his Obeysance, was desired by the Speaker to sit down; but he pray'd to be excus'd, and stood behind the Chair, while the Speaker made a fulsome Speech to him, magnifying his Service and Merits, which however had as yet cost nothing but Words, and giving *him the hearty Thanks of the House.* *Monk* began his Answer with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, *extolling the Mercy of their Restitution, and acknowledging the Goodness of God in making him instrumental therein, which was but his Duty,*

Speech in the Parliament-House.

A.D.1660 *Duty, and desir'd not the Honour they had done him. He desir'd that no* Cavalier *might have a Share in the Civil or Military Power, and said every one ought to acquiesce in their Judgment,* as *to the* Secluded Members, who had frequent Meetings with their Friends in the City, particularly Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, a Reverend learned Divine of great Prudence and Moderation. Several Members of Parliament conferr'd with them, and were earneſt Promoters of their Return to the Houſe, as Col. *Laſſels*, Col. *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Hutchinſon*, all three Members of the High Court of Juſtice for putting the King to Death. The Parliament wanted not good Adviſers to be provided againſt the wicked Deſigns of treacherous, perjur'd Perſons. *Ludlow* and others, Men of Sagacity and Foreſight, adviſ'd them to accept the Aſſiſtance of their old Servants to encourage their Fidelity, as the only Means to preſerve themſelves and the *Common-wealth* from certain Ruin. But they are deaf to all ſalutary Counſel, and reſolv'd to finiſh the Work with the new Inſtruments which they had choſen. To that End they proceeded on the Bill for filling up the Houſe, which by wiſe Men was thought a moſt dangerous Expedient in that Conjuncture, unleſs *Monk* ſhou'd prove more honeſt than they cou'd believe him to be.

City of London *oppoſe the Parliament.*

The City of *London* alſo took upon them in their Common-Council to receive Petitions from the adjacent Counties touching the Payment of the Taxes and other publick Affairs, preſuming not only to call in the Petitioners, and to give them Thanks for their kind Affections, but alſo to paſs a Vote, that they wou'd pay no Taxes but ſuch as ſhou'd be impos'd by a Free Parliament. The *Council of State* having receiv'd a particular Account of theſe Proceedings, ſent for *Monk* to conſult with him concerning the beſt Means to put a Stop to theſe Diſorders. Some of them moving, that the Common-Council ſhou'd be forbidden to ſit; ſome few of the moſt active were ſeiz'd, the Gates of the City taken down, the Portcullices wedg'd, and the Poſts with their Chains pull'd up. *Monk* ſaid, *If you do no more, that will ſerve for nothing, becauſe the Damage may be ſoon repair'd. The Diſaffection of the City is ſo great, that they will never be quiet till ſome of them are hang'd; and it is abſolutely neceſſary for the preſent to break their Gates and Portcullices in Pieces, to burn their Poſts, and carry away their Chains to the* Tower. *If you command it to be done, I'll ſee your Orders put in Execution. Echard*, who takes no Care to keep within Credibility, affirms, that this very Action which *Monk* himſelf adviſ'd, and voluntarily offer'd to execute, was *unavoidably forc'd upon him.* The Council of State order'd him to march into the City with his Forces early the next Morning, *Febr.* the 9th, before the Occaſion of his coming amongſt them ſhou'd be known. Various Reports were publiſh'd touching the Deſign of his March into the City, and many ſuſpected he had already declar'd for the King; tho', as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, *None had any Ground to believe he had any Deſign that Way. Some have thought he intended to try, if poſſible, to ſet up for himſelf; others rather believ'd he had no ſettled Deſign any way,* which is alſo my Belief, *but reſolv'd to do as Occaſion ſhou'd be offer'd to him, tho' all the while he declar'd in a moſt ſolemn Manner for a* Common-wealth.

Monk's *Speech againſt the City.*

London *Poſts and Chains pull'd up by* Monk.

The Houſe being met, the Council of State made their Report, and inform'd them of the unwarrantable Proceedings of the *Common-Council*, and of their own Reſolutions and Orders concerning them. In the Execution of which they aſſur'd the Parliament *Monk* had by that Time made a conſiderable Progreſs, having already pull'd up their Poſts and Chains, taken down the Portcullices and Gates of the City, which he had begun to cut to Pieces, and ſeiz'd ſome of the moſt active of the Common-Council. The Houſe approv'd of what the *Council of State* had done, and order'd *Monk* fifty Pounds to defray the Expence of his Dinner that Day, he having refus'd to dine at the Charge of the City, tho' earneſtly importun'd by ſeveral Citizens. Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* was ſo tranſported at this News, that he broke out in theſe Expreſſions, *All is our own; he will be honeſt.* But as *Ludlow* ſays, *It was not long before his Wine was turn'd into Water.* For in the Afternoon a Letter was preſented to the Speaker from *Monk*, the Contents of which made them eaſily perceive, that his Zeal in their Service began to cool: A.D.1660

His Letter to the Speaker.

" He acquainted them with what he had done " in Proſecution of the Orders he had receiv'd, " and that he wanted Tools and Inſtruments to " finiſh the Work, having already ſpoil'd all " thoſe he had brought with him to cut the " Gates and other Defences of the City in " Pieces; that the Mayor and Citizens had pro- " mis'd Obedience to the Parliament for the " Time to come, and therefore he deſir'd they " wou'd reſpite the Execution of what remain'd " of his Inſtructions, hoping what had been done " wou'd be a ſufficient Admonition to the City " for their future Behaviour." The Houſe highly reſented *Monk*'s Preſumption in neglecting and diſputing their Commands, and diſpatch'd a Meſſage to him, requiring the exact Performance of the Orders he had receiv'd; at which *Monk* ſeem'd much diſturb'd, and yielded little or no Obedience to them, but lay that Night in the City.

His bold Letter to the Parliament.

The Day following, *Febr.* the 10th, he return'd with his Forces to *Whitehall*; and on the 12th or 13th ſent a Letter to the Houſe, directed to the Speaker, and ſubſcrib'd by himſelf and ſome of his Officers, " Wherein they complain'd " that the Parliament had put them upon the " late diſobliging Work in the City to render " them odious to the City; that they continu'd " to favour the *Fanatick* Party, by not proſecuting thoſe who had acted with the Army in the " *Committee of Safety*, and by permitting Sir " *Henry Vane* and Col. *Lambert* to ſtay in Town, " contrary to their own Order, for their Remo- " val; that they admitted Men to ſit with them " in the Houſe, who lay under Accuſations of " *High-Treaſon*, meaning Lieutenant General " *Ludlow* and Mr. *Miles Corbet*; that on the " contrary they ſhew'd a Backwardneſs to repoſe " any Confidence in thoſe who were their trueſt " Friends, upbraiding them with refuſing to ap- " prove ſome Officers that had been preſented " to them, and delaying to grant Commiſſions " to others, whom they had approv'd. They " alſo reflected upon the Parliament, for not " making Proviſion for the Army, nor mind- " ing the publick Work, putting them in Mind " of the Vote for their Diſſolution in *May* fol- " lowing, and adding ſome threatning Expreſſi- " ons in caſe they ſhou'd not iſſue out Writs for " filling up the Parliament.

After the reading of this Letter, moſt of the Members who had Affection for their Country, appear'd much dejected. But the Parliament having diveſted themſelves of their own Strength, and abandon'd all into the Hands of *Monk*, tho' no Man had ever before dar'd to addreſs himſelf to them in ſo *inſolent a Manner* (they are *Ludlow*'s Words) took his Letter into Conſideration, and reſolv'd to give him as much Satisfaction as they cou'd with any Colour of

Juſtice

A.D.1660 Juſtice. They ſent Mr. *Scot* and Mr. *Robinſon* to him, to aſſure him of their good Intentions. He was then at Alderman *Wale*'s Houſe in the City; for he had left *Whitehall*, and quarter'd his Army in *London*, that he might have the more Opportunities to ingratiate himſelf with the Citizens. He drew up his Forces in *Finsbury Feb.* the 12th, din'd with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the *Bull-Head* in *Cheapſide*, and was follow'd by Multitudes of People, congratulating his coming into the City, making loud Shouts and Bonefires, and ringing the Bells. He was every Day and all Day long viſited by the chief Citizens and Miniſters, as Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Miniſter of St. *Faith*'s; Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Miniſter of *Aldermanbury*; Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, Miniſter of St. *Sepulcher*'s; Dr. *Drake*, Miniſter of St. *Peter*'s *Cheap*; Dr. *Manton*, Miniſter of St. *Paul Covent Garden*; Mr. *Watſon*, Miniſter of St. *Stephen Walbrook*; Dr. *Bates*, Miniſter of St. *Dunſtan in the Weſt*; Mr. *Simeon Aſh*, Miniſter of St. *Auſtin*'s; Mr. *Matthew Pool*, Miniſter of St. *Michael Quern*; Mr. *Matthew Haviland*, Miniſter of *Trinity* Pariſh, Mr. *William Blackmore*, Miniſter of St. *Peter*'s *Cornhill*; Mr. *Samuel Slater*, Miniſter of St. *Katherine*'s, *Tower*; Dr. *Anneſly*, Miniſter of St. *Giles*'s *Cripplegate*; Mr. *William Taylor*, Miniſter of St. *Stephen*'s *Coleman-ſtreet*; Dr. *Jacomb*, Miniſter of St. *Martin*'s *Ludgate*. I mention only ſome of the moſt noted, of whom Mr. *William Taylor* was by good Churchmen call'd *The Loyal Presbyterian*. All theſe, and almoſt all the other *London Presbyterian* Miniſters, were as Loyal as Mr. *Taylor*, and moſt of them very inſtrumental in the *Reſtoration*, which I deſire may be remember'd, when we come to ſee how the King rewarded them. For if Ingratitude is the baſeſt and blackeſt of all Sins, 'tis no Wonder it has not been in the Power of Eloquence and Adulation to brighten the ſucceeding Reign. Of theſe Miniſters Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Aſh*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton* and Dr. *Jacomb*, very much influenc'd the City in their earneſt Deſire for the King's Reſtoration, in which they were encourag'd by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who had a particular Correſpondence with the King and *Hyde*, by Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Anneſley*, who had the ſame without Participation, and all three carry'd on the great Work as well as Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, in their own Way, before *Monk* was ever thought of as an Agent in it. Mr. *Aſh* wrote to Col. *Sanders*, Col. *Barton* and others in *Monk*'s Army, to engage them for the King.

Monk had forgot his boſom Friend *Scot*, and did not admit him to his Preſence without Difficulty; and when he condeſcended to ſpeak to him and *Robinſon*, his Diſcourſe tended always to the ſame Purpoſe with his Letter. *Yet for all his* inſolent *Carriage to the Parliament*, ſays *Ludlow*, his Party in the Houſe had the Confidence to move, that he might be made General of their Forces. But the Parliament ſtill retaining ſome Sparks of that Courage with which they had formerly been animated, choſe rather to periſh by the Hands of an Enemy, if *Monk* ſhou'd prove ſo, than by the Deluſions of a pretended Friend; and therefore having rejected the Propoſal to make him General, they paſs'd a Vote, that their Armies in *England* and *Scotland* ſhou'd be govern'd by Commiſſioners, who were, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, Major General *Monk*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Walton*, Col. *Alured*.

Tho' *Monk* was diſturb'd at this, yet he endeavour'd to diſguiſe his Diſſatisfaction, and began again to court the Members of Parliament, whilſt, with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Party in the City, he was forming a *Militia* there, and nominating Officers to command them, who were choſen for the Purpoſe, rather on account of their Diſaffection to the Parliament than any other good Quality. He got the Lord Mayor to call a *Common-Council*, and went to *Guild-Hall*; and all the Way as he went, leaning on Colonel *Cloberry*'s Shoulder, the Cry was, *A Free Parliament*. *Monk* ſaid nothing; but Col. *Cloberry* told them, *They ſhou'd have a Free Parliament*. At *Guild-Hall* he excus'd what he had been conſtrain'd to do in the City by Order of Parliament, *tho' the Advice was his own*: "He aſſur'd them "he was much troubled for that rigorous Work; "that he had been long of the ſame Opinion "with them, but had been oblig'd to conceal it, "till he might have an Opportunity to diſcover "his Sentiments with better Advantage. He "added, he had ſent a Letter to the Parliament, "that they wou'd fill the Houſe, and put "an End to their ſitting by the 6th of *May*." The Citizens receiv'd this Declaration with great Joy, and the Rabble were as mad, as when they ran after *Sacheverel* in the late Queen's Time. They made no leſs than 6000 Bonfires at Night all over the City; and to ſhew that they cou'd be witty too upon Occaſion, the *Cavaliers* and Loyal *Presbyterians* roaſted *Rumps*, and burnt thoſe they did not eat, as they ſerv'd the Pope afterwards.

A.D.1660

Lieutenant General *Ludlow* viſited Major General *Monk* at Alderman *Wale*'s, to ſatisfy him concerning his Conduct in *Ireland*; and having, in Converſation with him, ſaid, that Fidelity and Zeal for the Common Good were the beſt Qualifications for publick Service, *Monk* cry'd, *Yea, we muſt live and die together for the Common-wealth*. And *Ludlow* dropping a Hint, as if the Secluded Members, when reſtor'd, wou'd bring in the King, *Monk* ſaid, *It may be they may attempt it; but they ſay they will not; and I aſſure you, tho' I bear as much Reſpect to Parliaments as any Man, yet, if I ſhou'd obſerve a Parliament to be about ſuch a thing, I wou'd interrupt them in it.* Sir *Henry Vane* being about to leave *London*, purſuant to an Order of Parliament, *Ludlow* gave him a Viſit; and Sir *Henry* told him, *Unleſs I am much miſtaken*, Monk *has yet ſeveral Masks to pull off. As for what concerns myſelf, I have all poſſible Satisfaction of Mind, as to thoſe Actions God has enabled me to do for the Common-wealth, and hope the ſame God will fortify me in my Sufferings, how ſharp ſoever, to bear a faithful and conſtant Teſtimony.* For he foreſaw the Exiles wou'd murder him if ever they had him in their Power. The Opinion they juſtly had of his prodigious Genius being Death to them. Ludlow *confers with* Monk *and* Vane.

By the Giddineſs of *Monk*'s Conduct at this Time, I take his Mind to be in as much Agitation as it was capable of, whether to ſet up himſelf, or to reſtore the Secluded Members and the King, or to continue the Common-wealth, himſelf to have the Power of a Stadtholder as in *Holland*. It is evident he had yet determin'd nothing, and very probable that he was driven away with the Tide of Peoples Inclinations for the King, which were every where for reſtoring the Secluded Members, and leaving the *Free Parliament* and the King's Reſtoration to them. To this End *Monk* procur'd a Meeting of twelve of thoſe Members, with as many of the Parliament then ſitting. The latter alledg'd at this Conference, "That the General had declar'd, "when he firſt appear'd for them againſt the "Army, that it was for the Parliament *as it ſat* "*the* 11*th of* October." The Secluded Members reply'd, "That their Re-admiſſion was no "Infringement of it, for the ſame Parliament Monk *in Uncertainty.*

A. D. 1660 " wou'd ſit ſtill; that the Purport of the Gene-
" ral's Declaration was to reduce the Military
" Power in Obedience to the Civil, and that they
" had been excluded the Houſe only by Force
" of the Sword, without any legal Forfeiture of
Secluded Members. " their Right." But the Sitting Members urg'd their own Safety, that of the Army, and the Sale of Publick Lands, all which they fear'd wou'd be diſturb'd by the Introduction of the ſecluded
Echard. Members. The other engag'd upon their Honours, " Not to look upon what had been done
" ſince their Excluſion, nor diſturb the Propriety
" or Pretences of any, but wou'd amicably Sit
" and Vote for the Good of their Country, till
" by their Diſſolution they made a Way for ano-
" ther Parliament." Here is not one Word of Anſwer to the Safety of the Sitting Members, but the Parole of the Secluded Members, of which one Word was not kept; as if they had been infected with Falſhood and Perfidy by their Patron *Monk*, who declar'd arbitrarily, *That in Juſtice the ſecluded Members ought to be admitted before the calling of another Parliament.* *Anneſley*, one of the ſecluded Members, reflected ſo indecently upon the Proceedings of the Parliament ſince their Seclufion, that Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* roſe up haſtily, and deſign'd to leave the Company; but *Monk*, in a droling way, deſir'd him to be patient till he ſhou'd moderate *Anneſley*, which, ſays he, I know well enough how to do. *Anneſley* had been a *Covenanter*, a *Presbyterian*, a zealous *Parliamentarian*, a Commiſſioner in *Ireland*, and done the laſt King as much Diſſervice as he cou'd; but he had made his Peace with his preſent Majeſty, receiv'd a Letter from him, and given himſelf up Body and Soul to his new Maſter and Principles. Himſelf, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, and other leading Men, met often with the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Lord *Roberts*, and the reſt of
The Preſbyterians *deſire the* Cavaliers *to be quiet, and do nothing for fear of ſpoiling all.* the Presbyterian Party. Mr. *Hollis* told Biſhop *Burnet* that the *Presbyterians preſs'd the Royaliſts* to be quiet, and to leave the Game in *their Hands*; *for their appearing wou'd give Jealouſy, and hurt that which they meant to promote.* *The Miniſters of* London *were very active in the City.* *Anneſley* continuing his Railing, *Haſelrigge* loſt all patience, roſe up and left the Company; but Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Robinſon*, Col. *Morley*, Mr. *Rawleigh*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, ſtaid with the ſecluded Members till *Monk* declar'd himſelf for them. *Ludlow* owns that *Monk* did not ſtir up the Riot and Diſorder in the City, though he was not a little pleas'd with it; and ſpeaking of the Parliament thus inſulted by *Rump-roaſting*, he ſaid, *They rais'd the Glory of the Nation from the Duſt*, meaning the Reigns of the *Stuarts*, *wherein it had been buried by the Negligence and Corruption of the preceeding Governments, and had render'd the* Engliſh *Name formidable to all* Europe. When any of this Author's Enemies can prove what he ſays here to be falſe, we will paſs over all the Falſities in the Hiſtory of the *Rebellion*, in *Echard*'s and the *Compleat* Hiſtory. *A. D.* 1660

About a Week after *Monk* return'd to his former Lodging at *Whitehall*, where, according to a Summons from him, he was attended by all the ſecluded Members, and the Archdeacon aſſures us he told them abundance of notable Things, whereas they were the Contents of a Paper which his Secretary read to them, and of which the following are two Paragraphs.

" As to the Intereſt of this famous City (which *Monk's Speech to the ſecluded Members.*
" hath been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parlia-
" ments, and unto whom I am for their great
" Affection ſo deeply engag'd) certainly it muſt
" lie in a *Common-wealth*; that Government on-
" ly being capable to make them, through the
" Lord's Bleſſing, the Metropolis and Bank of
" the Trade to all *Chriſtendom*, whereunto God
" and Nature hath fitted them above others.

" And as to a Government in the *Church*, the
" Want whereof hath been no ſmall Cauſe of
" theſe Nations Diſtractions, it is manifeſt, that
" if it be Monarchical in the State, the *Church*
" muſt follow, and *Prelacy* muſt be brought in,
" which theſe Nations I know cannot bear, and
" againſt which they have ſo ſolemnly ſworn.
" Indeed, moderate *Presbyterian* Government, *For the Presbytery.*
" with a ſufficient Liberty for tender Conſciences,
" appears to be the moſt indifferent and accept-
" able Way to the Settlement of the *Church*".

And two or three Years after this, he ſends his Dragoons about the Country to hunt down the *Presbyterians* as the Proteſtants were hunted in *France*. This Paper, which he cou'd no more draw than he cou'd write *Clarendon*'s *Hiſtory*, has a pretty deal of the *London* Clergy in it.

Before this Matter cou'd be brought about, Mr. *Praiſe God Barebone*, with a Multitude of *Watermen*, preſented a Petition to the Parliament, *For excluding* Charles Stuart *and all that Family*; *and that thoſe who refus'd to renounce them, might be uncapable of any Employment*; for which the Houſe thank'd them.

Robinſon, *Haſelrigge*, and *Nevill*, who pretended to be moſt in *Monk*'s good Graces, did and ſaid what they cou'd to hinder the Admiſſion of the ſecluded Members, but no body cou'd prevail with him to prevent it, and no body durſt oppoſe him. The Spirit of the People in general, eſpecially of the *Presbyterians*, ran that way, and the *Cavaliers* were the more eager for it, as the Way to bring in the King.

On *Tueſday* the 21ſt of *February*, *Monk* having given the Command of the Guard to Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, the ſecluded Members march'd from *Whitehall* to the Parliament-Houſe, *William Prynne*, Eſq; with a great Basket-hilted Sword by his Side, leading the Way. *Secluded Members admitted.*

The LONG PARLIAMENT.

THE firſt Thing the Parliament did after the ſecluded Members were admitted, was to vacate all the Votes made by the Houſe in 1648, and 1649, againſt themſelves; then they Voted their Champion, *George Monk*, Eſq; General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and *John Lawſon*, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. They repeal'd the Commiſſion of the Gentlemen who were impower'd to govern the Army, they releas'd Sir *Robert Pye* and Colonel *Fincher* of their Impriſonment: The ſame they did by Sir *George Booth*, Colonel *Brooke*, Lord *Crawford*, Lord *Lauderdale*, Lord *Sincler*, the *London* Apprentices, and ſeveral Addreſſers to the former Houſe. They alſo Voted to make all void that had been done in Parliament againſt thoſe of Sir *George Booth*'s Party; they made *John Thurloe*, Eſq; and *John Thompſon*, Eſq; Secretaries of State, and Dr. *Clarges* the Apothecary, *Monk*'s Wife's Brother, Clerk of the *Hanaper-*

A.D.1660 *naper*-Office. They alſo paſs'd an Act for a Council of State, who were *Arthur Anneſly*, Eſq; Lord Preſident, Lord *Fairfax*, General *Monk*, *William Pierpoint*, Eſq; *John Crew*, Eſq; *Richard Knightly*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Edward Harley*, Eſq; *John Swinſen*, Eſq; *John Weaver*, Eſq; *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; *John Birch*, Eſq; *John Trevor*, Eſq; *John Maynard*, Eſq; *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Temple*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Col. *Morley*, Col. *Montague*, Sir *John Potts*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Roſſiter*, Sir *John Holland*, Col. *Norton*, Col. *Thompſon*.

Council of State.

Echard tells us, the ſober Part of theſe Gentlemen were for clogging the King's Return with Conditions, naming the Conceſſions the King made at the *Iſle of Wight*, though no wiſe Man cou'd expect thoſe *Articles cou'd be put in Practice*. You ſee this is ſaid with the utmoſt Aſſurance; yet that moſt wiſe Magiſtrate the Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, mov'd in the next Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, *That a Committee might be appointed to look into the Propoſitions that had been made, and the Conceſſions that had been offer'd by the late King, particularly at the* Iſle of Wight, to be ſent over to the King: Biſhop *Burnet* adds, *To his coming in without Conditions may be well imputed all the Errors of his Reign*; more of this hereafter.

Bp. Burnet, p. 88.

Several Members of Parliament, who thought the Admiſſion of thoſe who had been ſecluded to be irregular and illegal, refus'd to act. *Ludlow*, before they were admitted, mov'd that the Parliament ſhou'd adjourn to the *Tower*, gather their Friends and Forces about them, and vindicate their Authority, but he was not ſeconded. After the others were admitted, he refus'd to ſit with them; and being ask'd the Reaſon of it by Mr. *George Montague*, as he was walking in *Weſtminſter Hall*, *Ludlow* anſwer'd, *Having done as much as I cou'd to ſerve the* Common-wealth, *and ſeeing an Impoſſibility of contending againſt the preſent Torrent, I have reſolv'd to abſent myſelf from the Place where the Parliament us'd to meet, that I might publickly diſown the Authority of thoſe who have violently poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Houſe, and not ſeem to conſent to the Confuſions they are bringing upon us.* Mr. *Montague* reply'd, "The Conditions on which the "*ſecluded Members* have enter'd the Houſe, are "in my Opinion more diſhonourable than thoſe "upon which others are gone out, and I am not "willing to ſit amongſt them, they having en"gag'd to make *Monk* General of all the Forces "by Sea and Land, to ſettle a conſtant Mainte"nance for the Army, to appoint a new Parlia"ment to be choſen, and when theſe Things "are diſpatch'd, to put a Period to themſelves "within a Day or two at the moſt.

Ludlow.

About Seventeen of the Common-wealth Members, of whom ſeveral were of the late Council of State, went to *Monk*, to be inform'd from his own Mouth of the Reaſons of theſe Proceedings. He receiv'd them with no leſs Civility than formerly, and having underſtood from them the Occaſion of their coming, he made as ſolemn Proteſtations of his Zeal to a Common-wealth Government as he had ever done. This was two or three Weeks only before he at once broke all Oaths and Proteſtations, and deliver'd up his Maſters, his Friends, his Country, to the Mercy of implacable Enemies. He deſir'd theſe Gentlemen to believe, that the Permiſſion he had given to the *ſecluded Members* to enter the Houſe, was only to free himſelf from their Importunity, and that he wou'd take effectual Care to prevent them doing any Hurt in that Place. But theſe Gentlemen having reſolv'd to try him to the utmoſt, demanded further, *If he wou'd join with them againſt* Charles Stuart *and his Party*? In Anſwer to which he apply'd himſelf to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, who was one of them, and ſaid, *Sir* Arthur, *I have often declar'd to you my Reſolution ſo to do*; then taking off his Glove, and putting his Hand in Sir *Arthur*'s, he added, *I do here proteſt to you in the Preſence of all theſe Gentlemen, that I will oppoſe to the utmoſt the ſetting up of* Charles Stuart, *a ſingle Perſon, or a Houſe of Peers.* After this he began to expoſtulate with them touching their Suſpicions, ſaying, *What is it that I have done in bringing theſe Members into the Houſe? Are they not the ſame that brought the King to the Block, though others cut off his Head, and that juſtly*? This is the Earl of *Clarendon*'s good *Lord General!* This is the Man whom that *Earl* commends ſo much for his Zeal for the Church, and this is the Man who a few Months afterwards hang'd his dear Friend *Scot*, for agreeing to the Sentence for cutting off the King's Head.

A.D.1660

Juſtifies cutting off the King's Head. Ludlow 847.

Col. *Montague*, who had been in the *Sound* ſome time, concluding a Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in Conjunction with the *Dutch* Admiral *de Ruyter*, was made joint Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet with General *Monk*, at which the latter was diſguſted, it being contrary to the Bargain he had made with the ſecluded Members, to have the Chief Command by Land and by Sea, without a Partner. However, he thought not convenient to inſiſt upon the Alteration of that Particular, *Montague*, and the Fleet's Aſſiſtance, being very neceſſary to him for carrying on his Projects, be they what they wou'd.

He took away Col. *Walton*'s Regiment of Horſe, and gave it to Col. *Howard*; he made Choice of Two hundred Horſe for his own Guard, and gave the Command of them to Col. *Philip Howard*; Col. *Rich*'s Regiment he gave to Col. *Ingoldsby*.

The grand Deſign of deſtroying the Common-wealth, being ſo far advanced, *Monk* caus'd a Declaration to be drawn in the Name of the Officers about *London*, and recommended to the reſt of the Officers in the three Nations, declaring it to be their Duty and Reſolution, to ſubmit to the Authority that was over them, and to obey ſuch Orders as they ſhou'd receive from them, which when they were upbraided with, as a thing contriv'd to betray the publick Cauſe. Many of the Officers ſhew'd themſelves ſo ſenſible of the Conſequences of it, that they earneſtly preſs'd that a Council of War might be call'd.

Here was another *Criſis*, had this Council of War been call'd, all *Monk*'s pretended Schemes had vaniſh'd at once. The Officers urg'd ſeveral Reaſons for it to their General, but the true Reaſon was to unite themſelves to each other, and in a publick Manner expreſs their Reſolutions to lay down their Lives for the Common-wealth; but *Monk* being inform'd of their Deſign, diſpers'd them to their reſpective Command, to which they tamely ſubmitted, notwithſtanding the big Words they had ſpoken without Doors.

Another Criſis.

Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* being ſummon'd to attend the ſecluded Members, made his Submiſſion, and promis'd to acquieſce under the preſent Power. Major General *Lambert* ſurrender'd himſelf to the new Council of State, but refuſing to give Security that he wou'd behave quietly, he was committed to the Tower, the very Name of him being a Check to all *Monk*'s Exultations in this Hurricane of Joy.

Monk *Treacherous.*

Moſt

*A.D.*1660

Moſt of the Republican Party were very ſenſible of the Danger they were in, and that they might not be altogether wanting to their own Preſervation, and to the Service of the Publick (to uſe *Ludlow*'s Phraſe) ſome of the principal Perſons among them had ſeveral Meetings; at one of which, *Ludlow* made the following Propoſitions, That ſeveral of the Council of State, and three of the Generals that had been appointed by the Parliament, ſhou'd Sign ſuch Orders as were neceſſary for putting their Deſign in Execution: That the Regiment of Col. *Moſs*, which lay in *Kent*, and not far from *London*, and another which lay in the *Borough* of *Southwark*, commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Farnly*, conſiſting in all of 2000 old Soldiers, of whoſe Integrity and Affection they had good Aſſurance, ſhou'd be order'd to march to the *Tower* to join with Col. *Morley*'s Regiment, which was then there, and wou'd be ready to receive them, having ſent to *Ludlow*, to let him know the *Tower* ſhou'd be at his Command, whenever he pleas'd to deſire it. That the Commanders of theſe Forces ſhou'd take with them Proviſions for ſix Months, giving Tickets for the Quantity ſo taken, payable by the Parliament of *England*. That the Militia of *London*, which had been liſted during the Government of the Parliament, ſhou'd be authoriz'd to meet as there ſhou'd be Occaſion to aſſiſt the Forces in the *Tower*. That four or five Places of Rendezvous ſhou'd be appointed for the Forces of the Army that lay ſcatter'd up and down, in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, and that Officers ſhou'd be agreed upon to appear at the Head of them. That the Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, ſhou'd have the Liberty, either to follow their old Officers, or to appoint new. That thoſe Officers who ſhou'd prevail with the major Part of their Men to follow them, ſhou'd continue in their reſpective Poſts, and that thoſe who appear'd heartily to promote this Deſign, tho' they cou'd not perſwade the greateſt Part of their Soldiers to follow them, ſhou'd have Proviſion made for them, equal to their Merits: That the Country *Militia*, both Horſe and Foot, ſhou'd be authoriz'd to draw together, and be impower'd to ſeize, and diſarm ſuch Perſons in the reſpective Counties, as were known Enemies to the *Commonwealth*. That the Fleet ſhou'd be order'd to declare at the ſame time, and to ſend one or two Thouſand Seamen to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe in the *Tower*, which General *Ludlow* conceiv'd might be done, without Danger to the Nation, becauſe the Enemies they were to contend with, were inteſtine and not from abroad. Admiral *Lawſon*, who commanded the Fleet, had declar'd his Reſolution, to continue faithful to the Parliament, which cou'd not well be doubted, by any that wou'd reflect upon his former Conduct, he having readily taken the Oath for Abjuring the King's Family. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* propos'd further, "That all Perſons who ſhou'd "act by the Parliaments Authority, in this Ser- "vice, ſhou'd be juſtify'd in ſo doing. That the "Governors of Garriſons ſhou'd be requir'd to "refuſe Obedience to any Power, which was "not deriv'd from the lawful Authority of the "Parliament, whoſe Place the ſecluded Mem- "bers had now uſurp'd, and that a Declara- "tion ſhou'd be forthwith prepar'd, to ſhew the "Grounds and Reaſons, together with the Ne- "ceſſity of theſe Proceedings.

A Deſign of the Republicans againſt Monk.

Some of the Officers and Gentlemen, who were at this Conſultation, promis'd to adviſe with their Friends of the *Council of State*, and hop'd that a *Quorum* of them, as well as of Generals, might be found to put the Things in Execution that ſhou'd be agreed on: "But, con- "tinues *Ludlow*, we being ripe for the Corre- "ction of Heaven, nothing cou'd prevent our "Enemies ſucceeding in all their Attempts, and "all our Endeavours proving Abortive. *A.D.*1660

This Scheme ſeems to be very chimerical, if we don't conſider that *Monk* had left his beſt Commander, General *Morgan*, and his beſt Troops behind him, to keep *Scotland* in Awe; and that the Army in *England* were generally Republicans, inſomuch, that I'm ſatisfy'd 4 or 5000 of them, under ſuch reſolute and principled Men as *Ludlow*, wou'd have clear'd City and Suburbs of him and his ſecluded Members; but there being no regular Oppoſition, he ſwam down with the Current, which, ſays the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *ran ſo ſtrong for the Reſtoration, that* Monk *only went into it dexterouſly enough to get much Fame and great Rewards: If he had dy'd ſoon after, he might have been more juſtly admir'd, becauſe leſs known*, &c. Again, *Monk* had the *Praiſe and Reward, tho' I have been told a very ſmall Share of it belong'd to him*, as is all along very viſible. The Share he had, was in the Extent of his Conſcience, which enabled him to do every thing, and any thing that fed his Appetite of Gain, which, as has been hinted, the Biſhop tells us was very *ravenous*; and Mr. *Calamy* ſtuck not to tell him ſo from the Pulpit, even after the *Reſtoration*; for *Monk* by Profeſſion was a Presbyterian, and one of Mr. *Calamy*'s Hearers, after he had brought in the King. That pious Man, preaching on a Sacramental Day, had Occaſion to ſpeak of *filthy Lucre*; *And why, ſaid he, is it call'd* Filthy, *but becauſe it makes Men do baſe and filthy Things? Some Men will betray three Kingdoms for* filthy Lucre's *Sake*, ſaying which, he threw his Handkerchief, which he uſually wav'd up and down, while he was preaching, towards *Monk*'s Pew; however, his hearing of godly Sermons, made him not in love with Godlineſs. His Life being very immoral, I uſe Lieutenant General *Ludlow*'s Words, who knew him as well as the Earl of *Clarendon*, and tells us, "The Companies of *London* made a great En- "tertainment for *Monk*, the 3d of *March*, where "the Bargain they had driven with him, was "ratify'd and confirm'd by deſolute and unbe- "coming Debauchery: For it was his Cuſtom "not to depart from thoſe publick Meetings, "'till he was as drunk as a Beaſt." *Gumble* aſſures us, he was ſo temperate, he wou'd faſt thirty Hours together, and his Countryman Mr. *Prince*, a *Devonſhire* Vicar, affirms, *he ſo abhorr'd the Debauchery of Drinking, that he wou'd never prefer an Officer who was guilty of it*. Do theſe reverend Authors need Remark? Col. *Okey* attending him at this very Meeting to take his Leave of him, before he repair'd to his Command, and deſiring to be ſatisfy'd of his Intentions touching *Charles Stuart*, he gave him his Hand before all the Officers then preſent, as a Pledge of his Sincerity, ſaying, *I will oppoſe him to the utmoſt*.

Monk *had no great Share in the* Reſtoration.

Monk's *Greedineſs.*

Dr. Cal. Eject. Min. *p.* 6.

Monk *a Drunkard. p.* 855.

Monk's *Treachery.*

The Parliament having voted him a Sum of 1000 Pounds a Year, it was debated, whether *Hampton-Court* ſhou'd not be ſettled upon him for it, and was carry'd in the Affirmative. *Several of the ſecluded Members, ſays* Ludlow, *hating the* Traitor, *tho' they accepted the* Treaſon, and gave their Vote for it, *That the Grant* might be uſeleſs to him; but his Tools in the Houſe got it chang'd to an Order for 20,000 Pounds at once, to be paid him out of the publick Money.

Mazarine, who had put great Slights, if not Affronts, on the King and his two Brothers, was ſo far from any Diſpoſition to change his Conduct, on Account of the Changes in *England*, that

The French *Ambaſſador offers to make* Monk *King or Protector*

A.D.1660 that he order'd the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, to offer *Monk* the Aſſiſtance of *France*, if he wou'd uſurp the Government, as *Cromwell* had done, which Offer was not made out of Fear of the King, or Love to *Monk*. I know not one *Male* of the royal Houſe we are writing of, who was ever fear'd abroad; and *Monk*'s Qualities were ſuch, as no body cou'd be enamour'd with, but then they were exactly ſuch as a hearty Enemy to this Nation might have wiſh'd in a ſupream Governor, who cou'd not avoid being hated and deſpis'd by every one over whom he had uſurp'd Lordſhip. An Enemy to *England* cou'd not have done her ſo much Miſchief by War, as by impoſing ſuch a Governor upon her, who had neither Capacity nor Virtue, nor any other Qualification for Government. It was like putting a Man, blind or drunk, at the Helm of a Ship in a Storm. And when the *Engliſh* were once ruin'd by him, *Mazarine* matter'd not what Religion they were of afterwards. *Echard* writes, *Some ſay he bravely reſiſted the Propoſal*, but what is his *ſome ſay*? When Mr. *Locke* ſays, that he accepted of it, and he had his Information from Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, who was the very Perſon that hinder'd its taking Effect. Sir *Anthony* having certain Intelligence of the Bargain made between *Monk* and Monſieur *Bourdeaux*, the *French* Ambaſſador, procur'd the *Council of State*, of which he was a Member, to be ſummon'd immediately. *Monk* attending as uſual, the Doors of the Council Chamber were lock'd, and the Keys laid on the Table. He then began to charge *Monk*, not in direct and open Accuſation, but in obſcure Intimations and doubtful Expreſſions, giving Ground of Suſpicion, *That he was playing falſe with them, and not doing as he promis'd*. This he did ſo skilfully and intelligibly to *Monk*, that he perceiv'd he was diſcover'd, and was perplex'd what Anſwer to give, which made the reſt of the Council ſuſpect him, though they knew not what the Matter was: At laſt he aver'd, *That what had been ſuggeſted was upon groundleſs Suſpicions, that he was true to his Principles, and ſtood firm to what he had profeſs'd to them; that he had no ſecret Deſigns that ought to diſturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of Satisfaction*. Sir *Anthony* clos'd with him, and made a further Uſe of what he ſaid than he intended. For *Monk* meant no more than to gain Time to make his Eſcape from them; but Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper* told him, *That if he was ſincere in what he ſaid, he might preſently remove all Scruples; he ſhou'd preſently take away their Commiſſions from ſuch and ſuch Officers in the Army, and give them to thoſe whom he nam'd, and that preſently before he went out of the Room*. *Monk*, as *Echard* tells us, was *no quick Man*, and being alone among a Company of Men who fell in with Sir *Anthony*, and inſiſted on that Satisfaction, he knew not how to avoid it, but in the Fear and in the Surprize, took away the Commiſſions of ſuch Officers as were nam'd to him, and ſign'd Commiſſions for others, particularly for Sir *Edward Harley*, Father of the late *Robert Harley*, who was made Governor of *Dunkirk* in the room of Sir *William Lockhart*: By which means, ſays Mr. *Locke*, the Army ceas'd to be at *Monk*'s Devotion, and was put into Hands that wou'd not ſerve him in the Deſign he had undertaken. The *French* Ambaſſador, who had the Night before ſent away an Expreſs to *Mazarine*, poſitively to aſſure him, *that Things went as he deſir'd, and that* Monk *was fix'd by him in his Reſolution to take on himſelf the Government*; was not a little aſtoniſh'd the next Day to find Things taking another Turn, and according to *Echard*, *this ſo much diſgrac'd Monſieur* Bourdeaux *in the* French *Court, that he was preſently call'd home, and ſoon after broke his Heart*. For *Mazarine* having made the Contents of *Bourdeaux*'s Letters known, there were Bonfires all over *Paris*, the *French* were ſo well pleas'd to hear that *England* was ſo near Ruin under ſuch a Dictator. *This*, continues the Archdeacon, *was that which gave the great Turn to the* Reſtoration *of King* Charles, ſo that hitherto, his Taciturnity, his Slowneſs, his Craft, and all the other Topicks in the Panegyricks upon him, were of no Uſe to the King, and are therefore thrown away; what *Warwick* writes is one of the greateſt Whimſies that ever crept into Memoirs. *His great Sagacity comes upon the Stage to perfect the laſt Scene*, which wou'd have been finely perfected indeed, had it not been for the Lord *Shaftsbury*, *He was a Men cut out to do ſuch a Work*, to make himſelf a Monarch of three Kingdoms. *He was a fit Inſtrument in the Hand of divine Providence, to work his Majeſty's Reſtoration:* You ſee how he was working it to almoſt the very Minute that Sir *John Greenvile* came to him from the King. It were to be wiſh'd that ſuch Men as *Warwick*, who had been Witneſſes of the Torrents of Lewdneſs and Impiety, which overwhelm'd the Court and Country, after the Reſtoration had been more ſenſible of the righteous Workings of divine Providence, than to turn thoſe Incidents into Happineſs, which are more juſtly interpreted, *Correction*.

Sir Antho-ny-Aſhley Cooper *hinders it.*

A.D.1660

Here, and in a great many other Places, will the Reader obſerve, that the Author walks in Fetters and Chains, and laments the Loſs of that *Roman* Liberty, which allow'd Hiſtory in every thing that was true. As it is ſo in Temporals, 'tis much more ſo in Spirituals, where the Force of Truth is here often broken out of complacency to Eſtabliſhment, and where in moſt Caſes at leaſt, the Ground is made ſo ſlippery, that there's no walking upon it, without ſliding, if not falling. 'Tis a Shame to Literature, to abridge the Freedom of Thought, and a Shame to any Cauſe not to be able to ſtand what is true, without the Butrices of Penalties and Puniſhments. It is not my Fault, that this is not fully explain'd, I can do it to Satisfaction; but let our Poſterity, as well as ourſelves, regret the Incumbrances with which Bigotry and falſe Zeal have loaded all Kinds of Writing.

Of Liberty in Hiſtory.

The Temper of King *Charles* the Second, wou'd eaſily have reconcil'd People to his Government, if ſome of the old Counſellors, whoſe bad Counſel had deſtroy'd the Father, had not remain'd ſtill about the Son. There wou'd have been no Occaſion of Complaint, as to arbitrary Government or Perſecution, had his Majeſty been left to the bent of his own Mind, which inclin'd him to Eaſe and Indulgence; but the Knowledge of the bitter Spirit of his Followers in Exile, made their Return ſo dreadful to the *Republicans*, that they wou'd have ſubmitted to any Government, rather than have admitted them again to it. It was for this Reaſon ſome of the Chief of them propos'd to *Monk*, to reſtore the Common-wealth, with a *ſingle Perſon* at its Head, and himſelf to be the Man. I do not ſuppoſe that he was reſtrain'd by his Oath againſt a ſingle Man, becauſe a Day or two after he ſacrific'd all the Engagements he had ſolemnly enter'd into, to a Compliment he receiv'd from the King, by Sir *John Greenvile*, to whom he gave Audience, as to a Meſſenger ſent by the King at the Perſwaſion of Mr. *William Morrice*, a noted Presbyterian of *Devonſhire*, and a Member of *Richard*'s Parliament. The Archdeacon is once in the Right, and thinks very juſtly,

Monk *receives a Meſſage from the King.*

A.D.1660 juſtly, that *Monk* was *fix'd* by the *Management of Sir* Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, or thought if he did not ſtrike with Expedition the Work wou'd be taken out of his Hand, ſo he reſolv'd to cloſe with *Greenvile*. This was about the 20th of *March*. *Monk* met *Greenvile* at Mr. *Morrice*'s Lodgings, receiv'd a Letter from the King, as alſo a Commiſſion for him to be his General, at ſight of which he ſtep'd back and frown'd; but on a Word or two from *Greenvile*, he call'd him his *Dear Couſin*, begg'd the *King's Pardon for what was paſt*, and proteſted that his *Heart was ever faithful to him*, even when he made the *Scotch* Nobility and the *Engliſh* Officers abjure him, and *that he was now ready to obey his Commands*. Then *Morrice* told *Greenvile* what was to be done, That the King ſhou'd write a Letter to *Monk*, in *which, after ſome Gracious Expreſſions*, he *ſhou'd deſire him to deliver a Letter and Declaration to the Parliament*, the Contents of which were minuted; and *Monk* adviſ'd *Greenvile* to deſire his Majeſty *to leave the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *and go to* Breda, *otherwiſe he wou'd be ſeiz'd by the* Spaniards. Why, or to what Purpoſe no body can imagine? If they had ſtopp'd him a few Days, the Temper of the People might have alter'd, and then they might have kept him for the Money he ow'd them. Thus inſtructed, Sir *John Greenvile* taking the Lord *Mordaunt* with him, went to *Flanders*, where the King met him very privately with Chancellor *Hyde*, Secretary *Nicholas*, and the Marqueſs of *Ormond*. Then, according to Mr. Archdeacon, one of the firſt Things that fell into Debate upon this hopeful Proſpect of Affairs, was what ſhou'd be done with the *Lands*, and then what ſhou'd be done with the *Presbyterians*. He confeſſes it was wiſely urg'd that a *Granting a general Toleration for Religion cou'd not conſiſt with the Peace of the Kingdom*. But after great Deliberation, it was reſolv'd to draw up one Letter to the General, another to the *Houſe of Commons*, another to the *Houſe of Lords*, and another to the *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen*, and *Common Council* of *London*; in each of which was inclos'd a *Declaration*, that will be mention'd again hereafter; and Sir *John Greenvile* was ſent back to *England* with theſe Diſpatches. But before he went, he let his Majeſty know that he had offer'd *Monk* in the King's Name, 100,000 Pounds a Year, and to be Lord High Conſtable of *England*, but he had generouſly refus'd it; he alſo offer'd him to be Lord High Chancellor of *England*, which he alſo generouſly refus'd; and in Imitation of this unparalled Generoſity, the Archdeacon aſſures us *Greenvile* refus'd all Propoſals of Reward. But when he came to open the Packet of Letters, he found there, like the Cup in *Benjamin*'s Sack, *a Warrant for an Earldom, an Aſſurance of* 3000 *Pounds* per Ann. *and a Promiſe to pay his and his Father's Debts*. He carry'd to the General another Commiſſion, which impower'd him to make a Secretary of State; and by the Advice of Sir *John Greenvile*, he confer'd that Honour upon Mr. *William Morrice*, who not long after was made a Knight, and his Son a Baronet. This Secretary has been mention'd before, and Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *Monk* follow'd his own Judgment in the Choice of *Morrice*; and what his Judgment was we read in his Lordſhip's Hiſtory. For when afterwards King *Charles* was weary of *Morrice*, *and wou'd have turn'd him out*, had it not been for his General, the latter expreſs'd himſelf to this Purpoſe, *I know not what is neceſſary for a good Secretary of State in which he is defective; for he can ſpeak* French, *and write Short-hand*. I ſhall have more Occaſion in the Courſe of this Hiſtory to ſpeak of theſe excellent Politicians.

Sir John Greenvile *goes to* Flanders *and returns.*

Great Offers to Monk.

Echard.

p. 99. *Secretary* Morrice's *Merits.*

While theſe Things were upon the Anvil, the Lords perceiving which Way Things were turning, ſollicited *Monk* that they might take their Places according to antient Cuſtom in the Houſe appointed for their ſitting, alledging, that nothing done by the Commons without their Aſſent, cou'd juſtly be eſteem'd legal. But *Monk* had now made his Agreement with *Bourdeaux* the *French* Agent, and therefore he not only gave a poſitive Denial to their Demand, but plac'd a Guard of Soldiers upon their Houſe, to prevent the Lords from acting the ſame Part that the ſecluded Members had done. A.D.1660

The Houſe of Commons, to bear their laſt Teſtimony againſt Biſhops, and ſhew how zealous they were for *Presbytery*, order'd Copies of the Covenant to be fairly drawn, and hung up in every Pariſh Church throughout *England*. The Aſſemblies *Confeſſion of Faith* was alſo confirm'd by an Act. The Parliament paſs'd another Act for the *Militia*, with a Clauſe in it, that every Commiſſioner before he acted, ſhou'd acknowledge and declare, *That the War undertaken by both Houſes of Parliament in their Defence againſt the Forces rais'd in the Name of the late King, was juſt and lawful; and that Magiſtracy and Miniſtry are the Ordinances of God*. They paſs'd a Vote to diſcharge Dr. *Owen* from being Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and Dr. *Reynolds* to be put in his Place; and another Vote, to diſable thoſe who had been in the War againſt the Parliament to ſerve as Members of the next Parliament. *Monk*'s Officers were diſſatisfied with the *Militia* Bill, for all the Common-wealth's Friends being excluded Commands by it, they repreſented to him, that it wou'd be a Means of putting Commiſſions in the Hands of thoſe who were known to be Favourers of the King's Party, *which might prove Injurious, if not Deſtructive to the Army*. Upon which he wrote a Letter to the Parliament, letting them know, "That being inform'd of "the Diſaffection of the Commiſſioners nomi-"nated in the Militia Act, he deſir'd they wou'd "forbear the Execution of it, leſt the Perſons "they had entruſted therein might erect ſuch a "Power in oppoſition to the Army, as might be "ſufficient to bring in *Charles Stuart*." Many of the Members were perplex'd with this Letter, but others knew *Monk* better, and that it was one of his Masks; ſo Mr. *Prynne* procur'd the Act to be printed immediately, and diſpers'd before any Stop cou'd be put to it; and Sir *William Waller*, to carry on the Farce, was ſent to let *Monk* know, that no Man cou'd be a *Militia* Commiſſioner, who did not firſt ſubſcribe a Paper acknowledging the Juſtice of the Parliament's Cauſe. *Monk* was contented with this Anſwer, though, ſays *Ludlow*, *All Men ſaw how little Conſcience the* Cavalier *Party made of ſigning any Paper in order to promote the Intereſt of their Faction*. 863.

The Houſe of Commons zealous againſt Epiſcopacy.

Vindicates the War with the King.

The Council of State ſummon'd Mr. *Praiſe-God Barebone* to attend them, and upon his ſigning an *Engagement* not to act any thing in Diſturbance of the Peace, he was let go. Mr. *Scot* did the like, but Lieutenant General *Ludlow* avoided it by keeping out of the Way. Colonel *Berry* was committed by them. Major General *Desborough*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, and Colonel *Kelſey* ſign'd the *Engagement*.

About the ſame Time, *March* the 16th, the Act paſs'd for Diſſolving the Parliament, after it had continu'd in ſeveral Forms Nineteen Years, Four Months, and Thirteen Days, and from the reſtoring of the ſecluded Members Twenty three Days only. They had Enacted that a new Parliament ſhou'd meet the 25th of *April* following, and Writs were iſſu'd out accordingly in the

Long Parliament *diſſolv'd.*

A.D.1660 the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of* England.

Convention call'd in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties.

Before they broke up, *John Crew*, Eſq; who had been as forward as any Man in beginning and carrying on of the War againſt the laſt King, mov'd, that before they diſſolv'd themſelves, *They ſhou'd bear their Witneſs againſt the horrid Murder of the King*. This unexpected Motion prevail'd with many then preſent to deny their Concurrence to that Act againſt the King, though not to reflect in the ſame Manner on thoſe who had been concerned in it. And one of them concluding his Diſcourſe with proteſting that he had neither Hand nor Heart in that Affair, *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; who had been ſo much deluded by the Hypocriſy of *Monk*, *in Abhorrence*, ſays *Ludlow*, *of that baſe Spirit*, ſaid,

Mr. Scot's Speech about the Murder of the King.

" That though he knew not where to hide his " Head at that Time, yet he durſt not refuſe to " own, that not only his Hand but his Heart alſo " was in it;" and after he had produced divers, Reaſons to prove the Juſtice of it, he concluded A.D.1660

" That he ſhou'd deſire no greater Honour in " this World, than that the following Inſcription " might be engraven on his Tomb, *Here lieth* " *One who had a Hand and Heart in the Execu-* " *tion of* Charles Stuart, *late King of* England."

Having ſo ſaid, continues *Ludlow*, " He and " moſt of the Members who had a Right to ſit " in Parliament, withdrew from the Houſe, ſo " that there was not the fourth Part of a *Quo-* " *rum* of lawful Members preſent in the Houſe, " when the ſecluded Members, who had been " Voted out of the Parliament by thoſe that had " an undiſputed Authority over their own Mem- " bers, undertook to diſſolve the Parliament, " which was not to be done unleſs by their own " Conſent; and whether that Conſent was ever " given, is ſubmitted to the Judgment of all im- " partial Men.

The Long Parliament was legally diſſolv'd.

COUNCIL *of* STATE.

ABOUT the Time of the Diſſolution of the Parliament, there was a very conſiderable Sum of Money rais'd by the *Common-wealth* Party to pay ſuch Troops as ſhou'd be willing to draw together againſt *Monk* and his Adherents; and two of their Number were to be Security for Major General *Lambert*'s peaceable Behaviour, in 5000 *l.* Bail, which was to be paid out of this Stock, if it was forfeited. The principal Manager in this Affair was *Slingsby Bethel*, Eſq; who viſiting Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge* to confer with him upon it; he found him in a moſt melancholly Poſture ſitting in a Chair, and leaning his Head upon both his Hands; Mr. *Bethel* ask'd him, *Why ſo ſad?* Sir *Arthur* reply'd, *I have been this Morning with* Monk, *and preſſing him to give me ſome Aſſurance of his Care of the Common-wealth, reminding him of his Oaths and Proteſtations of Fidelity to the Cauſe, he treated me in an unuſual Manner, demanding how I cou'd expect any thing from him, whom I had endeavour'd to make leſs than he was before he march'd from* Scotland. *Ah, Mr.* Bethel, *we are undone! we are undone!* and his Deſpair was ſo great, that it put off the intended Diſcourſe.

Sir Arthur Haſelrigge *in Deſpair,*

While the Elections for the enſuing Parliament were carrying on, Major General *Lambert* made his Eſcape out of the *Tower*, and immediately ſent the Man, who had aſſiſted him in eſcaping, to Lieutenant General *Ludlow* to give him Notice of it, and deſire *Ludlow* to draw the *Weſtern* Forces together, and meet him in *Oxfordſhire*. *Ludlow* was willing to ſee what Troops came to *Lambert*'s Rendezvous, which was to be at *Daventry*, before he appear'd openly; but he in the mean Time diſpatch'd Meſſengers to ſeveral Officers, who commanded the Forces in *Dorſet*, *Somerſet* and *Wilts*, to be ready to march upon Occaſion, and receiv'd Aſſurance, that the Caſtle of *Taunton* ſhou'd be deliver'd to him. Several other conſiderable Places were alſo promis'd him. A few Days after Major *Whitby* came to him from *Lambert*, who he ſaid, had near 1000 Horſe with him, and good Aſſurance, that moſt Part of the Army wou'd join him. *Ludlow* was willing enough to engage, but he was always jealous of *Lambert*'s Ambition, and ask'd *Whitby*, what *Lambert* had declar'd for. The Major reply'd, *This is not a Time to declare what we will be for, but what we will be againſt, which is that Torrent of Tyranny and Popery, which is ready to break in upon us.* *Ludlow* was deſirous to be ſatisfy'd in that Point before he went further, and *Lambert*'s Party was diſpers'd ſoon after *Whitby* return'd. The Lieutenant General had Reaſon to diſtruſt *Lambert*'s Deſigns, who was ſo far from meaning a *Republick*, that it is ſaid, he had promis'd the *Papiſts* to turn if they wou'd join with him, and get him Aſſiſtance from abroad. That he told his Soldiers they ſhou'd have the Plunder of *London*, and his Plot was to ſtab *Monk* if his Soldiers cou'd have come at him, and have ſet up for himſelf: 'Tis ſaid the *Papiſts* ſav'd his Life by their Intereſt with the King. The Council of State had proclaim'd *Lambert*, and all his Adherents Traitors, and requir'd all Perſons to endeavour to ſuppreſs them, but theirs and *Monk*'s Fears were ſoon over. The People being weary'd out with ſo many different Governments within a few Months, hop'd for little Relief by any one of them, and reſolv'd to return into the old Way. Tho' Col. *Cobbet*, Col. *Axtel*, and Col. *Okey*, were got to *Lambert*, he cou'd make but two or three Hundred Horſe; againſt theſe were ſent Col. *Ingoldsby*, with a Regiment of Horſe, and Col. *Streater*'s Regiment of Foot, and Col. *Roſſiter* with other Forces, advanc'd from *Lincolnſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*. *Ingoldsby* making the beſt of his Way towards *Daventry*, a Party of his met Capt. *Haſelrigge*, Son to Sir *Arthur*, whoſe Troop was with *Lambert*. Col *Ingoldsby* examin'd him, and young *Haſelrigge* ſaid, that not liking *Lambert*'s Deſigns, he had quitted the Party, wherefore he hop'd he ſhou'd be ſet at Liberty; but *Ingoldsby* told him, that unleſs he wou'd bring off his Troop alſo from *Lambert*, his quitting them, ſhou'd be of no Advantage to him: *Haſelrigge* promis'd to uſe the beſt of his Endeavours to ſerve him; upon which he was permitted to return to *Lambert*. When the two Parties were ready to engage, he brought off his Troop, as he had promis'd to endeavour, which rais'd ſuch a Conſternation among *Lambert*'s Men, that moſt of them went over to *Ingoldsby*, and thoſe who did not, ſhifted for themſelves as well as they cou'd, leaving *Lambert* talking with *Ingoldsby*, and endeavouring to diſſwade him from engaging further againſt him. But *Ingoldsby* had made his Bargain with *Monk*, and inſtead of being hang'd up with the reſt of

Lambert *eſcapes,*

and appears in Arms.

the

A.D. 1660 the King's Judges, he was highly honour'd, having a red *Ribbon* given him inſtead of a *Halter*. *Ingoldsby* perceiving *Lambert* had no Body with him to help him, rode up briskly to him, told him he was his Priſoner, and requir'd him to yield, which after a ſhort Heſitation, he did, deſiring *Ingoldsby*'s Lordſhip, as he call'd him, to give him leave to eſcape; but *Ingoldsby* knew better how to make his Market of him, and ſaw him ſafe to *London*, where he was re-committed to the *Tower* with Col. *Cobbet* before-mention'd, Lieutenant Col. *Young* and Major *Creed*. *Okey* and *Axtel* made their Eſcape. When Col. *Ingoldsby* came to *Northampton* with Major General *Lambert*, then his Priſoner, the Crowd ſhouting at his Succeſs, *Lambert* put *Ingoldsby* in Mind of what *Cromwel* had ſaid to them both in the Year 1650, when they were returning victorious from *Worceſter*, and were met on the Road towards *London* by innumerable Crowds of People ſhouting and rejoicing at their Succeſs. *Lambert* ſaid to *Cromwel*, he was glad to ſee that the Nation was for them; *Cromwel* anſwer'd, *Do not truſt to that, for thoſe very Perſons wou'd ſhout as much, if you and I were going to be hang'd*; Lambert *added, I look on my ſelf as in a fair Way for that, and begin to think* Cromwel *had propheſy'd*. Col. *Rich* endeavour'd to have engag'd his Regiment, which was quarter'd at *Bury*, but the Common-wealth Party were now as much bewitch'd as the Cavaliers had been after the Battel of *Naſeby*. They had a hearty Contempt for *Monk*, but had not Spirit enough left to make one bold Attempt to ſave themſelves.

Lambert taken Priſoner.

In the mean time the *Royaliſts* to remove all Obſtacles that lay ſtill in the Way of the King's Reſtoration, threw the Wolf off, and put on the Sheep; and as if they had really meant a Syllable of what they ſaid, they publiſh'd a Declaration, wherein "They reflected on their "paſt Sufferings, as from the Hand of God, "and therefore did not cheriſh any violent "Thoughts or Inclinations againſt any Perſons "whatſoever, who had been inſtrumental in them, "and if the Indiſcretion of any particular Per"ſon ſhou'd tranſport them to Expreſſions con"trary to this their general Senſe, they ſhou'd "diſclaim them." There were many other ſoothing flattering Expreſſions, which they made good after the *Reſtoration*, as the King did his Promiſes of Indemnity and Indulgence. This Declaration was ſign'd by the Marquis of *Dorcheſter*, Earl of *Northampton*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, Earl of *Dover*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Earl of *Norwich*, Earl of *Cork*, Earl of *Carbery*, Earl of *Deſmond*, Viſcount *Ogle*, Viſcount *Grandiſon*, Viſcount *Lumley*, Viſcount *Brounker*, Lord *Bellaſis*, Lord *Loughborough*, Lord *Lexington*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Brereton*, Biſhop of *Kerry*, Sir *Jervace Cliſton*, Sir *William Thorold*, Sir *Thomas Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Preſtwich*, Sir *Edward Pye*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *William Carey*, Sir *Hugh Cartwright*, Sir *Henry Chichely*, Sir *Edward Savage*, Sir *John Stevens*, Sir *William Howard*, Sir *William Dawes*, Sir *Anthony Jackſon*, *George Morley*, D. D. *Philip King*, D. D. *Thomas Howard*, Eſq; *William Aſhburnham*, Eſq; *Edward Penruddock*, Eſq; *William Legg*, Eſq; *Herbert Price*, Eſq; *Robert Rutthen*, Eſq; *John Jefferies*, Eſq; *William Burgh*, Eſq; *Edward Roſcorrack*, Eſq; Sir *Francis Fane*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Sir *Lewis Kirke*, Sir *Robert Stapleton*, Sir *Nicholas Criſpe*, Sir *Sutton Coney*, Sir *William Morton*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Sir *Humphry Bennet*, Sir *Henry Wroth*, Sir *Robert Malevory*, Sir *Robert Butler*, *Thomas Warmeſtry*, D. D. *Jer. Taylor*, D. D. Col. *John Ruſſel*, *Edward Villiers*, Eſq; *George Penruddock*, Eſq; *Thomas Lower*, Eſq; *Thomas Panton*, Eſq; Col. *Freſwell*, *Adrian Scroop*, Eſq; *John Maynard*, Eſq. *A.D.* 1660

Cavaliers Declaration.

We ſhall find after the Reſtoration how meekly *George Morley*, D. D. behav'd, and how well he kept to the Letter of this Declaration, which was follow'd by another from the King himſelf, wherein *he granted a Free and General Pardon to all his Subjects, of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who within Forty Days after publiſhing thereof, ſhall lay hold upon his Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any Publick Act declare their doing ſo.* Again, *Let all our Subjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the Word of a King, that no Crime whatſoever committed againſt Us or Our Royal Father before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgment, or be brought in Queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt Indamagement of any of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates.* It will be very proper to read this with Attention when the Blood of Sir *Henry Vane* is going to be ſpilt. Again, nay not *ſo much as to the Prejudice of their Reputation, by any Reproach or Terms of Diſtinction from the reſt of our beſt Subjects*, ſuch as Regicides, King-killers, Forty-one Men, Fanaticks, Rebels, Schiſmaticks, and as many more as Malice and Ribaldry cou'd invent, and foul Language and foul Mouths expreſs. This was ſo notorious, that *Anneſley*, Preſident of the Council of State, who when a Motion was made in it to call in the King *by Treaty and Covenant*, perſuaded them to truſt the *King Abſolutely*: I ſay, this very *Anneſley* cry'd out againſt the ſhameleſs Licence with which the *Cavaliers*, countenanc'd by the King, abus'd and inſulted the very Men that brought him and them into the Kingdom. He is ſpeaking of the Lord Commiſſioner *Whitlock*'s Memorials, and his fair Way of Writing, glancing at the ſame Time at the Intemperance of Tongue and Pen after the *Reſtoration*. "You find always in *Whitlock* that "Principle of a Gentleman, not to report diſho"nourably of an Enemy;" What then was the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Principle? What that of Mr. Archdeacon? "*Livy* every where made "honourable Mention of *Scipio*, *Afranius*, and "even *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, yet was not he the "leſs belov'd of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. Nor did thoſe "Times ever call them ROGUES and REGI"CIDES, Terms that afterwards a more dege"nerate *Un-Roman* Generation under the Mi"niſtry of *Sejanus*, beſtow'd upon them." Let this be alſo remembred when we come to *Clarendon*'s and *Turner*'s Speeches about the *Conformity*, and other Acts. His Majeſty again, *We deſiring and ordaining that henceforward all Notes of Diſcord and Difference of Parties be utterly aboliſh'd among all Our Subjects, whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among themſelves, under Our Protection.* *The King's Pardon.* *Pref. to* Whitlock.

The next Portion of it relates to Religion, and deſerves eſpecial Obſervation, it being an admirable Preamble to the *Bartholomew* Bill. *And becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs of the Times have produc'd ſeveral Opinions in Religion, by which Men are engag'd in Parties and Animoſities againſt each other; which when they ſhall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Converſation, will be compos'd or better underſtood*; WE DO DECLARE A LIBERTY TO TENDER CONSCIENCES, *and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted* or call'd in *Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion.* One of the firſt Laws he made was againſt Liberty of Conſcience, and to diſquiet and call in Queſtion every Man and Woman that differ'd in Opinion

A.D.1660 with *Coſins* and *Morley* in Matters of Religion. It began well.

The Elections for Parliament Men went every where as the Party of the ſecluded Members wou'd have it, except in a few Places only, there being no more than theſe following Members who had ſat in the Common-wealth Parliament ſince the King's Death, and were choſen to ſit in this.

Republicans choſen. *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Col. *Francis Laſſels*, Col. *Richard Ingoldsby*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, *William Cawley*, Eſq; *Robert Reynolds*, Eſq; *Luke Robinſon*, Eſq; *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *Edmund Ludlow*, Eſq; *John Hutchinſon*, Eſq; *John Lambert*, Eſq; *John Weaver*, Eſq; Admiral *Montague*, *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; *John Blagrave*, Eſq; *William Pierpoint*, Eſq; Lord *Broghill*, *Henry Cromwel*, Eſq; Lord *Howard*. A.D.1661

There were ſeveral that had ſat in *Oliver's* Parliament, but few of the above-nam'd did ſit, though choſen. Mr. *Robinſon*, who had been very fierce againſt the King, highly magnify'd his Goodneſs and Clemency in the abovemention'd Declaration. Mr. *Ludlow* was choſen for *Hendon* in *Wiltſhire*, but Sir *Thomas Thynne* being alſo return'd for that Borough with Mr. *How*, the Election was brought before the Committee, who gave it for Mr. *Ludlow*. The Parliament choſe Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* their Speaker: He had been a zealous *Parliamentarian*, Presbyterian and Covenanter, and the major Vote of this Houſe was for the Presbytery.

Convention choose Sir Harbottle Grimſton Speaker.

The CONVENTION.

THE Parliament not being call'd by the King's Writ, is by our nice Chroniclers term'd the *Convention*, who, as ſoon as they met, appointed a Day of Humiliation, and choſe Dr. *Gauden*, afterwards a Biſhop, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, to carry on the Work of the Day.

King's Letters to Monk. Two Days after, *April* the 27th, Sir *John Greenvile*, who was return'd from *Flanders*, deliver'd a Letter from the King to the General, which was cold enough conſidering the Importance of the Subject. *Monk* carry'd the Letter into the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, being choſen by that Learned and Venerable Body the Univerſity of *Cambridge* to be their Repreſentative. He told the Houſe, he had not only receiv'd a Letter from his Majeſty, but that the Meſſenger who brought it, Sir *John Greenvile*, was at the Door, with another to them. Upon which he was call'd for, and having deliver'd his Letter, the General's Letter and that were both read in the Houſe with as much Joy as People, who did not very well know why they were ſo joyful, cou'd expreſs. Sir *John Greenvile* deliver'd a Letter to the Lords from the King, the Contents of which was a Congratulation of their being reſtor'd to their Authority; another was deliver'd by him to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, all which had the like Effect on the Perſons to whom they were addreſs'd, as had that to the Houſe of Commons. In a Word, Their, and the whole Nation's Joy, was without Meaſure. The People were out of their Wits, and to ſhew that a Man had any left, was enough to have had his Brains beaten out.

Conditions for the King rejected. When the Motion for ſending Conditions to the King, preparatory to his Admiſſion, was mention'd in the Houſe, the Perſons who mov'd and ſeconded it, though the Wiſeſt and Graveſt in that great Aſſembly, were diſregarded as ſupercilious and impertinent; and General *Monk*, who ſpoke in Anſwer to the famous Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, as he was inſtructed, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, put an End to that extravagant Debate. He told the Houſe, "That there was "yet, beyond all Mens Hope, an univerſal Quiet "all over the Nation; but there were many In- "cendiaries ſtill on the Watch, trying where they "cou'd firſt raiſe the Flame. He ſaid, he had "ſuch copious Informations ſent him of theſe "Things, that it was fit they ſhou'd be gene- "rally known; he cou'd not anſwer for the Peace "either of the Nation or the Army, if any De- "lay was put to the ſending for the King. What "Need was there of ſending Propoſitions to him? "Might they not as well prepare them, and of- "fer them to him when he ſhou'd come over? "as he was to bring neither Army nor Treaſure "with him, either to fright them or corrupt "them: So he mov'd that they wou'd imme- "diately ſend Commiſſioners to bring over the "King, and added, he muſt lay the Blame of all "the Blood or Miſchief that might follow on "the Heads of thoſe who ſhou'd ſtill inſiſt on "any Motion that might delay the preſent Set- "tlement of the Nation." This was eccho'd with ſuch a Shout over the Houſe, that neither Judge *Hale*, nor any other Member, durſt venture to ſay a Word more of it. Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, this was the *Great Service he did*. And it was explain'd afterwards by that Right Noble and Virtuous Peer the Earl of *Southampton*, whoſe Loyalty was not more Exemplary than his Love to his Country. Take it in my Lord *Sarum's* Words: "When the Lord *Southampton* came to "ſee what King *Charles* was like to prove, he "ſaid once in great Wrath to Chancellor *Hyde*, "*It is to you we owe all we either feel or fear; "for if you had not poſſeſs'd us in all your Letters "with ſuch an Opinion of the King, we wou'd "have taken Care to have put it out of his Power "either to do himſelf or us any Miſchief, which "is like to be the Effect of our truſting him ſo "entirely.*" Chancellor *Hyde* anſwer'd, "He "thought the King had ſo true a Judgment, and "ſo much good Nature, that when the Age of "Pleaſure ſhou'd be over, and the Idleneſs of "his Exile, which made him ſeek new Diver- "ſions for want of other Employment, was "turn'd to an Obligation to mind Affairs, then "he wou'd have ſhaken off thoſe Entangle- "ments." How he ſhook them off, he ſhew'd the very firſt Night after his Reſtoration-Day, by a new Entanglement which he cou'd never clear himſelf, or perhaps never deſir'd to clear himſelf of, though it was ſuch a mortal Wound to his Conſcience and Honour; I mean the taking away *Roger Palmer's* Wife, which muſt be mention'd more than once in this Hiſtory.

Monk the Occaſion of it.

Burnet, p. 88.

Ib. 89.

Earl of Southampton repents truſting the King.

The Acclamations of Lords and Commons were ſo great, that they had hardly Leiſure to paſs ſerious Votes; but the Tempeſt of Joy at laſt ſubſided ſo much, that having Voted Thanks again and again to their General, and to Sir *John Greenvile*, they appointed a Committee to draw up an Anſwer to his Majeſty's moſt Gracious Letter, and order'd 50,000 Pounds for the King, 10,000 Pounds for the Duke of *York*, and 5000 Pounds for the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Both Houſes alſo agreed that the King ſhou'd be ſolemnly proclaim'd, and it was done with as much Ceremony

King Proclaim'd.

A.D. 1660 mony as cou'd be thought of amidſt ſo much Tranſport, *May* the 7th.

One may eaſily imagine the Common-wealth Men are creeping every where into Corners and Holes, and their Enemies every where ferreting them out of them. *Ludlow* ſat in the Houſe a Week or two, but it ſoon grew too hot for him, though he receiv'd good Offices from Mr. *Hale*, Mr. *Anneſley*, Major *Robert Harley*, Serjeant *Glynn*, and Mr. *Pierpoint*. He writes of it thus in his Memoirs, "In the *Convention* Things went "high, Men not daring to ſhew Moderation; "but in private, ſeveral Members of both Houſes "declar'd their Opinion, that a *General Indemnity* ought to be granted for all that had paſt, "without any Exception. The Earl of *Northumberland* was heard to ſay, *Though I had no Part in the Death of the King, yet I am againſt queſtioning thoſe that had been concern'd in that Affair.*" The Reaſon he gives for it is entirely Republican, and conſequently very irrational and unwarrantable, *That the Example might be more uſeful to Poſterity, and profitable to future Kings, by deterring them from the like Exorbitances*; which I can hardly believe the Lord *Northumberland* ever ſaid, it being very inconſiſtent with Monarchical Principles, which his Lordſhip eſpous'd; and *Ludlow* is ſometimes too credulous, when his Judgment and Diſcretion are ſubjected by his Paſſion and Reſentment. He proceeds, "The Lord *Fairfax* on that Sub-"ject plainly ſaid, *If any Perſon muſt be excepted, I know no Man that deſerves it more than my ſelf, who being General of the Army at that Time, and having Power ſufficient to prevent the Proceedings againſt the King, had not thought fit to make uſe of it to that End.*

Vol. III. p. 10.

Several Opinions about the Regicides.

The Lord Northumberland's,

Lord Fairfax's.

"Several Members mov'd in the Houſe of "Commons, That Limitations and Conditions "might be drawn up, on which they ſhou'd conſent to receive the King, till at length finding that *Monk*, who had the Power in his Ib. p. 11. "Hand, gave conſtant Intelligence of all that "was ſaid, and by whom, none of them durſt "inſiſt any further on thoſe Heads. And that "he might compleat his Treachery, when the "Lord *Say* propos'd to him, that for the Quiet "of Men's Minds, an Act of *Indemnity* ſhou'd "be paſs'd, in which ſome of thoſe who had "been principally concern'd in the Death of the "King might be excepted; he in a great Rage "anſwer'd, *Not a Man; for if I ſhou'd ſuffer "ſuch a Thing, I ſhou'd be the arranteſt Rogue "that ever liv'd.*" We have this Account of his managing the Houſe in *Burnet*. "Yet for all "this, under Colour that the Houſe might have "better Terms from the King by relying on his "Ingenuity, than by Capitulating with him, "eſpecially at a diſtance, he had the Confidence to move them, *That their Commiſſioners might be impower'd ſimply to invite him into* England; "which Motion concurring with the Opinion of "the *Unforeſeeing* Cavaliers among them, and "diſlik'd only by thoſe who had not Courage "enough to publiſh their *Diſſent*, for fear of ex-"poſing themſelves to a future Revenge, was "taken for the Senſe of the whole Houſe, and "ſo paſs'd." However, one of thoſe *Cavaliers* hapning to call the Civil War a *Rebellion*, the Houſe cry'd out, *To the Bar, to the Bar*; and he was reprimanded upon his Knees, the Speaker by their Order declaring, *It was a Defenſive War to preſerve the Peoples Rights and Privileges.*

Monk's Saying of himſelf. Ib.

M. S.

The Commiſſioners appointed by the Lords and Commons to attend the King, were

For the LORDS,

The Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, the Lord Viſcount *Hereford*, the Lord *Berkley*, the Lord *Brook*.

A.D. 1660 *Commiſſioners ſent to the King.*

For the COMMONS,

The Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Caſtleton*, the Lord *Mandeville*, the Lord *Herbert*, *Denzill Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *Horatio Townſend*, Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Henry Cholmly*.

For the CLERGY,

Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Bowles*.

Dr. *Calamy* tells us, They were ſent by the Parliament and City, and *Echard* very idly and inviduouſly ſays, *They wou'd not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the* reſt, *but as the Repreſentatives of that Party*, the ſame which brought in the King, and before he is come Mr. Archdeacon begins to inſult them for it. Twenty Aldermen and principal Citizens alſo attended his Majeſty. The Parliament being about to diſpoſe of the Great Seal, the Earl of *Mancheſter* was nam'd for it; but upon Intimation that the Seal was diſpos'd of abroad already, that Matter drop'd. Col. *Bowyer*, without any Order from them, took a Party of the *Staffordſhire* Militia, and by his own Authority ſeiz'd Major General *Harriſon*, with his Horſes and Arms. The Major General had Notice that *Bowyer* wou'd do ſo if he did not fly for it, which he abſolutely refus'd, looking upon it as a *Flying from the Cauſe*, though in Truth the Cauſe fled from him, and there was as much Enthuſiaſm in his Political as his Religious Principles. Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland* ſeiz'd the Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook*, and they being both ſent to *London*, were impriſon'd in the *Tower* by the Parliament.

M. G. Harriſon taken.

and L. C. J. Cook.

The King ſtaid all this bleſſed Time at *Breda*, in Expectation of Times ſtill more bleſſed in *England*, as he expreſs'd it, when he ſaid, *What a World of Love ſhall we have there!* Mr. Archdeacon will excuſe me for not ſpeaking it as it was ſaid. Applications were daily made to him by Perſons of all Parties and Denominations. The Cavaliers brought him or ſent him great Boaſts of Services; the Presbyterians and Parliamentarians paid their Compliments in Money; Mr. *Lenthal*, the late Speaker, ſent 3000 Pounds, with a Hint that it wou'd be acceptable to him to continue in his Place as Maſter of the *Rolls*, but he miſs'd his Aim.

The King at Breda.

There was great Contention in the Houſe of Commons who ſhou'd be of the Number of the above-mention'd Commiſſioners, to be early in paying their Reſpects to his Majeſty; every Man expecting ſome Mark of Favour to be conferr'd on him for this Service. To theſe, many others, *Ludlow* ſays, of the *Looſer Sort of Men*, added themſelves; and ſome, to make an early Offer of their Subjection, and to provide themſelves of Places, went over before the Commiſſioners. Theſe Men being one Day in the King's Apartment boaſting of their Loyalty and Services, his Majeſty call'd for Wine, and applying himſelf to the Duke of *York*, drank to the Health of thoſe Gentlemen with this Remark, *That he was now even with them, having, as he thought, done as much for them as they had done for him.* *Echard* repeats this after *Ludlow*, and I hope I ſhall be allow'd the Uſe of that Hiſtorian as well as Mr. Archdeacon in this and other Caſes.

Cavalier Loyalty.

Theſe

A.D. 1660

Sir Cha. Coote's *Injuſtice to Lord* Broghill.

Theſe Gentlemen did not only over-value their own Merits, but they under-valued the Merits of one another; an Inſtance of which I have in my Manuſcript Author. When the Lord *Broghill* came to pay his Duty to his Majeſty, after his Acceſſion to the Throne, the King, inſtead of giving him Thanks for his Services in *Ireland*, of which we have given ſome Account, gave him a very cold Reception, at which he was extremely ſurpriz'd and troubled; and it being obſerv'd by his Brother the Lord *Shannon*, he deſir'd to know the Reaſon of it, which Lord *Broghill* acquainted him with, and entreated him to uſe all the Intereſt he had with the Courtiers to find out what might be the Occaſion of his Majeſty's Coldneſs to him. Lord *Shannon* was ſo happy in his Enquiry, that he underſtood Sir *Charles Coote* had told the King, *He was the firſt Man that ſtir'd for him in* Ireland; *that the Lord* Broghill *oppos'd it, and was at laſt, with much ado, prevailed upon to cloſe in with it.* Lord *Shannon* being well aſſur'd, that *Coote* had given this Miſrepreſentation of the Matter, told it to his Brother *Broghill*; who, ſays my Reverend Author, *wonder'd at the Impudence and Slander of Sir* Charles Coote; *and immediately bethought himſelf of the Letter* Coote had written him, which he had ſtill by him, and in which were theſe Words, *Remember, my Lord, you firſt put me upon this Deſign, and I beſeech you, forſake me not in that which you firſt put me upon.* Meaning the declaring for a *Free Parliament*, a ſafer Phraſe for *the King*. This Letter was delivered to Lord *Shannon*, to let his Majeſty have a Sight of it, which was done; and Lord *Broghill* was not only receiv'd very favourably afterwards, but made Earl of *Orrery*, Sworn a Privy-Counſellor of *England* and *Ireland*, and at laſt was admitted into the Cabinet-Council: Theſe petty Treacheries are eaſily forgotten, amidſt a Number of enormous Ones, and it is not at all ſtrange, that Men ſhou'd betray their Friends, whoſe Conſcience wou'd let 'em betray their Country. While the King was at *Breda*, with his two Brothers, and his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange*, whoſe City it was, in Right of her Son the Prince of *Orange*, a Minor, our late glorious Monarch *William* III, the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and Cardinal *Mazarine* invited him, the one to take *Flanders*, and the other to take *Calais*, in his Way to *England*, their Countenances towards him being changed with the Face of his Affairs in *England*: But his Majeſty preferr'd an Invitation he receiv'd from the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, who ſent Deputies to him on Purpoſe; and when they return'd with his Majeſty's Acceptance of it, they laid themſelves out to make Amends by his Entertainment then, for their refuſing to give him any at all, or even Shelter in their Dominions, five or ſix Years before.

Parliament Commiſſioners at Breda,

The Commiſſioners arriv'd at *Breda*, three or four Days before the King's Departure from thence to go to *Holland*. The Temper of the *Cavaliers* appear'd at the firſt Appearance of thoſe Commiſſioners; for Mr. *Denzil Hollis* being appointed Spokeſman, at leaſt for the Commoners, was interrupted and ruffled by Mr. *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Earl of *Arundel*, who ſaid, *It is inſolent in him to pretend to that Honour which belongs to* ———; another of the Commiſſioners, who was his own Kinſman; but he miſtook his Man. Mr. *Hollis* was not wont to part with an Inch of Ground which he had a Right to keep, and affirm'd, *the Houſe had entruſted him with their Compliments and Deſires.* Upon which the King thought fit to make up the Difference, and to ſuffer Mr. *Hollis* to perform his Part, which was to preſent the Parliament's Supplication, "That his Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to return "and take the Government of the Kingdom "into his Hands, where he ſhould find all poſ-"ſible Affection, Duty and Obedience." And then the Commiſſioners did the moſt welcome Part of their Commiſſion, preſenting the King and his two Brothers, with the Money the Parliament had given them, which, with the other Preſents they had received from particular Perſons, amounted to more than the Three Princes had ever ſeen in all their Lives before, and was ſufficient to enable them to pay their Debts in *Breda* and *Holland*: For probably thoſe in *Flanders* were left to another Seaſon, when Money was ſtill more Plenty. The Lord *Fairfax* was moſt taken notice of, of all the Commiſſioners, all Foreigners having an inſatiable Curioſity to ſee a Captain, who ſome Years before was at the Head of the moſt victorious Army in the Univerſe. But this Commiſſion was fatal to Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who travelling in a *Brabant* Waggon ſome Part of the Road, was by ſome Accident or other ſo bruis'd in his Side, that it occaſion'd a Tumour, which was incurable, and the Chirurgeons were forced to keep it open to prevent the Humours falling back on the Vital Parts, which occaſioned that dull and ſcandalous Reflection of the *Tap*, as that gave Occaſion to much of the Party's Wit in the middle of the following Reign.

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His Majeſty Knighted all the *London* Commiſſioners, and no doubt *Echard* ſpeaks Truth in this too; that they were wonderfully pleas'd with Knighthood, which tho' it coſt the King nothing, was chargeable enough to the City, who preſented him and his Brothers with 10 or 15000 Pounds.

and Preſbyterian Miniſters.

The poor *Presbyterian* Miniſters, who were in this Commiſſion, and had juſt done the King's Buſineſs, were receiv'd the worſt of all of them, if what Mr. Archdeacon ſays is true, which is as much to be queſtion'd here, as in other Places. He tells us indeed, they *declared they were no Enemies to* moderate *Epiſcopacy*, who knew not that! There is not a Man in *England*, of common Senſe, and common Knowledge, who is againſt moderate Epiſcopacy; neither were the *Presbyterians* in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time againſt it: It was againſt the High Commiſſion Court Epiſcopacy; the Star-Chamber Epiſcopacy; the *Laudæan* Epiſcopacy; the Croſſes, the Cringings, the Suſpendings, Silencings, Baniſhings, Scourgings, Beggarings, and the intolerable Pride, Oppreſſion and Cruelty of *Laud* and his perſecuting Brethren, which the *Presbyterians* were then, and are now againſt: But not an *Epiſcopacy* in the Hands of ſuch reverend and pious Fathers of our Proteſtant Church, as are now its Pillars and Ornaments. Such Biſhops, and almoſt all ſuch as have been admitted into that ſacred Order, ſince the *Revolution*, are never intended, when *Epiſcopacy* and *Prelacy* are animadverted upon in this Hiſtory. *Echard* repeats what the *Presbyterian* Miniſters ſaid to the King about the Common-Prayer-Book, and he repeats it, as if what they ſaid, was extravagant and unpardonable, *The Book of* Common-Prayer *having been long diſcontinued in* England, *the People are ſo diſus'd to it, that many of them had never heard it in their Lives, and it wou'd be much wonder'd at, if his Majeſty at his firſt Landing in the Kingdom, ſhou'd revive*

A.D. 1660 *revive the Uſe of it in his own Chapel, whither all Perſons would reſort*; wherefore they pray'd, that *he wou'd not uſe it*, entirely and formally, but *have only ſome Parts of it read, with Mixture of other good Prayers to be us'd by his Chaplains.* *Echard*, as if this King had had any Religion in him, or matter'd any Prayer at all, unleſs it was taken out of the Maſs-Book, ſays, his Majeſty anſwer'd with ſome Warmth, *While I give you Liberty, I will not have my own taken from me.* His Liberty was to be an Atheiſt and Papiſt in Belief and Practice. *I have always us'd that Form of Service which I thought the beſt in the World.* Thought he ſo when he was at *Fontainbleau* or *Fonterabia*? What cou'd *Echard* mean, by repeating ſuch Hypocriſy and Abſurdity? The *Presbyterians*, according to him, made another moſt impious Requeſt, *that the Uſe of the* Surplice *might be diſcontinued by his Chaplains.* *The King*, adds he, immoveable here too, reply'd, *Tho' he was oblig'd for the preſent to tolerate much* Diſorder *and* Indecency (he means a long Cloak and *extempore* Prayer) *yet he wou'd not diſcountenance the good Order of the Church*, otherwiſe than as my Lord of *Sarum* informs us, by keeping no
P. 93. Order at all at Divine Service, and taking Care even at the Sacrament, that the Aſſiſtants ſhou'd obſerve, he did not think of what he was about. He told Dr. *Burnet*, he thought *God wou'd not damn him for taking a little Pleaſure out of the Way.* This is he whoſe Conſcience was ſo ſcrupulous in the Worſhip of God, that he cou'd not bear the Indecency of Prayer without a *white Linen Veſtment!* The Folly of theſe Men is prodigious, to think the Church honour'd by the Pollutions of a Prince who abhor'd or deſpis'd it, as he muſt do, believing it, as much as he believ'd any Thing that is Sacred, to be a *Hereſy.* But I have obſerv'd theſe Men care not what Hands their Dignities, nay, their very Religion, Revenues and Powers paſs thro', provided their Point is gained by it. Tho' I do not ſuppoſe King *Charles* ſaid a Word of what *Echard* makes him ſay; yet I do ſuppoſe, he was Libertine enough to have ſaid it; but as he had good Nature, when *Coſins* and *Morley*, *Hyde* and *Bennet*, did not influence him, and had always good Senſe, when he gave himſelf Time to think, ſo I cannot believe, he wou'd have aſſum'd that Air, and us'd thoſe diſagreeable Expreſſions to Men, who had ventur'd every thing to recover three Kingdoms for him. Did Mr. Archdeacon never hear that his Majeſty, on the contrary contriv'd it ſo, that the Miniſters ſhou'd be plac'd in a Chamber, as by Accident, which join'd to a Cloſet where the King was to be at Prayer, *extempore* too, for its greater Efficacy with the *Presbyterians*, and
The King's Prayer. that he thank'd God in his Prayer for *his being a* Covenanted *King*; that he hop'd the Lord wou'd give *him an humble, meek, forgiving Spirit, that he might have Forbearance with his offending Subjects, as he expected Forbearance from offended Heaven*, with a great deal more of it, full of Cant and Enthuſiaſm, which deceiv'd ſome, but not all of the Miniſters. Thoſe who were impos'd upon, wrote Home, that the *King of the Covenant was coming:* But others of them heard ſuch Accounts of his Morals and Principles, that they began to raiſe Fear in the Breaſts of the moſt Sanguine.

From *Breda* the King went to the *Hague*, where Crouds from the three Kingdoms were waiting for him, and where the States had made Preparations for the Entertainment of himſelf and his Court, and the Commiſſioners that attended him, who were all provided for at their Expence. *Echard* ſays, the Latter had their first Audience at the *Hague*, but *Ludlow* and others place it at *Breda.* Admiral *Montague*, who had made his particular Bargain with the King by the Management of Mr. *Edward Montague*, his Kinſman, of the *Halliſax* Family, came with the *Engliſh* Fleet before *Scheueling*, about the ſame Time that the King came to the *Hague*, where he made his Brother the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, and he went aboard the Fleet to take Poſſeſſion of the Command. Nor can it be deny'd, that he did ſomething in his Poſt, for he alter'd the Names of the Ships, as being Remembrances of the late Times, ſuch as the *Victory*, the *Triumph*, and other Names which were ſuitable to the Glory the *Engliſh* Fleet had acquir'd, to give the Ships Names more ſuitable to the Diſgrace that was coming upon it, as the *Katherine*, the *Fubs*, &c. which are to be met with in the *Navy* Rolls from the Year 60 to 80. At the *Hague*, all the Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters of Kings, Princes and States, complimented his Majeſty on this Change of his Fortune: *So that it might well be thought*, according to our excellent Hiſtorian, *that he was reſtor'd by the Activity of Chriſtendom.* How quaint his Expreſſion is!

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Among others who came to the *Hague*, was one *Sharp*, afterwards Archbiſhop, who carry'd a Letter from the Earl of *Glencairn*, to Sir *Edward Hyde.* This *Sharp* had been employ'd by the *Reſolutioners*, as their Agent with *Cromwel.* We will make uſe of the Biſhop of *Salisbury*'s Words, " He ſeemed more than ordinary " zealous for *Presbytery*, and while he was in " *Cromwel*'s Court, Dr. *Wilkins*, afterwards " Biſhop of *Cheſter*, having only mentioned *E-* " *piſcopacy*, *Sharp* could not hear the Diſ- " courſe, and rejected it with Horror. The " Earl of *Glencairn*'s Letter recommending " him to *Hyde*, as the only capable Perſon to " manage the Deſign of ſetting up Epiſcopacy " in *Scotland.* *Pray mind what Perſons they* " *make uſe of, and what their Practices are!*
Ech. *Archbiſhop* Sharp *a zealous Presbyterian, p.* 64. *His Treachery and Hypocriſy.*
" He was receiv'd into great Confidence, and *P.* 92. " as he had obſerv'd very carefully the Succeſs " of *Monk*'s ſolemn Proteſtations againſt the " King, and for the Covenant, it ſeems he was " ſo pleas'd with the Original, that he reſolv'd " to copy after it, without letting himſelf be " diverted from it by Scruples: For he ſtuck " neither at ſolemn *Proteſtations*, both by Word " of Mouth, and by Letters (of which I have " ſeen many Proofs) nor at Appeals to God, of " his Sincerity in acting for the *Presbytery*, " both in Prayers, and on other Occaſions, join- " ing with theſe many dreadful Imprecations on " himſelf, if he did prevaricate." Archdeacon *Echard* calls him an *illuſtrious Perſon*, and the Biſhop of *Sarum* further explains what you muſt underſtand by illuſtrious in their *Characteriſticks.* " He was all the while maintained by the " *Presbyterians*, as their Agent, and continued " to give them a conſtant Account of the Pro- " greſs of his Negotiation in their Service, while " he was indeed undermining it. This piece " of Craft was ſo viſible, he having repeated " his Proteſtations to as many Perſons as then " grew jealous of him, that when he threw off " the Mask, about a Year after this, it laid a " Foundation of ſuch a Character of him, that " nothing cou'd bring People to have any tole- " rable Thoughts of a Man, whoſe Diſſimula- " tion and Treachery was ſo well known, and " of which ſo many Proofs were to be ſeen un- " der his Hand." As this Man is illuſtrious with *Echard*, ſo is he the Pious and the Holy

*A.D.*1660 with others of them, and *his Grace* in every Sentence that is ſaid of him.

The King's Entertainment at the *Hague*, was very magnificent and expenſive. His Majeſty made them in Return, *all the Profeſſions of Amity*, to uſe *Echard*'s Words, *that were due to their generous Civilities*; and at his Departure, the States made a fulſome Speech to him, of which we ſhall have Patience to repeat a little, becauſe it is ſpoken by Men, who, four or five Years before had forbidden him their Country.

States Speech to the King.

Your Majeſty might obſerve in the Looks of all our People, the Joy they had in their Hearts, to ſee a Prince cheriſh'd of God; *a Prince wholly miraculous, and a Prince who probably will make a Part of their Quietneſs and Felicity: Your Majeſty ſhall preſently ſee all the Streets filled, all the Way cover'd, and all the Hills loaden with People, who will follow you to the Place of your Embarkment, and wou'd not leave you, if they had wherewithal to carry them to your Kingdoms,* &c. Mr. Archdeacon informs us, *The Hollanders ſhew'd all Expreſſions of Joy at* his coming, and at his going. *The Hills were throng'd with innumerable Multitudes, and his Majeſty mounting on the Stern of his Ship, caſt his Eyes on the friendly Shore,* and ſaid, *I think my own Subjects can ſcarce have more Tenderneſs for me than theſe People, in whoſe Affections I ſee I reign, no leſs than I am going to reign in the Wills of the* Engliſh. So Rhetorical, that one may be ſure it was *extempore*. Eight thouſand of theſe loving *Dutchmen* were kill'd four or five Years after, by his Brother the Duke of *York*, and above Thirty of the States capital Men of War taken, ſunk and burnt.

While theſe Ceremonies were paſſing in *Holland*, the Houſe of Commons were preparing the *Bill of Indemnity*, that it might be ready to paſs at the Arrival of the King. They unanimouſly agreed, that ſome of the King's Judges ſhou'd be excepted, both as to Life and Eſtate; the remaining Diſpute being only about the Number. Some propoſed that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen. But, ſays General *Ludlow*, "*Monk* who had betray'd them all, "pretending to be for Moderation, the Number "was reduced to nine, which Mr. *Prynne*, con- "trary to the Order of the Houſe, undertook to "name." *Monk* at laſt prevail'd with the Houſe, to bring the Number to ſeven. The Commons in preparing this Act, were very careful not to let any Blot or Blemiſh remain on the Civil War, which the Long Parliament engag'd in, to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties. This particularly appear'd in the Caſe of Mr. *William Lenthal*, who had been Speaker of that Parliament, and was a Member of this, and hapning to drop this Expreſſion, in the Debate about the Indemnity, *He who firſt drew his Sword againſt the late King, committed as great an Offence as he who cut off his Head.* He was ſeiz'd by the Serjeant at Arms, and Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, the Speaker, by Order of the Houſe, reprimanded him in theſe Words; *Sir, the Houſe hath taken great Offence at ſome Words you have let fall in this Debate; which in their Judgment, contain as high a Reflection on the Juſtice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of the laſt Parliament, in their Actings before* 1648, *as cou'd be expreſſed. They apprehend there is much Poiſon in the ſaid Words, and that they were ſpoken out of a Deſign to inflame, and to render them* who drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to Puniſhment, and to aſſert their juſt Liberties, *into a Balance with them who cut off the King's Head.*

Bill of Indemnity.

Parliament vindicate the Civil War.

I mention'd ſomething of this elſewhere, and it had been ſo little taken notice of, that I received Letters from Gentlemen to produce the Proofs of a Matter which ſo ſolemnly juſtifies the Proceedings of that *Long Parliament*, call'd by the Earl of *Clarendon* the *Grand Rebellion*. Monſieur *des Maizeaux* informs us, *Echard* has been very diſingenuous in repreſenting it, "He wou'd "make us believe, that the *Commons* proceed- "ed with all Tenderneſs and Caution, with re- "ſpect to the late *Civil War*." You ſee Men of Candour and Sincerity never call it the *Grand Rebellion*, nor the Parliament *Rebels*, as the Earl of *Clarendon* and Mr. *Echard* do, and therefore were unwilling totally to condemn the *Parliaments Part* in it: But this is a groſs Miſrepreſentation of their Proceedings. Mr. Archdeacon will perceive I am not ſingular in my Opinion of his Integrity; "For they did not "proceed with Tenderneſs and Caution in that "Reſpect, but expreſſed their Senſe of it with great Warmth and Freedom; and ſo far from "being *only unwilling totally to condemn the* "*Parliament's Part in the Civil War*, that "they *fully juſtified it* by declaring as above. "*And that Mr.* Lenthal's *Words were a high* "*Reflection on the Juſtice of the Lords and Com-* "*mons in their Actings*." Thus are all the Lord *Clarendon*'s and Mr. *Echard*'s Reflections on thoſe *Actings* declared to be *highly Injurious*, and the Hiſtory of *England*, and that of the *Grand Rebellion*, which treat that glorious Parliament as *Rebels*, are condemn'd in the moſt ſolemn Manner by the Declaration of the Houſe of Commons pronounc'd by their Speaker.

*A.D.*1660 *Life of* Clarendon, *p.* 306.

The King being ſuddenly expected, great Numbers of thoſe who had been Officers in the Cavalier Army, or were otherwiſe zealous for him, procured Horſes and Cloaths; *Ludlow* ſays, for the moſt Part, upon Credit, and form'd themſelves into Troops, under *Charles Stuart*, Earl of *Litchfield*, *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Cleveland*, and Major General *Brown*, whom *Ludlow* calls the *Apoſtate Woodmonger*, in order to attend him at his Reception: And News being brought that he was put to Sea, *Monk*, accompany'd with a Guard of Horſe, marched to *Dover*, and received him at his Landing, *May* the 25th. The King embrac'd him, kiſs'd him, and call'd him Father; and, according to my Author, *it might be truly ſaid, that in ſome Reſpects they* were very nearly ally'd. At *Canterbury*, his Majeſty preſented him with the *George* and *Garter*. The firſt was put on by the Duke of *York*, the other by the Duke of *Gloucester*. And becauſe it was ſuſpected, that the Army which had fought againſt him, might ſtill retain ſome of their former Inclinations, it was reſolv'd, that the King with his two Brothers ſhould lodge at the Houſe of Colonel *Gibbons*, one of their Officers at *Rocheſter*. Many Knights were made in this Journey, and Bonfires were to be ſeen in great Numbers on the Road. *Ludlow* tells us, the *inconſtant Multitude in ſome Places, burning the Badges of their own Freedom*, the Arms of the Common-wealth. *Ludlow* proceeds, "*Monk*'s Army was drawn "up on *Black-heath*, and by the beſt Judges, "was thought to deſerve the Fool's Coat, rather "than the Soldier's Caſaque. The Lord Mayor, "Sheriffs and Aldermen of the City, treated "the King with a *Collation* under a Tent, plac'd "in St. *George*'s Fields. Five or ſix hundred "Citizens cloath'd in Coats of black Velvet, and "(not improperly) wearing Chains about their "Necks, by an Order of the Common-Council, "attended on the Triumph of that Day, with "much more empty Pageantry, which I pur-

The King lands at Dover.

His Entry.

A.D.1660 " poſely omit. But I muſt not paſs over the Folly " and Inſolence manifeſted at that Time by thoſe " who had been ſo often defeated in the Field, " and had contributed nothing either of Brave- " ry or Policy to this Change, in ordering the " Soldiery to ride with Swords drawn, thro' the " City of *London* to *Whitehall*, the Duke of " *York* and *Monk* leading the Way, intimating, " as was ſuppoſed, a Reſolution to maintain " that by Force, which had been obtain'd by " Fraud." Sir *John Stawel*, at the Head of about one hundred Cavalier Gentlemen, who had ſpent their Eſtates in the late King's Service, attended the Cavalcade, and ſome Time after told his Majeſty he had a Son who lov'd Dogs, and being fit for nothing but the Country, he deſir'd his Majeſty to make him Keeper of the Buck-hounds, a Place then void; which being deny'd, he took the Liberty to repreſent to the King, that he had expended, and been ſequeſter'd to the Value of 105,000 Pounds: The King ſaid, *You might have compounded, and ſav'd a good Part of it, and ſent it to me.* *Sir*, reply'd Sir *John*, *Since it is ſo, I have four Sons, and I ſhall give them Advice, not to venture any more for any Monarch in* England. Mr. *Fox*, afterward Sir *Stephen Fox*, who had liv'd with the King in Exile, was ſent to *London* the Day before the Entry, which was on the 29th of *May*, the King's Birth-Day alſo, with Orders to ſpeak to all the Lords in Town, and deſire them to do themſelves the Honour to attend his Majeſty when he made his Entry, which they were all very ready to do, and had prepar'd the moſt rich Dreſs and Equipage for that Purpoſe, inſomuch that the Lord *Wharton*, a zealous Presbyterian, laid out above 10,000 Pounds for his Appearance in the Cavalcade, and it is ſaid to have been the fineſt in it, tho' a finer Shew was never ſeen. But an Accident happen'd which hinder'd Mr. *Fox* himſelf from making one in it. It is well known that he was a temperate abſtemious Perſon, not us'd to drink much; and one of the Lords prevailing with him to drink a Glaſs of Cyder only, at about five a-Clock in the Morning, it ſo intoxicated him, that he fell from his Horſe, and was uncapable of ſitting it all that Day. He had over-heated himſelf with riding from one Houſe to another in the hot Sun-ſhine, and was caught in the Manner I have related. The Archdeacon ſeems to be entirely out of his Wits for Joy at his Majeſty's Reſtoration. He has the infinite Bleſſings of it over and over again, tho' in its Infancy he confeſſes, the *Court gave all Encouragement to all Sorts of Pleaſure, and the greateſt Licentiouſneſs.* The truly ineſtimable Bleſſing we have enjoy'd, and do ſtill enjoy by it, is its making Way for the glorious Reigns of King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, and King *George*; wherein the People of *England* have taſted of the Sweets of Liberty, without that Irregularity and Confuſion, which imbitter'd it in the Days of Uſurpation.

An Accident to Sir Stephen Fox.

The Court vicious.

We ſhould do great Injuſtice if we did not diſtinguiſh the Courtiers in King *Charles*'s Reign, who abhor'd the above-mention'd Licentiouſneſs, from thoſe who wallowed in that Mire; and among the former will be found the illuſtrious Names of *Seymour*, *Butler*, *Wriotheſley*, *Bertie*, *Montague*, *Berkley*, *Hollis*, *Piercy*, *Fiennes*. But the Counſels and Morals of theſe noble Lords were ſoon found to give Way to the prevailing Taſte and Example.

Good Courtiers.

Inſtead of deſcribing the Day of *Reſtoration* as a Celeſtial Jubilee, and Beatifying it, as if it had been a kind of *Reſurrection* from the Dead, and the opening Scene was Heaven, as *Echard* labours to paint it, the Biſhop of *Salisbury* inverts it, and it is a Gulph in his Hiſtory, which we cannot look into without Horror. A.D.1660

" With the *Reſtoration* of the King, a Spirit " of extravagant Joy ſpread over the Nation, " that brought on with it the throwing off the " very Profeſſions of Virtue and Piety. All " ended in Entertainments and Drunkenneſs, " which over-run the three Kingdoms to ſuch a " Degree, that it very much corrupted all their " Morals. Under Colour of drinking the King's " Health, there were great Diſorders and much Riot every where; and as a Man cou'd not be a good Courtier, without doing as the King did, ſo few were deficient in following his Example.

What bleſſed Times he brought with him, may be gueſs'd by his Character, as it is given by Biſhop *Burnet*.

King Charles's Character, by Biſhop Burnet.

" He was liberal of good Looks, kind Words, and " fair Promiſes, becauſe he intended nothing by " them: He had no Senſe of Religion, both at " Prayers and Sacraments: He, as it were took " Care to ſatisfy the People, that he was in no ſort " concern'd in that about which he was employ'd; " ſo that he was very far from being an Hypocrite, " unleſs his aſſiſting at thoſe Performances, was a " ſort of Hypocriſy (as no doubt it was) but he " was ſure not to encreaſe that, by any the leaſt " Appearance of Religion. He ſaid once to " my ſelf, *He was no Atheiſt, but he cou'd not " think God wou'd make a Man miſerable, only for taking a little Pleaſure out of the Way.* " *He diſguis'd his Popery to the laſt*; but when " he talk'd freely, he cou'd not help letting " himſelf out againſt the Liberty, that under " the Reformation, all Men took of enquiring " into Matters of Religion. He ſaid often, he " thought Government was a much ſafer and " eaſier Thing where the Authority was believ'd " infallible, and the Faith and Submiſſion of the " People were implicit. He had a very ill Opinion both of Men and Women, and did not " think that there was either Sincerity or Chaſtity in the World out of Principle, but that " ſome had either the one or the other out of " Humour or Vanity. He thought that no Body " did ſerve him out of Love, and ſo he was quit " with all the World, and lov'd others as little as " he thought they lov'd him. He hated Buſineſs, " and cou'd not eaſily be brought to mind any. " The Ruin of his Reign, and of all his Affairs, " was occaſion'd chiefly by his delivering himſelf " up at his firſt coming over to a mad Range of " Pleaſure. One of the Race of *Villiers*, then " marry'd to *Palmer* a Papiſt, ſoon after made " Earl of *Caſtlemain*, who afterwards being ſe- " parated from him, was advanc'd to be Dutch- " eſs of *Cleaveland*, was his firſt and longeſt " Miſtreſs, by whom he had five Children: " She was moſt enormouſly vitious and raven- " ous, &c." Such was the Prince, who, according to *Warwick*, was brought in by the *Good Angel of God*, and according to *Echard*, *by the all merciful Hand of Heaven*, according to *Clarendon*, *by the merciful Hand of God.* Divine Providence directs every thing ſometimes to bleſs, ſometimes to curſe; and to what End it directed here, let the Reader determine by the enſuing Reign.

As his Majeſty paſs'd through the City towards *Weſtminſter*, the *London* Miniſters attended over againſt the School in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, and Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Miniſter of St. *Faith*'s, at the Head of them, preſented him with a *Bible* richly adorn'd, for which the King thank'd them, and promis'd to make that Book *The Rule of his Government and Life*; and it muſt be own'd, that it was as much the Rule of his

The King's Saying of the Bible.

A.D.1660 his Life as of his Government. Two Years after, Mr. *Jackſon* was turn'd out of his Living only for being a *Presbyterian*.

The Lords and Commons receiv'd the King at *Whitehall*, after this tedious Cavalcade, and their Speakers made ſurfeiting Speeches, as may be ſeen at large in the *Common Hiſtories*. *Ludlow* tells us, "The Speakers of both Houſes loaded "him with Complements, and took the beſt "Care they cou'd to make him believe himſelf "to be the beſt, greateſt and braveſt Prince in "the whole World. His Anſwer to them was "ſhort, by Reaſon as he ſaid, of his preſent "Diſcompoſure, caus'd by the great Acclamations he had receiv'd in his Paſſage, which "yet he pretended had been very agreeable to "him, as they were Expreſſions of the Affections "of his People. Moſt of thoſe who had attended his Entry, finding the Streets thro' "which they had paſs'd, to be full of People, "return'd to the City, by the Way of *Holborn*; "by which Means I had a View of them from "the Houſe where I then was; and I confeſs "it was a ſtrange Sight to me, to ſee the Horſe "that had formerly belong'd to our Army, now "put upon an Employment ſo different from "that which they had at firſt undertaken; eſpe-
The Army corrupted, "cially when I conſider'd, that for the moſt "Part they had not been rais'd out of the "meaneſt of the People, and without Di-"ſtinction, as other Armies had been, but "that they conſiſted of ſuch as had engag'd A.D.1660 "themſelves, from a Spirit of Liberty, in the "Defence of their Rights and Religion: But "having been corrupted under the Tyranny of "*Cromwel*, and kept up as a ſtanding Force "againſt the People, they had forgotten their "firſt Engagements, and were become as mer-"cenary as other Troops. The Diſſolution and *and the* "Drunkenneſs of that Night was ſo great and *Nation,* "ſcandalous, in a Nation which had not been "acquainted with ſuch Diſorders for many Years "paſt, that the King who ſtill ſtood in need "of the *Presbyterian* Party, which had betray'd "all into his Hands, for their Satisfaction caus'd "a Proclamation to be publiſh'd, forbidding the "Drinking of Healths: But reſolving for his "own Part to be oblig'd to no Rule of any "Kind, he publickly violated his own Or-"der in a few Days, at a Debauch in the *Mul-* *by the* "*berry-Garden*, and more privately at another *King's Ex-*"Meeting in the City, where he drank Healths *ample.*"to the utmoſt Exceſs, till two in the Morning."

It is credibly reported, he took *Barbara Villiers* from her Husband that very Night, notwithſtanding, as we are told by *Warwick*, *he made his Preſence-Chamber his Oratory, wherein to pay his Devotions that Night to God*; and the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, after him, *He paid his Devotions and Thanks to God in the Preſence-Chamber.*

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*, During the REIGN of King *CHARLES* II.

THIS Reign is full of Creations, Honours, Pomps and Ceremonies, and we are to live in it like Men who feed upon Sauces. Purveyors, Cooks and Heralds are the Men of Buſineſs, unleſs what was carry'd on by Lord *Lauderdale* and the Ladies. I own it will be impoſſible for one to go thro' it without Pain. Here's ſuch a Run of Pleaſure and Perſecution, of Riot and Bigotry, of Lewdneſs, Diſgrace and Shame, that common Patience is not ſufficient to ſupport it.

Creations. *George Monk*, beſides the *George* and *Garter*, had theſe Titles beſtow'd upon him, Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchamp* and *Teyes*; but his Figure and Manners were ſo rude, that he became all this as ill as a *Bear* wou'd a *Roquelaure*. *Edward Montague* the Admiral, was created Baron *Montague* of St. *Neots*, Viſcount *Hinchingbroke*, and Earl of *Sandwich*, by Patent dated the 12th of *July*. He had alſo the *George* and *Garter* given him, together with the Marquis of *Hertford*, created Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, who deſerv'd every thing the King cou'd give him.

The *Privy-Council* were,

James Duke of *York*, *Henry* Duke of *Glou-* *Prefer-*
ceſter, Sir *Edward Hyde*, General *Monk*, Admi-*ments.*
ral *Montague*, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Marquis of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Earl of *Berkſhire*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord Viſcount *Say*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of St. *Albans*, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Colepepyr*, the Lord *Roberts*, *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *George Cartaret*, Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *William Morrice*, Col. *Charles Howard*, *Arthur Anneſley*, Eſq.

The Duke of *York* was made Lord High Admiral, and Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*. *Monk* was continu'd Captain General, and made Maſter of the Horſe; Sir *Edward Hyde* was made Lord High Chancellor; the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Treaſurer; the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold; the Lord *Say*, Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Chamberlain; the Lord *Seymour*, Chancellor of the Dutchy; Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold; Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain; Sir *John Berkley*, Com-

A.D.1660 Comptroller of the Houſhold; Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *William Morrice*, Secretaries of State; Sir *Edward Hyde* was created Earl of *Clarendon*; *Arthur Anneſley*, Eſq; Earl of *Angleſey*; *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Lord *Hollis*; Sir *John Berkley*, Lord *Berkley*; Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Lord *Cornwallis*; Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, Lord *Cooper*; Lord *Colepepyr* was made Maſter of the Rolls; Sir *Robert Foſter*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King*'s *Bench*; Sir *Thomas Mallet*, Sir *Thomas Twiſden*, Sir *Wadham Windham*, Juſtices; Sir *Robert Hyde*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; Sir *Thomas Tyrrel*, Sir *Samuel Browne*, Juſtices; Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*; Sir *Matthew Hale*, Sir *Edward Atkins*, Sir *Chriſtopher Turner*, Barons; Sir *Jeffry Palmer*, Attorney General; Sir *Heneage Finch*, Sollicitor General. And all the Offices Civil and Military, were put into ſuch Hands as were fit for the Work they were to be ſet about, only the two Secretaries wou'd have been very unfit, had there been any Work for them to do. Of *Morrice*, Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *He had no great Judgment about Foreign Affairs*; of *Nicholas*, *He had no Underſtanding in Foreign Affairs*. What need was there of Underſtanding or Judgment about Affairs abroad? the Name of *England* was no more terrible to Foreigners. All the World knew the King had given himſelf up to his Miniſters and his Pleaſures; and that the Miniſters were too buſy about Church Matters to ſtudy Politicks, or have any Concern for the Balance of Power. The chief of them, *Hyde*, according to *Burnet*, *never underſtood Foreign Affairs, and yet meddled too much with them.*

Echard blames the *Presbyterians* for challenging the chief Hand in the wonderful Revolution, which he attributes to the *Wiſdom of the* VICTORIOUS GENERAL, who by the way, never ſtruck a Stroke for his Victory, *and the immoveable Fidelity of the royal Party*, who had not a Finger in the whole Affair. I will not ſay how ungenerous, but how baſe and ungrateful, as well as falſe and impudent, are the Pretenſions of theſe Men who, as *Ludlow* affirms, *contributed nothing* towards the Change, as we have prov'd in every Paragraph, that has Relation to it. The royal Party was in the moſt deſperate, deſpicable Condition that ever poor Wretches were; their Heads and their Hearts were ſo ſunk, that they durſt not think of Oppoſition, or look an Enemy in the Face; they had been beaten, baffled, and hang'd for fifteen or ſixteen Years together, as often as they ſtir'd againſt their Rulers; and if the *Presbyterians* had not deliver'd them out of their Miſery, they might have been ſtill as miſerable as when the Common-wealth was in the height of its Glory.

I ſhall make uſe of the Words of a modern Author on this Subject, "While the Affair of "the Reſtoration was tranſacting, the *Presbyterians* were hugg'd and careſs'd by the King "and his Party, as Perſons who were really what "they afterwards pretended to be, the only Reſtorers of the King. But as ſoon as they had "reſtor'd him, both the King and his Party "grew cold to them at firſt, and afterwards ungrateful and cruel. Read what the Archdeacon writes: Whatever the *Presbyterians* did "in this Matter, was principally to relieve themſelves from the Oppreſſion of the *Independants*, who had wreſted the Power out of their "Hands, and not out of any Affection for the "King and the Church, which very much alter'd the Merit of their Services. Why had "not theſe ingenious Gentlemen talk'd after "this Rate before? Why did they not tell them, "You ſhall not bring in the King unleſs you do A.D.1660 "it out of Zeal for the Church: To talk thus, "now they were about to reward them with Poverty and Priſons, only adds Inſolence to Ingratitude, and blackens the latter ſtill more. "I confeſs, the *Presbyterians* will have no great "Reaſon to boaſt of their Knowledge of Men "and Things, if they expected any thing better from the Pride, Arrogance, Revenge, Rage, "and Neceſſity of their Enemies. Had the "*Cavaliers* been ever guilty of Moderation and "Charity, their giving themſelves up to them, "and putting their Fortunes and Liberties into "their Hands, wou'd have ſavour'd leſs of Inconſideration and Raſhneſs. *Again*, The *Preſbyterians* had much more ground to complain, "as having been the ſole Cauſe of the Reſtoration; I do not ſay *Helpers* towards it, but "*Cauſers* of it; and that it wou'd not, it cou'd "not have been brought about by any other "Party. The *Independants* and *Baptiſts* were "*Republicans* almoſt to a Man. The *Cavaliers* "were ſo totally ſuppreſs'd, that they durſt hardly ſhew their Heads, or open their Mouths; "and to act ever ſo cautiouſly in behalf of the "King, was only a ready Way to the Gallows," as *Echard* obſerves on Sir *John Greenvile*'s delivering his Majeſty's Letter to the Parliament: *So mighty a Change was this*, that a Servant *of the King's, who for many Years together had been in Priſons and Confinements for being his Servant, and but a few Months before wou'd have been brought to a* ſhameful Death, *if he had been known to have ſeen the King, ſhou'd now be rewarded for coming from him.*

Again, "Through the whole Tranſaction, Presbyterians re- "there was ſcarce one Agent who was not a ſtor'd the "*Presbyterian*, above the Character of a Letter- King. "Carrier. There was not one Man who had In- "tereſt with a Foot Soldier in the Army, who "acted for the King, but he was or pretended "to be a *Presbyterian*. General *Monk* was a "*Presbyterian*, or rather an *Independant*; ſo "were his two Chaplains, *Gumble* and *Price*. "Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper* was a *Presbyterian*, "ſo was Mr. *Anneſley*, and even Sir *William* "*Morrice*, *Monk*'s great Confident and Counſellor in this Buſineſs, which he promoted "more than *Monk*, himſelf having a better "Head, though not a much better, and more "Practice in Politicks, though not much more." He was a Member of *Richard*'s Parliament, and ſo zealous for *Presbytery*, that he wrote a Book in Vindication of its Principles; yet directly contrary to all this is Mr. *Echard*, *He will not enter farther into the Controverſy*. In Truth, it never was controverted by any Man which had not Forehead enough to controvert the Senſes, and aſſert in the Face of the Sun there is no ſuch Thing as *Light* in the World.

Biſhop *Burnet* very juſtly repreſents their Enemies, "They were follow'd by the Herd of the "*Cavalier* Party, who were now very fierce and "full of Courage over their Cups, tho' they had "been very diſcreet Managers of it in the Field, "and in Time of Action. But now every one of "them boaſted he had kill'd his Thouſands, "and all were full of Merit, and as full of high "Pretenſions. *Again*, Vices of all ſorts were Wicked "the open Practices: Drinking was the moſt Times. "notorious of all, which was often continu'd "through the whole Night; and many Diſorders hapning after theſe irregular Heats, the "People, who had never before that Time ſeen "any thing like it, look'd with an ill Eye on "every thing that was done by ſuch a *Set of lewd and vicious Men*. This laid in all Minds a "new Prejudice againſt *Epiſcopacy*." The Scene is

A.D.1660 partly in *Scotland*, but it will not be pretended that it was purer in *England*. 'Tis highly neceſſary to clear up and aſcertain theſe Things, that when we (as we ſhall preſently) come to the burning Zeal of theſe People, we may the better judge from what Spirit it came, and whether there cou'd be any real Concern for Religion and the holy Worſhip of God in *ſuch a Set of lewd and vitious Men*; or whether Perſons, who cou'd be ungrateful to the higheſt Degree of Infamy, cou'd really be capable of any Principle truly Religious and Sacred.

Bp. Burnet.

Two Days after the King's Arrival, he went to the Parliament Houſe, the two Princes his Brothers accompanying him, where he paſs'd *an Act conſtituting the preſent* Convention *to be a* Parliament; *an Act for* 70,000 *Pounds a Month*, as had been before levy'd; and *An Act for Continuance of Proceſs, and all Judicial Proceedings*. After which the Lord Chancellor, according to *Echard*, made a *handſome Speech*; indeed it was handſomer than moſt of the reſt of the Lord Chancellor's Speeches, becauſe it was ſhorter: For as I have obſerv'd already, his Speeches and Declarations are a String of ſtudy'd Periods, full of Words and Declamations muſical and well choſen, but with a very ſmall Portion of Reaſon, Argument, Sincerity, and Truth, which I ſhall be very ready to prove when call'd upon; and in the mean while beg Leave to make Uſe of no more of them than will ſerve to give an Idea of the reſt. *Echard* has them at length, and takes them to be the greateſt Ornaments of his Hiſtory, which indeed is not otherwiſe much ornamented; and it wou'd be unconſcionable to rob him of any Riches amidſt ſo great Penury. The Lord *Clarendon* told them, *The King wou'd in all Points make good his Declaration from* Breda, particularly, *That he granted a Free and General Pardon to all*, except thoſe whom the Parliament excepted.

The Chancellor's handſome Speeches.

King promiſes Liberty of Conſcience.

That no Man ſhou'd be diſquieted or call'd in Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion.

Theſe Things, ſays the Chancellor, *He will in all Points make good.* A Man needs a *vaſt* deal of Patience that writes of theſe Times after ſuch Copies as *Echard*'s. Here are a Set of lewd, vitious Men rais'd out of the Duſt by the help of the *Presbyterians*, and now hear how they bluſter. *The* Commons *thought that neither themſelves nor the People of* England *were freed from that* Guilt *and* Puniſhment *which the unhappy Times had contracted, unleſs they laid hold of his Majeſty's Grace mention'd in the Declaration*; which they did very formally, by a Paper which *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; preſented to the King in the *Banqueting-Houſe*.

In direct Oppoſition to every Teſtimony born of this King and his Morals, *Echard* gives us his Evidence, *That his Majeſty gave all ſuch Teſtimonies of Virtue as might render him deſervedly Glorious in the Eſteem of all ſober Perſons*; and to prove this ſtaring Falſity to be the naked Truth, he informs us the King iſſued a Proclamation for *puniſhing Debauchery, Profaneneſs, and other Vices*, of which himſelf was a moſt notorious Example.

On the 5th of *July* the King din'd at *Guild-hall* upon the moſt exquiſite Rarities, ſays *Echard*, or I ſhou'd not have ſaid it, as not being very Hiſtorical.

The Lord *Clarendon* propos'd at the Council-Board, to burn all the Memorials of the Parliament and *Oliver*, which met with Oppoſition even from his Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, who ſaid, *It was better to leave thoſe Papers as an Example of Rebellion, to deter others from proſecuting the ſame Meaſures*, and the Council A.D.1660 fell in with his Opinion.

His Majeſty affected a great Impatience at the Parliament's delaying the *Act of Oblivion*, and ſent a long Meſſage about it to the Commons by Secretary *Morrice*. He made a Speech alſo concerning it in the Houſe of Lords, and ſent an *obliging Meſſage* to the Commons to ſettle a Revenue upon him in lieu of what he ſhou'd loſe by the *Oblivion* Act; which, continues *Echard*, did not *only produce the hearty Thanks of the Houſe, but likewiſe a particular Order for the ſettling ſuch a Revenue on his Majeſty as might maintain the Splendor and Grandeur of the Kingly Office*, which was never better maintain'd in this Reign than by the Expence.

A Proclamation was publiſh'd againſt *Duels*, and then, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, his Majeſty took *Care of the Church*, which he explains by the Terms *Revenues, Glebe-Lands*, and *other Emoluments*, without one Word of God or Religion in a long Paragraph; and informs us, that the Houſe of Commons thank'd his Majeſty for his *pious Intentions*. It is prodigious! that People of a Holy Profeſſion ſhou'd be to learn what Piety is, and that it does not refer to Gold and Silver, Lands and Houſes, to Vanity or Lucre of any Name or Kind whatſoever! p. 773.

The Act of Indemnity, ſo much boaſted of as an Effect of his Majeſty's unparallel'd Clemency, receives another Turn in *Ludlow*'s Memoirs. One cannot deny but there is ſometimes a Bitterneſs of Spirit in thoſe *Memoirs*, and a very warm Republican Zeal; but he was a Gentleman otherwiſe of too much Virtue and good Senſe to mingle Falſhood with Fact, and his Mind was too *Roman* to ſubmit to the Baſeneſs of Malice and Slander.

When the *Oblivion* Bill was firſt in Debate, Seven Perſons only were to be excepted; Major General *Harriſon*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; *William Say*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; Col. *John Jones*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq, Col. *Barkſtead*. Oblivion *Act.*

One Col. *Skipwith* mov'd that Lieutenant General *Ludlow* might be one of the Seven, but not being ſeconded, Col. *Barkſtead* was nominated. After this Three others were Voted for Exception, Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Edward Dendy*. *Ludlow* proceeds, "And that no Means of gratifying the Paſſions "of our Enemies might be omitted, having al- "ready under Pretence that ſome of the late "King's Judges were fled, order'd their Eſtates "to be ſeiz'd; it was contriv'd by the Creatures "of the Court, who were a great Part of the "Houſe, that a Petition ſhou'd be drawn and "preſented to the King to iſſue out a Procla- "mation for requiring all thoſe of the late King's "Judges, and others therein nam'd, to ſurren- "der themſelves within the Space of Fourteen "Days, under Pain of Exception from the Be- "nefit of the Act *both for Life and Eſtate*. This "Petition having had its Riſe from the Court, "and on that Account receiv'd with Joy by the "King, ſoon produc'd a Proclamation;" upon which Lieutenant General *Ludlow* ſurrender'd himſelf, and gave Security for his forth-coming; notwithſtanding which, he had Notice from Secretary *Morrice*, That *where-ever he was he wou'd do well to ſtand upon his Guard, for if he was taken he was a dead Man*. About this Time the Lord *Broghill* was prevail'd upon to write to Sir *Charles Coote* in *Ireland*, that Mr. *Ludlow*'s Perſonal Eſtate there might be deliver'd to his Agent, upon Security to be reſponſible where it ſhou'd be adjudged to belong. But *Coote* was ſo far from ſatisfying his own Conſcience or the Lord *Broghill* in this Matter, that fearing Coot's *Baſeneſs.*

A.D.1660 *Ludlow* might be in a Condition to call him to an Account for the Injuſtice he had done him, he wrote a Letter to the King, in which having firſt inveigh'd againſt him *as the moſt bitter of all his Enemies*, he inform'd him, *that dining with* Ludlow *at his Houſe, he had aſſur'd him that* Cromwel *had not proceeded to Extremities againſt the late King, if* Ludlow *had not preſs'd him, and almoſt forc'd him to that Reſolution.* And for the Confirmation of the Truth of this, he deſir'd that the Lord *Broghill*, who he ſaid had din'd with them the ſame Day, might be interrogated. But when the King ask'd the Lord *Broghill* concerning this Buſineſs, he proteſted *he had not charg'd his Memory with any ſuch Thing*, adding, *He thought it unbecoming a Man of Honour to remember any thing to the Prejudice of a Gentleman who had ſpoken freely at his own Table.*

Lud. *p.* 33. While theſe Things were doing, Lady *Vane* told Mrs. *Ludlow* that Mrs. *Monk* the *Exchange-Woman* had ſaid, *She wou'd go upon her Knees to the King, and beg that Sir* Henry Vane, *Major General* Lambert, *and Lieutenant General* Ludlow *might die without Mercy:* And ſome Time after *Monk* himſelf ſaid to the King, *There was not a Man in the Three Nations more violently againſt you than Col.* Ludlow. To which his Majeſty reply'd, *I have been otherwiſe inform'd by many of my Friends who receiv'd Civilities from him in their Troubles.* We ſee by this, how the King's old and new Friends labour'd to irritate him againſt thoſe whom they hated and fear'd, and whoſe Blood they thirſted after. His Indolence and Love of Pleaſure wou'd not have driven him upon thoſe ſanguinary Acts which rais'd ſo much Horror in the Beginning of his Reign, if he had not been incited to it by the Revenge and Cruelty of others. It was his Father's laſt Charge to him, and ſome of his laſt Words, *to forgive his* Murtherers, as Dr. *Juxon*, Biſhop of *London*, inform'd the *Council of State.* Had *Hyde* and his Counſellors fallen in with his natural Clemency, I believe there wou'd have been little or no Blood ſpilt; for it is very well known he us'd to reflect ſeverely on his Father's Conduct, and loſing his own Life to ſave the Lives of Delinquents who little deſerv'd it of him. *Coke* tells us, *I do not find he ever regarded the Memory of his Father.* On the contrary, *he induſtriouſly endeavour'd to have it believ'd that the* Portraiture *of his Father's Sufferings, a Book of late ſo much controverted, was none of his.* Nay, I have been inform'd by a Perſon of Honour, and at the Head of Affairs ſome Years ago, that a certain Noble Lord taking Notice of this King's Swearing in common Diſcourſe, his Majeſty retorted, *Your Martyr ſwore more than ever I did:* All which induces me to think that he was put upon the Bloody Executions by the vindictive Exiles, as well Spiritual as Temporal, whom he brought home with him, and who had no hard Task to work up his Spirit to thoſe Cruelties, conſidering how many Years he had been forc'd to live in Baniſhment and Beggary. There are ſome Particulars in *Ludlow* concerning the King's Judges, which are very curious.

Vol. iv. *p.* 101. *King* Charles I. *a Swearer.*

The Bill of *Indemnity* being brought to the Houſe of Lords, a great Contention aroſe concerning the Number of Perſons to be excepted. The Widow of Dr. *Hewet* and Mrs. *Penruddock*, with other Widows, ſolliciting them with ſuch Importunity for particular Satisfaction on Account of their Relations who had been put to Death, that they found themſelves oblig'd to appoint a Committee to hear their Demands. The Lords alſo, ſays *Ludlow*, were inclin'd to revenge their own Order on the Perſons of ſome in the high Court of Juſtice, by whom ſome of their Number had been condemn'd, and to except one of the Judges for every Lord they had put to Death; the Nomination of the Perſon to be excepted being refer'd to that Lord who was moſt nearly related to the Perſon who had ſuffer'd. According to this Regulation, Colonel *Croxton*, Governor of *Cheſter*, was nominated by the next Relation to the Earl of *Derby*, Major *Waring* by the Kinſman of another. The Earl of *Denbeigh* being deſir'd by the Houſe to name a Judge for his Brother in Law Duke *Hamilton*, nominated a Perſon who was dead; and being call'd upon to name another, his Lordſhip deſir'd to be excus'd from naming any more. *The Earl of* Denbeigh, ſays my Author, *being known to be a generous Man, and a Lover of his Country.* A.D.1660

Sir *John Winter*, a *Papiſt*, Secretary to the Queen Mother, viſited Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, to inform him that Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſelrigge*, and the Marquis of *Argyle*, were thrown into Priſon by the King's Order, and to adviſe him rather to withdraw than to truſt to the Mercy of his Enemies.

Col. *Ingoldsby* was pardon'd for his Service againſt *Lambert*, tho' he had been as zealous againſt the late King at his Trial, as any one of the Judges; *yet having join'd with* Monk *in his treacherous Deſign*, he had obtain'd a Pardon from the King, while he was beyond Sea. Major *Liſter* came off by the Credit and Intereſt of *William Pierpoint*, Eſq; Col. *Thomlinſon* upon the Information of Mr. *Seymour*, that the late King had ſignify'd to him his Pleaſure, that the Colonel ſhou'd receive Favour, on Account of his civil Carriage to him. The Earl of *Litchfield* objected againſt it, for the ſame Reaſon the preſent King did, that he might have betray'd his Truſt as *Monk* had done, and have let the late King eſcape; but the Earl of *Briſtol* being engag'd for *Thomlinſon*, reprov'd the Earl of *Litchfield* ſo ſharply, it had like to have ended in a Duel. The Lord *Litchfield* ſollicited in behalf of Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and ſpeaking to the Lord *Sturton* for him, the latter promis'd to be for *Fleetwood*, if the Earl of *Litchfield* wou'd be for Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, whom the Lord *Sturton*, tho' a *Papiſt*, and his Lady, viſited in the Place of his Concealment. Lud. *p.* 36.

Thus the Oblivion Bill met with many Obſtructions in the Houſe of Lords, and the King coming to the Houſe, thank'd the Lords for excepting thoſe who had been the Judges of the King his Father, *Who*, he ſaid, *were guilty of ſuch a Crime, that they cou'd not pardon themſelves, much leſs expect it from others.* This is ſo little agreeable to the Truth, that they pardon'd themſelves in an extraordinary aſtoniſhing Manner; but a Turn of Thought, tho' ever ſo ſmall and trifling, is very apt to miſlead the Author of the Hiſtory of *Rebellion*, who is the chief Speech-Maker of the Times. *Echard* aſſures us, the King's Judges were ſo far from thinking they needed Pardon, or *expreſſing the leaſt Repentance, that they glory'd in it.* Another reverend Hiſtorian writes, *None betray'd a Repentance, moſt of them glory'd in it, and juſtify'd the Cauſe and Authority by which they acted*; a particular Inſtance of which we have in Sir *John Bouchier*, one of theſe Judges, who being old and infirm, was ſeiz'd with a Fit of Sickneſs, about the Time of this *Oblivion* Act; his Relations deſpairing of his Recovery, deſir'd him to ſign a Paper, acknowledging his Sorrow for the Part he had in the Condemnation of the King: But according to *Ludlow*, *He being highly diſpleas'd, roſe ſuddenly from his Chair, which* p. 780. *King's Judges impenitent.*

for

A.D.1660 *for ſome Days he had not been able to do without Aſſiſtance, and receiving freſh Vigour from the Memory of that Action, cry'd out,* I tell you, it was a juſt Act of God, and all good Men will own it; *and having thus expreſs'd himſelf, he ſat down again, and ſoon after dy'd.*

John Carew, Eſq; Brother to Sir *Alexander Carew*, who loſt his Head for ſerving this King's Father, being apprehended by the Warrant of a Juſtice of Peace, in which his Name was miſtaken, the Officer refus'd to keep him in hold, till the Error was amended. Mr. *Carew*, however, told him, he believ'd he was the Perſon intended, and that he was going to ſuch a Place, where he was found again and ſecur'd within the fourteen Days limited by the Proclamation for the Judges to ſurrender themſelves; yet he was excepted out of the Indemnity Bill, contrary to the Tenour of that Proclamation: So was Col. *Adrian Scrope*, notwithſtanding the Commons had contented themſelves with a Year's Forfeiture of the Value of his Eſtate, and of Col. *Laſſels*, "*Yet continues my Author*, upon Infor- "mation from the Renegade *Browne* of ſome "private Diſcourſe between Col. *Scrope* and him, "in which the Colonel, as he ſaid, had juſtify'd "the Part he had in the King's Trial, he was "condemn'd without a Hearing, and added to "the Exception in Reſpect to Life and Eſtate. "An Action of ſuch a Nature, that I ſhall forbear to give it the Name it deſerves; but the "King not ſatisfy'd with theſe Sacrifices, greedy "of Revenge, and forgetting his Meſſage from "*Breda*, encourag'd his Creatures in the Houſe "of Lords, to inſiſt upon their Exceptions; however the Commons being averſe to break the "publick Faith in every Particular, a Conference of both Houſes was appointed, in "which ſome of the Lower Houſe preſſing the "Promiſe of the Proclamation, *Hyde* the Chancellor preſum'd to affirm, *That the Proclamation was in the Nature of a* Subpœna," which puzled the Cauſe with technical Cant, that had no more Agreement with the *Publick Faith*, given in the Proclamation, than with the *Confeſſion of Faith* in the Liturgy. The wiſe and virtuous Earl of *Southampton*, conceiv'd a juſt Indignation againſt this daring Breach of Promiſe in a Matter of Blood, and mov'd, *That ſince it was not thought fit to ſecure the Lives of thoſe who had been induc'd to ſurrender their Perſons, upon the Faith of the Proclamation, they ought at leaſt to give them the like Number of Days for ſaving themſelves as were appointed by that Paper for their coming in.* But as *my Author proceeds*, "*Finch*, who had formerly fled from "the Juſtice of the Parliament, oppos'd that "Motion, ſaying, *By ſuch Means they may be* "*enabled to do more Miſchief*, as he knew had "happen'd in his own Caſe." Upon this, the following Perſons who had ſurrender'd themſelves on the Publick Faith in the Proclamation, were in Breach of that Faith excepted for Life and Eſtate, as *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; Col. *Roe*, *Auguſtine Garland*, Eſq; Col. *Harvey*, Mr. *Smith*, *Henry Marten*, Eſq; Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Col. *Scrope*, *John Carew*, Eſq; Alderman *Tichburn*, Col. *J. Temple*, Col. *P. Temple*, Col. *Wayte*, *Simon Mayne*, Eſq; *William Heveningham*, Eſq; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *Lilburne*, *Gilbert Millington*, Eſq; *Vincent Potter*, Eſq; *Thomas Wogan*, Eſq; *John Downes*, Eſq. Of theſe Col. *Scrope* and Mr. *Carew* were excluded the Benefit of the Act, by which in Caſe they were attainted, Execution ſhould be ſuſpended till the King and Parliament ſhould order it.

The King's Promiſe broken.

Lud. 43.

The following Judges were excepted abſolutely, as to Life and Eſtate; Sir *Michael Liveſey*, *John Liſle*, Eſq; Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, *William Say*, Eſq; Commiſſary General *Whalley*, Major General *Harriſon*, *William Cawley*, Eſq; *Daniel Blagrave*, Eſq; *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *Gregory Clement*, Eſq; *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; *Nicholas Love*, Eſq; Col. *Walton*, Col. *Barkſtead*, Col. *Okey*, Col. *Hewſon*, Col. *Goffe*, Col. *Jones*, Col. *Hacker*, Col. *Axtell*, Col. *Dixwell*, Chief Juſtice *Cook*, Sergeant *Dendy*, Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Hewlett*, and Mr. *Peters*. Mr. *Hugh Peters* was not one of the King's Judges, but he was a Miniſter, and had been too buſy; ſo there was no room for Mercy. A.D.1660

The following Judges were attainted, tho' in their Graves; *Oliver Cromwel*, Eſq; Captain General, *Henry Ireton*, Eſq; Lieutenant General, Col. *Ewer*, Col. *Pureſoy*, *C. Alured*, Col. *R. Dean*, Col. *Horton*, Major General *Skippon*, Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Col. *Hammond*, Col. *Pride*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *John Bouchier*, Sir *Gregory Norton*, *John Blackſton*, Eſq; *Francis Allen*, Eſq; *Peregrine Pelham*, Eſq; *John Venn*, Eſq; *Thomas Andrews*, Eſq; *Anthony Stapely*, Eſq; *John Fry*, Eſq. All theſe having no Lives to loſe, were to forfeit their *Lands*, *Goods*, *Rights*, and *Truſts*. The following were excepted from receiving any Benefits of their Eſtates, and ſubjected to ſuch farther Puniſhments as ſhou'd be inflicted upon them, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *James Harrington*, *Robert Wallop*, Eſq; the Lord *Mounſon*, *James Challoner*, Eſq; and Mr. *John Phelps*. Sir *Henry Mildmay*'s fine Eſtate at *Wanſtead* in *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Mounſon*'s at *Rygate* in *Surry*, were given to the Duke of *York*, and Part of it forfeited by him afterwards with his other Poſſeſſions. When News was brought to the King, that Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Heſelrigge*, Major General *Lambert*, and Col. *Axtell*, were voted by the Lords to be excepted both for Life and Eſtate, he is ſaid to be overjoy'd at it; and when *Monk* or *Buckingham*, told him, *St. John* narrowly eſcap'd, he cry'd, *I wiſh'd he had been in alſo. St. John* and ſeventeen more were excepted, only upon their taking any Office in *England*, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military.

This is the Scene which is ſo carefully painted in the *Compleat Hiſtory* and the Archdeacon's; thus have they open'd it, expecting the Reader ſhou'd be tranſported with it, as much as with the glittering, dazling Luſtre of a Stage Triumph. They are both as buſy about the Executions, as if they had themſelves been the Executioners: They are not mov'd at the Stream of Blood which ran down our Streets, nor the mangled Carcaſſes of thoſe unhappy Gentlemen that were dragg'd about, and hang'd up in every Quarter of the City. *Echard*, who makes nothing of falſifying Hiſtory, will get off of what I am about charging him with by the Letter of the Text; *After all, we muſt not forget*, ſays he, *that Sir* Henry Vane *and* John Lambert *were entirely excepted out of the Act.* The Truth is told us by *Ludlow*, "Sir *Henry Vane*, and Major "General *Lambert* were excepted for Life and "Eſtate, with this Reſerve, that if upon Trial "they ſhou'd be found guilty, the two Houſes "were then to join in a Petition to the King, for "the Pardon of their Lives." This is what *Echard* calls *entirely excepted*, and let the Reader judge what a faithful Hiſtorian he is.

My Author proceeds, "At laſt the Com- "mons, partly from Inclination, and partly "from their own Safety, paſs'd the Lords, or "rather

A.D.1660 " rather the King's Alterations in the Indemnity " Bill; which Buſineſs being over, the Houſe " order'd the Serjeant at Arms to deliver thoſe " of the King's Judges who were in his Cuſtody, " into the Hands of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*;" accordingly he deliver'd to him Col. *Adrian Scrope*, Mr. *William Heveningham*, Mr. *George Fleetwood*, Col. *James Temple*, Mr. *Peter Temple*, Mr. *Henry Smith*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, Col. *Vincent Potter*, Col. *Thomas Wayte*, Mr. *Henry Marten*, Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *John Downes*, Mr. *Gilbert Millington*, Col. *Robert Lilburn*, Mr. *Auguſtine Garland*, Col. *Owen Roe*, Col. *Edmund Harvey*. Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, and Alderman *Tichburn* had ſurrender'd themſelves, but afterwards withdrew from the Serjeant at Arms. The former was got to *France*, but return'd to *England*, and ſurrender'd himſelf again; as did alſo Alderman *Tichburn*, and were both ſhut up in the *Tower*: But notwithſtanding that the Crime theſe Gentlemen were accus'd of, was done in the moſt open flagrant Manner, yet it was not thought fit to be very expeditious in trying them. *Ludlow*, one of them, gives us this Reaſon for it; " It was delay'd during the time " that *William Love*, Eſq; was to continue She- " riff of *London*, he being no way to be induc'd, " either for Fear or Hopes, to permit Juries to " be pack'd in order to ſecond the Deſigns of " the Court; but after new Sheriffs had been " choſen, Sir *William Boulton* and Sir *William* " *Peake*, more proper to ſerve the preſent Oc- " caſion, a Commiſſion for hearing and deter- " mining of this Matter, was directed to Thirty four Perſons," as will be farther ſpoken of in the Courſe of the Hiſtory.

With the Oblivion Act ſeveral others paſs'd; as an *Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings in* Law, Equity, *&c. ſince the Firſt of* May, 1642; an Act for Money *to pay off the Army and Navy*; an Act for Reſtraining *the taking of exceſſive Uſury*; and another for eſtabliſhing a new Holiday the *Twenty-ninth of* May, the King's Birth-Day and Day of Reſtoration. At the paſſing of theſe Acts his Majeſty made a Speech, wherein he ſpoke of his Perſon's being traduc'd, and earneſtly recommended *Rigor and Severity* againſt thoſe who ſhou'd expreſs a Diſlike of his Government by Words. He alſo remember'd them that he wanted Money, adding, *And that which troubles me moſt, is to ſee many of you come to me at* Whitehall, *and to think you muſt go ſomewhere elſe to ſeek a Dinner.*

Sir Harbottle Grimſton's *notable Speech.*

Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* the Speaker made a long Speech, in which he ſhew'd himſelf to be an apt Scholar in the Sentiment and Language which became the Mode. Your Majeſty offer'd *us a Pardon before we had the Confidence to ask it*; *looking over a* long black prodigious diſmal *Roll and Catalogue of Malefactors, we there met not with Men but with Monſters, guilty* of Blood, precious Blood! precious Royal Blood! *incomparable in all kind of Villanies by the worſt of Miſcreants*, Perverters *of Religion*, Subverters *of the Government. Some are ſet apart as an* Antidote *to expel the Poiſon of Sin and* Rebellion, *Sacrifices to God's Wrath, and to ſatisfy Divine Vengeance.* He had a few Days before reprimanded the former Speaker, Mr. *Lenthal*, for confounding the *Civil War* with the Death of the King, and he confounds them now himſelf. This very Parliament juſtify'd the *Civil War* by his own Mouth, and the Civil War is the *Rebellion*, according to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Mr. *Echard*, and all the *Compleat Hiſtorians.* The Death of the King was the Act of a Set of Men diſown'd by thoſe who began and carry'd on the Earl of *Clarendon's Grand Rebellion*; and yet Sir *Harbottle* ſacrifices them in this Speech for that *Rebellion.* The King's Trial and Death were after the Civil War was over, and are a Murder in Law and Reaſon, an Act of Violence and Blood. This is the ſame Sir *Harbottle* who made a Speech twenty Years before, wherein he told the Houſe of Commons, that the Convocation by their Canons wou'd have *us ſwear to a* Damnable *Hereſy*; you ſee he had a ſtrong Way of expreſſing himſelf, *and that Matters neceſſary to Salvation are contain'd in the Diſcipline of our Church.* Again, *Nay Mr.* Speaker, *they go a little farther, for they wou'd have us ſwear that the Government of the Church by* Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, *&c. is* Jure Divino; *whereas we meet not with the Name of an* Archbiſhop, *or a* Dean, *or an* Archdeacon *in all the New Teſtament. And whatſoever may be ſaid of the Function of* Biſhops, *it is one Thing, but for their Juriſdiction it is merely* Humana Inſtitutione, *and they muſt thank the King for it.*

A.D.1660 Rushw. p. 39. *Againſt Archbiſhops, &c.*

Who are they that have countenanc'd and cheriſh'd Popery? Who are they that have given Encouragement to thoſe that have boldly preach'd thoſe Damnable Hereſies *in our Pulpits? Who are they, Mr.* Speaker, *that have of late Days been advanc'd to any Dignity in the Church, but ſuch as have been notoriouſly corrupt in their Doctrines, and for the moſt part vicious in their Lives?*

Now turn to the Earl of *Clarendon*; *There was not one* Churchman *in any Degree of Favour of a ſcandalous Condition of Life.* As diametrically oppoſite as this is to what Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* tells us, and he tells us the Truth, the Lord *Clarendon* or the *Chriſt Church* Men aver, *Not one Churchman in any Degree of Favour* cou'd be found out that was of a vicious Life, *after the ſtricteſt* Inquiſition that ever was made. Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* is the Man of whom, now he is concurring with him and his Partiſans, he ſaid, that he rather ſat in the Long Parliament, than *concurred* with them; which is as falſe in Fact as affected in Expreſſion. He ſhew'd his Concurrence ſtill farther in this ſame Speech:

Clarend. *wrong.* p. 755.

Who are they that have overthrown our two great Charters Magna Charta, *and* Charta de Foreſter?

What Impoſition hath been laid down, or what Monopoly hath been damned *in any Court of Juſtice?*

Hath not Ship-Money, Coat *and* Conduct-Money, *and* Money *for other Military Uſes been collected and levied with as great Violence as ever they were, in Violation of our Liberties confirm'd to us in our* Petition of Right; *notwithſtanding all our Supplications and Complaints the laſt Parliament?*

And who are they that have caus'd all theſe dangerous Convulſions, and all the deſperate unnatural bloody *Diſtempers that are now in our Body Politick? Mr.* Speaker, *I will tell you a Paſſage I heard from a Judge in the* King's Bench: *There was a poor Man committed by the Lords for refuſing to ſubmit to a Project; and having attended a long Time at the* King's Bench *Bar upon his* Habeas Corpus, *and at laſt preſſing very earneſtly to be bailed, the Judge ſaid to the reſt of his Brethren*, Come, Brothers, let us Bail him; *for they begin to ſay in the Town, that the* Judges *have overthrown the* Law, *and the* Biſhops *the* Goſpel. This is the Gentleman who did not *concur.* The reſt of this, and his other Speeches are full of the like Negatives in Concurrence; and the repeating it here is intended to caution the Reader againſt truſting too much to the Speeches of ſuch as are no more

consiſtent

A.D.1660 confiſtent with themſelves, than with right Reaſon and Sincerity.

Sir *Harbottle* ſat in the ſame Parliament with ſome of the Sacrifices he is now making to Divine Vengeance, and Voted as they Voted, to the End of the Lord *Clarendon*'s *Grand Rebellion*, if the *Civil War* is meant by it, and as much as his Indignation was rais'd by the Hainouſneſs of their Crime afterwards, his Fellowſhip with them ſo many Years made ſuch Expreſſions as *Villains*, *Monſters*, *Miſcreants*, leſs decent in his Mouth than it wou'd have been in Chancellor *Hyde*'s, who was excepted out of every Pardon propos'd by that Parliament; to which Sir *Harbottle* ſpoke about the Overthrow of *Law* and *Goſpel*. He made another Speech a few Days after, the 29th of *Auguſt*, when he preſented a Bill to the King for raiſing 100,000 *Pounds for a preſent Supply*; another for ſettling a *Revenue upon him of* 1,200,000 *Pounds a Year*; another for *raiſing* 240,000 *Pounds in two Months*; another *to disband the Army and Garriſons, and pay off part of the Fleet*; another *for encouraging and encreaſing Shipping and Navigation*; an Act for reſtoring *ſome Miniſters into their Places*, and for confirming *others in vacant Places*; an *Act for regulating the* Bay *Trade*. He gave due Praiſes to all theſe ſeveral Acts, and clos'd with a Foreſight of the inexpreſſible Happineſs of the People, if *they cou'd reſt and wholly rely upon his Majeſty's Grace and Goodneſs*. The King ſpoke after the Speaker, and told them, *He hop'd they wou'd join with him in reducing of Parliaments to their antient Rules and Orders, the deviation from which had done them no good*. And he ſhew'd how he join'd in keeping to antient Rules, by his continuing the next Parliament to this Eighteen or Nineteen Years, whereas the antient Rule was to continue them not ſo many Weeks; and to renew the Parliamentary Writs every one, two, or three Years at moſt. Then the Lord Chancellor made his Speech, wherein he told them, *He conjur'd them from the King to join with him in reſtoring the whole Nation to its primitive Temper and Integrity, to its old good* Manners, *to its old good* Humour, *and its old good* Nature, *&c.* He ſaid it was penal by the Act of Indemnity to uſe Names or *Words of Reproach*, and that ſurly Looks *were within the Equity of the Statute*. To prove the Integrity of theſe Speeches, we need only mention a Book mention'd by *Echard*, and written by the infamous *Roger L'Eſtrange*. The Reverend Hiſtorian fills one of his Folio Pages with what he takes out of that Notable Piece; wherein ſome of the Presbyterians prefer'd by the King for reſtoring him to his Kingdom, are call'd *Cromwel*'s *Creatures*, *Bradſhaw*'s *Creatures*, *St. John*'s *Creatures*, meaning the Great Grandfather of the *St. John* in *Harley*'s Time, *Paraſites*, *Villains*, *Knaves*, *Seditious Miniſters*, *Conſtitution Maſters*, *Rank Separatiſts*, *Scandalous Lecturers*; which *Libel* was countenanc'd, applauded, and bought up by the Creatures of the Court, and ſufficiently ſhew'd what Dependance was to be made on the moſt fair Words, and indeed the moſt ſolemn Promiſes in publick Speeches and Declarations.

Sir Har. Grimſton's other Speech.

Echa. 793.

Mention has been made of the King's thanking the Parliament for excepting his Father's Judges out of the Act of Indemnity. Upon which *Ludlow* writes as follows, " By which he " not only manifeſted his own revengeful Tem- " per, and the little Regard he had to the *Pro- " miſe* he had made in his Proclamation from " *Breda*, to refer himſelf wholly to the Parlia- " ment for pardoning what had been done du- " ring the late Troubles; but his Imprudence " in this ſo early Violation of the Privileges of " the Parliament, by taking Notice of what was " depending before it came to be judicially pre- " ſented to him, and by that Means fomenting " a Diviſion between them concerning an Affair " in which he himſelf was principally intereſted. " He told them, *other Ways might be found to " meet with thoſe who were of turbulent and factious Spirits*; inſinuating, if I miſtake not, That " his Intentions were not to be guided by the Direction of the Laws, but that he had ſome " ſecret Reſerves to render the Act of Indemnity inſignificant; concluding with Deſires that " they wou'd be careful to make Proviſion for " his *Iriſh* Subjects, who had manifeſted great " Affection to him during his Exile; expreſſing " the ſame Zeal in the latter Part of his Speech " for the bloody *Iriſh* Rebels, as he had done " in the former againſt thoſe who had dar'd to " defend the Liberties of *England*.

P. 38.

By this Means the *Iriſh* grew immediately to that Confidence, that one *Fitzharris* publickly affirm'd in *Weſtminſter Hall*, that *they were the beſt Subjects the King had*, and for that Reaſon ſhou'd be ſoon reſtor'd to the Poſſeſſion of their Lands; of which the Parliament being inform'd, they committed him to the *Gate-Houſe*, but after two Days he was by the prevalency of the Court Faction diſcharg'd from his Impriſonment. *Papiſts inſolent.*

It far'd not ſo well with a *Scots* Gentleman, the Laird of *Swinton*, who was ſeiz'd and ſent to the *Tower*. The Cauſe of his Seiſure was at firſt reported to be for a Deſign to ſtab the King as he was curing the *King's Evil*; but afterwards 'twas ſaid he was impriſon'd for deſerting the *Scots* after the Battle of *Dunbar*.

The Impriſonment of the Marquis of *Argyle* has been ſpoken of. The Marquis of *Antrim* coming to Court about the ſame Time, was ſent after him to the *Tower*. He had been an *Iriſh* Rebel, and gave out *That the* Iriſh *were authoriz'd by the late King to act as they had done*. However, Lord *Argyle* was ſent to *Scotland* to loſe his Head on a Scaffold, and Lord *Antrim* to *Ireland* to have the Eſtate that had been taken from him for his Rebellion. I think theſe *Things* need no Explanation nor Remark.

Commiſſion for trying the King's Judges.

The Commiſſion for trying the King's Judges being iſſu'd ſoon after there were proper Sheriffs choſen, as *Ludlow* obſerves, the following Perſons were the Commiſſioners: Sir *Thomas Allen*, Lord Mayor of *London*, Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, Earl of *Southampton*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Marquis of *Ormond*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Earl of *Manchеſter*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Roberts*, Lord *Finch*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Charles Berkley*, Secretary *Nicholas*, Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Anthony-Aſhley Cooper*, Mr. *Arthur Anneſley*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Sir *William Wild*, Recorder of *London*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, Judge *Hyde*, Judge *Foſter*, Judge *Malles*, Baron *Atkins*, Judge *Twiſden*, Baron *Turner*, Judge *Tyrrel*, Serjeant *Browne*, Serj. *Hale*, Mr. *John Howel*.

PROSECUTORS,

Attorney General, Sir *Jeffry Palmer*; Sollicitor General, Sir *Heneage Finch*; Attorney to the Duke of *York*, Sir *Edward Turner*; Serjeant *Keeling*, Mr. *Wadham Windham*, Mr. *Edward Shelton*, Clerk of the Crown.

WITNESSES,

Mr. *William Lenthal*, Mr. *John Ruſhworth*, Mr. *Anthony Mildmay*, Col. *Tomlinſon*, Col. *Hunks*,

A.D.1660 *Hunks*, Mr. *Maſterſon*, *Richard Browne*, Eſq; Lord Mayor elect, &c.

The Commiſſioners met at the *Seſſions-Houſe* in the *Old Bailey* on the 9th of *October*, and the Grand Jury being ſworn, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* open'd the Court with a Speech, the Subſtance of which was what ſure no body needed to be taught, that for private Perſons to take Arms againſt the King is *Rebellion*, and that to kill the King is *Treaſon*. Neither needed any body to have been told that the Army garbled the Houſe of Commons, and that after above a hundred Members had been excluded by Force, the reſt was not a perfect Repreſentative of the People; that conſequently while the King and the Lords were in being, the Acts of ſuch a Parliament muſt be invalid and null of themſelves. Surely *Cook*, who had been Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*, knew all theſe Things as well or better than he did; and if he had no Plea againſt ſuch plain Truths, he and his fellow Priſoners muſt be ſtupid if they expected to get off by Trial in a Court erected by the King's Commiſſion. Indeed the Trials were Formalities, neceſſary however in a Country where the Lives of the People are guarded by good Laws.

The Priſoners brought to be try'd were Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Major General *Harriſon*, Col. *Adrian Scrope*, *John Carew*, Eſq; Mr. *Gregory Clement*, Col. *John Jones*, *Henry Marten*, Eſq; Col. *Daniel Axtel*, *Thomas Scot*, Eſq; Col. *Francis Hacker*, Mr. *John Cook*, Mr. *Hugh Peters*, Col. *John Downes*, Mr. *Hewlett*.

Of theſe, Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* knowing very well that it was in vain to deny a Fact which for Twelve Years paſt they had been glorying in, pleaded *Guilty*. Mr. *Echard* informs us, that when Mr. *Peters* pleaded, there was a Horſe Laugh in the Court, becauſe he deſir'd to be try'd by *the Word of God*. Their Jeſts have all the ſame Turn. Mr. *Peters* had been ſo long us'd to a Set of Scripture Phraſes, that it wou'd have been difficult for him to have talk'd ſeriouſly in any other Stile, and he was now upon a very ſerious Matter. He err'd in Form, and conſidering what was ſure to be his Fate, ſuch an Error was not as laughable as the Court made it.

Fifteen of the Commiſſioners, ſays *Ludlow*, *had actually engaged for the Parliament againſt the late King, either as Members of Parliament, Judges, or Officers in their Army*; *as* Monk, Manchester, Anneſley, Sandwich, Holles, Allen, Wild, Grimſton, Aſhley Cooper, Browne, Atkins, Tyrrel, Say, Roberts, *moſt, if not all of them, having been put into Places of Truſt and Profit ſince the late Revolution.*

I ſhall not endeavour to extenuate the Guilt of the Priſoners; it will bear no Extenuation: If I had been then living, and upon the Jury, I muſt have found every Man of them *Guilty*, or I cou'd not have diſcharg'd my Conſcience. But I ſhou'd not have been fond of ſuch an Office, I ſhou'd not have taken Delight in a Seat on that Bench; I ſhou'd not have been in an Extaſy when Sentence of Death had been pronounc'd againſt them, nor ſhou'd I have ſeen them rip'd up and quarter'd with Tranſport, as our *Compleat Hiſtorians* ſeem to do. This Matter in my Opinion bears this Face, as in a modern Writer. "The "reſt of the Judges no doubt were as willing to "ſit on that Bench as on any other; but ſome of "theſe Judges had ſat in Parliament along with "ſome of the Priſoners, and were as deeply en"gag'd in the *Civil War*, till the Soldiery uſurp'd "the Maſtery. As for the Duke of *Ormond*, "the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Earl of *Berkſhire*, "Sir *Charles Berkley*, Secretary *Nicholas*, and the "Lord *Finch*, they doubtleſs rejoyc'd that they "cou'd pour down Vengeance on the Heads of "thoſe that had beaten and baffled them. They "were doing no more than their Duty, and eve"ry honeſt Man muſt have done the ſame thing "in the ſame Place. But for *Monk* and *Mon*"*tague*, two of *Oliver*'s Lords, for *Manchester* "and *Roberts*, two of the Parliaments Colonels, "for *Say* and *Hollis*, two of the leading Mem"bers in both Houſes, for *Atkins* and *Tyrrel*, "two Parliament Judges; for theſe to judge "and condemn their Brethren, if it was the "*higheſt Honeſty*, it was not the *higheſt De*"*cency*," as the Archdeacon repreſents it. A.D.1660

Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and the Earl of *Manchester*, were two of the five Commoners and one Lord, whom the Court wou'd have proſecuted to Death, for inviting in the *Scots* before the beginning of the War. *Ludlow* muſt needs have been exaſperated at their Conduct, when he wrote as follows: "*Hollis* and *Manchester* had con"tributed the utmoſt of their Endeavours to en"gage ſeveral of the Gentlemen (upon whom "they were now to ſit as Judges) on that Side, "and were not content to abandon them in this "Change, but aſſiſted in condemning them to "die for their Fidelity to that Cauſe which they "themſelves had betrayed. Mr. *Arthur An*"*neſley*, who had been alſo a Member of the "Parliament whilſt they made War againſt the "King, was one of this Number. *Finch*, who "had been accuſed of High Treaſon twenty "Years before by a full Parliament, and who "by flying from their Juſtice had ſav'd his Life, "was appointed to judge ſome of thoſe who "ſhou'd have been his Judges; and Sir *Orlando* "*Bridgman*, who upon his Submiſſion to *Crom*"*wel* had been permitted to practiſe the Law "in a private manner, and under that Colour "had ſerved both as Spy and Agent for his "Maſter, was entruſted with the principal Ma"nagement of this tragical Scene." The *Compleat Hiſtorians* do not treat it as if it was a Tragedy, but give their Readers Reaſon to believe they were never in a merrier Mood, than when they were writing of it. The firſt Priſoner who was try'd, upon his pleading *Not Guilty*, was Major General *Harriſon*, who, beſides the conſenting to the King's Death, was charg'd with ſaying, *Gentlemen, it will be good for us to blacken him, pray let us blacken him*, which confeſſes the Fraud even in the very reading. For the pretended Charge againſt the King was ſufficiently blacken'd by the Lawyers, and wanted no Helps at the Trial; beſides, his Judges were ſo appriz'd of the Subſtance of it, that they doubtleſs came prepar'd and determin'd what Judgment to give.

Major General *Harriſon* pleaded *not guilty*, and juſtify'd the Sentence paſt on the King, and the Authority of thoſe who had commiſſion'd him to act as one of his Judges; he plainly told them, when Witneſſes were produc'd againſt him, *That he came not thither with an Intention to deny any thing he had done, but rather to bring it to Light*; he own'd his Name ſubſcrib'd to the Warrant for executing the King, to be written by himſelf, charging ſeveral of thoſe who ſate on the Bench, as his Judges, to have been formerly as active for the Cauſe, in which he had engag'd, as himſelf, or any other Perſon; affirming that he had acted by no other Motive, than the Principles of Conſcience and Juſtice; for Proof of which he ſaid, it was well known he had choſen to be ſeparated from his Family, and to ſuffer a long Impriſonment, rather than to comply with thoſe who had abus'd the Power they had *Major General Harriſon try'd.*

A. D. 1660 aſſum'd, to the Oppreſſion of the People: He inſiſted that having done nothing, in relation to the Matter in Queſtion, otherwiſe than by the Authority of the Parliament, he was not juſtly accountable, either to this or any other inferior Court, which being a Point of Law, he deſir'd to have Council aſſign'd upon that Head, but the Court over-rul'd it, and by interrupting him frequently, and not permitting him to go on in his Defence, *They clearly manifeſted*, ſays Ludlow, *a Reſolution of gratifying the Reſentments of the Court upon any Terms*, ſo that a haſty Verdict was brought in againſt him; and the Queſtion being ask'd, If he had any thing to ſay, why Judgment ſhou'd not paſs? he only ſaid, *Since the Court has refus'd to hear what was fit for me to ſpeak in my Defence, I have no more to ſay.* Upon which Sir *Orlando Bridgman* pronounc'd the Sentence. Mr. *Ludlow* cannot help proceeding thus; "And that the Inhumanity of theſe "Men may the better appear, I muſt not omit "that the Executioner in an ugly Dreſs, with "a Halter in his Hand, was plac'd near the "Major General, and continu'd there during the "whole time of his Trial, which Action, I doubt "whether it was ever equall'd by the moſt barbarous Nations; but having learnt to condemn "ſuch Baſeneſs, after the Sentence had been pronounc'd againſt him, he ſaid aloud as he was "withdrawing from the Court, *I have no Rea-*"*ſon to be aſham'd of the Cauſe in which I have* "*been engag'd.*" *Echard* owns that the Priſoner having ſaid, that *he acted in the Fear of the Lord*, the Court and Audience were amaz'd, and cry'd, Away with him, *for he makes God the Author of his Treaſons and Murders.* Sir *Edward Turner* added, *He has the Plague all over him.* This Knight had not the Plague, but it is moſt certain that a ſmall moving Member of his, was full of deadly Poiſon. *Turner* and all of them are in aſtoniſhment, that the Priſoners ſhou'd plead Authority of the Parliament; why had they any thing elſe to plead? Or was there any Plea in the World that cou'd have ſerv'd one that was brought before them, in caſe he was arraign'd for this Crime?

Condemn'd.

Cruelty and Inſolence to- - - - - him.

Col. *Adrian Scrope*'s Trial came on next. He deny'd nothing of the Charge, but pleaded the Authority of the Parliament in his Juſtification, denying that he had been acted by any Motive of Malice, as the Indictment had ſuggeſted, and aſſerting, that in what he had done, relating to the King, he had follow'd the Light of his Reaſon, and the Dictates of his Conſcience. At this Trial, the principal Witneſs was that *Browne*, who having been Major General in the Parliament's Service, and mention'd already in this Work to be of a mercenary Spirit, was now brought to betray a private Converſation, and to depoſe, that talking one Day with Col. *Adrian Scrope*, in the Speaker's Chamber, and telling him that the Condition of the Nation was ſad ſince the Death of the King, the Colonel anſwer'd, *Men have different Opinions touching that Matter*, and being deſir'd by the ſaid *Browne* to explain himſelf, he reply'd, *I ſhall not make you my Confeſſor*, which amounts to nothing at all; for nothing is more ſure than that Men had different Opinions touching that Matter. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* wou'd have been hang'd, drawn and quarter'd for it in *England*. In *Switzerland*, the Lords of the Canton of *Berne* granted him their Act of Protection, and as to his ſaying he wou'd not make *Browne* the *Woodmonger* his Confeſſor, it prov'd nothing but his Contempt of the Man he ſpoke to; yet *Echard* ſays, he had ſo much the Port and Language of a Gentleman, that had it not been for the Evidence of Sir *Richard Browne*, Lord Mayor elect, it is juſtly believ'd he wou'd have eſcap'd with Life, and if that Evidence hang'd him, I will leave it to the Reader to make a Judgment of the Juſtice and Humanity of the Times. He was found guilty as haſtily as Major General *Harriſon* had been.

Col. *Adrian Scrope. try'd.*

A. D. 1660

Condemn'd.

John Carew, Eſq; was Brother to Sir *Alexander Carew*, of the antient Family of that Name in *Cornwal*. He had his Education in one of the Univerſities, and at the Inns of Court; he had a plentiful Eſtate as well as Col. *Scrope*, which is no ſmall Aggravation to Guilt in bad times. He had been a Member of the Council of State, and employ'd in many important Affairs, wherein he ſhew'd great Ability; he found the ſame Uſage from the Court as Major General *Harriſon* had done, being frequently interrupted, and Council deny'd, tho' earneſtly deſir'd by him, in that Point of Law, touching the Authority by which he had acted; tho' I do not ſee what Advantage Council cou'd be to him. For if he pleaded that Authority was by Parliament, nothing was better known than that the Parliament was under Force; and had not the Soldiers purg'd the Houſe, the Act for Trying the King cou'd never have paſs'd. And it is not on Account of the Priſoners that I take Notice of the Hardſhips they complain'd of, but to give as good an Idea as I can of the Perſons then in Power, who in a Year or two will ſhew us ſome other Acts of theirs in favour of the *Church*, as theſe are in favour of the *State*.

John Carew, *Eſq; try'd.*

When Mr. *Carew* found all he cou'd ſay was to no Purpoſe, he frankly acknowledg'd that he ſat in the High Court of Juſtice, and had ſign'd two Warrants, one for ſummoning the Court in order to the King's Trial, and another for his Execution. Upon this the Court, *who*, ſays my Author, *were well acquainted with the Diſpoſition of the Jury*, permitted him to proceed, and he began his Defence thus. *In the Year* 1640, *a Parliament was call'd according to the Laws and Conſtitution of this Nation, and ſome Differences ariſing between the King and that Parliament, the King withdrew his Perſon from them, upon which the Lords and Commons declar'd.* ------ Here the Court interrupted him, contrary to the Liberty they had promis'd him, alledging that what he was about to ſay, tended not only to juſtify the Action for which he was accus'd, but to caſt a Ball of Diviſion among thoſe who were preſent. Mr. *Carew* neglecting that Ball of Diviſion, began again, *The Lords and Commons in their Declaration*, ---- Here Judge *Foſter* interrupted him again, and told him, "He "endeavour'd to revive thoſe Differences which "he hop'd were laid aſleep, and that he did ſo "blow the Trumpet of Sedition, demanding if "he had ever heard, or cou'd produce an Act "of Parliament made by the Commons alone:" To this he wou'd have anſwer'd, but was not permitted to finiſh what he began to ſay, or hardly any one thing he endeavour'd to ſpeak in his Defence, during the whole Trial. Mr. *Arthur Anneſley* particularly charging him with the Excluſion of the Members, in the Year 1648, of which Number he had been one; Mr. *Carew* only reply'd, *It ſeems ſtrange that a Man who ſits as Judge on the Bench, ſhou'd give Evidence as a Witneſs in the Court.* My Author adds, "Theſe irregular Proceedings ſo unbecoming a "Court of Judicature, oblig'd Mr. *Carew* to ad-"dreſs himſelf to the Jury, leaving them to judge "of the Legality of his Trial," and having ſaid this Matter, *had been controverted in the Face of the whole World, and that the Lord had given an Anſwer upon ſolemn Appeals to theſe things.*

p. 65.

Sir

A D. 1660 *he is condemn'd.*

Sir *Orlando Bridgman* bad him remember, *The Devil ſometimes appears as an Angel of Light.* The Jury without removing from the Bar, brought him in guilty.

Mr. Scot's Trial.

Thomas Scot, Eſq; late Secretary of State, being next at the Bar, was brought to a Trial, *Ludlow* ſays, *or rather to receive the Sentence of Condemnation.* He was charg'd with Sitting in the High Court of Juſtice, at the King's Trial, and ſigning the two Warrants before-mention'd, as alſo with deſiring that the following Inſcription ſhou'd be engrav'd on his Monument, *Here lies* Thomas Scot *who adjudg'd the late King to die.* Several Witneſſes were produc'd to prove theſe Things, and among the reſt *William Lenthal*, Eſq; Speaker to the Parliament, who, tho' when the King enter'd the Houſe of Commons, and had demanded of him the five Members, he knew how to anſwer, *I have neither Ears to hear, Eyes to ſee, or Mouth to ſpeak, except what*
p. 67. *the Houſe gave*, cou'd now appear as an Evidence againſt Mr. *Scot* for Words ſpoken in Parliament, which he was conſcious to himſelf was a high Breach of Privilege; acquainting the Court that the Perſon accus'd had juſtify'd in the Houſe the Proceedings againſt the King. Mr. *Scot* urg'd in his Defence, " That whatever had " been ſpoken in the Houſe ought not to be " given in Evidence againſt him, not falling un- " der the Cognizance of any Inferior Court, as " all Men knew; that for what he had done in " relation to the King, he had the Authority of " the Parliament for his Juſtification; that the " Court had no Right to declare whether that " Authority were a Parliament or not." And being demanded to produce one Inſtance, to ſhew that the Houſe of Commons was ever poſſeſs'd of ſuch an Authority, he aſſur'd them he cou'd produce many. He began with the *Saxon* Times; immediately the Court interrupted him, and told him the Things of thoſe Ages were obſcure. Finding he might not be permitted to proceed in that Way, he took the Liberty to tell them, *He cou'd not ſee for what Reaſon it was not as lawful for that Houſe of Commons in which he had ſat as a Member to make Laws, as for the preſent Convention, which had been call'd by the Authority of the* Keepers of the Liberties of *England. I had the Authority of Parliament, the Legiſlative Authority to juſtify me.* Here the Court interrupted him, and *Ludlow* writes, *Having no Reaſon to give*, Finch *ſaid in a Paſſion, Sir, if you ſpeak to this Purpoſe again, I profeſs for my own Part I dare not hear any more; 'tis a Doctrine ſo Poiſonous and Blaſphemous, that if you proceed upon this Point, I ſhall (and I hope my Lords will be of the ſame Opinion) deſire that the Jury may be immediately directed.* Mr. *Scot* reply'd, *My Lord, I thought you wou'd rather have been my Council, as I think 'tis the Duty of your Place; but in this Matter I am not alone, neither is it my ſingle Opinion, even the ſecluded Members* of whom ſeveral were then ſitting upon the Bench, *own'd us to be a Parliament, elſe why did they, ſupported by an arm'd Force, intrude themſelves contrary to the Reſolution of the Houſe, in order to procure the major Vote for our Diſſolution?* To which Mr. *Anneſley* anſwer'd, *If the ſecluded Members had not appear'd in Parliament, and by that means put an End to all Pretences, the People had not ſo ſoon arrived at their Happineſs.* After *ſome little Struggle more*, ſays *Echard*, the Jury, as directed, ſoon brought him in *Guilty.*

My Author proceeds, " Col. *John Jones* and " Mr. *Gregory Clement* finding all that had been " ſaid in Vindication of the Things objected a- " gainſt the Gentlemen who had been already " tried, to prove ineffectual, inform'd the Court " that they cou'd ſay no more than had been al- " ready alledg'd, and therefore confeſs'd the " Fact, upon which they were declar'd Guilty, " as the Perſons before-mention'd had been. A. D. 1660

TheſeFive Priſoners receiving Sentence together, *Echard* informs us Sir *Orlando Bridgman* made an *affecting Speech to them.* I knew well enough before what a fine Judge he was of the *Pathos* in Eloquence, and was only confirm'd by this Saying of his now in my Opinion, that his Judgment was equal to his Practice, there being not a moving Word in it, unleſs this is the *Pathetick:* " There is a Spiritual Pride; Men may o- " ver-run themſelves by their own Holineſs, and " may follow pretended Revelations. *How af-* " *fecting it is!* Men may ſay, *I have pray'd a-* " *bout ſuch a thing*; a Man may commit a " Robbery or Murder merely becauſe he will, " and may come and ſay, *I have pray'd againſt* " *it, and cannot underſtand it to be a Sin*, as the " Man in *Shropſhire* did, and yet notwithſtand- " ing kill'd his own Father and Mother." Which puts me in Mind of an old *Saw* upon Similies, *As* Tinterden Steeple *was the Cauſe of* Goodwin Sands, *ſo good People love one another.*

Mr. Solicitor Cook's Trial.

The next brought to his Trial was Mr. *John Cook*, who was not one of the King's Judges, but Sollicitor to the High Court of Juſtice appointed by Parliament, as they call'd themſelves, and were call'd by others. Mr. *Cook*'s Plea ſhews us that his Capacity was much ſuperior to the Lawyers that ſat upon him; and the Lord Chief Baron *Bridgman* muſt be a Man of Reſolution to put his Abilities in oppoſition to Mr. *Cook*'s, whoſe Cauſe, 'tis true, was as bad as *Bridgman*'s was good; and it was as great pity that *Bridgman* made no more of it, as that *Cook* made ſo much of his.

He was accus'd of preferring in the Name of all the good People of *England*, an Impeachment of High Treaſon to the High Court of Juſtice againſt the late King; that he had ſign'd the ſaid Impeachment with his own Hand; that upon the King's Demurrer to the Juriſdiction of the Court, he had preſs'd that the Charge might be taken for *confeſs'd*, and therefore had demanded Judgment from the Court againſt the King; but this Indictment is more particularly charg'd upon him in the three following Articles.

I. *That he with others had propounded, counſelled, contrived, and imagined the Death of the late King.*

II. *That to bring about this Conſpiracy, he with others had aſſum'd Authority and Power to accuſe, kill, and murder the King.*

III. *That a Perſon unknown did cut off the King's Head, and that the Priſoner was abetting, aiding, aſſiſting, countenancing, and procuring the ſaid Perſon ſo to do.*

One can eaſily believe that he did counſel and imagine the King's Death, that he did accuſe him and demand Juſtice, and really I think that was enough of Conſcience to do what they did to him, without adding what no body will believe, that he kill'd the King himſelf, or that he went for the Hangman, as in the ſecond and third Article. Mr. *Cook*'s Anſwer ſhews us how a very bad Cauſe may be colour'd over by an artful experienc'd Counſel.

He anſwer'd firſt, " That he cou'd not be juſt- " ly ſaid to have contriv'd or counſell'd the Death " of the King, becauſe the Proclamation for " the King's Trial, even by the Confeſſion of his " Accuſer, was publiſh'd on the 9th of *January*, " which was a Day before he was appointed Sol- " licitor to the High Court of Juſtice.

A.D.1660 " In the ſecond Place, tho' the Court ſhou'd " not admit that to be an Act of Parliament " which authoriz'd him to do what he did, yet " he aſſur'd himſelf they wou'd allow it to be " an *Order*, which was enough to juſtify him.

" Thirdly, That he who had neither been Accuſer, Witneſs, Jury, Judge, or Executioner, " cou'd not be guilty in this Caſe.

He urg'd, " That having acted only as Coun- " cil, he was not anſwerable for the Juſtice or " Injuſtice of the Cauſe he had manag'd. *I take that to be the ſtrongeſt Part of his Anſwer, If* Hyde, *or* Bridgman, *or* Palmer, *or* Turner, *were to have been accountable for the Injuſtice of all the Cauſes they had managed, which muſt be ſuppos'd to be all the Cauſes wherein they were caſt, it wou'd not have been poſſible for them to have held out long enough to ſit upon that Bench.* Solicitor *Cook* alledg'd farther, " That being plac'd " in that Station by a publick Command, it cou'd " not be ſaid he acted *maliciouſly*, or with a " wicked Intention, as the Indictment menti- " on'd. That Words ſpoken do not amount to " Treaſon, much leſs when ſet down in Writing " by the Direction of others; eſpecially ſince no " clear Proof had been produc'd that his Name " ſubſcrib'd to the Charge againſt the King was " written by himſelf. He ſaid, That to pray " and demand Juſtice, though Injuſtice be done " upon it, cou'd not be Treaſon within the Sta- " tute; that when he demanded Juſtice, it might " be meant of Acquittal as well as Condemna- " tion; and that if it ſhou'd be accounted Trea- " ſon in a Counſellor to plead againſt the King, " it muſt alſo be Felony to plead againſt any " Man who may be unjuſtly condemned for Fe- " lony. That the High Court of Juſtice, tho' " now call'd *Tyrannical and Unlawful*, was yet " a Court, had Officers attending them, and " many think had Authority, there being then " no other in this Nation than that which gave " them their Power; and if this will not juſtify " a Man for acting within his own Sphere, it " will not be lawful for any one to exerciſe his " Profeſſion, unleſs he may be ſure of the Le- " gality of the Eſtabliſhment under which he " acts."

So ſays General *Ludlow*; the Archdeacon adds more of his Anſwer, on purpoſe to ſhew how well it was anſwer'd from the Bench. He obſerv'd, " That the Word *Inſtrumental* in the Ex- " ception of the Act, was inſignificant, or other- " wiſe incomprehenſive of him." *After all his long Pleadings*, ſays the Archdeacon (and by long there, means dull and tedious, as I do when I mention certain long Speeches in his Hiſtory) *he was anſwerd by the Court*, and then he tells us how, *That he had been ſufficiently prov'd* inſtrumental, *&c.* and ſo was every one that brought the King from *Holmby* to the Army, and from *Hurſt-Caſtle* to *Windſor*, and from *Windſor* to St. *James*'s, and from St. *James*'s to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and from thence to the Scaffold: Not to puſh that Argument farther, all concern'd in any of thoſe Actions were *inſtrumental*. This has no manner of relation to the Juſtice or Injuſtice of the Cauſe; it turns only on the *Exception* in the Act, and then the Queſtion is, Whether the Degree of Inſtrumentality does or does not except the Perſon? which I ſuppoſe will not be allow'd by Lawyers at this Time. But to give the Reader an Idea of the Argumentation of this Bench, we will repeat a Paragraph, the rather becauſe *Echard* has repeated it, and did not ſee there was nothing at all in it. " As no " Man can have a lawful Call to purſue the Life " of his King, ſo for a private Perſon, though " he only intends to beat a Man, yet if he dies " thereupon, in Law it is Murder; and if a Man " counſels another to commit Murder, he is " guilty himſelf." Here are *As* and *So* attended with as much Nonſenſe as ever they were ſince they were *Adverbs*. *As* no Man can lawfully purſue the King's Life, *ſo* no Man can lawfully purſue another Man's. Or it muſt be, *As* it is not lawful to purſue the Life of the King, *ſo* it is not lawful to beat a Man, if he dies upon it. But it may be lawful to intend to beat a Man only, and the Man may thereupon die without committing Murder, as is the Caſe of all legal Correction, by the Severity of which many Perſons in all Ages and Conditions have dy'd, though Death was not in the Intention. I do not leave out what few Arguments this Court give, for any other Reaſon than that they are no better than this, when they leave the ſubſtantial one, and they wanted no other, which is, That to imagine and conſpire the Death of the King is *Treaſon*; and that the Priſoners *imagin'd* and *conſpir'd* was never deny'd by themſelves, though they pretended they were juſtify'd by the Authority of the Remnant of the Parliament, which cou'd not be, becauſe Force had been put upon the Aſſembly, and what they did afterwards cou'd not be legal.

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Ludlow gives this Account of the Succeſs of Mr. *Cook*'s Pleadings. " Theſe, and divers " other things of no leſs Weight, he ſaid in his " Defence; but the Cabal thinking themſelves " concern'd to prevent the like in Time to come, " and to terrify thoſe who were not only able, but " willing alſo to be employed in ſuch Service, " procured from the Jury a Verdict of Condem- " nation againſt him, according to their Deſire. p. 73. *Condemn'd.*

After which Mr. *Hugh Peters*, of - - - - - Col- lege in *Cambridge*, was try'd for *compaſſing and imagining* the Death of the King, as *Ludlow* ſays; probably he miſtook, and it was for *imagining* and *compaſſing*; and probably he did not miſtake, conſidering the Heads of the Lawyers that were at Work upon this Buſineſs, *For conſpiring with* Oliver Cromwel; methinks this Indictment ſhou'd have been prefer'd in *Oliver*'s Life-time, and then he might have been made an Example of as well as *Hugh* is, *at ſeveral Times and Places*, and procuring the Soldiers *to* " *demand Juſtice*; by preaching divers Sermons " to perſuade the Soldiery to take off the King, " comparing him to *Barabbas*, and applying part " of a Pſalm, where 'tis ſaid, *They ſhall bind* " *their Kings in Chains*, &c. to the Proceed- " ings againſt him, aſſuring them, if they wou'd " look into their Bibles, they ſhou'd find there, " *That whoever ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man* " *ſhall his Blood be ſhed*; and that neither the " King, nor any other Perſon, are excepted " from this general Rule. He was alſo ac- " cus'd of ſaying, That the Levites, Lords, and " Lawyers muſt be taken away, in order to eſta- " bliſh a *Common-wealth*. That the King was " a *Tyrant*, and that the Office it ſelf was charge- " able, uſeleſs, and dangerous." All which Things and many more of the like nature were ſworn againſt him, and I doubt we ſhall have but a poor Defence from him; ſuch as it is you have it in *Ludlow*, " That the War began before " he came into *England*; that ſince his Arrival " he had endeavour'd to promote ſound Reli- " gion, the Reformation of Learning, and the " Law; *which Sir* Anthony-Aſhley Cooper, *one of his Judges, might have witneſs'd for him if he wou'd, having been a joint Committee Man with him for that Purpoſe.* " That for the better " effecting theſe Things, and the Employment " of the Poor, he had eſpous'd the Intereſts of " the Parliament, in which he had acted with- out

Mr. Hugh Peters. Ib.

A.D.1660 " out Malice, Avarice, or Ambition; and that " whatever Prejudices or Paſſions might poſſeſs " the Minds of Men, yet there was a God who " knew theſe things to be true." This is what *Echard* calls ſpeaking *meanly*. *Ludlow* gives it another Turn; *It was not expected any thing he cou'd ſay ſhou'd ſave him from the Revenge of the Court, and therefore he was without Heſitation brought in* Guilty.

Condemn'd.

Col. Axtel *try'd.*

The next Priſoner brought to his Trial was Col. *Daniel Axtel, who had eſcap'd, as he thought,* ſays Echard, *the Exception in the Act, but was lately added, on Account of other Blood that lay upon him,* which is falſe; for that *other Blood* lay more upon *Monk* than it did upon him, and as much upon *Montague* Earl of *Sandwich*, both then ſitting in Judgment upon him. The Blood of the King needed no Aggravation, it wou'd make one tremble, even but to read it, had not the Rage, Malice, and Stupidity of ſome Hiſtory Writers diverted part of ones Thoughts when we meet with it in their Writings. The chief Heads of the Indictment againſt Col. *Axtel* were, " That he commanded the Guards " both at the Trial and Execution of the King; " that he order'd the Soldiers, in a tumultuous " Manner, to demand *Juſtice*, and afterwards " *Execution*; that he threaten'd to ſhoot a La- " dy (Lady *Fairfax*) who from a Gallery that " was near the Court where the King was try'd, " had contradicted the Preſident when he was " ſpeaking concerning the Charge. That he ſent " for and encourag'd the Executioner, and that " he upbraided with Cowardice, one of the Per- " ſons to whom the Warrant for ſeeing Ex- " ecution done upon the King was directed, for " refuſing to ſign it." *Ludlow* adds, Theſe, with ſome *other things of leſs Weight*, were call'd compaſſing and imagining the Death of the King. *Echard* mentions his *charging the Perſon with Cowardice for refuſing to ſign the Warrant*, but does not tell us who that Perſon was, becauſe he was a very willing Witneſs againſt his Brother Officer. It was Col. *Hercules Huncks*, who, according to *Ludlow*, *was one of the three to whom that Warrant was directed, one of the forty Halberdiers attending the* High Court of Juſtice, and *one who had oppos'd with more than ordinary Vehemence, all thoſe who were for the King.* This Man was the principal Witneſs againſt Col. *Axtel*, who having firſt acknowledg'd his Ignorance in Matters of Law, and therefore deſir'd that no undue Advantage might be taken on that Account, proceeded to ſpeak to this Effect.

His Defence.

" That the War was made by the joint Autho- " rity of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in " Parliament, who claim'd a Right in employ- " ing the Military Force of the Nation for the " publick Safety, as appears by divers Acts and " Declarations publiſh'd by their Order. This " Authority rais'd an Army, made the Earl of " *Eſſex* General. Then the Earl of *Mancheſter*, " *ſitting on the Bench*, General of the Forces of " the Eaſtern Aſſociation, and after that created " and authoriz'd Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be Ge- " neral of all their Forces." —Having thus ſtated the Caſe, he proceeds, *Under this Authority I acted, which I conceive to be legal, becauſe this Parliament was not only call'd by the King's Writ*, which the Parliament then ſitting was not, *and choſen by the People, but alſo becauſe a Bill had paſs'd, that they ſhou'd not be diſſolv'd otherwiſe than by their own Conſent. Having this unqueſtionable Authority for my Juſtification, I preſume my Caſe comes not within the Reach of the Statute*, 25 Edward III. *which cou'd by no Means intend ſuch a Power, as was not only own'd and obey'd at home, but acknowledg'd by Princes and States abroad, to be the chief Authority of the Nation, by ſending Ambaſſadors and Agents to them. The* Judges, *who ought to be the Eye and Guide of the People, acted under them; divers of them publickly declaring that it was lawful and juſtifiable to obey the Parliament, but if their Acts may not be accounted ſuch, tho' they carry'd that Title, and were obey'd by the Judges, Miniſters, Officers of State, and the whole Nation; yet ſurely they cannot be deny'd to be Orders of Parliament, which wou'd be ſufficient to juſtify any Man who acted by them. This Parliament ſo conſtituted, ſo acknowledg'd, ſo obey'd, having made choice of a Perſon to be General of their Forces, I was by that General, Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *in Virtue of the Authority he had receiv'd from them, conſtituted an Officer under him; and therefore whatever I have done, was as a Soldier, and according to the Duty of my Office: For if I was in* Weſtminſter-Hall *at the time of the King's Trial, I was there by command of the General; and if it be ſo great a Crime to have been an Officer in that Army, which was rais'd by the Earls of* Eſſex, Mancheſter, *the Lord General* Fairfax, Monk, *and others, who have acted by the ſame Authority, were no leſs criminal than my ſelf.* Here he cited the Declarations of the Lords and Commons, publiſh'd when they engag'd the People to take Arms, in which they aſſerted, " That it was repugnant to Reaſon that " the Judgment and Actions of the Parliament " might not be a Rule and Guide to the Na- " tion in their Duty, and declar'd, that the Per- " ſons who ſhou'd act under their Authority, " ought not to be queſtion'd for ſo doing.

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Wherefore, continues he, *I preſume that an inferior Court will not expound the Law, contrary to the Judgment of the high Court of Parliament. If the Houſe of Commons, who are the Repreſentatives of the whole Nation, may be guilty of Treaſon, it will follow, that all the People of* England *who choſe them, are guilty alſo; and then where will a Jury be found to try the Cauſe? My Commiſſion is dated the 27th of* March, 1648, *ten Months before the King's Death. The Commiſſion by which General* Fairfax *was authoriz'd to give mine to me, he receiv'd from the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament. I did nothing but my Duty in going to my Regiment; for if the General ſays,* Go to ſuch a Place and ſtay there, *if I refuſe, by the Law of Arms, I am to die; but if I obey, it ſeems I am in Danger alſo: The Queſtion therefore in Law, I humbly conceive will be this, and I deſire it may be truly and fairly ſtated,* Whether a Man who is guided by the Judgment of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and acting only according to that Judgment of Parliament, and under their Authority, can be queſtion'd for Treaſon?

To this the *Council* anſwer'd, " That he was " not accus'd of levying War, but of aſſiſting " at the Trial and Examination of the King, " and encouraging the Soldiers to clamour for " Juſtice and Execution." The Colonel reply'd, *I am no more guilty than the General, my Preſence in* Weſtminſter-Hall *was not voluntary, and I was there by Command.*

I do not find that any Attempt was made to anſwer this; but it was ſaid that he was not commanded to *cry Execution*; that to cry *Juſtice and Execution, was an Overt Act, which was confirm'd in his wrathful Speech to the Lady*, who, according to the Teſtimony of the reverend Hiſtorian, he call'd *Whore*, and according to other Teſtimony, he *ſmil'd*. His Anſwer was, *If any Lady talk'd loud during the King's Trial, to the Inter-*

A.D. 1660 *Interruption and Diſturbance of the Court, I ſuppoſe it was no Treaſon to bid her* hold her Tongue. *If* I ſmil'd, *as Col.* Temple *depos'd, it cannot amount to ſo great a Crime. If ſome Soldiers did cry out Juſtice, it was not by my Inſtigation; yet I hope that to deſire Juſtice, which is one of the principal Attributes of God, is not high Treaſon.* Having ſaid theſe, with many other Things in his Defence, he addreſs'd himſelf to the Jury, *ſaying*, Gentlemen, *I leave my Caſe and my Life in your Hands.* Tho' he was not one of the King's Judges, and acted as a Soldier by Command of his General, at leaſt as far as his Attendance at the King's Trial; yet thoſe Gentlemen took not the leaſt Notice of it. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* reflects on the Lord Chief Baron *Bridgman* for directing the Jury as he did. " In an- " ſwer to theſe Arguments *Bridgman*, who was " the Preſident of this Aſſembly, contented him- " ſelf with repeating that ſtrange and unheard " of Doctrine;" *That no Perſon whatſoever, nor Community, not the People, either collectively or repreſentatively, have any coercive Power over the King.* " For this he quoted ſome Precedents, " as little to the Purpoſe as the Aſſertion it ſelf, " and then concluded the Caſe to be ſo clear, " that the Jury need not ſtir from the Bar. It " ſoon appear'd that he knew the Men, for they " fully anſwer'd his Expectation, and as they " were directed, without any Difficulty declar'd " Col. *Axtel* to be guilty of the Treaſon with " which he had been charg'd.

Condemn'd.

Col. Francis Hacker *try'd.*

The next Priſoner brought to the Bar was Col. *Francis Hacker*; the Indictment againſt him was like that againſt Col. *Axtel*, for *compaſſing* and *imagining* the Death of the King, which being read, Witneſſes, of which a Cloud was at the Service of the Court, were produc'd to prove that he was one of the Perſons who were upon the Guard, and kept the King Priſoner; that the Warrant for ſeeing the Sentence which had been pronounc'd by the High Court of Juſtice againſt the King, put in Execution, was directed to him: That in the Proſecution of that Commiſſion, he had ſign'd a Warrant for executing the King, and that he took the King by virtue of the Warrant he had receiv'd, out of the Cuſtody of Col. *Thomlinſon*, and conducted him to the Scaffold, on which he had been put to Death. Col. *Hacker* excepted not againſt any of the Jury, finding all of them to be of the ſame Stamp, and ſaid little more in his Defence, than that he had acted by the Command of his Superiors, and that he had always endeavour'd to ſerve his Country; ſo that his Trial was quickly diſpatch'd, and he declar'd guilty of High Treaſon.

Condemn'd.

Capt. Hewlet *try'd.*

Capt. *William Hewlet* was alſo accus'd and try'd for cutting off the King's Head, or at leaſt for being one of the Perſons that ſtood mask'd upon the Scaffold during his Execution. Several creditable Witneſſes depos'd, that *Gregory Brandon*, who was the Common Hangman, had confeſs'd and own'd to have executed the King; that he affirm'd as much to the Lord *Capel*, when he ſuffer'd by the ſame Ax: And Capt. *Hewlet* offer'd to make it appear that he was not upon the Scaffold that Day, nor near it; nay, that he was ſeiz'd and ſecur'd for refuſing to be there: However, the Jury clear'd their Way, and found him guilty of the Indictment; but, ſays *Ludlow*, " the Court being ſenſible of the Injury " done him, procur'd his Reprieve.

Condemn'd.

One may ſee what ſort of Juſtice was like to be adminiſtred in this Reign by the Condemnation of *Hewlet* for a Crime of which he was not guilty, as appears plainly by what *Lilly* writes of the Matter in his *own Life*; " The next *Sunday* " but one after *Charles* the Firſt was beheaded, " *Robert Spavin*, Secretary to Lieutenant Gene- " ral *Cromwel*, invited himſelf to dine with me, " and brought *Anthony Pierſon* and ſeveral others " along with him to Dinner. Their principal " Diſcourſe was who it was that beheaded the " King: One ſaid it was the Common Hangman, " another *Hugh Peters*; others were alſo nomi- " nated, but none concluded. *Robert Spavin*, " as ſoon as Dinner was done, took me by the " Hand, and carrying me to the South Window " ſaid, *Theſe are all miſtaken, They have not* " *nam'd the Man that did the Fact, it was Lieu-* " *tenant Colonel* Joyce: *I was in the Room when* " *he fitted himſelf for the Work, ſtood behind him* " *when he did it, and when done went in again* " *with him. There's no Man knows this but my* " *Maſter* Cromwel, *Commiſſary* Ireton, *and myſelf.*

A.D. 1660 Joyce *cut off King* Charles's *Head.* *p.* 91.

We come now to thoſe of the King's Judges, whom we have mention'd before to have been excepted both for Life and Eſtate, with a Reſerve, that if upon Trial they ſhou'd be found guilty, Sentence of Death ſhou'd not be executed againſt any of them, except by Act of Parliament, as theſe following, Col. *Harvey*, Alderman *Pennington*, Col. *Henry Morley*, Alderman *Tichburne*, Col. *Owen Roe*, *Gilbert Millington*, Eſq; Col. *Lilburn*, *Henry Smith*, Eſq; Col. *Downs*, *Auguſtine Garland*, Eſq; Col. *Potter*, *William Heveningham*, Eſq; Col. *James Temple*, *Peter Temple*, Eſq; Col. *Wayte*, *Simion Meyne*, Eſq; Theſe were all brought to Trial before this Court, where ſome of them pleaded *Guilty* ſimply, but others, tho' they acknowledg'd the *Guilt*, deny'd the Malice, and ſome confeſſing the *Fact* deny'd the *Guilt*. Of the laſt was Col. *Henry Marten*, who was charg'd with ſigning the Precept for ſummoning the High Court of Juſtice, and ſigning the Warrant for executing the King; with ſitting in Court almoſt every Day of his Trial, and particularly that on which he receiv'd Sentence of Death.

Judges condemn'd, but reprieved.

Col. Henry Marten's *Trial.*

To theſe Things he anſwer'd, that he declin'd not to acknowledge the Matter of Fact that was alledg'd againſt him, the Malice imputed to him by the Indictment ſet aſide. Upon which being told by one of the Council employ'd by the Court, that he ſeem'd to be of Opinion, that a Man may ſit and adjudge a King to Death, and ſign a Warrant for his Execution, meekly, innocently, charitably and honeſtly. Now on a Suppoſition, that the Authority by which theſe Judges, and Col. *Marten* in particular, acted, had been legal, All That, might have been done, and it was for want of common Senſe, that that Counſellor pretended to Wit; for a Judge having a lawful Commiſſion, or believing upon the beſt Conviction his Mind cou'd give him, that his Commiſſion was lawful, may meekly and *charitably* paſs a Sentence, as I doubt not wiſe upright Judges always do. Col. *Marten* anſwer'd, that tho' he ſhou'd not compare his Knowledge in the Law with that of ſuch a learned Gentleman, yet according to the little Underſtanding he had been capable of acquiring, he preſum'd that *no Fact cou'd be nam'd, which in it ſelf is a Crime, but only as it is circumſtantiated*; and to make good his Aſſertion, gave ſeveral Inſtances: But the Council, to prove that he had acted maliciouſly, produc'd a Perſon who depos'd, *That he ſign'd the Warrant merrily, and in a jeſting Way*, as he was rallying with Lieutenant General *Cromwel*. I think this ſhews too what Heads they had; to which Col. *Marten* immediately retorted, *Then it was not in Malice.* General *Ludlow* adds, " The Council finding their In- " ſinuations and Aggravations of the Charge " againſt him ſo eaſily blown away by theſe and " other Anſwers, made up with Paſſion what

A.D.1660 " they wanted in the Weight of Reaſon, *Finch* " the Sollicitor General exclaiming, *That all* " *good People abhorr'd the Action, and that he* " *was ſorry to ſee ſo little Repentance.* To this " the Colonel ſaid, *I hope what is urg'd by the* " *Council*, will not make that Impreſſion upon " the Court and Jury as *ſeems to be deſign'd.*" *If it were poſſible for that Blood to be in the Veins again, and every Drop of what was ſhed in the late Wars, I cou'd wiſh it with all my Heart; but I preſume it may be lawful to ſay in my own Defence, that what I did, I thought at that time I might do. There was a Houſe of Commons, as I underſtood it to be, tho' perhaps your Lordſhips think them not to have been a Houſe of Commons; however, they were then the ſupream Authority in* England, *and acknowledg'd and reputed ſo to be, both at home and abroad. I ſuppoſe he who gives Obedience to the Authority* de Facto, *ſufficiently ſhews himſelf of a peaceable Temper, and far from a Traitor. If it ſhou'd be ſaid that the Authority by which we acted, was only one Eſtate of Three, and but Part of that, I anſwer, it was all that was then exiſting; and I have heard Lawyers ſay, if there be Commons appurtenant to a Tenement, and that the Tenement be all burnt down except one ſmall Stick, the Commons ſtill belong to that ſmall Piece, as much as when the Tenement was all ſtanding. I ſhall alſo humbly offer it to Conſideration, Whether the late King, for ſome time before his Trial, cou'd truly and properly be call'd a King, who was not in the Execution of his Office, but made a Priſoner, and no ways concern'd in the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs?* All which had no more Effect upon the Jury than it had upon the *Goalers.*

Colonel Downs *try'd.* Col. *Downs* to a like Indictment pleaded, That at the King's Trial he had caus'd the Court to adjourn, and had ſaid and done what wou'd have been of the higheſt Importance to the King, had he not been over-rul'd. But that hinder'd not his being condemn'd with Col. *Marten*, and the reſt laſt mention'd.

Sentence being to be pronounc'd againſt the convicted Priſoners, *Echard* tells us, the Lord Chief Baron *Bridgman* made another *affecting Speech* to them, after he had acknowledg'd *many of them to be of liberal Education and great Parts.*

It is on no other Account worth repeating, than as it ſhews again what Mr. Archdeacon underſtands of *Affecting* in Diſcourſe: " He repeated to them ſome things he had formerly ſaid " concerning the legal Supremacy of the Kings " of *England*; *How Pathetick it is!* He told " them, *no Body or Community of Men had any* " *Coercive Power over them*; wonderfully moving! Then he nam'd the Words of the Act " of the Firſt of King *James*, *wherein the Lords* " *and Commons did acknowledge a natural Liege* " *Obedience to the King as Supreme, his Heirs* " *and Succeſſors; and in the Name of themſelves* " *and all the People, humbly ſubmit themſelves* " *until the laſt Drop of their Blood* (that affects) " *be ſpent in Defence of the King and his Royal* " *Poſterity.* Remember, added he, theſe were " not Words of Complement, *&c.*" I will repeat no more of it, but refer to Mr. Archdeacon's Hiſtory, where many ſuch Parcels of *affecting* Eloquence, ſome longer, ſome ſhorter, are to be found, from this Page 779, to the End of his Hiſtory. p. 779.

What is to come of their Dealings with the King's Judges has no Parallel in any Story; and to uſe the Words of the *Compleat Hiſtorians*, One cannot but think there was the *Spirit of Hell* in it. For though theſe condemn'd Criminals were juſtly to ſuffer the *Law*, and their Puniſhment ſhou'd have been as Exemplary as their Crime was Capital, yet to make Sport with dying Men, and Diverſion of the Butchering Part, cou'd not have happen'd but in Times as wicked as thoſe when *Sodom* periſh'd in a Tempeſt of Fire. A.D.1660

The firſt that was dragg'd on a Hurdle thro' the City to *Charing-Croſs*, where a Gallows was erected for them, was Major General *Harriſon*, who was hang'd on the 13th of *October*, with his Face towards the *Banqueting-Houſe*; the People, ſays *Echard*, *loudly ſhouting at his Fall.* He adds, he was *cut down alive*; and another Author ſays, *He was cut down alive, and ſaw his Bowels thrown into the Fire.* I don't find any Reaſon given for putting the Gallows at *Charing-Croſs* by any Writer but *Ludlow*, who tells us, it was *that the King might have the Pleaſure of the Spectacle, and inure himſelf to Blood.* The Major General's Body being quarter'd, was plac'd upon the City Gates, and his Head upon *Weſtminſter-Hall.* *M. Gen.* Harriſon *ript up alive.* p. 69.

The Major General declar'd, *The Lord's Spirit did witneſs with his Spirit that all his Sins were done away in Jeſus Chriſt; that he was about to ſuffer for the moſt glorious Cauſe that ever was in the World; that he believ'd the Lord would e'er it be long make it known from Heaven, that there was more of God in it than Men were aware of.*

Two Days after *John Carew*, Eſq; was brought to the ſame Place, and was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; but in Conſideration that his Brother, Sir *Alexander Carew*, was beheaded for ſerving the late King, his Quarters were permitted to be put into a Grave. Mr. *Carew* declar'd, *What he ſaid was of the Lord, and if it were to be done again, he wou'd do it. The Lord has once already juſtify'd the Cauſe in the Field, and will again do it with a witneſs. I die not in the Lord only, but for the Lord; and think not that this bleſſed Cauſe will be loſt, for it ſhall reach to the End of the Earth.* *Mr.* Carew *quarter'd.*

The Day following Mr. *John Cook*, who had been Lord Chief Juſtice in *Ireland*, and Mr. *Hugh Peters* the Miniſter, were together brought to the ſame Place, and executed in the ſame manner. When Mr. *Cook* was drawn upon his Sledge, the Head of Major General *Harriſon*, with his Face uncover'd, was plac'd before him, to the *great Deteſtation of the People*, as we read even in *Echard*, and in *Ludlow*, " That it was ſo " far from producing the deſign'd Effect on Mr. " *Cook*, that he not only ſeem'd to be animated " with Courage from the Reflection he might " make upon that Object, but the People every " where expreſs'd their Abhorrence of ſuch " Uſage." He is doubtleſs bely'd in the *Hiſtory of England*, where the candid Author tell us, *he cou'd not conceal the Laſhes of a troubled Conſcience for this particular Crime, when he was in the height of Preferment:* For if that Conſcience had ever been troubled, it wou'd have been moſt viſible in the laſt Moments of his Life, when the vileſt Hypocrite can no longer diſſemble; inſtead of which, the ſame Excellent Author aſſures us, he began his Speech upon the Ladder in theſe Words: *The moſt glorious Sight that ever was ſeen in the World was our Lord Jeſus upon the Croſs, and the moſt Glorious next to that, is to ſee a poor Creature ſuffer for him in his Cauſe.* He has theſe Words in his Prayer, *I believe an Army of Martyrs wou'd willingly come from Heaven to ſuffer in ſuch a Cauſe as this I come here to ſuffer for.* He declar'd, " He had us'd the utmoſt of " his Endeavours that the Practice of the Law " might be regulated, and that the Publick Juſtice might be adminiſter'd with as much Ex- *Mr.* Cook *and Mr.* Peters *quarter'd.*

A. D. 1660 " pedition and as little Expence as poſſible; and " that he ſuffer'd a more than ordinary Perſe- " cution from thoſe of his own Profeſſion on that " Account. He ſaid, he underſtood not the " Meaning of the Court, when they affirm'd, " *That if the Lords and Commons had brought* " *the King to the Bar, it had been Treaſon.*" It was Sir *Orlando Bridgman* who ſaid it, and conſequently that all the Members of the moſt Honourable Houſe of Peers, and all the Members of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, were liable to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd for bringing a King to Trial. He may not be Try'd, but he may have Articles of Miſ-government brought in againſt him. He may not be *Beheaded*, but he may be Abdicated, as King *James* the Second, the beheaded King's Son was. That Sir *Orlando* wou'd have given in upon Oath, if he had been then living, as all the Judges have done ever ſince the *Revolution*, in renouncing and abjuring King *James* and the Pretender. Mr. *Cook* proceeded, *As to the Part I had in the Action with which I was charg'd, I am ſo far from repeating what I have done* (mind the Laſhes of his Conſcience) *that I am ready to ſeal it with my Blood.* Here one of the Sheriffs, *Boulton* or *Peake*, rudely interrupting him, he reply'd, *It has not been the Cuſtom in the moſt barbarous Nations, much leſs in* England, *to inſult over a dying Man*; adding, *I think I am the Firſt who ever ſuffer'd Death for demanding Juſtice.* As ſoon as Mr. *Cook* was cut down, and brought to be quarter'd, one Col. *Turner* call'd to the Sheriffs Men to bring Mr. *Peters* to ſee what was doing; which being done, the Hangman came to him, and rubbing his bloody Hands together, ask'd him, *How he lik'd it?* Mr. *Peters* reply'd, *I am not terrify'd, and you may do your worſt.* Mr. *Echard* tells us, That *during theſe Executions, the King and Miniſtry were uſing all ſoftning* Methods. When Mr. *Peters* was on the Ladder, he ſaid to the Sheriff, *Sir, You have butcher'd one of the Servants of God before my Eyes, you have forc'd me to ſee it, in order to terrify and diſcourage me, but the Lord has permitted it for my Support and Encouragement. Echard* avers he was *drunk*, and that Mr. *Cook* ſaid, *He was not fit to die.* Sure I am, that Men who are capable of abuſing, belying, and inſulting Perſons, otherwiſe than as King's Judges, of ſingular Virtue and Eminence, in the laſt Moments of Life, *are not fit to live.* Major General *Harriſon* and Mr. *Carew* are alſo ſaid by him to have made *themſelves drunk with Cordials and ſtrong Liquors.* There never liv'd Men of more Temperance than Mr. *Harriſon* and Mr. *Carew*; and as to their Religion, it has been obſerv'd elſewhere, that they are cenſur'd rather for having too much than too little. Mr. *Cook*'s Head was plac'd upon *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and that of Mr. *Peters*'s upon *London Bridge*.

Thomas Scot, *Eſq*; Gregory Clement, *Eſq*; *Col.* Scrope, *Col.* Jones, *hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd.*

On the 16th of *October*, Mr. *Thomas Scot*, and Mr. *Gregory Clement* were drawn in one Sledge, and Col. *Adrian Scroop*, and Col. *John Jones* in another, to *Charing Croſs*, in order to ſuffer Death as the reſt had done. Mr. *Scot* had ſurrender'd himſelf within the Time limited by the Proclamation, however he far'd not the better for it. He behav'd at the Place of Execution with the greateſt Chearfulneſs and Satisfaction of Mind; he attempted ſeveral Times to ſpeak, and none of his Judges cou'd ſpeak better; but, ſays *Ludlow*, *Thoſe who fear'd nothing ſo much as* Truth, *interrupted him ſo often, that he found himſelf oblig'd to ſay, It ſurely muſt be a very bad Cauſe which cannot ſuffer the Words of a dying Man.* He declar'd, *He cou'd not repent of what he had done as to the King's Trial, but did repent of his asking the Benefit of the King's Proclamation.* Mr. *Clement* ſaid, *Nothing troubled him ſo much as his pleading Guilty, which he did to ſatisfy the Importunity of Friends; and by doing of it, had render'd himſelf unworthy to die in ſo glorious a Cauſe.* Col. *Scrope*'s Speech was to this Purpoſe. *Though I have been accuſtom'd to be ſeen in better Places, and other kind of Circumſtances, yet it being the Will of God I ſhould be brought into this Condition, I ſubmit chearfully; I never entertain'd Malice againſt any Man, and I now wiſh no Ill either to the Jury who found me Guilty, or to the Judges who pronounc'd Sentence, or even to the Perſon by whoſe Means I am brought to this Place, who I preſume is ſo well known that it is not neceſſary to name him, Browne*, the Mayor Elect, whom *Ludlow* calls the *Renagado Woodmonger. I ſhall not boaſt of my* * *Birth or Education, or the private Conduct of my Life, becauſe I am going to appear before a Tribunal where all Men muſt come, and where the Juſtice or Injuſtice of every Action will be manifeſt. I deſire the People in the mean Time not to think uncharitably of me, for I am firmly perſuaded I ſuffer for the Cauſe of God and my Country.* Col. *Jones* going into the Sledge, ſaid, *It is like* Elijah's *fiery Chariot, only it goes through* Fleet-ſtreet; and being dragg'd along in it to *Charing Croſs* with Col. *Scrope*, Mr. *Ludlow* ſays, " The Gravity and " graceful Meen of theſe aged Gentlemen, ac- " company'd with viſible Marks of Fortitude " and internal Satisfaction, ſurpris'd the Specta- " tors with Admiration and Compaſſion.

A. D. 1660

* *He deſcended from the Lord* Scrope *of* Bolton.

That this dreadful Spectacle might ſpread another Length of the Town, Col. *Hacker* and Col. *Axtel* were drawn from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and there hang'd, imbowell'd and quarter'd. Col. *Hacker* read a Paper at his Execution, wherein he ſaid, *I thank the Lord I have nothing lies upon my Conſcience as Guilt, whereof I am now condemn'd, and do not doubt to have the Sentence revers'd. Echard*, who writes of all this with much Jollity, ſays as a Joke, *Axtel* very charitably wiſh'd, *That his Blood might not cry to the third and fourth Generation.* Colonel *Axtel* did indeed ſay, *If I had a thouſand Lives I cou'd lay them all down for this Cauſe, tho' they had nothing againſt me, neither by God's Law nor their own Law, to condemn me; wherefore my Death is meerly Murther, and they might as well have done it at the* Tower, *as have brought me hither to make this Buſtle.*

Col. Hacker *and Col.* Axtell *hang'd and quarter'd.*

From the Beginning of thoſe Tragedies to the End, the Reverend Author laſt mention'd, and the Reverend Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory*, have not one Sentiment of Compaſſion; nay, the laſt Reverend Author, mentioning the Trials and Speeches at large of theſe Sufferers, printed after their Deaths, does not ſtick to ſay, *Some of their ſurviving Friends were ſo very inſolent, that they publiſh'd their Pleadings, Prayers and Speeches to all the Advantage that the Spirit of Hell cou'd invent.* And the other Reverend Hiſtorian ſays of their Prayers and Dying Speeches, *Such were the prodigious Effects of Enthuſiaſm*, Poſſeſſion, as if the Devil was in them, *or ſomething that wants a Name which is ſufficient to raiſe Horror in good Men, and Infidelity in bad.*" 'Tis there he alſo tells us, that it was the Effect of *Drunkenneſs* as well as Poſſeſſion, and in the ſame charitable Diſpoſition affirms, Mr. *Peters* the Miniſter had a Whore with him.

Neither of theſe Hiſtorians had Sobriety enough to obſerve that theſe repeated Executions one Day after another, were a wretched Effect of the Want of good Policy as well as good Nature in thoſe who then had the Adminiſtration

A. D. 1660 of Affairs. Biſhop *Burnet* lets us into the Truth of the Matter, where he writes thus, " In one " Thing the Temper of the Nation appear'd to " be contrary to ſevere Proceedings; for tho' the " Regicides were at that Time odious beyond " all Expreſſion, and the Trials and Executions " of the firſt were run to by vaſt Crouds, and " all People ſeem'd pleas'd with the Sight, yet " the Odioufneſs of the Crime grew at laſt to be " ſo much flatten'd by the frequent Executions, " and moſt of thoſe who ſuffer'd dying with " much Firmneſs and Shew of Piety, juſtifying " all they had done, not without a ſeeming Joy " for their Suffering on that Account, that the " King was adviſ'd not to proceed any farther, " at leaſt not to have the Scene ſo near the " Court as *Charing-Croſs*." I have often been oblig'd in this Work to take Notice of the Want of Senſe as well as Temper in the Miniſters of the former Reign as well as this. They ſeem to be guided wholly by Fury and falſe Zeal. Their Rage againſt Major General *Harriſon* was ſuch, that without thinking that the Man was intrepid and firmly principled in the Cauſe he had engag'd in, that he deſpis'd the Power they were got into, and made a Merit of his Sufferings, they, without Thought or Patience, wou'd needs begin with him, " *The ill Effect* of which, " ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, ſoon appear'd, for he was " a Man of great Heat and Reſolution, fix'd in " his Principles, and ſo perſuaded of them, that " he had never look'd after any Intereſts of his " own, but had oppos'd *Cromwel* when he ſet " up for himſelf. He went thro' all the Indig- " nities and Severities of his Execution, in which " the Letter of the Law in Caſes of Treaſon, " was punctually obſerv'd with a Calmneſs, or " rather a Chearfulneſs that aſtoniſh'd the Spe- " ctators. He ſpoke very poſitively, that what " they had done was the Cauſe and Work of " God, which he was confident God wou'd own " and raiſe up again, how much ſoever it ſuf- " fer'd at that Time.

Harry Marten did not ſuffer, and the Biſhop informs us that his Life was ſpar'd out of Complacency to his Vices, which were pretty near of a Size with thoſe of the Court.

After *Echard* has ſeen all theſe Sufferers ript up and mangled, he performs the laſt Office, and kills them in their Characters.

p. 165. *King's Judges abus'd by* Echard.

Thomas Harriſon, ſays he, *was a Butcher's Son*, ſo was *Thomas Wolſey*, Archbiſhop of *York* and Cardinal. A long Anceſtry of Gentlemen gives no Man a Right to inſult another for the want of it; but for a Perſon to do it who is no otherwiſe a Gentleman than as he is enroll'd in a Profeſſion or Faculty, is equally prepoſterous and ridiculous. Harriſon *turn'd a* Fifth-Monarchy Man, *and was re-baptiz'd to pleaſe the Anabaptiſts.*

Cook *was a Man of mean Birth and inconſiderable Fortune. Ludlow* ſays, *Mr.* John Cook *in his younger Years had ſeen the beſt Part of* Europe; *and at* Rome *had ſpoken with ſuch Liberty and Ability againſt the Corruption of that Court and Church, that great Endeavours were us'd there to bring him into that Intereſt; wherefore he departed to* Geneva, *and reſided ſome Months in the Houſe of Signior* Gio. Diodati, *Miniſter of the* Italian *Church.* Fair Proof of his being a Man of mean Birth and inconſiderable Fortune. Hugh Peters *was whip'd out of* Cambridge. Ludlow, *Mr.* Peters *had been a Miniſter in* England *for many Years, till he was forc'd to leave his Native Country by the Perſecution ſet on Foot in the Time of Archbiſhop* Laud.

Thomas Scot *was born of obſcure Parents in* Buckinghamſhire, by whom, according to *Ludlow*, he was ſent firſt to *Weſtminſter* School, and then to *Cambridge. He liv'd privately in the Country till he was choſen a Member of Parliament.* A. D. 1660

Gregory Clement *was firſt a Merchant and broke: He then forc'd himſelf into the Parliament Houſe.* Ludlow, *Mr.* Gregory Clement *was a Citizen and Merchant of* London, *who by trading with* Spain *had rais'd a very conſiderable Eſtate.*

Mr. John Jones, *a Man of a mean Family in* Wales, *Servant to Sir* Thomas Middleton. Ludlow, *Col.* John Jones *was a Gentleman of a competent Eſtate in* North-Wales.

Col. Hacker *was a Soldier of Fortune.* Ludlow, *Col.* Hacker *was a Gentleman of a conſiderable Eſtate, deriv'd to him from his Anceſtors in* Leiceſterſhire.

Whatever has been ſaid of the King's Judges, their Trials and Executions, is not intended to render them the leſs criminal in the Reader's Opinion. If I had been living and one of the Jury, I wou'd have given Judgment againſt them, and ſhou'd have pronounc'd it, had it been my Office, tho' not with ſo much Pleaſure, yet with as much Conviction of the Juſtice of the Sentence as Sir *Orlando Bridgman* did. The Intention is only to ſhew the Temper and Turn of Mind of the Court and Miniſtry after the Reſtoration, what Work was done, and what Tools they work'd with, that the Reader may make his Uſe of it when he finds them buſying themſelves about Matters of Religion, which have the next Place in the Archdeacon's Hiſtory.

State of Religion.

Tho' we have ſufficiently prov'd the Falſhood and Ingratitude of thoſe who deny the *Presbyterians* to have had the Honour of the *Reſtoration*, yet in further Confirmation of it, we ſhall repeat what Mr. *Richard Baxter*, one of the King's Chaplains, ſaid of it.

Presbyterians reſtore the King.

" What the Presbyterians did to preſerve and " reſtore the King, is a Thing that we need not " go to any Corners or Cabinets to prove. The " Votes for Agreement upon the King's *Conceſ-* " *ſions* in the Iſle of *Wight* prove it. The Eje- " ction and Impriſonment of moſt of the Houſe " of Commons, and all the Houſe of Lords, " prove it. The Death of Mr. *Love*, with the " Flight of other *London* Miniſters, prove it. " The Wars in *Scotland*, and their Conqueſt by " *Cromwel*, prove it. The Riſing of Sir *George* " *Booth*, and his Army's Overthrow, prove it. " The Surprize of *Dublin* Caſtle by Colonel " *Bridges* and others in *Ireland*, prove it. The " Gratulations of General *Monk* in *England*, " the Concurrence of the *Londoners*, and the " Miniſters there, prove it. The actual Prepa- " rations of the reſtor'd Members of the Long " Parliament, and the Conſent of the Council of " State, prove it. The Calling in of the King " by the next Parliament without one contradict- " ing Voice, and finally the Lords and Gentle- " men of the King's own Party addreſſing them- " ſelves to the Parliamentarians, and the King's " grateful Acknowledgments in his Letters, and " his Speeches in Parliament, do all put this " Matter out of Queſtion.

We are going to ſee how he rewarded them for it, even after his ſolemn Promiſe in his Declaration at *Breda*, That no body ſhou'd be diſturb'd on account of Conſcience, and even after a ſecond Declaration he publiſh'd in *England* in *October*, which was drawn by the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, and for its Eloquence and Reaſon may match with the beſt of his Performances.

Before the King was reſtor'd, Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Manton* had a Meeting with Dr. *Gauden* and Dr. *Bernard*, to diſcourſe of an Agreement between the *Presbyterian* and *Epiſcopal* Party; but tho' both Sides expreſs'd a Deſire for Concord,

A.D.1660 cord, yet neither that Meeting, nor another with Dr. *Morley*, came to any thing.

Biſhops reſtor'd. In the mean time the Biſhops who were living were reſtor'd to their Sees; as Dr. *William Juxon* to the See of *London*, Dr. *William Pierce* to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Robert Skinner* to that of *Oxford*, Dr. *John Warner* to that of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *William Roberts* to that of *Bangor*, Dr. *Matthew Wren* to that of *Ely*, Dr. *Bryan Duppa* to that of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Henry King* to that of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Accepted Frewen* to that of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*: And the following Doctors were made Biſhops; as Dr. *John Coſens* Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *William Lucy* Biſhop of St. *David*'s, Dr. *Benjamin Laney* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Dr. *Richard Stern* Biſhop of *Carliſle*, Dr. *Bryan Walton* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Hugh Lloyd* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Dr. *John Gauden* Biſhop of *Exeter*, Dr. *George Griffith* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Dr. *Gilbert Ironſide* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Dr. *William Nicholſon* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, Dr. *Robert Sanderſon* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *George Morley* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Iſaac Barrow* Biſhop of *Man*.

Dr. *Reynolds*, a Presbyterian, was offer'd the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*, and he afterwards accepted of it. Mr. *Baxter* was offer'd that of *Hereford*; Mr. *Calamy* the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, on the Tranſlation of Dr. *Frewen* to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. Dr. *Manton* was offer'd the Deanery of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Bates* the Deanery of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Mr. *Bowles* the Deanery of *York*; but all refus'd on account of the uncertain Continuance of the Terms of the ſecond *Declaration*.

Presbyterians King's Chaplains. Several *Presbyterian* Divines were made King's Chaplains; as Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Woodbridge*. Mr. *Newcomen* refus'd it; and none of the above Miniſters were call'd to preach at Court but Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Baxter*, and Dr. *Spurſtow*, each of them once.

The Earl of *Mancheſter* introduc'd Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Aſh*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and all the *Presbyterian* Miniſters who were King's Chaplains to his Majeſty, who was with the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of St. *Alban*'s in the Lord Chamberlain *Mancheſter*'s Lodgings. They congratulated his Majeſty on his *Reſtoration*, and then the Miniſters ſpoke to the King of a Union among his Proteſtant Subjects. His Majeſty bad them draw up ſuch Propoſals as they thought fit, telling them that he was glad they enclin'd to an Agreement, and that he reſolv'd to do his Part to bring them together. Accordingly they did it in Conjunction with Dr. *Worth*, afterwards a Biſhop in *Ireland*, Dr. *Fulkwood*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Totneſs*, Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, &c. Theſe Divines, becauſe they wou'd give as little Occaſion of Exception as poſſible, reduc'd all their Requeſts to Archbiſhop *Uſher*'s *Reduction of Epiſcopacy*, which they deliver'd to the King with an humble Addreſs concerning *Preaching*, the *Obſervation of the Lord's Day*, *Ceremonies*, &c. They were promis'd a Meeting of Epiſcopal Divines before the King when their Propoſals were ready, but none of them came; and inſtead of a Meeting, the Presbyterian Miniſters receiv'd a Paper full of bitter Oppoſitions by way of Confutation of their Propoſals.

The Biſhops, in their Anſwer to the *Presbyterians* Propoſals, have ſome extraordinary Things worth repeating, as

Biſhops Plea. " We believe Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy to be " for the main, the true, antient, primitive Epiſ- " copacy; " that is, the antient Apoſtolical Biſhops had *Courts Prerogatives, Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Officials, Proctors, Paritors,* Powers under their Pagan Princes. A.D.1660

" We cannot grant that the Extent of any " Dioceſs," ſuch as *Lincoln*, conſiſting of *Lincoln* County, 630 Pariſhes, *Leiceſter* 200, *Bedford* 124, *Buckingham* 185, *Huntington* 120, *Hertfordſhire* in Part 41, in all 1300 Pariſhes, " is ſo great, but that the Biſhop may well per- " form that, wherein the proper Office and Du- " ty of a Biſhop doth conſiſt."

They do acknowledge *that Miniſters are not deny'd* the Uſe and Exerciſe of *their Gifts before and after the Sermon.*

They do believe that *the laying aſide of the* Common-Prayer, *was one of the great Cauſes of our ſad Diviſions.* The *Presbyterian* Divines made a Replication, and ſome very learned godly Men amongſt them ſaid, *It is a vain Attempt to endeavour a Reconciliation with ſuch Men; their Minds are exaſperated, and they are reſolv'd to monopolize the Favour of our Prince, and all Honours and Preferments to themſelves. There's no Hope they will do any thing for the promoting of ſtrict ſerious Godlineſs, or any thing that deſerves the Name of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. They undoubtedly do but draw us on, partly to ſpin out the time, till they are ready to perſecute us without any Danger to themſelves, and partly to ſet us together by the Ears, and otherwiſe abuſe us, by drawing us to grant them that which they know our Brethren cannot grant.*

Presbyterian *Anſwer.*

Shortly after this, inſtead of the *Dioceſan*'s Conceſſions, the Miniſters were told, his Majeſty wou'd put all that he thought fit to grant into the Form of a Declaration, wherein the King repeated the Promiſe of *Liberty of Conſcience*, which he made at *Breda*; and *that no Man ſhou'd be diſquieted, or call'd in Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion.* This was in *October*, about two Years before 2 or 3000 Presbyterian Miniſters were turn'd out of their Livings, and 2 or 300,000 Families were diſquieted by an Act of this very King's. This *Declaration* was read by the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, at the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Houſe, in Preſence of his Majeſty, King *Charles* II. Duke of *Albemarle*, Duke of *Ormond*, Dr. *Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Morley* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Dr. *Henchman* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Coſens* Biſhop of *Durham*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Barwick*, Dr. *Gunning*, Earl of *Angleſey*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord *Hollis*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, Mr. *Baxter*. After the *Declaration* was read, there was much Diſcourſe about ſeveral Parts of it; Biſhop *Morley* ſeeming to charge Mr. *Baxter* as if he had contradicted what he had written in his *five Diſputations of Church Government*, Mr. *Baxter* told him, *He had beſt Reaſon to know what he had written, that he was ſtill of the ſame Mind, that he ſtood to it all, and ſpoke nothing againſt it.* A great many Words paſs'd about *Prelacy* and *Re-ordination*. Dr. *Gunning* and Biſhop *Morley* ſpoke almoſt all on one Side, and Dr. *Henchman* and Dr. *Coſens* ſometimes. Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Baxter* ſpoke moſt on the other Side. Mr. *Calamy* anſwer'd Dr. *Gunning* from Scripture, againſt the divine Rights of Prelacy, as a diſtinct Order; and when Dr. *Gunning* told them Dr. *Hammond* had ſaid enough againſt the Presbyterians Cauſe, and Ordinations, and was yet unanſwer'd, Mr. *Baxter* reply'd, *I have anſwer'd the Subſtance of his Arguments, and ſaid enough againſt the Dioceſſan Frame of Government, and to prove the Validity of the Engliſh* Presbyters *Ordination, which indeed is unanſwer'd, tho' I am very deſirous to ſee an Anſwer to it.*

King's Declaration in Favour of them.

The

A.D.1660 The Earl of *Clarendon* produc'd a Paper, being a ſort of Petition from the *Independants* and *Baptiſts*: in behalf of themſelves, for whom this Clauſe was added to the Declaration. *Others ſhall be permitted to meet for religious Worſhip, ſo be it they do it not to the Diſturbance of the Peace, and no Juſtice of the Peace or Officer ſhou'd diſturb them*; which when the Earl had read, he deſir'd them all to think on it, and give their Advice; but all were ſilent. The *Presbyterians* perceiv'd as ſoon as they heard it, that 'twas intended to tolerate Popery, and Dr. *Wallis* whiſper'd Mr. *Baxter* in the Ear, that he ſhou'd *ſay nothing, 'tis an odious Buſineſs, let the Biſhops ſpeak to it.* But the Biſhops wou'd not ſay a Word, nor wou'd any one of the *Presbyterians* ſpeak to it. At length Mr. *Baxter* fearing their Silence wou'd be miſinterpreted, ſpoke to this Purpoſe; Dr. *Gunning*, a little before, *ſpeaking againſt* Sects, *nam'd* Papiſts *and* Socinians. *For our Parts, we do not deſire Favour for ourſelves alone, and rigorous Severity againſt none; but as we humbly thank his Majeſty for his declar'd Indulgence* TO OUR SELVES, *ſo we diſtinguiſh the* Tolerable *from the* Intolerable; *for the former we humbly crave juſt Lenity, but for the latter, ſuch as the two ſorts mention'd; for our Parts we cou'd not make their* Toleration *our Requeſt.* The King reply'd, *There are Laws ſufficient againſt* Papiſts. Mr. *Baxter* anſwer'd, *We underſtand the Queſtion to be, whether thoſe Laws will be executed or not, ſo that Matter drop'd.* Several Alterations were made, and the Earl of *Angleſey*, the Lord *Hollis*, Biſhop *Morley*, Biſhop *Henchman*, Dr. *Reignolds*, and Mr. *Calamy* were appointed to determine any Diſpute that might ariſe about Words in the Declaration. Accordingly the Declaration came out ſo amended, with ſuch a paſtoral perſuaſive Power of Governing left to the Miniſters, with the Rural Deans, as that it was fitted to be an Inſtrument of Concord and Peace, if ſettled by a Law; *and ſo*, continues Dr. *Calamy*, *the Diviſion might have been heal'd upon the Alteration of the Liturgy, as the Declaration promis'd, with other Matters.*

King's Declaration about Religion.

The Preamble to this Declaration is worth reading: "When we were in *Holland* we were "attended by many grave and learned Miniſters "from hence, who were look'd upon as the moſt "able and principal Aſſertors of *Presbyterian* "*Opinions*, with whom we had as much Con"ference as the multitude of Affairs wou'd per"mit us to have; and to our great Satisfaction "and Comfort, found them Perſons full of Af"fection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of Church "and State, and neither Enemies, as they have "been given out to be, of *Epiſcopacy* or *Li*"*turgy*, but modeſtly to deſire ſuch Alterations "in either, as without ſhaking Foundations "might allay the preſent Diſtempers." *Echard* cries out againſt this Declaration as *over-ſtrain'd, not only to over-rule the Canons* (the Lord help them! What ſignify the Canons to the Peace of Church and State?) *and diſable the Diſcipline of the Church, but likewiſe to lie hard upon the Conſtitution, by diſpenſing with the Statutes.* What Strength there is in what he ſays! If thoſe Statutes, or any Statutes, tended to the Diſturbance of Church or State, they ſhou'd have been repeal'd rather than diſpens'd with; but theſe were Times that *requir'd irregular Methods.* The Reaſon and Temper of this *irregular* Declaration, as he terms it, are equally conſpicuous, and oblige him, notwithſtanding what he has ſaid, and what he wou'd have ſaid againſt it, to recommend it as an *excellent Pattern of Wiſdom and Goodneſs.* Had it been as ſincere as it was wiſe and good, the Happineſs of the Times wou'd have deſerv'd another Sort of Panegyriſt than that Hiſtorian. The Subſtance of it was, "That A.D.1660 "the King reſolv'd to promote the Power of God"lineſs, to encourage the Exerciſe of Religion, "take Care that the Lord's Day ſhou'd be applied "to holy Exerciſes, without unneceſſary Diver"tiſements, *ſuch as the Book of Sports had en*"*joyn'd*; that *inſufficient, negligent*, and *ſcan*"*dalous* Miniſters ſhou'd not be permitted in the "Church; that no *Biſhop* ſhou'd ordain or ex"erciſe any Part of Juriſdiction without the Ad"vice and Aſſiſtance of the *Presbyters*, and nei"ther do nor impoſe any thing but what is ac"cording to the known Laws of the Land: That "Chancellors, Commiſſaries, and Officials be ex"cluded from Acts of Juriſdiction." Here King *Charles* and the Earl of *Clarendon* declar'd themſelves againſt *Spiritual Courts*, ſo juſtly odious to the *Engliſh* Nation, and of no other Uſe than to feed the Malice and Revenge of paſſionate, inſolent Prieſts, or the ſplenetick, litigious Humour of revengeful, malicious Layicks, and pamper a parcel of ravenous, vitious Advocates and Proctors.

"That the Power of the Paſtors in the ſeve"veral Congregations ſhou'd be reſtor'd, and a "Liberty granted to all Miniſters to aſſemble "Monthly for the Exerciſe of the paſtoral per"ſuaſive Power to the promoting of Knowledge "and Godlineſs in their Flocks.

No mention here of our Archdeacon or his Viſitation, which, whether to the *promoting* of Knowledge and Godlineſs, I refer to our Dignitary himſelf.

"That the Miniſters ſhou'd be freed from the "Subſcriptions requir'd by the Canons, and the "Oath of Canonical Obedience, and receive "*Ordination*, *Inſtitution*, and *Induction*, and ex"erciſe their Function, and enjoy the Profits of "their Livings without being oblig'd to it: And "that the Uſe of Ceremonies ſhou'd be diſ"pens'd with where they were ſcrupled." If this moſt Chriſtian Declaration had been purſu'd, all Nonconformity had been confounded: There wou'd have remain'd no Pretence for Scruple, and not to conform, wou'd have been a ſad Effect of Stupidity, as it is now of Miſtake.

The Lord *Clarendon*, who drew up this healing Declaration, told the Parliament a very few Months after, *That the Clergy ſtill repeated their old Errors, and were not effectually ſubdu'd.* Inſtead of a *Conference*, 'tis turn'd about to a *Conqueſt*; inſtead of *Comprehenſion*, 'tis *now Perſecution.* The Truth is, King *Charles* never intended to relieve the Diſſenters; and it is more than probable that the Earl of *Clarendon* drew up the above-mention'd *Declaration* and the *Act of Uniformity* at one and the ſame time, or within a few Days odds, though they differ one from the other as much as *Reward* and *Puniſhment.*

Some of the above-mention'd Biſhops, as *Morley*, *Henchman*, and *Coſens*, being but Elects, tho' not Conſecrated, the Presbyterian Miniſters call'd them my Lords; which Dr. *Morley* once return'd thus upon Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, *We may call you alſo I ſuppoſe by the ſame Title*, meaning the Biſhopricks to which thoſe three Miniſters were nominated. Theſe Divines had frequent Diſcourſe together on that Subject. They all thought a Biſhoprick might be accepted according to the Deſcription of the Declaration, without any violation of the *Covenant*, or owning the antient *Prelacy.* But all the Doubt was, whether this *Declaration* wou'd be made a Law, as was then expected, or whether it were but a temporary Means to draw them in to all the Dioceſans deſir'd. Mr. *Baxter*, after much Conſideration and Conſultation, refus'd to

A.D.1660 accept a Biſhoprick, and gave his Reaſons in a Letter to the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. Dr. *Reignolds* accepted it a little in haſte, as it was thought, ſaying, *A Friend had taken out the* Congé d'Elire *for him without his Knowledge.*

The *London* Miniſters were divided in their Sentiments concerning the Declaration; ſome thought it to be a Breach of the Covenant they had taken againſt any Sort of Prelacy, others, that it was reduc'd in the Declaration ſo far, as not to be within the Obligation of that Oath againſt the old Epiſcopacy. The latter drew an Addreſs of Thanks to the King, and preſented it *November* the 16th: 'Twas ſign'd by Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Meriton*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Gouge*, Mr. *Rawlinſon*, Mr. *Sheffield*, Mr. *Sangar*, Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Whittaker*, Mr. *Lye*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Pledger*, Mr. *Gibbon*, Mr. *Poole*, &c. All this fair Proceeding was meer Grimace, and intended to blind the Presbyterians till the Army was disbanded, and the Prelatical Party cou'd throw off the Mask with Safety.

The King did not forbear ſhewing his Diſlike of his Presbyterian Company, and Mr. *Caſe* the Miniſter, who thought he had deſerv'd highly of the King by what he had done towards his Reſtoration, wou'd once have preſs'd with his uſual Freedom into his Preſence, and being deny'd Entrance, ſent in his Name. The King ſuffer'd him to be admitted in compliance with his Importunity; but by the Carriage of thoſe who were preſent, their deriding his Habit and uncourtly Addreſs, he might eaſily perceive he was not welcome at *Whitehall*. His Majeſty ask'd him, *What he had to ſay?* Mr. *Caſe* told him, He had a Word of Advice to offer concerning the Brethren of the *Presbytery*; but the King preſently interrupted him, ſaying, *I do not remember I have made you one of my Council.*

The Princeſs of *Orange*, Mother to King *William* III. paid her Brother King *Charles* a Viſit about the latter End of the Summer. Juſt before ſhe landed, her Brother *Henry* of *Oatlands*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, dy'd of the Small Pox. He was the moſt Virtuous of the three Brothers, and the moſt belov'd. It is ſaid he reconcil'd himſelf to the Church of *Rome* in *France*, and that the Papiſts had more Hopes of him than of the two other Princes, King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, he being principled in their Religion, whereas thoſe Princes did not much trouble themſelves about Religious Principles. *Echard* affirms, he was an *invincible Aſſertor of the Proteſtant Faith*; which he cou'd not learn of his Mother, nor any about her. He adds, that to preſerve him from Temptation, his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange* allow'd him half of her yearly Income; and conſidering ſhe allow'd ſomething too to her other Brothers, the King and the Duke, ſhe cou'd not have much left out of about 15,000 Pounds *per Annum*.

Duke of Glouceſter's *Death.*

He aſſures us he had all this from an unqueſtionable Hand, and I take on me to aſſure the Reader, that what I ſay of his being reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*, I had from a Miniſter of State, a Man of known Wiſdom and Probity, who liv'd many Years abroad in *France* and *Holland*, and was in particular Favour with his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* at the *Hague*.

Within a few Days after arriv'd the Queen Mother, and her Daughter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, with Prince *Edward*, his late Majeſty King *George* the Firſt's Uncle. Whatever Buſineſs the Queen came to do, there's no doubt it was bad enough for the Intereſt of *England* and the Proteſtant Religion. *Echard* tells us, She propos'd a Match between the King and the Lady *Hortenſea Mancini*, Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Neece, who was to have twenty Millions of Livres to her Portion, which is as credible as other Parts of his Hiſtory. She is the ſame Lady who afterwards liv'd and dy'd in *England* in a mean Condition, both as to Fortune and Character. A.D.1660 *Dutcheſs of* Mazarine.

Ludlow ſpeaks of this Viſit very differently from the Archdeacon. "*Henrietta Maria* of *France*, Widow to the late King *Charles*, who had been a principal Inſtrument to adviſe and encourage him in his illegal Actions, paſs'd over into *England* about this Time, and being arriv'd at *London*, the Houſe of Commons, in which were many Perſons who had been Members of that Parliament which had threaten'd to accuſe her of *High Treaſon*, not only congratulated her Return, but preſented her Daughter who had accompany'd her in her Journey with 10,000 Pounds. But notwithſtanding all the flattering Subſerviency they cou'd ſhew, and all that they cou'd do to procure themſelves to be thought fit for the Service of the Court, yet being not thoroughly principled to do the Work of the *Church*, they were acquainted when they met again in *November*, that they ſhou'd be diſſolv'd on the 24th of *December*; againſt which Time it was deſir'd that all Bills under Conſideration might be made ready. And leſt the People ſhou'd upon the *Diſſolution* of this Aſſembly form a Body of Men, and aſſert their Liberties, it was pretended that a great Plot to ſeize the King and the *Tower*, to kill the Queen, with all thoſe that ſhou'd be found of the *French* Nation, and to reſtore the Parliament, was carrying on throughout *England*." Under this Colour Major General *Desborough*, Major General *Overton*, Colonel *Salmon*, Colonel *Duckenfield*, Lieutenant Colonel *Farley*, Major *Whitby*, Major *Anthony Morgan*, were ſeiz'd and impriſon'd, though it was not poſſible for any Man of common Senſe to believe that theſe Gentlemen, who in the height of the Common-wealth Party were by no means the Men of Intereſt, ſhou'd now ſet themſelves up againſt the King, the Army, the Fleet, and the Kingdom, while every Head was yet hot with Joy for his Majeſty's *Reſtoration*. *Queen Mother in* England. *A Plot.*

During the Noiſe of this Conſpiracy, the Queen, accompany'd with her Daughter and *Jermyn*, return'd to *France*, the latter having been a particular Favourite of hers for many Years. Some believ'd ſhe was terrify'd by the Rumour of Deſigns againſt her Perſon; but, ſays *Ludlow*, "She who knew the Plot to be no more than a Fiction, had other real Grounds for her Departure. She had endeavour'd to perſuade her Son to remove the Chancellor *Hyde* from his Councils, and finding ſhe effected nothing by her continual Sollicitations, ſhe ſoon grew weary of *England*; where, though by the Importunity of the King, ſhe had at laſt admitted the new Dutcheſs of *York* into her Preſence, yet by applying herſelf to other Company, not deſiring her to ſit, and taking the firſt Opportunity to withdraw from the Room, ſhe abundantly ſhew'd that ſhe thought her not worthy to be treated as a Daughter. Theſe were the principal, if not the only Reaſons that mov'd the Queen to quit the Court of her Son, and to retire into her own Country; though to give a better Colour to her Departure, and to conceal theſe Domeſtick Diviſions, they made uſe of the Pretences before-mention'd.

In *November*, *Lewis of Naſſau*, Lord of *Beverweart*, *Simon Van Hoorn*, *Michael Van Gogh*, and *Mr. de Ripperda*, Ambaſſadors from the States General of the United Provinces, arriv'd at *Dutch Ambaſſadors.*

A.D.1660 *London* from *Holland*. They were receiv'd at the *Tower* by the Earl of *Craven*, having with him about twenty Coaches and ſix Horſes, who conducted them to Sir *Abraham Williams*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, where their Expences were defray'd; and they were treated in all Reſpects, as well at their Audience, as on other Occaſions, with the ſame Honours that are done to Ambaſſadors of Crown'd Heads. The King had as yet freſh in his Memory the Reſpect which had been ſhewn him in *Holland*, when he paſs'd through that Province in order to his Imbarkation near the *Hague*, where the States of *Holland* had been at the Expence of 250,000 Crowns for his Entertainment; and this was the firſt Time that the Ambaſſadors of the States General were treated as the Miniſters of Crown'd Heads.

King Charles's Match with Portugal.

The King of *Portugal*'s Miniſter was early with his Maſter's Complements, and Propoſals of a Marriage between the King and the Infanta *Katharine* of *Portugal*, which the King of *Spain*'s Miniſters endeavour'd to prevent: Nay, they went ſo far in it, as to offer two Millions Portion, if his Majeſty wou'd make Choice of any other Princeſs for a Wife, even though ſhe was a Proteſtant. Some ſay the Queen Mother's Errand to *England* was about this Match with *Portugal*, the *French* King engaging to pay 400,000 Pounds with her: Others tell us ſhe came over to treat with her Son about marrying her Daughter to Monſieur the *French* King's Brother; and others again ſay it was about the Sale of *Dunkirk*.

Beſides the Reſident of *France*, there were in the Court of *England* Monſieur *D'Eſtrades*, and Monſieur *Courtin*, Ambaſſadors Extraordinary from the *French* King; and from the King of *Spain*, the Prince de *Ligny*, and the Baron *de Batteville*, to congratulate his *Britannick* Majeſty on his *Reſtoration*, and promote their Maſters ſeveral and different Intereſts. The *French*, who had driven the Royal Family of *England* out of *France*, found Means to be prefer'd in King *Charles*'s Friendſhip, though it was apparently for his and the Kingdoms Intereſt to have cultivated a Friendſhip with *Spain*. The Caſe was much alter'd ſince *Cromwel*'s Treaty with *Mazarine*, who dy'd about this Time. *France* was in Peace at Home and Abroad, under a Prince of great Ambition and Genius. *Spain* was govern'd by a ſickly old King, without an Heir Male, and his Dominions were like to encreaſe the exorbitant Power of *France*, eſpecially on the Side of *Flanders*, which is the Barrier of *England*. By the Treaty *Cromwel* made with *France*, the Commerce of *England* had a Credit Balance of 5 or 600,000 Pounds a Year, by lowering the Duty on Woollen Manufactures from *England*; which Treaty King *Charles* rejected, becauſe 'twas made by an *Uſurper*; and, ſays *Coke*, *He never after made any other inſtead of it, but left his Subjects to be us'd even as the* French *pleas'd in their Trade to* France. They rais'd the Duties on our Woollen Goods ſo high, that it imply'd a Prohibition of them, and the *Engliſh* loſt above a Million a Year by the *French Trade*. And to render his Engagement with *France* ſtill more ruinous and ſhameful, he ſells *Dunkirk* for 400,000 Pounds, immediately after the Parliament had appropriated 60,000 Pounds of the *Hereditary Exciſe* for maintaining the Garriſon there. Half of the Money for *Dunkirk* went with the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria* to the Duke of *Orleans* in Marriage, and 'tis ſuppos'd the reſt was divided among the King and his Miniſters; at leaſt the People was ſo jealous of it, that the magnificent Palace which the Chancellor *Hyde* built afterwards, was from thence call'd *Dunkirk-Houſe*.

Ruinous Trade with France.

Sells Dunkirk.

Such were the Beginnings of King *Charles*'s Adminiſtration, with reſpect both to Foreigners and his own Subjects; and it mends not during the whole Continuance of it. A.D.1660

Among other Ambaſſadors came Count *Brahée* from the King of *Sweden*, at whoſe Entry happen'd a very dangerous Conteſt and Fray between the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *France* for Precedence. 'Twas not by Accident, but a determin'd prepar'd Buſineſs. Both *Spaniſh* and *French* Ambaſſadors being to ſend their Coaches to meet Count *Brahée*, Ambaſſador from *Sweden*, on the Day of his Entry, the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *France* foreſeeing the Conteſt, each of them took ſuch Meaſures as he thought fit to procure the Advantage to his Side. The Baron *de Batteville*, Ambaſſador from *Spain*, ſent for ſome Soldiers from *Flanders*, and made ſure of ſeveral *Engliſh*. Inſtead of *Traces*, he caus'd Iron Chains of a moderate Thickneſs to be cover'd with Leather, that they might not be liable to be cut. The Count *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador, had re-inforc'd his Equipage a little; but not expecting Things wou'd come to ſuch Extremities, he had not taken all the Precaution which might have protected him from the Violence of others. *Spaniſh and French Miniſters quarrel.*

The Duke of *York* having Information that a Diſpute was intended, caus'd a Troop of Horſe and three Companies of Foot to be drawn out on *Tower-Hill*, where the Coaches were to meet thoſe of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador; but the Officers having no Orders to meddle in the Quarrel of the Ambaſſadors, all they cou'd do was to be Spectators of the Fight and Confuſion. Some of the *French* Ambaſſador's Coach-Horſes were kill'd, as well as two or three of his People. Some of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Train loſt alſo their Lives, but they carry'd the Day; for the Traces of *D'Eſtrade*'s Coach being cut, it cou'd not move without Horſes. It was in Conſequence of this Diſorder, and of Count *D'Eſtrade*'s Complaints upon it, that King *Charles* order'd that no Foreign Miniſters Coaches ſhou'd for the future attend at this kind of Ceremony. When the *French* King was inform'd of this Rencounter, he ſent Orders to the Count *de Fuenſaldagne*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at his Court, to leave *Paris* in twenty-four Hours, and order'd the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*, his Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, to require Satisfaction; which was given, by ordering all the Ambaſſadors of *Spain not to be preſent at the Ceremonies at which thoſe of* France *aſſiſt*.

I ſhou'd not have been ſo particular in any Account of this Scuffle, but that it is one of the moſt Military Actions in this Reign, *Venner*'s Riſing, a Riſing or two in *Scotland*, and the two *Dutch* Wars excepted.

On the ſixth of *November* the Parliament met according to the former Adjournment. When the Diſbanding was debated, Mr. *Prynne* deſir'd the Houſe *to be mindful not to do thoſe Things that might bring them together again*, which brought him into Danger of a very rough Reprimand. Then Mr. *Echard* tells us of their *Active* Proceedings, as ſettling 1,200,000 Pounds *per An.* on his Majeſty, ordering the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwel*, *John Bradſhaw*, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, to be taken out of their Graves and hang'd up at *Tyburn*. Do generous Enemies always do ſo by the Carcaſes of their Conquerors? They then attrainted ſome Perſons who were withdrawn out of the Kingdom, as *John Liſle*, Eſq; *William Say*, Eſq; *Valentine Walton*, Eſq; Col. *Barkſtead*, Commiſſary General *Whalley*, *Daniel Blagrave*, Eſq; Sir *Michael Liveſay*, *Cornelius Holland*, Eſq; *William Cowley*, Eſq; *Thomas Challoner*, Eſq; *Miles Corbet*, Eſq; *Nicholas* *Parliament.*

Mr. Prynne's Saying of the Army.

Abſent Perſons condemn'd.

A.D.1660 *cholas Love*, Eſq; Mr. *Broughton*, Mr. *Dendy*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *Okey*, Col. *Goffe*, Col. *Dixwell*, Col. *Hewſon*. They alſo impeach'd one Mr. *William Drake*, a Tradeſman of *London*, for writing a Book call'd *The long Parliament reviv'd*, and after a Seſſion of about ſeven Weeks they were diſſolv'd, *December* the 29th, the King having paſs'd ſeveral Bills, and heard a Speech from the Speaker of a good Length, ending thus, *We muſt needs be a happy Parliament, a Reconciling and Peace-making Parliament, a Parliament* propter Excellentiam, *that may truly be call'd* Parliamentiſſimum Parliamentum. The Speech which his Majeſty made on this Occaſion *ought*, ſays *Echard*, *to be inſerted without any Abridgment*; ſo I refer the Reader to his Hiſtory for it entire, and for Chancellor *Hyde*'s in the next Page; of both which I ſhall only inſert a Paragraph or two. His Majeſty told them, "I pray let us reſolve that this be for ever "call'd the *Healing*, the *Bleſſed Parliament*; and Chancellor *Hyde* told them, *A Party of the late disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and others, full of Diſcontent and ſeditious Purpoſes, had reſolv'd to attempt the Change of the preſent Government, and to erect a Common-wealth, in which* Ludlow *and other deſperate Perſons were concern'd*. There does not in the whole Conduct of *Ludlow*'s Life appear one Action, that only excepted wherein he with others became guilty of the King's Death, which does not argue a good Underſtanding, and as great Caution and Courage. It was not poſſible for ſo wiſe and intelligent a Man as he to engage with two or three Serjeants and Corporals, or with two or three broken Colonels and Captains, to overthrow the Government, and ſet up a Republick without Men, without Money, without Ships, without Arms, without Name and Intereſt; and this *incredible Scandal* taints the whole Speech ſo much, that I ſhall make uſe of no more of it. He was foiſted into it to prepare the Way for a *Militia* Act, and to render ſome ſevere Acts againſt the *Presbyterians* neceſſary, under Pretence of Danger.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

Plot.

On the Twenty-fourth of *December* dy'd the beloved Princeſs of *Orange* of the Small-Pox, and with much Labour and Patience we are at laſt come to the End of this *Wonderful Year*, as it is call'd by *Echard*; and we ſhall not part with it till we have remembred, as Mr. Archdeacon has done, the Beginning of the *Royal Society*, the chief Promoters of which were Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Bathurſt*, Dr. *Wren*, Lord *Brouncker*, Mr. *Boyle*, Sir *William Petty*, and Mr. *Rooke*. But when he comes to give an Account of the *Beaux Eſprits*, the fine Wits of the Reſtoration Period, he omits telling us how *Waller*, *Sprat*, *Dryden*, *South*, had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by ſuch Panegyricks upon *Cromwel*, that they out-did every thing which had till then been ſeen of *Engliſh* Poetry. *Coke* ſays, *The Poets ſtrain'd their Wits to that Pitch to celebrate his Encomiums, that they cou'd never after arrive to it*. Dr. *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *South*, Canon of *Chriſt-church*, ſtrain'd higher than even *Waller* and *Dryden* in Praiſe of *Oliver*. To his Liſt of polite Writers might have been added *Wilkins* and *Bates*; and as to *D'avenant* and *L'Eſtrange*'s refining and improving our Tongue, he ſhew'd his Knowledge in Language to be as imperfect as in Hiſtory. How came he to forget the immortal *Milton*, and the very witty *Marvel*? I ſuppoſe they were too *Republican* with him to have *Politeneſs* and *Taſte*. His Function might have led him to treat of the Manners of the Court, and then he might have told us, if he wou'd, what was the Refinement and Improvement there, as *Coke* does.

Royal Society.

Beaux Eſprits.

"All ſorts of Men endeavour'd to imitate the "Luxury and Prodigality of the Court, which "ſcarce entertain'd any but upon theſe Terms. "To humour the King, the publick Theatres "were ſtuff'd with moſt obſcene Actions and "Interludes; and the more obſcene pleas'd the "King the better, who grac'd the Opening of "them with his Preſence at the firſt Notice of a "new Play." 'Twas obſerv'd and confeſs'd, that the *Engliſh* Gentlemen of the *Cavalier* Party in *Cromwel*'s Time liv'd better under Sequeſtration, ſuch was the Sobriety and Modeſty then in Faſhion, than after they were put in full Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, ſuch was the Luxury and Profuſion, ſuch the Lewdneſs and Extravagance that came in with the King!

A.D.1660

What further Improvements and Refinements the Court made in *Taſte* and Manners, during all this Reign, will be ſeen in every Page of the Hiſtory.

We ſhall now look a little into the Affairs of *Ireland* and *Scotland*. The Earl of *Orrery*, ſoon after the Reſtoration, return'd to *Ireland*, to take Care of his Concerns there, where he underſtood a Petition was preparing by the *Iriſh* Papiſts to be preſented to the King for reſtoring their Eſtates. To prevent which a Counter Petition was drawn up by the Proteſtants, who choſe Deputies, of whom my Lord *Orrery* was chief, to appear for them at Court, as the *Iriſh* Papiſts had done, the Chief of whoſe Deputies was Sir *Nicholas Plunket*. The latter knowing the Lord *Orrery* to be their moſt zealous Opponent, tempted him with an Offer of 8000 Pounds down, and an Eſtate of 7000 Pounds *per Annum*, when their Matters were ſettled, if he wou'd be ſilent in the Buſineſs; but that not ſucceeding, a Day was appointed for a Hearing of both Sides before the King and Council. Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, as for the Petitioners, was order'd to be heard firſt, and he took a great deal of Pains to ſet forth the Loyalty and Sufferings of the *Iriſh* Catholicks under the late Uſurpers, what Loſſes they had met with by their *Tranſplantation*, humbly praying Relief as to their Eſtates, Liberties, &c. My Lord *Orrery* anſwer'd *Plunket*, and having congratulated his Majeſty on his Reſtoration, in the Name of all the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, he enlarg'd upon the Merit of their late Services, they being the firſt of all his Majeſty's Subjects who declar'd for him effectually, and invited him into his Kingdom; on which Account they might hope for as much Favour as any other, and more than thoſe who were declar'd Enemies to his late Majeſty, and to be proſecuted with Fire and Sword. Here the King was pleas'd to bear Witneſs to what Lord *Orrery* had ſaid of the early Appearance of the Proteſtants in *Ireland* for him, owning that the Earl of *Orrery*, in the Name, and by Commiſſion of his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, was the firſt of all his Subjects who invited him to that Kingdom. I obſerve, as well in Manuſcript Hiſtory as the *Common Hiſtories*, that every one is every where putting in for the Merit of the *Reſtoration*, for no other Reaſon certainly but that they may have the Reward, and the Author of the Manuſcript Memoirs of the Lord *Orrery* does labour this Matter in a particular Manner. His Lordſhip then repreſented to the Board, that the *Engliſh* in *Ireland* had only fought in Defence of their Lives, Eſtates, Religion and Liberties, againſt thoſe who, contrary to Law, Conſcience and Right, wou'd have diſpoil'd them of all. That the *Iriſh* Papiſts, after the Ceſſation of Arms, had ſent no Aſſiſtance to the late King, as they had promis'd to do, and wou'd have cut off the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Majeſty's Lord Lieutenant at *Kilkenny*, which Lord

1661. Ireland *Affairs.*

Ormond

A.D. 1661 *Ormond* averr'd to be true, and that they refus'd to receive him into *Limerick*, but endeavour'd to intercept and murder him in his Return to *Dublin*. Then the Earl of *Orrery* produc'd a Paper ſign'd by *Plunket* and ſeveral of the ſupreme Council of *Kilkenny*, asking him if it was not his Hand, and if the Hands of others of them then preſent were not of their Writing. The Marquis of *Ormond* ſeeing it cry'd, *Sir* Nicholas Plunket, *that is certainly your Writing*, which neither he nor the others cou'd deny, and being read, it appear'd to be an Order of the *Supream Council* to proſecute the Marquis of *Ormond* by Name, then Lord Lieutenant, and his Party with Fire and Sword. Upon which the Earl of *Orrery* ſaid, *Theſe muſt be very Loyal Subjects indeed, that had declar'd War againſt his Majeſty's Commiſſion'd Lieutenant!* He added, *It will be prov'd to this moſt Honourable Board, that the* Iriſh *did not only declare War againſt his Majeſty's Lieutenant, but that Sir* Nicholas Plunket *himſelf had been impower'd by them by a Commiſſion under the Hands of the Supream Council*, which he alſo produc'd, and the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners cou'd not deny the Hand Writing of *Plunket* and others of them, *to offer the Pope the Kingdom of* Ireland: *If he refus'd it, to offer it to the King of* Spain; *and in caſe he wou'd not accept of it, to make the ſame Offer to the King of* France, *the Duke of* Lorrain, *or any other Catholick Prince.* Then his Lordſhip ſhew'd the Council another Paper ſubſcrib'd as before, which I have ſeen in Print, and deſir'd it might be read. It was a Petition drawn up by the Heads of the *Iriſh* Nation, about the Tranſplantation; wherein they gave the Common-wealth Parliament the Stile and Title of *the ſupream Authority, acknowledging it to be juſtly and lawfully lodg'd in that* Aſſembly *to whom they ſubmitted their Lives and Fortunes.* The King was oblig'd to yield to ſo much Proof and Reaſon; the *Iriſh* Petition was rejected, and *Plunket* and the other Popiſh Deputies were forbidden his Preſence and Court, *pro Formâ*, but he had nevertheleſs Intereſt and Favour in it. The Earl of *Montrath* and the ſix other Proteſtant Commiſſioners were very inquiſitive to know how Lord *Orrery* came by thoſe Papers, and why he had not communicated them to his Fellow-Commiſſioners before the Hearing. His Lordſhip told them, *He wou'd not truſt his Brother with them for Fear; if 'twere known he had ſuch original Papers the Papiſts, who were confident of Succeſs without ſuch Evidence againſt them, might uſe ſome Art or other to render them ineffectual, which, if they were ſurpriz'd with them, they cou'd not do.* He ſaid, the Manner of his coming by ſuch Originals was very extraordinary, "That upon his being nam'd one of the "Deputies for the Proteſtants in *Ireland*, a plain, "grave, Country Gentleman came to his Houſe "in *Munſter*, and deſir'd to ſpeak with him in "private;" which being admitted he ſaid, *He heard his Lordſhip was going to Court in ſuch a Commiſſion, and knowing him to be a Man of Integrity, he had brought ſome Papers, which he thought wou'd be uſeful to him for the* Engliſh *Intereſt againſt the* Iriſh; *that he wou'd not truſt his own Son with them, and therefore came in Perſon to wait on his Lordſhip, and deliver them to him.* My Lord ask'd *how he got them!* The Gentleman reply'd, He had had ſuch a Command in the Army, and one of his Soldiers, in rifling the Houſe of an *Iriſh* Papiſt of Diſtinction, brought away theſe Papers, which he took from him, and laid them up ſafe to be made uſe of upon Occaſion, and none cou'd be more proper than this. When the Earl of *Orrery* ask'd what his Name was, and where he liv'd, he deſir'd to be excus'd; and having deliver'd the Papers to him, he went his Way; nor cou'd the Earl ever ſee him, or hear of him afterwards. A.D. 1661

Soon after the Earl of *Orrery*, the Earl of *Montrath*, and Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, were appointed Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom, and were directed to call and hold a Parliament there, in which paſs'd the famous *Act of Settlement*, the Draft of which was prepar'd by the Earl of *Orrery*. The King, to whom the latter had deliver'd all the original Papers above-mention'd, by Command, gave the Earl a Liſt of Papiſt's Names, whoſe Eſtates were to be excepted out of the Act; the Duke of *Ormond* did the ſame. By this Act the forfeited Eſtates were ſettled on the Purchaſers, Officers and Soldiers who had them for their Arrears, and others who had them by Purchaſe; but the Court of Claims broke in upon it ſo much, in Favour of the *Iriſh* Papiſts, by Direction from *England*, that 'twas the Cauſe of a loud continual Clamour, 'till it was repeal'd in the Reign of this King's Brother, King *James*.

Scotland. The *Scots* had very great Reaſon to hope that the *Kirk* was coming into Halcyon Days, having a *Covenanting* King on the Throne; a King who had thrice taken that ſolemn League, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, and by a tremendous Appeal to the *living God*, that his Heart went with his Hand and his Lips in ſubſcribing and pronouncing it. But their Hope, and their Covenant vaniſh'd in a few Months, and a Set of cruel impious Governors were put over them both in Church and State.

In *Auguſt* the Earl of *Glencairne* was ſent down to *Scotland*, to call the Committee of Eſtates, till the Parliament, which was to meet in *January*, cou'd ſit. There met alſo at *Edinburgh* ten or twelve Miniſters, who had a Paper before them, drawn up by Mr. *Guthry*, a very warm Man, in which, after ſome cold Complements to the King, on his *Reſtoration*, "they "put him in Mind of the *Covenant*, which he "had ſo ſolemnly ſworn while among them; "they lamented, that inſtead of purſuing the "Ends of it in *England*, according to the Oaths "he had taken, he had ſet up the *Common-*"*Prayer* in his Chappel, and the Order of Bi-"ſhops; upon which they made terrible Denun-"ciations of heavy Judgments from God upon "him, if he did not ſtand to the *Covenant*, "which they call'd the Oath of God." The Earl of *Glencairne* having Notice of this Meeting, ſent Officers who ſeiz'd every one of the Miniſters, together with their Paper. The Government ſet the other Miniſters at Liberty, after they had ſuffer'd ſome Severities in Priſon; but Mr. *Guthry*, Miniſter of *Sterling*, when the King reſided there, was kept cloſe Priſoner, and was cited to anſwer for ſome Expreſſions in the Pulpit, which had offended the King and his Counſellors. He refus'd anſwering to any one but the *Presbytery*; he alſo proteſted for Remedy at Law againſt the King, for diſturbing him in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry; at which his Majeſty was ſo irritated, that it was reſolv'd to make an Example of him, and ſtrike Terror into his Brethren. *Mr.* Guthry's *Sufferings.*

The Committee of Eſtates ſummon'd great Numbers of Perſons, who had been buſy in the late Times, to appear before them, and give Bail for their forth Coming, at the Opening of the Parliament. Many ſaw that the Intentions of this, was to fright them into a Compoſition, and alſo into a Concurrence with the Meaſures that were to be taken; ſo they comply'd and redeem'd themſelves by Preſents from farther Vexation, which Preſents fell moſtly into the Hands of Sir *Archibald*

A.D.1661 *Archibald Primroſe* and Sir *John Fletcher*. The Meaſures and Manners in *Scotland* cannot fail of being of a Piece with thoſe in *England*. The Earl of *Middleton* is ſent thither to open the Parliament, and ſee what Account Biſhop *Burnet* gives of him, "His Way of Living was not only "the moſt ſplendid the Nation had ever ſeen, "but was likewiſe the moſt ſcandalous; for Vices "of all Sorts were the open Practices of thoſe "about him. Drinking was the moſt notorious "of all, which was often continu'd thro' the "whole Night, till the next Morning, and many "Diſorders happening after thoſe irregular Heats, "the People, who had never before that time "ſeen any thing like it, came to look with an ill "Eye on every thing that was done by ſuch a "Set of lewd and vicious Men. This laid in all "Mens Minds a new Prejudice againſt *Epiſco-* "*pacy*." The Parliament, in the Tranſport that ſeiz'd them, after reading the King's Letter, paſs'd an Act, extending the King's Prerogative as far as *Primroſe*, who drew it, had Words to extend it. They paſs'd another Act, whereby all Leagues not made by the King's Authority, were declar'd illegal, which ſtriking at the very Root of the *Covenant*, extreamly troubled the *Presbytery*; for the *Covenant* was a *League* made with *England* 1643, which was thus condemn'd, and declar'd of no Force for the future. Mr. *Macquair* Miniſter of *Glaſgow*, was baniſh'd the Kingdom for proteſting againſt this Act. Another paſs'd by this Parliament was to *reſcind* all Parliaments held ſince the Year 1633, which tho' *Epiſcopacy* was not nam'd, imply'd, that it wou'd be re-eſtabliſh'd, becauſe it was ſuppreſs'd by Parliaments ſince that Time. The Earl of *Crawford* and Duke *Hamilton* argu'd much againſt this Bill, and it was ſo extravagant, the King himſelf did not like it: Upon which the Earl of *Glencairne* and *Rothes* were ſent to *London*, to give the King a full Account of that Proceeding and others; and with them went *Sharp*, who had been ſo zealous for the *Presbytery*, to preſs the ſpeedy ſetting up of *Epiſcopacy*, which *Middleton* and he perſwaded the King, that the *Scots* Nation waited for with great Impatience, tho' of all the Synods in *Scotland*, that of *Aberdeen* was the only Body, who made an Addreſs that look'd towards *Epiſcopacy*, and the forcing it upon theſe People, was the Occaſion of all the Tumults and Diſtractions, with which they were afflicted from the *Reſtoration* to the *Revolution*. *It was a mad roaring Time*, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *and no Wonder it was ſo, when the Men of Affairs were almoſt perpetually Drunk*.

Vicious Times.

Archbiſhop Sharp.

Marquis of Argyle.

We have mention'd the Marquis of *Argyle*'s being ſeiz'd at *London*, when he came to compliment the King on his Return to *Whitehall*. He was impriſon'd in the *Tower*, and from thence ſent to *Scotland*, to be attainted by this Parliament, before whom he was accus'd of High Treaſon. The chief Articles were, joining with thoſe who were for delivering up the late King to the *Engliſh* Army, and concurring with *Cromwell*, who had oblig'd the whole *Scots* Nation to concur with him, by Perſwaſion or Power. Then the King's Advocate put in the Military Executions done by his Forces in the late Wars, and ſome other Particulars, which made him accountable for the Blood that had been ſpilt in Defence of his Vaſſals and Country, againſt the Maſſacres and Devaſtations of the *Macdonalds* and other *Popiſh* Rebels, who came from *Ireland* on Purpoſe to waſte and deſtroy his Territory. The Lord *Argyle* was a Man of excellent Senſe, and a Genius ſuperior to a hundred of the *Glencairnes* and *Middletons*, his implacable Enemies and Proſecutors; and it was an excellent Defence he made, had not the Times been fallen into the laſt Degeneracy with reſpect to Virtue and Juſtice: He ſaid, "He did not think himſelf bound "to anſwer what was done before the Year 1651, "all Things being then bury'd in the Act of Ob- "livion paſs'd by the preſent King, *whom he* "*crown'd in* Scotland: That he was at *London*, "when moſt of the Barbarities his Men were "charg'd with, were committed; nor did it ap- "pear that he gave any Orders about them, that "it was well known great Outrages had been "committed by the *Mackdonals*, and he believ'd "his People, when they had the better of them, "had taken cruel Revenges, which was to be "imputed to the Heat of the Time, and the "Temper of the People, who had been much "provok'd by the Burning of his whole Coun- "try, and by much Blood that was ſhed. As "to his complying with the Uſurpation, he had "ſtood out till the Nation was quite conquer'd, "and in that Caſe, it was the receiv'd Opinion "both of Divines and Lawyers, that Men might "lawfully ſubmit to Uſurpers, when forc'd to it "by an inevitable Neceſſity. It was an Epidemi- "cal Sin, and his Circumſtances were ſuch, that "more than a bare Compliance was requir'd of "him. What he did that way, was only to pre- "ſerve himſelf and his Family, and was not "done on deſign to oppoſe the King's Intereſt, "nor did he ſuffer by any thing he did. As to "*Cromwell*, he ſaid, *What cou'd he think of* "*that Matter, after a Man ſo eminent in the Law* "*as his Majeſty's Advocate Sir* John Fletcher *had* "*taken* the Engagement." At which that merce- "nary Wretch was ſo enflam'd, that he call'd the Marquis of *Argyle Impudent Villain*, and was not ſo much as chid for that barbarous Treatment. The Marquis gravely reply'd, *I have learn'd in my Affliction to bear Reproaches, but if the Parliament ſee no Cauſe to condemn me, I am leſs concern'd at the King's Advocate's railing.* The Earl of *Middleton*, who thirſted after the Blood of the Marquis, ſunk an Order from the King to have the whole Proceedings in Parliament againſt him tranſmitted to *London*, and made a vehement Speech, intimating, that the Lord *Argyle* was concern'd in the Death of the King. But *Gilmore*, Preſident of the Seſſion, who had been a zealous *Royaliſt*, anſwer'd him thirteen or fourteen Times, and with ſuch Strength of Reaſon, that notwithſtanding the Parliament was enough prejudic'd againſt the Marquis, they acquitted him of that Charge by a great Majority, at which the Lord *Argyle* expreſs'd ſo much Joy, that he ſeem'd little concern'd at any thing which cou'd happen to him after that. His Defence was ſo good, that it ſtagger'd many Members of the *Scots* Parliament, till ſome Letters from the Marquis of *Argyle*, to the perfidious *Monk*, were produc'd. Read what the Biſhop of *Salisbury* writes of that baſe Man, and then judge whether my Language is not worthy of him, "While it was very doubtful how it wou'd have "gone, *Monk* by an inexcuſable Baſeneſs, had "ſearch'd among his Letters, and found ſome "that were written by *Argyle* to himſelf, that "were hearty and zealous on their Side, *the Side* "*that the falſe and ungrateful* Monk *was en-* "*gag'd in, that of the* Common-wealth *and* "Cromwel. Theſe he ſent down to *Scotland*, "and after they were read in Parliament, it cou'd "not be pretended that his Compliance was "feign'd or extorted from him. Every body "blam'd *Monk* for ſending theſe down: *The* "*Treaſon may be lov'd, but the Traitor is always* "*hated*. Since it was a betraying the Confidence "they liv'd in, they were ſent by an Expreſs, "and came to the Earl of *Middleton* after the

Middleton's *Villany.*

Monk's *wicked Treachery.*

A.D.1661 " Parliament was engag'd in the Debate, ſo he " order'd the Letters to be read, which alſo was " much blam'd, as contrary to the Forms of Ju- " ſtice, ſince Probation was clos'd on both Sides." Upon reading of theſe Letters, the Marquis's Friends went out, finding there was no room left to pretend that his Compliance was forc'd. It was very generous of the Marquis of *Montroſs*, he went out too, and refuſs'd to Vote, owning *He had too much Reſentment to judge in that Matter*. Upon this he was ſoon condemn'd, though there appears not any more Reaſon for it after the Letters came than before, unleſs they wou'd make every one anſwerable who had comply'd with the Common-wealth and *Cromwel*. A Man may be forc'd to comply with a thing which he wou'd not have done without Force, and yet after his Compliance, he may innocently enough expreſs his Satisfaction in the Force that was put upon him; for that Expreſſion may be feign'd to encreaſe, as his Compliance might have been to preſerve his Intereſt. When he was condemn'd, 'twas deſign'd to execute him after the manner of *Montroſs*'s Execution, but it was carry'd that he ſhou'd be Beheaded, and he ſuffer'd *May* the 27th, with all the Compoſure of a Chriſtian Hero. *Echard*, that has prais'd and flatter'd ſo many worthleſs Characters, cannot part with this without an infamous Reflection; *He ſubmitted his Head to the Block*, upon *which Head the Blood of ſeveral lay heavy*. He ſpoke highly in Juſtification of the *Covenant*, calling it the *Cauſe and Work of God*, and expreſs'd his *Apprehenſion of ſad Times* to follow, which might have been juſtly apprehended by Perſons of much leſs Foreſight than the Marquis of *Argyle* had, in whoſe Murder the Archdeacon ſeems to take great Delight.

Argyle *unjuſtly condemn'd.*

Mr. Guthry *the Miniſter hang'd.*

Mr. *Guthry*, the Miniſter, was accus'd of Acceding to the Remonſtrance when the King was in *Scotland*, and for a Book he had printed with the Title of the *Cauſes of God's Wrath upon the Nation*; in which the treating with the King, the tendring him the *Covenant*, and the admitting him to the Exerciſe of the Government, were aggravated as Acts of *Apoſtacy*. The reading of this Accuſation only is ſufficient to let us into the Iſſue of this Trial, eſpecially when the Reader is told that Mr. *Guthry* had excommunicated the Earl of *Middleton* ſome Years before for his Enormities; and the People who approv'd not of *Guthry*'s Warmth, deteſted *Middleton*'s appearing in the Proſecution. The Miniſter was ſoon condemn'd to be hang'd, notwithſtanding a very ſteddy Oppoſition made by the Lord *Tweedale* to the Sentence, in which are ſome Words, as if the Proſecution had flow'd from the King's Reſentment of his Behaviour to himſelf. Biſhop *Burnet*, who ſaw him ſuffer, tells us he was ſo far from *expreſſing any Fear, that he rather expreſs'd a Contempt of Death. He ſpoke an Hour upon the Ladder with the Compoſedneſs of a Man who was delivering a Sermon rather than his laſt Words; he juſtify'd all he had done, and exhorted all People to adhere to the* COVENANT, *which he magnify'd highly.*

One *Govan* was Executed at the ſame Time, for deſerting to *Cromwel*'s Army twelve Years before. *Macclud* of *Aſſin*, who had betray'd *Montroſs*, was let go without any Cenſure. The Biſhop gives us the Reaſon of it; *He ſtruck up to a high pitch of Vice and Impiety, and gave great Entertainments in Priſon, which notwithſtanding the Baſeneſs of the Man and his Crimes, begot him many Friends.* The Laird of *Wariſtoun* being abſent, was attainted. The Laird *Swintoun*, who was turn'd Quaker, ſo mov'd his Judges by the new Meekneſs of his Spirit, that they recommended him to the King for Mercy; the rather, becauſe *Middleton* hated *Lauderdale*, who had a Grant of *Swintoun*'s Eſtate. For after what we have read, and ſhall read of theſe Men, both as to Spirituals and Temporals, one cannot imagine they do one Act of Generoſity out of a generous Principle, or one juſt Act for the ſake of Juſtice. A.D.1661

We have mention'd another perfidious Paraſite, *Sharp*, who was the *Presbytery*'s Agent, and ſent on their chief Errands by them to *Holland* and *London*, where he is now betraying their Cauſe and *Covenant*, and earneſtly ſolliciting the King to ſet up *Epiſcopacy* in *Scotland*: The Earl of *Lauderdale* oppos'd it, telling the King that *Sharp* miſrepreſented the Diſpoſition of the *Scots* Nation. *Sharp* alledg'd the general Bent was for *Epiſcopacy*. *Lauderdale* affirm'd that thoſe who ſeem'd zealous for it, ran into it to gain Favour only. However, *Sharp* being back'd by *Middleton*, the King ſuffer'd them to ſet aſide the *Preſbytery*, though, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *with a viſible Reluctancy*. His Majeſty, ſays he, remember'd when he was among them, that the *Scots* had an Averſion to an *Hierarchy*. The Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond* ſupported *Middleton* and *Sharp*, the Earl of *Crawford* was of the ſame Opinion with *Lauderdale*; but the latter declaring againſt it only as 'twas unſeaſonable, and Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Robert Murray* making the ſame Declaration, Zeal got the better of Diſcretion, and a Letter being ſent from the King to *Scotland* about it, the Earls of *Middleton* and *Glencairne* took Care to have ſuch an Anſwer return'd by the Privy-Council there, as wou'd effectually confound *Presbytery*. Accordingly, upon receipt of it, Perſons were thought of to fill the *Scotiſh* Sees. *Sydſerfe*, the old Biſhop of *Galloway*, was living, and tranſlated to *Orkney*. *Sharp* was order'd to find out Perſons to be made Biſhops, and, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, *the Choice was generally very bad.* Sharp's *Treachery.*

Fairfoul, who was made Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, was an *inſinuating crafty Man, a better Phyſician than a Divine, his Life was ſcarce free from Scandal, and he was eminent in nothing that belong'd to his own Function; he had not only ſworn the* Covenant, *but had perſuaded others to ſwear it*. Soon after his Conſecration, ſays the Biſhop, his Parts ſo ſunk that he became almoſt a Changeling. *Hamilton*, who was made Biſhop of *Galloway*, had been wont when he gave the Sacrament to excommunicate all that were not true to the *Covenant*. *Sharp* was promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of St. *Andrews*, and proteſted *he ſubmitted to that Poſt, on Deſign to moderate Matters, and to cover ſome good Men from a Storm*. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, *So deeply did he ſtill diſſemble*. Of Dr. *Leighton*, who was another of the new Biſhops, the Biſhop of *Sarum* gives the moſt Seraphick Character that one can meet with; among other things he ſays of him, " That having talk'd of ſome Points of Popery " with the freedom of an abſtracted and ſpecu- " lative Man, the Papiſts had ſome Hopes of " him; yet he expreſs'd another Senſe of the " Matter when he came to ſee it was really in- " tended to be brought in among us." Which being one of the main Points intended to be prov'd by this Hiſtory, I hope the Evidence of ſo divine a Perſon as Archbiſhop *Leighton*, for ſo he became, is ſufficient in that Article. *Sharp*, as well as *Leighton*, had never had *Epiſcopal* Ordination; ſo before he was conſecrated, he was privately ordain'd Prieſt and Deacon; which was perform'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey* by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and two other *Engliſh* Biſhops; and to uſe Biſhop *Burnet*'s Words, " He who had " the *Archb.* Sharp's *Perfidy.* K. Charles *for Popery.*

A.D.1661 " the greateſt Hand in it, proceeded with ſo
" much Diſſimulation, and the reſt of the Order
" were ſo mean and ſo ſelfiſh, and the Earl of
Middleton's Wickedneſs. " *Middleton*, with the other Secular Men who
" conducted it, were ſo openly impious and viti-
" ous, that it did caſt a Reproach upon every
" thing relating to Religion, to ſee it manag'd
" by ſuch Inſtruments." All the Steps that were made afterwards were of a Piece with this melancholy Beginning, as may be ſeen in almoſt every Inſtance of Eccleſiaſtical Matters from the *Reſtoration*, till the Church of *Scotland* was reſtor'd after the *Revolution*.

When we return to *England*, we ſhall find a parcel of mad Men got together in *London* with an extravagant Imagination that they ſhou'd be able to overturn the Government by fighting *Two* againſt *Ten Thouſand*. There is ſo much Abuſe of Scripture in the Accounts of this Inſurrection, written by ſome of our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, that I dare not repeat it. The Chief of this Enthuſiaſtical Rabble was one *Venner*, who had been a noiſy crazy Fifth Monarchy Man in *Cromwel*'s Time. If *Oliver* had ſent him and his Followers to *Bedlam*, he had done an Act of Charity. Theſe Fellows had certain Scriptural Phraſes in their Mouths, which they repeated, as *Oliver*'s Porter us'd to do in the ſame Hoſpital, *King Jeſus, Powers of the Earth, Kings in Chains, Nobles in Fetters, One chace a Thouſand, Poſſeſs the Gate, Hiſſing and Curſing, Gideon, Daniel, and the Revelations, Captivity captive*. Theſe, as you will find it in *Echard*, were all ſhot out of a *Conventicle* like ſo many Granadoes out of a Mortar-piece; and Sir *Richard Browne*, the *prudent* and *vigilant* Lord Mayor, detach'd a Body of *Militia* to put an end to the War. *Venner*, the *Wine-Cooper*, beſides the Army of Words abovemention'd, had forty or fifty Fellows with him as much in their Wits as he was; theſe routed the Lord Mayor's Troops, but were afterwards routed themſelves, and their Garriſon taken, as *Echard* has it. It was an Alehouſe near *Cripplegate*, and Col. *Cox* took an effectual Way to reduce it. He ſurrounded the Houſe, and order'd it to be until'd at the top, by which Means his Soldiers cou'd fire down upon the Garriſon, who were poſted in the Garret. At the ſame Time another Party of the Colonel's Soldiers mounted the Stairs, broke down the Door, and enter'd the Garret. Six of the Rebels were kill'd before, another refuſing Quarter was knock'd down, and then ſhot with a Musket. The reſt of the Garriſon were taken Priſoners, as were *Venner*, *Hodgkins*, *Gowler*, *Allen*, *Pym*, *Aſhton*, *Prichard*, *Fall*, *Hopkins*, *Wells*, and others, of whom about ſixteen were hang'd at *Tyburn*. The Archdeacon and another Reverend Hiſtorian, and other ſuch Hiſtory Writers, do make the moſt of this *Grand Rebellion*, on purpoſe to blacken the *Nonconformiſts*, as if they had encourag'd it, and were conſpiring to do the like. Therefore it is ſaid, *Venner* held a *Conventicle*, *Venner* ſally'd from a Meeting-houſe, *Venner* was hang'd over-againſt his Meeting-houſe, *Venner*'s Plot juſtify'd the Proclamation, prohibiting *unlawful Meetings* under Pretence of *Religious Worſhip!* Now it begins; the Felicities of the Times are bloſſoming, and the Reverend Hiſtorians rejoice in the Hopes of a rich Harveſt.

Venner and his Rabble.

Echard.

The Happineſſes of this Reign.

About a Month after, *February* the 14th, the Army was disbanded on *Tower-Hill*, *Monk*'s Regiment of Foot and Life-Guard of Horſe only excepted.

Coronation.

On the 23d of *April*, being St. *George*'s Day, the King was Crown'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, having, as Mr. Archdeacon obſerves, paſs'd from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter* through four Triumphal Arches, Emblems of his Majeſty's Triumphs; for a Deſcription of which, he refers his Reader, as I do mine, to that ingenious Poet Mr. *John Ogilby*. A.D.1661

Creations.

The Splendor of this Solemnity was very glittering and coſtly, and to prepare for it there were ſeveral Promotions and Creations, as Knights of the *Garter*, and Knights of the *Bath*; *Arthur*, Lord *Capel*, was created Earl of *Eſſex*, *Thomas*, Lord *Brudenel*, Earl of *Cardigan*, *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*, Sir *John Greenvile*, Earl of *Bath*, Sir *George Booth*, Lord *Delamere*, Sir *Horatio Townſend*, Baron of *Lyn-Regis*, *John Crew*, Eſq; Lord *Crew* of *Stene*. Mr. *Echard* glorying in the Weather on this Occaſion, informs us, that 'twas obſerv'd that the Day of *Cavalcade*, and the Day of *Coronation*, were the only Days clear from Rain; and others made an Obſervation, that as ſoon as the Solemnity was over, there fell ſuch a Storm of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, as had never been known at that Time of the Year; which, according to the Archdeacon himſelf, *Several were ready to look upon as ominous, and portending ſome future Calamities.*

Savoy Conference.

The firſt Incident which follows in his Hiſtory is the *Savoy Conference*, which the King iſſu'd his Commiſſion for, to reconcile the *Church of England* and the *Presbyterians*, a *very laudable Deſign!* ſays the Reverend Hiſtorian, and no Doubt it wou'd have been very laudable, had there indeed been any ſuch Deſign. By the King's Declaration Matters relating to Church Government were ſo regulated, that it wou'd certainly have produc'd a *Comprehenſion* at leaſt, if not a *Union*. The Affair of the *Liturgy* was more difficult, becauſe thoſe who were for it, and thoſe who were againſt it, were inflexible on that Head. It was by the *Declaration* to be *receiv'd, reform'd, and new Forms drawn up in Scripture Phraſe, ſuited to the ſeveral Parts of Worſhip, that Men might uſe which of them they pleaſe*. In order to this the Conference at the *Savoy* was appointed, and Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Calamy* were authoriz'd to name the Perſons on the *Presbyterian* Side to confer with the Biſhops and Doctors on the other Side. The King's Commiſſion to both Sides is dated the 25th of *March*, and the Perſons nominated were,

Liturgy.

For the *Biſhops*,

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Biſhop of *London*; Dr. *John Coſens*, Biſhop of *Durham*; Dr. *John Warner*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; Dr. *Henry King*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *Humphry Henchman*, Biſhop of *Sarum*; Dr. *George Morley*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Robert Sanderſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Benjamin Lany*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; Dr. *Bryan Walton*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*; Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*; Dr. *John Gauden*, Biſhop of *Exeter*; Dr. *John Earl*, Dean of *Weſtminſter*; Dr. *Peter Heylin*, Dr. *John Hacket*, Dr. *John Barwick*, Dr. *Peter Gunning*, Dr. *John Pierſon*, Dr. *Thomas Pierce*, Dr. *Anthony Sparrow*, Mr. *Herbert Thorndyke*.

For the Presbyterian *Miniſters*,

Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, Dr. *John Conant*, Dr. *William Spurſtow*, Dr. *John Wallis*, Dr. *Thomas Manton*, Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, Dr. *Thomas Horton*, Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, Dr. *William Bates*, Mr. *John Rawlinſon*, Mr. *William Cooper*, Dr *John Lightfoot*, Dr. *John Collins*, Dr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, Mr. *William Drake*.

The

A.D.1661 The Misnomer of Mr. *William Drake* for Dr. *Roger Drake* was the Reason that the latter did not assist at the *Conference*. The Commissioners met at the Bishop of *London*'s Lodgings in the *Savoy*, where the Bishop of *London* told the Ministers, *That they, and not the Bishops, had been Seekers of the Conference, being desirous of Alterations in the* Liturgy, *and that therefore there was nothing to be done till they had brought in all they had to say against it in Writing, and all the additional Forms and Alterations which they desir'd.* The Ministers mov'd for an *amicable Conference*, according to the King's Commission. One of the Reasons they gave for it is worth observing, *That their Cause and Conference might not be misrepresented and publish'd as the Conference at* Hampton-Court *was*. But the Bishops insisted on the Bishop of *London's* Proposal, and Ministers were nam'd to draw up their Exceptions, which was done by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Jacomb*, who in their Paper propos'd, " That the " *Prayers* and Materials of the *Liturgy* might " have nothing in them doubtful or question'd " amongst pious, learned and Orthodox Persons." This *Echard* calls an *impracticable Proposal*, and thereby confesses that the Prayers and Materials of the *Liturgy* have Things in them *doubtful*, and question'd by *pious*, *learned* and *Orthodox* Persons, which I think is sufficient Argument for it's Amendment, and to say it is impracticable argues his Ignorance in his Function; for let the Prayers be in Scripture Phrase taken out of plain, clear Passages, and let the other Materials be the same, and then they cannot be question'd, without questioning the Truth of the Gospel and the Authority of the Bible.

The *Presbyterian Ministers* desir'd, *That as the Reformers at first so compos'd the* Liturgy, *as might be most likely to win upon the* Papists, *and draw them into their Church Communion, by varying as little, as well they cou'd, from the* Romish Forms *before in Use; so it might, according to the same Rule of Prudence, be then so compos'd as to gain upon the Judgment and Affection of all those who, in the* Substantials *of the* Protestant *Religion, are of the same Persuasion.* This material Proposition is wholly omitted by the *Compleat Historian*, tho' it as much deserv'd to be taken notice of as the other. Dr. *Calamy* adds, *I'll leave the Reader to guess at the Reason why that shou'd be pass'd by, when what went before and follows is particularly recited.* This is more likely to have *been a design'd than an accidental Thing.*

The Ministers desir'd, *That the Repetitions and* Responsals *of Clerk and People might be omitted.* Any one may observe, that those Repetitions and Responsals are us'd by Men, Women and Children as Things said by Rote without Devotion or Attention, and to say that is the Abuse of it, and not the Use of it, is meer Sophistry, for those that say it know, if they know any thing, that the Imposition of Things, which are so liable to Abuse, is contrary to the Purity and Piety of God's Worship, and if not directly sinful, inexpedient and dangerous. Add to this, that the insisting upon such Things meerly for the Vexation of Consciences truly scrupulous, is little consistent with Christian Charity, or indeed with Right Reason or Humane Prudence.

They desir'd, *That the Petitions of the* Litany *might be cast into one solemn Prayer to be offer'd up by the Minister, and not so as that the Precatory Part shou'd be utter'd only by the People.* In which Request, if they had not been entirely indulg'd, it might have been well enough, had other of their Proposals been comply'd with.

They desir'd, *That there be nothing in the* Liturgy *countenancing the Observation of* Lent *as a religious Fast.* A.D.1661 And truly, considering what Work is made of that Fast, that it is very often the less Meat the more Drink, the less Flesh the more Fish, it wou'd not have been yielding too much to have own'd that there was more Temperance than Religion in the Observance of it.

They desir'd, *That the religious Observation of* Saints Days *and* Vigils *be omitted.*

That the Liturgy *be not so impos'd as to exclude the Gift of Prayer in any Part of Publick Service.*

That the new Translation of the Scriptures be us'd instead of the old Version, which in many Places is justly exceptionable.

That Apocryphal *Lessons might be omitted.* Instead of which more such Lessons were soon after added, particularly the Story of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, which is not much more sacred than that of St. *George* and the *Dragon*, considering that *Saint* has the Honour to be the Patron of *England*; and instead of lessening the Credit of the Saints Days and Vigils, two new Holidays were added, St. *Barnabas* and the Conversion of St. *Paul*. It can't be said we know not what Spirit these Men are of.

They desir'd, *That the Minister be not requir'd to rehearse the Liturgy at the* Communion *Table*; and why it shou'd be read there, where not half the Church can hear it, rather than in the Middle of the Church where all may hear it, is worthy the Wisdom of a Convocation to explain.

They desir'd, *That the Word* Priest *and* Curate *throughout the Book be turn'd into that of* Minister, *and* Sunday *into* Lord's Day; which indeed does not seem to be of the last Importance, and if desir'd or deny'd, must be done as much out of Pique and Prejudice, as Reason and Conscience.

That obsolete Words be chang'd into Words generally receiv'd and better understood. The next Desire is something like a Petition to make use of Sense instead of Nonsense; *That no Portions of the* Old Testament, *or of the Book of the* Acts, *be stil'd or read as Epistles*; or in other Words, that *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* might not be put on the same Epistolary Foot with the *Colossians* and *Philippians*.

That the Phrase which supposes all in Communion to be regenerated, *while due Care is not taken about the Exercise of Discipline, might be reform'd.* Does that need any Hesitation! Is the Act of *Communion the Act of* Regeneration! And is it absolutely necessary to affirm, when to hope is the most that Christians are allow'd in, *That the Petitions in the Prayers might have a more orderly Connection, and the Forms be of a more competent Length, which wou'd be more to Edification, and tend to gain the Reverence of the People!* Every one feels this as soon as he thinks of it; but the Truth of it is, it is thought of so little, that 'tis no Wonder there are so few edify'd.

That the Liturgy *might be so contriv'd as to comprehend the Sum of all such Sins as are ordinarily to be confest in Prayer by the Church, and of such Petitions and Thanksgivings as are ordinarily to be put up to God, and the* Catechism *annex'd, might summarily comprehend all such Doctrines as are necessary to be heard, and those explicitly sat down.*

That Ceremonies not necessary in themselves, and that had for above 100 *Years caus'd sad Divisions, and been the Fountain of manifold Evils, might not be impos'd by the* Liturgy, *but left at Liberty.*

A.D.1661 The Unreaſonableneſs of theſe Requeſts is much amplify'd by the Archdeacon and the Compleat Hiſtorian, at which doubtleſs the Reader will be ſurpriz'd, when he finds nothing in them but what is reaſonable and modeſt; for tho' a Man may with good Conſcience conform to Laws, and reckon his Obedience due to the Conſtitution, yet he may with good Conſcience and good Reaſon deſire many Things to be alter'd which give Offence to ſcrupulous Minds; and others neither need it nor deſire it; for their Conſciences being without Scruple, they are ready to conform to every thing that ſhall be requir'd of them, eſpecially if it touches their Intereſt, their Eaſe, their Vanity, or their Paſſions. It had been well if the Biſhops and Doctors had weigh'd the following Argument at the Cloſe of the Paper the Miniſters gave them, containing their Objections.

" We know much hath been ſpoken and writ-
" ten by way of Apology, in Anſwer to many
" Things that have been objected, but yet the
" Doubts and Scruples of tender Conſciences ſtill
" continue, or rather are encreas'd. We do hum-
" bly conceive it therefore a Work worthy of thoſe
" Wonders of Salvation which God hath wrought
" for his Majeſty now on the Throne, and for the
" whole Kingdom, and exceedingly becoming
" the Miniſters of the Goſpel of Peace, with all
" holy Moderation and Tenderneſs, to endea-
" vour the Removal of every thing out of the
" Worſhip of God, which may juſtly offend or
" grieve the Spirits of ſober and godly Perſons:
" The Things themſelves that are deſir'd to be
" remov'd not being of the Foundation of Reli-
" gion, nor the Eſſentials of publick Worſhip,
" nor the Removal of them any way tending to
" the Prejudice of the Church or State; there-
" fore their Continuance and rigorous Impoſition
" can no ways be able to countervail the laying
" aſide of ſo many pious and able Miniſters, and
" the inconceivable Grief that will ariſe to Mul-
" titudes of his Majeſty's moſt loyal and peace-
" able Subjects, who upon all Occaſions are rea-
" dy to ſerve him with their Prayers, Eſtates and
" Lives. For the preventing of which Evils we
" humbly pray that theſe Particulars may be
" taken into Conſideration.

Objections to the Liturgy. After the general Propoſals a great many particular Exceptions were added, as to the ſeveral Parts of the *Liturgy* and Paſſages in it, of which theſe that follow are the chief.

" As to the Morning and Evening Prayer, they
" excepted againſt that Part of the *Rubrick*,
" which ſpeaking of Ornaments to be us'd in the
" Church, left Room to bring back the *Cope*,
" *Albe* and other Veſtments." *The Temper the Biſhops and Doctors were in did not promiſe much Reformation*; for Dr. *Bates* urging to Dr. *Gunning*, *that on the ſame Reaſons they ſo impos'd the Croſs and Surplice, they might bring in Holy Water and Lights, and abundance of ſuch Ceremonies, which we have caſt out.* Gunning *reply'd*, And ſo I think we ought to have more, and not fewer, if we do well.

What do theſe Men think of the Salvation of Souls? Are all the Ceremonies impos'd by the Church; are all the Ceremonies that Invention can contrive worth the ſaving of one Soul? And if one Soul only ſubmitting to a Ceremony in divine Service, contrary to the Conviction of his Conſcience, did in ſo doing hazard his eternal Salvation, can one think upon ſuch an Impoſition without Trembling! I put the Caſe, and doubt it is not in the Power of *Sophiſtry* to ſalve it.

The Miniſters excepted againſt " the leaving
" out the *Doxology* at the End of the Lord's
" Prayer, the frequent Repetition of *Glory be to*
" *the Father*, &c. the Singing of the Leſſons,
" Epiſtles and Goſpels; againſt the uſing of the
" *Benedicite* rather than a *Pſalm* or Scripture
" Hymn. In the *Litany* they excepted againſt
" the Expreſſion *Deadly Sin*, and mov'd it might
" be chang'd into *Heinous* or *Grievous*; againſt
" the Expreſſion *Sudden Death*, which they
" mov'd to be chang'd into *Dying ſuddenly and*
" *unpreparedly*; againſt Praying for all *that tra-*
" *vel by Land and Water*, &c. ſo univerſally,
" which they deſir'd to have put indefinitely,
" thoſe that travel, &c. In the *Collect* for
" *Chriſtmas-Day* they excepted againſt the Word
" *This Day* us'd two or three Days ſucceſſively.
" *Wou'd one think there ſhou'd be Occaſion given*
" *for ſuch an Exception*?

Concerning the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, " they excepted againſt the Time aſſign'd
" for giving Notice to the Miniſter, as too ſhort,
" when confin'd to *over Night*, or in the *Morn-*
" *ing*, as to Perſons who deſign'd to communi-
" cate. They excepted againſt the *Rubrick* about
" the Miniſter's keeping unqualify'd Perſons from
" the *Lord's Table*, as not ſufficiently clear and
" ſtrong." But that Exception is now aggravated by forcing People to come to it, or to ſtarve. There is not an Officer in the Army or Fleet, in the Cuſtoms, in the Exciſe, in Corporations and Pariſhes, but is oblig'd to communicate, or beſides paying 500 Pounds to loſe his Office, and be incapacited for holding any as long as he lives. The Miniſter is ſo far from being at Liberty to refuſe him the Sacrament, that he loads himſelf, if he does, with the Damages the Perſon refus'd ſuſtains by it. This is not all yet; have I not known Perſons living in open Adultery admitted? Did I ever know a Perſon refus'd but out of Pique by the *Vicar* or *Curate*; I put it to every Reader, whether theſe Things are not within his Knowledge? It was ſaid for Anſwer to this Exception, that the Miniſter might refuſe a Communicant, if he thought him unfit: That cannot be ſaid now in Caſe of the *Teſt*. But what can be more notorious than that there is no where due Care taken about Fitneſs or Unfitneſs? And if to adminiſter the Sacrament to Perſons known to live in continu'd Acts of Lewdneſs, Diſhoneſty and Debauchery be a Sin, how neceſſary is it to remove all Temptations to it, and eſpecially all Injunctions? Salvation is not to be forc'd upon People. Is it out of Care of their Souls that they are compell'd to communicate, fit or not fit, and to eat ſpiritual, or to want temporal Bread? What is it the Conſtitution wou'd provide againſt? The Worſhip of God in Society is hop'd to be a Means of obtaining his Grace. Is that Society ſupported by Coercion and Compulſion, or by Perſwaſion and Conviction? Or is there any ſeparate Intereſt which ſubſiſts only by the Being of that Society? If it is ſeparate, it cannot be *ſacred*, and then it has nothing to do with the moſt Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. *Sacramental Teſt.*

It will eaſily be imagin'd why I am ſo myſterious, and it is not the greateſt Felicity we enjoy, that there's Occaſion for ſo much Myſtery.

There were many other Exceptions, as may be ſeen at large in Mr. *Baxter*'s Life, and in Dr. *Calamy's Abridgment*; but not one of them being amended, I ſhall not enlarge upon them here. The Example of the *Hampton-Court* Conference might have convinc'd the Miniſters, that the *Savoy* Conference wou'd only expoſe them to the Inſults of their Enemies under Protection of the Court.

Mr. *Baxter* drew up a new Liturgy, conſiſting entirely of Scriptural Phraſes. The *Presbyterians* are now beginning to pay for their bring-

A.D.1661 ing in the King without Conditions. A Year ago not one of theſe Doctors wou'd have look'd them in the Face, but with Meekneſs and Humility; but the Air and the Tone are now alter'd, and are as lordly as the Title conferr'd upon them.

There were many Miniſters at the Conference, beſides thoſe in the Commiſſion, as on the Biſhops Side Dr. *Pory*, Dr. *Crowther*, &c. and with the Miniſters, as Auditors, were Mr. *Miles*, Mr. *Tillotſon*, &c.

Baxter's Life. p. 337.

After the Exceptions in general and in particular, had been ſometime in a Paper Controverſy, Biſhop *Reynolds* and the Miniſters, earneſtly preſs'd for a Verbal Conference, and with much ado obtain'd it. Dr. *Pearſon*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Sparrow*, were appointed for the Biſhops; Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Baxter*, for the Miniſters.

When Mr. *Baxter* began to prove ſome of the Epiſcopal Impoſitions ſinful, Dr. *Coſens* took Offence at the Word, ſaying, *He condemn'd all the Churches of Chriſt, who all of them impos'd ſome Geſture or other.* Mr. *Baxter* reply'd, *Many of the Reform'd Churches impos'd none.* He might have ſaid, not one of the Reform'd Churches impos'd one Ceremony, as eſſential to Church Membership, or under any Penalty, much leſs under Pain of Loſs of Living, and Cure of Souls. Biſhop *Lany* told Mr. *Baxter*, that *juſtify'd Perſons have no Sin, and are no Sinners, becauſe Juſtification taketh it away.* Mr. *Baxter* anſwer'd, *Juſtification takes not away the Sin but the Guilt*, which ſo confounded *Lany*, that according to Mr. *B*—— *he unſaid all again, and knew not what he ſaid.* Dr. *Morley* continually interrupting Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Bates* cry'd, *Pray, my Lord, give him Leave to ſpeak*, but he cou'd not obtain it, without frequent Interruption. Dr. *Crowther*, tho' no Commiſſioner, took up Mr. *Baxter* about Juſtification; and as Mr. *Baxter* himſelf writes, with a *little Nonſenſe, wou'd have prov'd that* Iſrael *never ſinn'd, 'till* Jereboam *made the* Iſraelites *to ſin.*

When the Biſhops were deſir'd to have Compaſſion on the Souls of their Brethren, and that they wou'd not unneceſſarily caſt ſo many out of the Miniſtry, Biſhop *Coſens* ſaid, *What do you threaten us with Numbers? for my Part, I think the King wou'd do well to make you name them all*; upon which Mr. *B*—— reflects thus, *A charitable and wiſe Motion! to name all the Thouſands of* England, *who diſſented from them, and who had ſworn the Covenant, and whom they wou'd afterwards* perſecute. In the Preface to the Miniſters Exceptions againſt the *Liturgy*, it was ſaid, *That after twenty Years Calamity, they wou'd not yield to that, which ſeveral Biſhops voluntarily offer'd twenty Years before*, meaning the Corrections of the *Liturgy*, offer'd by thoſe moſt pious, learned and reverend Fathers of our Church, Archbiſhop *Uſher*, Archbiſhop *Williams*, Biſhop *Moreton*, Biſhop *Prideaux*, Biſhop *Hall*, and many others. Aſſoon as that Paſſage was read, cry'd Biſhop *Coſens*, *What do you threaten us with a new War! It is Time for the King to look to you.* It is time to find out ſome *Plot* to take away their Liberties and Lives. I muſt confeſs, I cannot pity the *Presbyterians* as much as they ſeem to deſerve, when I ſee them bully'd and browbeaten: I think preſently it was owing to themſelves. How came thoſe Biſhops and Doctors to have Power over them? Cou'd any thing better be expected from ſuch Men? Were they ever charg'd with Moderation, Humanity, or any of thoſe divine Virtues that tend to Union and Peace? Mr. *Baxter* proceeds, " I had no Shelter " from the Fury of Biſhop *Coſens*, but to name " Dr. *Hammond*, and tell him, I remember'd Dr.

Biſhop Coſens's Arrogance.

" *Hammond* inſiſted on the ſame Argument, A.D.1661 " *That twenty Years Calamity ſhou'd have taught* " *Men more Charity, and brought them to Re-* " *pentance and Brotherly Love*; and that it is " an Aggravation of their Sin to be unmerciful, " after ſo long and heavy Warnings from God's " Hand. *Coſens* reply'd, *If that's your Meaning,* " *all is well*, and theſe were the moſt logical " Diſcourſes of that Biſhop." Mr. *Baxter* entreating them not to caſt out ſo many of their Brethren thro' the Nation, Dr. *Sterne*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*, turn'd to the reſt of the Biſhops and cry'd, *He will not ſay a Kingdom, leſt he own a King.* Mr. *Baxter* anſwer'd, *Half the Charity which became ſo grave a Biſhop, might have ſuffic'd to have help'd him to a better Expoſition of the Word Nation, from the Mouths of ſuch, who have ſo lately taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and ſworn Fidelity to the King, as his Chaplains, and had ſuch Teſtimonies from him as we have had, and that our Caſe was ſad. If we cou'd plead by the King's Commiſſion for Accommodation, upon no better Terms than to be noted as* Traitors, *every time we us'd ſuch a Word as the* NATION, *which all Monarchical Writers uſe.*

Mr. *Baxter* charges Biſhop *Morley* with giving him perpetual Interruption when he offer'd to ſpeak, and the Audience with laughing always in the wrong Place. He informs us, that a learned Doctor who was not in the Commiſſion, deſir'd to be heard, as if he had ſome unanſwerable Argument; and it was a Queſtion, *Whether all that ſcrupled Conformity, whom we pleaded for, were not ſuch as had been againſt the King?* Here are the Fruits of the *Act of Oblivion.* All that pleaded for them had been for the King, or he had never been poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom. Mr. *Baxter* reply'd, " The King himſelf has gi- " ven ſufficient Teſtimony of many of them; " there is not one Miniſter of twenty whom we " plead for, that had ever any thing to do in the " Wars againſt the King, moſt of them being then " Boys at School or in the Univerſity. He added, " *Men on both Sides had been againſt the King.*" Upon which Biſhop *Morley* ask'd, *Whether Mr.* Baxter *ever knew a* conformable *Man for the Parliament? Yes, my Lord*, ſaid he, *many a one. Name one*, cry'd ſome of the Doctors. *I will*, reply'd Mr. *Baxter, not only a Man, but a Biſhop, nay an Archbiſhop, the Archbiſhop of* York, *Dr.* Williams, *ſome time Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of* England, *who was Commander of the Forces for the Parliament in* Wales. At which the Biſhops and Doctors were all ſilent.

He told them, if they caſt out all the Nonconformiſts, there wou'd not be tolerable Miniſters enough to ſupply the Congregations. Biſhop *Morley* anſwer'd, *So it was in the late Times, and that ſome Places had no Miniſters at all through all thoſe Times of* Uſurpation, naming *Ailesbury*, which he knew to have had none upon his own Knowledge. Enquiry being made into it, *Aileſbury* was found to have been well ſupply'd, either by a ſettled Incumbent, or the Preacher of the Garriſon. *You ſhou'd remember*, ſays *Morley*, *how you did by us, and that you talk'd not then as you do now.* Mr. *Baxter* reply'd, " I am confident " there is no Man here preſent, that had ever a " Hand in ſilencing any of you. For my own " part, I have been in Judgment for caſting out " utterly Inſufficient and notoriouſly Scandalous " indifferently, of what Opinion or Side ſoever; " but I have publickly written againſt the ſilen- " cing or diſplacing any worthy Man for being " againſt the Parliament: And if it had been " otherwiſe, you ſhou'd take warning by others

" Faults,

A.D.1661 " Faults, and not imitate them, and do Evil be-
" cauſe *Cromwel* did ſo.

Upon this Dr. *Walton*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, ſaid, *Indeed, Mr.* Baxter *did write againſt the caſting of us out: But, Mr.* Baxter, *did you not ſay*, If our Churches had no more than bare Liberty, as others had, without the Compulſion of the Sword, that none but Drunkards wou'd join in them? He anſwer'd, *No, my Lord, I did not; I only ſaid, that as they had been order'd, if they had but equal Liberty for Voluntiers, they wou'd be like Ale-houſes, where many honeſt Men may come; but the Number of worſe Comers is ſo great, as makes it diſhonourable.*

The Biſhops and Doctors ſpoke of the Antiquity of *Liturgies*; upon which Mr. *Baxter* entreated them to let true Antiquity be imitated by them, and deſir'd any of them to prove that ever any Prince did impoſe one Form of Prayer or *Liturgy* for *Uniformity* on all the Churches in his Dominions, or even upon one Province or Country under him; or even that any Council, Synod, or Patriarchs, or Metropolitans, did impoſe one *Liturgy* upon all the Biſhops and Churches under them? He prov'd to them, not only from the Inſtances of *Baſil* and the Church of *Neocesarea*, but from others, that every Biſhop then choſe what Forms he pleas'd for his own Church. *Baxter* adds, *They cou'd deny nothing of all this; but Antiquity is nothing to them when it makes againſt them.*

As the Conference was drawing to an End, Biſhop *Coſens* produces a Paper as from a conſiderable Perſon, containing a Method to end the Controverſy. The main Thing in it was a *Motion to put the Complainers upon diſtinguiſhing between the Things they charg'd as* ſinful, *and thoſe which they oppos'd as inexpedient only.* The three Diſputants on the Miniſters Side were deſir'd to draw up an Anſwer to it againſt the next Morning, and they did ſo, and deliver'd it, but it was in their own Names only. Eight Things they in this their Reply charg'd as flatly *ſinful*, and contrary to the Word of God: *That no Miniſter be admitted to baptize without the preſcrib'd Uſe of the tranſient Image of the* Croſs. *That no Miniſter be admitted to read or pray, or exercise the other Parts of his Office, that dares not wear a* Surplice. *That none be admitted to* Communion *in the* Lord's Supper, *that dare not receive it* kneeling; *and that all Miniſters be enjoin'd to deny it to ſuch. That* Miniſters *be forc'd to pronounce all* baptiz'd *Infants* Regenerate by the Holy Ghoſt, *whether Children of Chriſtians or not. That Miniſters be forc'd to deliver the* Sacrament *of* the Body *and* Blood *of* Chriſt *unto the Unfit, both in Health and Sickneſs, and that with Perſonal Application, putting it into their Hands; and that ſuch are forc'd to receive it, though againſt their Wills, in the Conſcience of their Impenitency. That Miniſters be forc'd to* abſolve *the Unfit, and that in abſolute Expreſſions. That they are forc'd to give Thanks for all whom they bury*, as Brethren whom God hath deliver'd and taken to himſelf. *And that none may be a* Preacher *that dare not* ſubſcribe *that there is nothing in the Common Prayer Book, the Book of Ordination, and the Nine and Thirty Articles, that is contrary to the Word of God.* And the Miniſters undertook to prove as much.

Things charg'd as ſinful.

Compleat Hiſtory *falſe.*

The *Compleat Hiſtorian*, whom *Echard* copies here, declares that the Fifth and Sixth Things mention'd were *poſitively falſe in the Suppoſition of them.* Dr. *Calamy* animadverts upon it thus:
" He muſt allow it to appear ſtrange to others,
" that he ſhou'd ſay this with ſo much Aſſu-
" rance, when he himſelf cannot be inſenſible
" that there has all along been a Party in the
" *Church*, who have repreſented Miniſters as un- A.D.1661
" der an Obligation to adminiſter the *Sacrament*
" and *Abſolution* to all that deſire either, with-
" out Diſtinction; and that this Party have not
" wanted Power to run down thoſe whoſe Ap-
" prehenſions herein have been different from
" theirs.

The greateſt Part of the Diſputation on the Miniſters Side fell to Mr. *Baxter*'s Share, and to Dr. *Gunning*'s on the Side of the Biſhops. I can't tell what Writer *Echard* took his Libel upon Mr. *Baxter* from, but it is of a Piece with the reſt of his Authorities. " *Baxter* was either per- Echard *vi-*
" plex'd in his Underſtanding, or indiſpos'd for *lifies Mr.*
" cloſing the Difference. His Talent lay in re- Baxter.
" tiring to Foreign Diſtinctions and Miſapplica-
" tions of the Rules of *Logick*. And it was hard
" to ſay, whether his involving an Argument
" and raiſing a Miſt was Art or Infirmity, *whe-*
" *ther he was a Knave or a Fool.*" Dr. *Glanville*, *Dr. Glan-*
one of the King's Chaplains, writing to Mr. *Bax-* *vile praiſes*
ter, ſays, after having thank'd him for his ex- *him.*
cellent Performances, *Thoſe who have written againſt you ſeem to be ſet on by nothing but* Spleen *and* Choler, *nor have I been able to aſcribe the engaging ſo many virulent Pens againſt you to any other Cauſe than the Endeavours of* Satan, *to hinder the Succeſs which your powerful Pen has had againſt his dark Kingdom. It was the* *Anſw. to*
great Abaddon *that inſpir'd their Undertakings.* Stillingfl.
I ſhall conclude with this Profeſſion, That the p. 779.
Freedom of your Spirit, the Impartiality of your Enquiries, the Catholickneſs of your Judgment and Affections, the Peaceableneſs and Moderation of your Principles, the publick Spiritedneſs of your Diſpoſition, the exact uniform Holineſs of your Life, and your indefatigable Induſtry for the Good of Souls, are Excellencies which I never knew ſo combin'd in one Man. One of thoſe virulent Pens *Bp.* Mor-
was Dr. *Morley*, who charg'd Mr. *Baxter with* ley *vilifies*
aſſerting a Falſhood deſtructive of all Authority *him.*
Humane and Divine. Mr. *Baxter*'s Reputation was ſo general, that nothing can be thought of more inſolent than the touching of it by ſuch a Pen as our Hiſtorian's. Biſhop *Wilkins* ſaid of *Bp.* Wil-
him, *He had cultivated every Subject he had* kins *praiſes*
handled. The very learned Dr. *Barrow* gives *him*;
this Judgment of his Writings, *His Practical* *So does Dr.*
Diſcourſes were never mended, his Controverſial Barrow.
ones ſeldom confuted. Biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks of him as a Man of *great Piety*, and one of the moſt learned Men of the Age. And even *A. Wood*, that bitter Enemy to Moderation and Charity, calls him the *Learned and moſt Eminent Nonconformiſt.* Of his Opponent, Dr. *Gunning*, the *Bp.* Gun-
Biſhop of *Sarum* ſays, *All the Arts of Sophiſtry* ning *a*
were made uſe of by him upon all Occaſions, in as *confident*
confident a manner as if they had been ſound *Sophiſter.*
Reaſoning. He was unwearied ly active to very little Purpoſe, much ſet on reconciling us to Popery: *He had no ſound Judgment nor Prudence in Affairs.* The Queſtion theſe two learned Men diſputed, was, *Whether it was lawful to determine the certain Uſe of Things indifferent in the Worſhip of God?* The Biſhops held the Miniſters to this Point, and preſs'd them to ſhew that any of the Things impos'd were of themſelves *unlawful.* The Miniſters affirm'd, that other Circumſtances might make it become *unlawful* to ſettle a peremptory Law about Things indifferent, which they apply'd particularly to *kneeling* at the Sacrament; *and ſtood upon it, that a* Law *which excluded all that did not* kneel *from the Sacrament, was* unlawful, *as a Limitation in the Point of Communion put on the Laws of Chriſt, which ought to be the only Condition of thoſe who had a Right to it.* The Queſtion is thus ſtated by Biſhop *Burnet*, and I chooſe to make uſe of him

A.D.1661 him in this Caſe on Account of his *Function*, which cou'd not biaſs him on the *Presbyterian* Side. Here it is agreed by both Sides, and by all Sides, that *Chriſtians* under the beſt Preparation their Hearts are capable of, by uſing the proper Means towards it, have a Right to the holy Communion, which the Scripture no where directs to be received *kneeling*; but on the contrary, leaves the Poſture the ſame as at common Suppers in the *Eaſtern* Countries in thoſe Days. If therefore, ſince the *Idolatry* of the *Hoſt* has been ſet up, and Communicants have been taught that the Bread is *God* himſelf, to whom they are to pay Adoration by *kneeling* at the Sacrament, which *Heylin*, and hundreds of other ſuch Divines have aſſerted, ſcrupulous Perſons cannot think otherwiſe of it than of *Idolatry*, and are refus'd the Communion becauſe they cannot *kneel*. Whether the Miniſter, whoſe Duty it is to give them the Sacrament, ſins in refuſing to do it, let all the World judge, who make Scripture the Rule of their Faith. To ſay Human Laws may ſpeak where the Scriptures are ſilent in Things of the laſt Concernment, as is Eternal Life or Death, is to ſay what I cannot ſpare Words to explain; and to ſuppoſe that a poor unhappy Soul has been oblig'd to *kneel* at the Lord's Supper, when he was afraid he was kneeling to an Idol only in the Material Bread, is in that Suppoſition to make him commit Sin when he was in the higheſt Act of Devotion. Add to all this, that ſince *kneeling* is no where directed in Holy Writ, and ſince, on the contrary, another Poſture was practiſed at the firſt Inſtitution of the *Sacrament*, and ſince alſo it is a Ceremony at beſt not eſſential to the well receiving of the Communion, What Neceſſity was there for the Biſhops and Doctors to turn two or three thouſand Miniſters out of their Livings, and their Wives and Children out of their Houſes, purely to ſatisfy the Obſtinacy, Perverſeneſs, Peeviſhneſs, and Reſentment of *Sheldon*, *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Stern*, and other ſuch Biſhops and Doctors? Whoever have a Mind to ſee this Queſtion in various Logical Shapes, are referr'd to the Diſpute at large in *Baxter*'s Folio Life, where they will ſoon diſcover on which Side the Scale turn'd.

Kneeling at the Sacrament objected againſt.

Mr. *Baxter* informs us, that after the Queſtion was left to the before-mention'd Diſputants, Three of a Side, moſt of the Biſhops and Doctors ſtill attended to fill up the Number of Voices, and the Divines on the Side of the Miniſters abſented themſelves, as thinking their Three Diſputants were only to manage it; but at the Cloſe of all, the Biſhops and Doctors, Dr. *Sanderſon* in the Chair, ſhorten'd the Matter by putting it to the Vote, Whether Dr. *Gunning* or Mr. *Baxter* had the better? And it paſs'd, as every body will imagine, though Mr. *Baxter*'s Reply to *Gunning* was heard; and after it was heard, Biſhop *Coſens* put it to the Vote, *All you that think Dr.* Gunning *hath prov'd his Argument, ſay* I; upon which they all cry'd *I, I.* Mr. *Baxter* ſaid very truly, *I believe we knew your Opinion before; and if this is the Uſe you make of our Conceſſion, that you ſhou'd all be preſent while our Miniſters are all abſent, it ſhews that your Cauſe is very needy of Defence, when your own Voices muſt go inſtead of Argument: But if you will go on upon ſuch lamentable Reaſoning*, truly in my Opinion it may be call'd ſo, *as you have us'd, to caſt out the faithful Paſtors, and the People, and divide the Church, and afflict your Brethren, the Day is coming when your own Votes ſhall not abſolve you.*

They then fell upon the Point of *Charity* and *Compaſſion* to the Church, and the fruſtrating the King's Commiſſion, and the Kingdom's Hopes, by the Biſhops and Doctors, at the ſame time that they profeſs'd their Deſires of the Church's Peace; for which Mr. *Baxter* told them, *You will not abate the ſmalleſt Thing, nor correct your groſſeſt Error.* A.D.1661

The very Choice of the Biſhops and Doctors in the King's Commiſſion was enough to ſhew what the End of the *Conference* wou'd be. They were the moſt obſtinate, perverſe, peeviſh and revengeful that made any Figure in the Church. Had ſuch Men been employ'd as Biſhop *Griffith*, Biſhop *Lucy*, Biſhop *Nicholſon*, Biſhop *Lloyd*, Dr. *Whichcot*, Dr. *Cudworth*, Biſhop *Wilkins*, Dr. *More*, Dr. *Worthington*, alike diſtinguiſh'd for Piety and Virtue, Learning and Abilities, the Peace of the Church had been eſtabliſh'd inſtead of the Eſtabliſhment procur'd by the *Savoy* Biſhops and Doctors, of whom Biſhop *Burnet* writes thus, "What the Biſhops did with their "great Fines was a Pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more Care of themſelves than of the *Church*. The Men of Service were loaded with many Livings, and "many Dignities. With this great Acceſſion of "Wealth, there broke in upon the Church a "great deal of Luxury and high Living on the "Pretence of Hoſpitality: And with this Overſet of Wealth and Pomp that came on Men in "the Decline of their Age, they who were now "growing into old Age, became lazy and negligent in all the *true Concerns* of the *Church*." *Bp.* Burnet's *Account of the Biſhops and Clergy.* By every Step taken in the *Savoy* Conference it is obvious, that thoſe Biſhops and Doctors thought the true Concerns of the Church were, Pomp, and Wealth, Power, Superſtition and Ceremony: That Load of Livings was in all Probability the main Argument for turning ſo many pious, laborious, learned and able Miniſters out of their Churches. I was told by a Friend of Mr. *Baxter*, that a Day or two before this *Conference* broke up, a Divine happen'd to offer it to one of the Biſhops as a Thing reaſonable, that thoſe elder *Presbyterian* Miniſters who were outed of their Benefices, and thoſe younger who never had any, ſhou'd be provided for as Livings dropp'd. The Biſhop took no Notice of it; and whatever the Miniſters ſaid afterwards was worſe receiv'd even than what they had ſaid before. But Biſhop *Burnet* diſcovers ſomething that reflects more on the approaching Statute of *Uniformity*, than any *Diſſenter* can ſay; for every one knows it was the darling Act of the Lord *Clarendon*, and that all the Clergy of *England*, and all the Members of our two famous Univerſities, have ador'd him for his Care of the Church; whereas my Lord of *Sarum* aſſures us, his real Care was of them. *The Lord* Clarendon *was heavily charg'd, as having ſhewn that he was more the Biſhops Friend than the* Church's.

The King did not ſeem very fond of having a *Convocation*, which was the only Thing wanting to fill up *Echard*'s Meaſure of *Felicity*. He has got a *rich Parliament* choſen, which, without a religious Synod, wou'd have been like a Cripple without Crutches; and therefore he not only tells us, that ſome body was put upon writing to the King about it, but who that ſome body was too; it was the *valuable Heylin*, who wrote a Letter to a great Man to ſpeak to his Majeſty for a *Convocation*; and upon this ſingle Letter, of a Man of no more Value than *Peter Heylin*, was that *Convocation* call'd, who gave their Sanction to the *Bartholomew Bill*. Dr. *Calamy* writes thus of it; "During this Interval the Convocation was "choſen, which was politickly deferr'd till now. "Had it been call'd when the King came in, the "inferior Clergy wou'd have been againſt the "*Dioceſan*; but afterwards many Hundreds were turn'd *Convocation.*

A.D.1661 " turn'd out, that the old ſequeſter'd Miniſters, " how meanly ſoever qualify'd, might come in. " Thoſe Miniſters who had been ordain'd ſince " Epiſcopacy was laid aſide twenty Years before, " were deny'd Voices in the Election; by which " Means, and a great many Miniſter's Scruples, " who thought it unlawful to have any thing to " do in chooſing ſuch a kind of *Aſſembly*, the " *Dioceſan* Party wholly prevail'd.

Second Long Parliament.

But before we proceed any farther in *Church* Hiſtory, we muſt return to that of the State. The new Parliament met the 8th of *May*, and are recommended to us by *Echard* as Perſons to be preferr'd before all others, on account of their prodigious Fortunes. The Vanity and Falſhood of his Recommendation appear in the ſame Paragraph of his Hiſtory. They were call'd, and indeed they were, the *Penſionary Parliament*, as I ſhall prove preſently; yet becauſe they paſs'd that ſevere Act, which upon one Day flung 2000 Miniſters out of their Pulpits, they are to want no good Characters which he can beſtow upon them. I confeſs, I am aſham'd to mention ſo poor and worthleſs a Hiſtory ſo often; but, as I have elſewhere obſerv'd, he and his Brother Hiſtorians have impos'd upon me the Office of a Scavenger, and I am forc'd to remove the Dirt and Filth as I go along, to make Way for my Reader. " This Parliament muſt in the main " be ſaid to have been excellently well and wiſe- " ly choſen, for the good and peaceable Eſta- " bliſhment of the publick Affairs. The Houſe " of Commons, conſiſting of the moſt conſidera- " ble and eminent Perſons for Birth, Eſtates, " Knowledge and Experience, that were to be " found in the three Kingdoms;" which is ſo falſe, as well as impertinent, that it cou'd not be; for he brags, that the *Nine* in *Ten* of them were for the *Laudæan* Church, and not one in a thouſand of ſuch Men had been in any Place to learn Experience for almoſt twenty Years paſt.

p. 340. Echard *wrong.*

As to their Eſtates and other fine Qualities, we ſhall ſee what they were in the *State Tracts*. " The Friends to Arbitrary Power in the Begin- " ning of King *Charles* the Second's Reign pur- " ſu'd the ſame Deſign as in *Strafford* and *Laud*'s " Time, of ſubverting our Conſtitution, but took " Methods quite different from what thoſe be- " fore us'd to effect it. They remembred the ill " Succeſs of *Projects* and *Monopolies*, and Pre- " tences of *Prerogative* to ſupply the Govern- " ment with Money. They had found out and " felt by Experience, that a *Free Parliament* " cou'd not be aw'd, and that the People in the " Intervals of Parliament wou'd not be forc'd to " pay Taxes which were not legally impos'd; " yet there was an abſolute Neceſſity for the " Crown to be ſupply'd, without which it cou'd " not ſubſiſt. 'Twas therefore reſolv'd to attempt " that by *Fraud* which they cou'd not compaſs " by *Force*, and in order thereunto they took the " Advantage of the preſent Temper of the Peo- " ple, *whoſe Heads were turn'd with the Arch-* " *deacon's Felicities as well as his own*, which " carry'd them, without conſidering what Con- " ſequences might be to every thing that was " agreeable to the Court." *What follows relates to* Echard's *Birth, Eſtates*, &c. " They recom- " mended ſuch to be choſen Members of the " Houſe of Commons, whoſe Fortunes had been " moſt impair'd in the late Wars, and whoſe " Dependance on the Court might encline to a " Compliance with whatever ſhou'd be demand- " ed of them. And theſe good-natur'd loyal " Gentlemen repeal'd the Act of the 16th of " *Car.* I. for *Triennial* Parliaments, while a few " worthy Patriots labour'd to defend it. Places " and Penſions were liberally beſtow'd on all that " cou'd be brought over to the Court; and 'tis A.D.1661 " no Wonder they gave ſuch prodigious Sums " of Money out of the poor People's Purſes, when " a great Part was again refunded into their own." This was ſufficiently prov'd by Mr. *Bertie* and Sir *Stephen Fox*; tho', when Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and Sir *John Holman* were ſent by the Houſe of Commons to fetch Sir *Stephen*'s Books, the Lord Chanberlain came to them and ſaid, *No Books or Papers concerning the King ſhou'd be carry'd away*. Theſe Diſcoveries happen'd ſome Time after, but are proper to be mention'd here, to ſhew thro' what pure Hearts and clean Hands ſo many religious and uſeful Bills paſs'd. The Names of a good Number of theſe illuſtrious Members are in

A LIST *of* One Unanimous Club *of* Voters *in his Majeſty's* Long Parliament.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE 6.

Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Sir *William Smith*, Sir *William Drake*, Sir *William Bowyer*.

BERKSHIRE 2.

Sir *John Bennet*, *Richard Aldworth*.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE 4.

Sir *Thomas Chichely*, Sir *Thomas Hatton*, Sir *Charles Wheeler*, Lord *Allington*.

CHESHIRE 2.

Thomas Cholmondeley, *Robert Worden*.

CORNWALL 15.

Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, Sir *John Coryton*, *Bernard Greenvile*, *Sydney Godolphin*, Sir *William Godolphin*, *John Arundel*, *John Trelawney*, *Charles Osborn*, *Henry Seymour*, *Robert Roberts*, Lord *Hawley*, *Arthur Sprey*, *Joſeph Tredenham*, Sir *Cyril Wyche*, Sir *Bouchier Wray*.

CARLISLE 2.

Sir *Philip Howard*, Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*.

DEVONSHIRE. 10.

Sir *Copleſtone Bampfield*, Sir *James Smith*, *Thomas Walker*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Berry*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, Sir *Courtney Poole*, Sir *Peter Prideaux*, Sir *Henry Ford*.

DORSET 5.

Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Shaw*, Sir *Winſtan Churchil*, *George Boreman*, *George Pits*.

DURHAM 2.

Col. *John Tempeſt*, Sir *Ralph Cole*.

ESSEX 3.

Sir *John Bramſton*, *Thomas King*, Sir *Richard Wiſeman*.

GLOUCESTER 1.

Sir *Baynham Throgmorton*.

HAMPSHIRE 7.

Sir *Robert Holmes*, *Lawrence Hdye*, Sir *Richard Ford*, *Thomas Neal*, Sir *Robert Howard*, *Robert Philips*, Sir *John Holmes*.

HEREFORDSHIRE 3.

Thomas Price, *Herbert Weſtphaling*, Sir *Thomas Williams*.

HERTFORDSHIRE 1.

Sir *Richard Franklyn*.

HUNTINGTONSHIRE 2.

Sir *John Cotton*, Sir *Lionel Walden*, a Papiſt.

A.D.1661

KENT 7.

Sir *Thomas Peyton*, Sir *Edward Maſters*, *Thomas Hardreſs*, *Thomas Harlackenden*, Sir *Robert Barnham*, *James Herbert*, Sir *Richard Read*.

LANCASHIRE 7.

Sir *Roger Bradſhaw*, *Richard Harriſon*, *Edward Rigby*, Sir *John Otway*, Sir *John Heath*, Earl of *Ancram*, Sir *Jeffry Fazakerly*.

LEICESTERSHIRE 3.

George Faunt, Sir *William Hartop*, Sir *John Prettyman*.

LINCOLNSHIRE. 4.

Sir *Robert Markham*, *Charles Bertie*, *William Broxholm*, *Peregrine Bertie*.

MIDDLESEX 2.

Sir *Thomas Allen*, Sir *Philip Warwick*.

NORFOLK 7.

Col. *Paſton*, Mr. *Briggs*, *Robert Wright*, Sir *William Doyley*, Sir *Allen Apſley*, *Samuel Pepys*, Sir *Thomas Meadows*.

NORTHAMPTON 2.

Sir *Lewis Palmer*, *Robert Spencer*.

NORTHUMBERLAND 6.

Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Sir *Francis Anderſon*, Sir *George Downing*, *Daniel Collingwood*, Viſcount *Dumblaine*.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE 2.

Sir *Francis Leake*, *Henry Savile*.

OXFORDSHIRE 1.

Suffolk Howard.

RUTLANDSHIRE 1.

Edward Wells.

SHROPSHIRE 6.

Sir *Francis Lawley*, *Somerſet Fox*, Sir *Job Charlton*, *George Wild*, *Edward Warring*, *William Oakley*.

SOMERSETSHIRE 6.

Sir *William Baſſet*, Lord *Fitzharding*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Sir *Edmund Wyndham*, *Edward Philips*, *Thomas Wyndham*.

STAFFORDSIHRE 3.

Randolph Egerton, *Richard Dyot*, *Leviſon Gower*.

SUFFOLK 6.

Sir *Henry Felton*, Sir *Charles Gawdy*, Sir *John Pettus*, *William Wood*, *Robert Reeves*, *Gilbert Lingfield*.

SURREY 7.

Sir *Adam Browne*, Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Sir *William Hayward*, Sir *Edward Biſſe*, Sir *John Worden*, *Thomas Dalmahoy*, Sir *William Morley*.

SUSSEX 9.

Richard May, Sir *John Cowell*, *Baptiſt May*, Sir *John Stapley*, Sir *Thomas Woodcock*, *Henry Goring*, *Piercy Goring*, Earl of *Orrery*, Viſcount *Longford*.

WARWICKSHIRE 2.

Sir *Robert Holt*, Sir *Henry Pickering*.

WESTMORLAND 1.

Thomas Tufton.

WILTSHIRE 15.

Sir *Stephen Fox*, Sir *John Birkenhead*, *Thomas Wanklin*, *George Johnſon*, *Henry Bertie*, *Francis Gwyn*, Sir *Thomas Eſtcourt*, Sir *John Ernley*, *Robert Hyde*, *Henry Clarke*, *Daniel Finch*, *William Aſhburnham*, *George Legg*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Sir *John Elwes*.

A.D.1661

WORCESTERSHIRE 3.

Thomas Street, *Henry Coventry*, Sir *John Hanmer*.

YORKSHIRE 11.

Conyers Darcy, Sir *Thomas Slingsby*, Sir *H. Goodrick*, Sir *John Talbot*, Sir *John Nicholas*, Sir *Edmund Jennings*, *Henry Guy*, Sir *Blackmore Rigby*, Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Strickland*, a Papiſt, Sir *Solomon Swale*, a Papiſt.

CINQUE-PORTS 7.

Sir *Dennis Aſhburnham*, Sir *John Robinſon*, *John Hervey*, Col. *Gibbs*, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, *John Stroud*, *John Robinſon*.

WALES 4.

Sir *Herbert Price*, Sir *Charles Cotterel*, Lord *Vaughan*, *John Wynn*.

We ſhall enter into the Detail of the *Penſioners* when we come to that Period where the *Penſions* were ſettled, which they cou'd not be at firſt; and ſome of theſe Members were *Recruiters*: However, they were choſen with as much Wiſdom and Foreſight as thoſe who ſate at the Opening of the Seſſion, when the King made a Speech to both Houſes of Parliament; a Word of which Mr. Archdeacon tells us is not to be ſpar'd, I ſuppoſe for the ſake of this Paſſage, *I do value my ſelf much upon keeping my Word, upon making good whatſoever I do promiſe my Subjects.* *How the King kept his Word.* His Majeſty had three Times ſworn the Solemn *League* and *Covenant*. He had promis'd to eſtabliſh it in *England*, and ſome Days after this Speech he paſs'd an Act to aboliſh it. The Lord Chancellor *Hyde*'s Speech comes next, wherein he puts their Blood in a Ferment, by alarming them with Rumours of Plots, after he has ſet out the Tumult under *Venner*, as one of the moſt formidable Rebellions which had been ever known. *Sham Plot.* " A little Time after the Diſſolution of " the laſt Parliament, while his Majeſty accom- " pany'd his Mother to the Sea-ſide, the moſt " deſperate and prodigious Rebellion broke out " in this City that had been heard of in any Age, " and by the Multitude of intercepted Letters " from and to all the Counties of *England*, in " which the Time was ſet down wherein the " *Work of the Lord was* to be done by the deſpe- " rate Carriage of the Traitors themſelves, and " the bragging of their Friends, it might be con- " cluded the Combination reach'd very far, and " if the indefatigable Induſtry of the Lord Mayor " had not prevented it, probably the Fury wou'd " not have been extinguiſh'd before this famous " City, or a great Part of it, had been burnt to " Aſhes, and therefore it became their Wiſdoms " to provide new Remedies for new Diſeaſes." We ſhall ſee by and by what ſort of State Phyſicians this wonderful Senate were, and how much this poor Nation was indebted to their Wiſdoms.

Sir Edw. Turner, *the Speech-making Speaker.*

The Houſe of Commons, as the Court directed, choſe Sir *Edward Turner* the Duke of *York*'s Sollicitor for their Speaker, and he was led to the Chair by Sir *Charles Berkley* and Sir *Heneage Finch*. As ſoon as he was confirm'd by the King, he made a long Speech, and continu'd to make long Speeches upon all Occaſions, 'till he was remov'd to the Upper Houſe, where he ſate as an Aſſiſtant, being ſometime after made Lord Chief Baron. He is for his much ſpeaking, term'd the *Speech-Making Speaker*. *Echard* preſerves them all, as if they were as precious as the Orations of *Cicero*, but I know

A.D.1661 the Merit of them too well to follow his Example. After he had done, the Lord Chancellor made another Speech, wherein he painted the Monſter *Common-wealth* in proper Colours, and told them the King was going to *Worceſter, to thank God for his Deliverance there, and to thank God even in thoſe Cottages and Barns wherein he was ſhelter'd, and feaſted, and preſerv'd; and in the Cloſe of that Progreſs, he hopes he ſhall find his Queen in his Arms:* For the Parliament had receiv'd the Propoſal of his Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal* as joyfully as if his Majeſty's Wedding-day was to have been their own. Then they order'd the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, and ſome Acts made in the late Times, to be burnt. They order'd a Bill to be brought in *to enable his Majeſty to ſend out Commiſſions to receive the free and voluntary Contributions of his People*, which the King paſs'd the 8th of *July*, with another Bill to confirm the *Oblivion Act*, and the Speaker made a Speech when he preſented thoſe Acts to him, in which he has a pretty Expreſſion concerning the latter, *That we might with ſome Chearfulneſs ſee your Majeſty's Face, we have brought our Brother* Benjamin *with us*; *I mean your Act of Oblivion*, &c. Then the King made a Speech too about that Bill. They proceeded ſtill with great Vigour, and confiſcated the Eſtates of thoſe of the King's Judges who were dead, and of the Lord *Mounſon*, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, Sir *James Harrington*, and Mr. *John Phelps*. The two firſt were degraded of their Titles, and together with Mr. *Robert Wallop*, order'd to be drawn upon Sledges from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, with Ropes about their Necks, which, ſays *Echard*, was very ſolemnly done on the 30th of *January* following. About three Weeks after there were more Bills ready, and when the Speaker preſented them, he had another Speech ready in Praiſe of thoſe Acts. The firſt was to puniſh ſeverely any Man who ſhou'd call the King *Papiſt*, tho' the Lord *Clarendon*, who promoted this Bill, knew he was a Papiſt. The next Bill was to reſtore the *Biſhops* to their Seats in the Houſe of Lords. The next, an Act to diſcourage *Petitions* and *Addreſſes*, A Declaration that the *ſole Right of the Militia be in the King*. An Act concerning the Navy, for *confiſcating* the above-mention'd Eſtates; and becauſe the King had told them, he intended to take a Journey, the Speaker ſaid, they had prepar'd a Bill *for providing neceſſary Carriages in all his Royal Progreſſes and Removals*. His Majeſty anſwer'd this Speech alſo with another, and then the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of *November*.

Convocation. The *Convocation* met on the 8th of *May*, Dr. *Thomas Pierce* preach'd a Latin Sermon, and Dr. *Henry Fearne* was choſen Prolocutor, which Buſineſs in our Times takes up the Seſſion, but this *Convocation* did ſomething more: For beſides the two new Holidays, for which we are indebted to them, and the Leſſon of *Bell* and the *Dragon*, for which they muſt alſo have Credit, Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, "Two new Offices "were drawn for two new Days, the *Thirtieth* "of *January*, call'd King *Charles* the *Martyr*, "and the *Twenty-ninth* of *May*, the Day of the "King's *Birth* and *Return*. *Sancroft* drew for "theſe ſome Offices of a very high Strain, yet "others of a more moderate Strain were pre-"ferr'd to them: But he coming to be advanc'd "to the See of *Canterbury*, got his Offices to be "publiſh'd by the King's Anthority, in a Time "when ſo high a Stile as was in them, did "not ſound well in the *Nation*. Such Care was "taken in the Choice and Return of the Mem-"bers of the Convocation, that every thing went "among them as was directed by *Sheldon* and "*Morley*: We ſhall ſee what Directions they gave "them in the Sequel. A.D.1661

This good Parliament rais'd the Diſcontents of the late Anarchy, according to *Echard*, and therefore new Deſigns are thought of. Counſels were held, Meetings were held, and to prove the Truth of theſe dangerous Conſpiracies, Mr. *Praiſe God Barebone* was taken. It is almoſt a Miracle that he eſcap'd hanging, conſidering his *Chriſtian Name*. Alderman *Ireton* was alſo apprehended, very likely on Account of his Sirname. Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, Col. *Salmon*, Major *Haines*, and Major *Wildman*, were apprehended to keep the Plot in Countenance; the latter of an Underſtanding ſo ſuperior to all his Proſecutors, that their Inſolence raiſes ones Indignation more than Compaſſion. *Echard* cannot help ſaying, *The Presbyterian Defenders* alledge, that theſe were only *ſham Plots, to help forwards the ſevere Act of Uniformity, but others believe the Contrary*. Who are his others? *L'Eſtrange*, *Nalſon*, *Heylin*, *Warwick*, *Dugdale*, himſelf, &c. Mr. *Locke*, at whoſe Names all this Fry vaniſh, as *Goblins* at the Appearance of Light, believ'd and affirm'd they were ſham Plots, and that the People were *ſham'd* by it into the ſeveral Acts. *New Plots.*

"As the Top Stone of the whole Fabrick, a "Pretence ſhall be taken from the Jealouſies "they themſelves have rais'd by their *ſham Plots*. Mr. *Des Maiz* Col. *p.* 59.

"Pray *mind what Lord* Clarendon *ſaid about* "*the Conſpiracies*, &c. *And* a real Neceſſity from "the Smallneſs of their Party *Thirty to one*," according to *L'Eſtrange*, "to encreaſe and keep "up a *ſtanding Army*, and then in due Time "the *Cavalier* and *Church Men* will be made "greater Tools, but as errant Slaves as the reſt "of the Nation. In Order to this, the firſt Step "was made in the Act for regulating Corpora-"tions," *of which we ſhall be oblig'd* to ſay more in a Paragraph or two. For we muſt now follow the Earl of *Sandwich*, and his Vice-Admiral, Sir *John Lawſon*, into the *Mediterranean*.

On *July* the 29th they came before *Algier*, and ſent a Meſſage to the *Dey to come out* and confirm the League with *England*. *Echard* makes a meer Dog-*Turk* of him: But though he did come out, the Archdeacon tells us he behav'd ſo inſolently, that the *Engliſh* Admiral ſtood into the Harbour, but he ſteer'd out again, and found it adviſable to bring off his Fleet, which had ſuffer'd extreamly in their Sails and Rigging. So he left Sir *John Lawſon* to block them up if he cou'd, croſs'd over to *Spain*, croſs'd back again to *Tangier*, and thence back again to *Liſbon*. Mr. Archdeacon tells us, the Common-wealth's Men, out of *meer Envy and Sedition, remark'd that the Naval Power of* England *wou'd never be ſo formidable under Monarchy as it had been under a* Common-wealth: If he had reported their Remark right, it wou'd have had another Turn: That the Naval Power wou'd never be ſo formidable under King *Charles* or his Brother, as it had been under the *Common-wealth*. For when he wrote his Hiſtory, Monarchy had been near thirty Years in the Hands of Princes equally great and good, under whom the Naval Power of *England* was the moſt formidable in the World. *The Fleet.*

On the Day appointed the Parliament met, and his Majeſty made a very long Speech, the Cloſe of which was very promiſing, *That the Happineſs of his Government wou'd perſuade our Neighbours to that Eſteem and Value they had formerly had for us*. If it had been added, from the death of Queen *Elizabeth* to the firſt Long Parliament, it had been very true and juſt. *Parliament.*

They began with freſh Proceedings againſt the *Regicides*, and a Bill was brought in to hang up all

A.D. 1661 all that were reſerv'd for Parliamentary Execution; but it dropp'd, and ſo they were all ſent to ſeveral remote Priſons. *Echard* tells us, It had like to have gone hard with them on Account of *More Plots.* new Plots, Chancellor *Hyde* telling the Parliament, *There had been a real Deſign forming ever ſince* March *laſt*, he proceeded, ſays *Echard*, to name the Conſpirators, *with the Manner and* Baxt. *Life*, Vol. I. p. *Contrivance of their barbarous Deſigns.* I go no farther in the Fiction, but refer to Dr. *Calamy*. 181. Theſe Plots *were the general Cry. This all the Pamphlets printed at this Time ran upon, and it was in this very Seſſion that the Bill of* UNIFORMITY *paſs'd the Houſe. And that the general Cry occaſion'd by theſe* Sham Plots *much promoted it, will eaſily be judged by any one who will be at the Pains to peruſe Capt.* Yarrington's p. 177. *Narrative.* Again, *He who wou'd paſs a right Judgment concerning the Act of* Uniformity, *ought ſedately to conſider the* ſcandalous Arts *that were us'd to obtain it, and the bitter Fruits and Conſequences which it produc'd.* Again, *Many worthy Miniſters and ſober Gentlemen were impriſon'd in divers Counties throughout* England. *Sham Plots.* Sir *John Packington* carry'd on the *Sham* ſo far in *Worceſter*, that Mr. *Ambroſe Sparry*, a learned pious Divine, Mr. *Oſland*, Mr. *Moore*, Mr. *Brian*, three other pious learned Divines, were ſeiz'd and kept by Soldiers rais'd by the Cathedral Men at *Worceſter*, and commanded by a *Paritor*. They had double Pay, and were call'd the *Clergy Band*: This was while the Act was paſſing. Theſe Infernal Wretches put a poor old Man to the Torture for asking one of the Soldiers how Mr. *Oſland* the Miniſter did, and ſaying he was no *Traitor*, when one of the *Clergy* p. 179. *Band* call'd him ſo. They put lighted Matches *A Man put to Torture on that ſcore.* between his Fingers, and burnt them to the very Bone, to extort a Confeſſion from him that there was a *Plot*. Captain *Yarrington* was ſeiz'd by a Troop of Horſe, and impriſon'd at *Worceſter*, as were ſeventy or eighty ſober Men for this Diabolical Forgery, which Mr. *Yarrington* at length found out by Acknowledgment of the Perſon employed by *Packington* to carry a Packet of *Capt.* Yarrington's *ſham Plot.* counterfeit Letters to one *Cole* of *Martley*, in which were ſeveral directed to Capt. *Yarrington*, and other honeſt Gentlemen, containing treaſonable Matters. Theſe Letters were pretended to be intercepted by the Fellow who was hir'd to deliver them, and carry'd to Sir *John Packington*; upon which ſo many religious innocent Perſons were thrown into Goals, and *Packington* intended to have had them proſecuted to the utmoſt. The Fellow confeſſing the Villany, Mrs. *Yarrington* gives Notice of it to her Husband in his Confinement, who immediately enters Actions againſt thoſe that had impriſon'd him. Being at laſt diſcharg'd, he went to *London*, and prevail'd with the Earl of *Briſtol*, though a *Papiſt*, to acquaint the King how the Lord *Clarendon*, and his other Miniſters, impos'd *Sham Plots* upon him. Upon which the Deputy-Lieutenants of *Worceſterſhire*, and other Shires where the like *Plots* had been forg'd, were order'd to appear at the Council Board. They endeavour'd to clear themſelves, and deſir'd Time to conſult their Friends in the Country. But afterwards Sir *J. W.* one of them, arreſted Capt. *Yarrington* for *High Treaſon*, and he was releas'd upon the Earl of *Briſtol*'s procuring the King's Privy-Seal: For *Papiſts*, who were Men of Honour, deteſted theſe ſcandalous Arts, and the more, for that they were to carry on Deſigns which the Miniſtry durſt not otherwiſe own. *Yarrington*, a Man of Spirit, proſecutes his Proſecutors; but within ſix Months, Perſons were ſuborn'd to ſwear againſt him, *That he had ſpoken Treaſonable Words againſt the King and Government.* For this he was Try'd at *Worceſter* Aſſizes before Judge *Twiſden*, and upon a full Hearing, was preſently acquitted by the *Jury*. One of the Witneſſes confeſs'd he had five Pounds given him for being an Evidence. What Coin muſt that be which comes out of ſuch a Mint? I ſhall not touch upon the *Sham Plots* in *Oxfordſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, and *Herefordſhire*, they being all as falſe and deteſtable as this in *Worceſterſhire*. But they were tim'd like Things which are made on Purpoſe, and the Miniſtry put theſe Words into the King's Mouth. *I am ſorry to find that the general Temper and Affection of the Nation are not ſo well compoſs'd as I hop'd they wou'd have been after ſo ſignal Bleſſings of God Almighty upon us all, and after ſo great Indulgence and Condeſcenſions from me towards all Intereſts, there are many wicked Inſtruments ſtill as active as ever, who labour Night and Day to diſturb the Publick Peace, and to make People jealous of each other. It may be worthy your Care and Vigilance to provide proper Remedies for Diſeaſes of that kind; and if you find new Diſeaſes, you muſt find new Remedies*, &c. *Hyde* knew all this was a *Farce* of his own Invention, or of the Invention of his Inſtruments. However, when the Houſe of Commons after the Speech came to their Debates, up ſtands Sir *John Packington*, and with open Mouth cries out, a horrid Plot in his County of *Worceſter*, a horrid, dangerous *Presbyterian* Plot, *When the Uniformity Act paſt.* for which many Plotters were already in Goal! Then ſuch wiſe and well-choſen Members gave the like Information for the Counties of *Oxford*, *Hereford*, and *Stafford*; and ſays Dr. *Calamy*, as above, *'Twas in this very Seſſion that this Bill of Uniformity paſs'd.* I think it will not bear Reflection.

A.D. 1661 *King's Speech about the ſham Plots.*

On the 29th of *December* the King paſs'd ſome Bills; *An Act for granting* 1,260,000 *Pounds*; *An Act about Leaſes for the Dutchy of* Cornwal; *An Act for regulating Corporations. Echard* boaſts, that the laſt prov'd a *ſevere Mortification and Blow to one Party*, which conſiſted of every wiſe and honeſt Man in *England*. For he who contributes to the enſlaving of his Country, muſt be as much a Fool as a Villain. This wretched Hiſtory Writer, after all the Miſchiefs which that odious Act was the Cauſe of, glories in it as a Triumph of the Faction which triumph'd over the Spiritual and Temporal Liberties of *England*. I'm pleas'd that Mr. *Locke* has touch'd upon this Enormity; for though he is inſenſible of Shame upon my Animadverſion, he will be ſtill more the Scorn of Mankind if he ſtands out againſt Mr. *Locke*'s. In order to make one *as Errant Slaves* as the other, " The firſt " Step they took was the *Act for regulating Cor-* " *porations*; wiſely beginning, that in thoſe leſ- " ſer Governments, *which* Echard *calls Neſts of* p. 60. " *Sedition*, which they meant afterwards to in- " troduce upon the Government of the Nation, " and making them ſwear to a Declaration and " Belief of ſuch Propoſitions as they themſelves " afterwards, upon Debate, were enforc'd to al- " ter, and cou'd not juſtify in theſe Words." *Letter to a Perſon of Quality.*

I A. B. *do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him.* A vile Oath impos'd.

All Perſons bearing any Office of Magiſtracy, Place of Truſt, or other Employment relating to the Government of any City, Corporation, Burrough, &c were order'd to take this Oath; *by which*, ſays Mr. *Locke*, *many of the wealthieſt, worthieſt, and ſobereſt Men* were thruſt out, *and*

A.D.1661 *are ſtill kept out of the Magiſtracy.* It was the ſame in *Harley*'s Time, when the *Schiſm Act*, and *Occaſional Act*, both now happily defunct, remov'd wealthy, worthy, and ſober Men, to make room for the reverſe of them. We have liv'd to ſee the Makers of that *ſlaviſh* Oath acting againſt it; and cou'd any thing bind a Man to deſtroy his Country, the taking Arms againſt King *James* the Second wou'd have render'd almoſt all that did it forſworn. And if the Dread of it had hinder'd them, what wou'd the Conſtitution of *England* have been by this Time? I have not in all my Reading met with an Aſſembly of Men ſo blind to the Publick Intereſt, and ſo ready to run their Necks into a Collar. We have ſeen what laudable Care they have taken of the Bodies of Men, and we ſhall ſoon ſee what Care they will take of their Souls. If I had not already given the Reader a Liſt of ſome of the moſt remarkable ones among them, I wou'd here have inſerted the Names of all of them. But it wou'd have been pity that a great Number of Gentlemen, who though not a Majority, were yet a very conſiderable Party, Strugglers againſt this *Corporation Act*, and that other unrighteous Act that is to follow it, ſhou'd any where appear in after times with thoſe Names, that are a Diſhonour to Hiſtory.

1662. *Queen of Bohemia's Death.* Archdeacon *Echard* ends the laſt Year as I begin this, with the Death of that religious, ſuffering, and belov'd Princeſs, the Queen of *Bohemia*, his preſent Majeſty's Royal great Grandmother, Daughter of King *James* the Firſt. She dy'd on the 13th of *February*, and was bury'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, in the ſame Vault with Prince *Henry*, her eldeſt Brother.

The Parliament had been adjourn'd to the 10th of *January*, and were *farther alarm'd with Plots and Conſpiracies*, according to *Echard*. I *More ſham Plots.* have obſerv'd, that the Continuance of theſe Plots was a ſad Piece of the Lord Chancellor's Policy: A ſorry thin Diſguiſe, which every one ſaw thro', but thoſe who wink'd their Eyes and wou'd not ſee. The Chancellor's Speech on this Occaſion wou'd be extreamly diverting, as all merry Things are, when ſaid with grave Faces, were it not for the dreadful Calamities which were the Effects of it. It is thus;

" There was found with *Salmon*, a Liſt of " 160 Officers of the late Army. It is further " diſcover'd, that there ſhou'd have been a Meeting at *London* about the 10th of *December*, " and that they intended about the End of *Ja*- " *nuary*, to have made ſure of *Shrewsbury*, *Co*- " *ventry* and *Briſtol*, and that they ſhou'd riſe " in ſeveral Parts at once, *like Moles in Beds of* " *Aſparagus*, that where they were prevalent, " they ſhou'd begin with *Aſſaſſination*, which " mov'd one of them to relate, *That ſome of the* " *late King's Judges were entertain'd in* France, " Holland *and* Germany," that many Arms were brought in Order to this Deſign. It is impoſſible to go thorough with it, and not be ſhock'd beyond Conception. Not a Word of it is credible, except it is where he ſays, *The Duke of* Albemarle *has put two Troops into* Shrewsbury, *and as many into* Coventry; what follows, is to let the Parliament ſee, that the immenſe Sums they laviſh'd away, had a good Effect; *which two Troops, by the Way, had taken twenty Thieves.* " Upon this Report, ſays the *Archdeacon*, the " Houſe reſolv'd to proceed againſt Sir *Henry* " *Vane*, Lieutenant General *Lambert*, Sir *Har*- " *dreſs Waller*, and with exemplary Simpli- " city he confeſſes," Upon this Report, they proceeded with greater Activity in the *Uniformity Act*; in which they had a Spur from the King himſelf in a new Speech, " *Gentlemen*, I " hear you are very zealous for the *Church*, and A.D.1662 " very ſollicitous, and even jealous, that there " is not Expedition enough us'd in that Affair. " I thank you for it, ſince I preſume it proceeds " from a good Root of Piety and Devotion." *Such Words from ſuch a Prince! whoſe Vices wou'd have been a Scandal to the worſt Religion in the World, if there cou'd be a worſe than his own, that of* Popery. " I know you will not take it " unkindly, if I tell you I am as zealous for the " Church of *England* as any of you can be, and " am enough acquainted with the Enemies of it " on all Sides, and have Prejudice to thoſe who " do not love it." *He certainly does not mean the* Papiſts, *being a* Papiſt *himſelf, if any thing.* " I am as much in love with the Book of *Com*- " *mon-Prayer* as you can wiſh: *It is believ'd*; " and have Prejudice enough to thoſe who do " not love it. I do as much deſire to ſee an " *Uniformity*, you may rely upon me in it. I " have tranſmitted the Book of *Common-Prayer*, " which has been preſented to me by the Convo- " cation, to the Houſe of Peers, with my Appro- " bation, that the *Act of Uniformity* may relate " to it, *&c.*" *Echard* brags, that this Speech is not in Print; ſo I will rob him of no more of it.

Dr. *Ferne*, Prolocutor of the Convocation, being made Biſhop of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Barwick* ſucceeded him as *Prolocutor*. They determin'd that *Uniformity* Biſhops might ſit and judge in Caſes of *Blood*, *Act.* and added a Prayer to the Liturgy for the High Court of Parliament, wherein the King is ſtil'd our moſt *religious King*. Neither *Echard*, nor *King* the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, nor any one of that ſort *Charles* of Writers, obſerve the amazing Inconſiſtency *ſtil'd a* of that Term with the King's Life and Con- *moſt reli-* verſation, Biſhop *Burnet* has a juſt Obſervation *gious King.* upon it. *A* Collect *was drawn for the* Parliament, *in which a new Epithet was added to the King's Title, that gave great Offence, and occaſion'd much Railery. He was ſtil'd our* moſt religious King. *It was not eaſy to give a proper Senſe to this, and to make it go well down, ſince whatever the Signification of Religious might be in the* Latin *Word, as importing the Sacredneſs of the King's Party; yet in the* Engliſh *Language, it bore a Signification that was no way applicable to the King; and thoſe who took great Liberty with him, have often ask'd him, what muſt all his People think, when they heard him pray'd for as their moſt religious King?* Mr. *Roger Coke* takes this Notice of it; " The *Parliament chim'd* *p.* 120. " in with the *Church*, and by the *Act of Uni*- " *formity* enjoin'd, that every one who holds any " Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, ſhall publickly declare " before his Congregation, his unfeigned *Aſſent* " and *Conſent* to every thing contain'd and pre- " ſcrib'd in the Book, entitled the Book of *Com*- " *mon-Prayer*, &c. Put theſe together, *I* L. E. " *do declare my unfeign'd* Aſſent *and* Conſent, " *that the King*, Charles II. *is my moſt religious* " *King*; if he be ſo, how came you to know " it? and if you do not know it, how came you " ſo unfeignedly to *aſſent* and *conſent*, that he is " ſo? But tho' to get your Living, you tell the " Congregation ſo, when you do not know it, I " think it is dreadful for you to tell God Almighty " ſo. Was God well pleas'd with theſe Things, *The Happi-* " you ſhall ſoon ſee unjuſt Wars and diſhonoura- *neſs of his* " ble Peace: Such Judgments of Plague, Fire *Reign.* " and Invaſion into our Ports, as never before " were heard of.

While this ſame Conformity Act went on ſo ſwimingly, the *Presbyterians* had fair Words given to their Petitions and Addreſſes, nay a Promiſe of the Law's being diſpenc'd with, tho' it was made, and in the making of it, it met with much Oppoſition. For the Biſhops, inſtead of

A.D.1662 using any moderate, ſoftning Meaſures, had got the Act ſo worded by *Keeling* the Lawyer, that the Terms of Conformity were made harder than ever. Biſhop *Sheldon* told Dr. *Allen*, a Member of the Convocation, who propos'd ſoftning, moderate Meaſures, *What will be done is reſolv'd upon* before, or during the *Savoy* Conference, &c. Sober Gentlemen telling another Biſhop, *It was Pity the Door was ſo ſtrait, that many pious Miniſters cou'd not have Admiſſion*, he reply'd, *It is no Pity at all; if we had thought ſo many of them wou'd have conform'd, we wou'd have made it ſtraiter*, and the King himſelf was of the ſame Opinion.

Uniformity Act. It is reported, that notwithſtanding all the falſe Alarms of pretended Conſpiracies, and all other ſcandalous Arts for procuring this uncharitable Act, when it was put to the Vote whether it ſhou'd paſs or not, the Tale was wrong, it being thus, 186 Noes, 180 Yeas; tho' others with more Probability affirm the Tale to have been thus, 186 Yeas, 180 Noes, for the Numbers are the ſame in both Accounts. The very eminent Dr. *Bates*, as polite a Writer as his Friend Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, ſpeaking of this Act in Mr. *Baxter*'s Funeral Sermon, ſays, *The old Clergy, from Wrath and Revenge, and the young Gentry, from their ſervile Compliance with the Court, were very active to carry it on and compleat it.*

By this Act all Miniſters *were to read and publickly declare unfeigned* Aſſent *and* Conſent *to all and every thing contain'd and preſcrib'd in and by the Book of* Common-Prayer *before the Feaſt of St.* Bartholomew *then enſuing*; on which Feſtival, juſt 90 Years before, above 100,000 Proteſtants were maſſacred in *France*. All *Incumbents* and Schoolmaſters were oblig'd to ſwear the *Corporation Oath*, and to forſwear the *Covenant* which they had ſworn or not ſworn; for ſeveral of the Biſhops had taken that Oath, as *Gauden*, *Ward*, &c. The Author of the Hiſtory which is entituled *Compleat*, and is one of the moſt ridiculous *Miſnomers* one can meet with, tells us, *It was found neceſſary for the Peace and Safety of the State, as well as for the Good and Glory of the Church*, to compel religious Miniſters to atteſt before God and his Church, that *King* Charles II. *was a moſt religious King* to *aſſent*, *conſent* and *ſubſcribe*, 1. To the Doctrine of *Real Baptiſmal Regeneration and certain Salvation.* 2. To the Uſe of *Godfathers and Godmothers.* 3. To the Sign of the *Croſs* in *Baptiſm.* 4. To the Geſture of *Kneeling* at the *Sacrament.* 5. That *Biſhops*, *Prieſts* and *Deacons* are three diſtinct Orders in the Church by *Divine Appointment.* To *pronounce all ſav'd that are buried*, except the Unbaptiz'd, Excommunicate or Self-Mutherers. To read in Divine Service the Stories of *Judith* and *Baruch*, *Tobit* and *his Dog*, *Bel* and the *Dragon*, under the Title of the *Holy Scripture.* To *aſſent* and *conſent*, and *ſubſcribe* to St. *Athanaſius*'s Creed. To ſwear to the *Canons*, which to repeat is beyond my Patience, &c. All which Things, according to the Compleat Hiſtorian, was for the Peace of the State, and the Good and Glory of the Church. Tho' the Writer was an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, I might have preſum'd to have ask'd, Was it for the Peace of the State to lay religious Hardſhips upon a Million of Conſciences? Was it for the Glory of the Church to lie under the Charge of Want of Charity and Humanity? But what does he, and what does *Echard* mean by the Glory of the Church? Has ſhe any thing to glory in but Piety, Purity, Conſtancy, and all Chriſtian Virtues, and all Chriſtian Graces? What has ſhe to do with any thing elſe? Has not her Lord and Maſter commanded her and her Sons to believe that his Kingdom is not of this World? Are we not ſo taught by every Leſſon in Holy Writ? And did not the Prelates, who promoted this deplorable Bill, prove, by every Action of their Lives, that their Kingdom was of this World? A.D.1662

Another ugly Circumſtance attending this Act was, that the Biſhops had it ſo contriv'd, that the Oath the Miniſters were to ſubſcribe to, and ſwear to, did not come out of the Preſs till a few Days before the 24th of *Auguſt*; ſo that of the 7000 Miniſters who kept their Livings, very few of them cou'd poſſibly have a Sight of the Book with it's Alterations, till after they had declar'd their *Aſſent* and *Conſent*; nay, ſome were ejected, to whom the Book was not brought till after *Bartholomew-Day*, particularly one Mr. *B.* by Sir *Edward Lake*. The Speaker, *Turner*, among other Nonſenſe, told the King in his Speech about this Bill, *That their Forms of Prayer were decry'd as* Superſtitious, Strange and Wonderful! and *in lieu thereof was introduc'd* nothing — *Echard*, for want of Judgment, or what is worſe, Sincerity, has borrow'd a Falſity from ſome ſuch authentick Writer as himſelf. *It was undoubtedly the Faction and Sedition of the ſeveral* Sects *and Parties that work'd up the Wiſdom of the Nation*, like Barm in a Fat of Wort, *into this Expedient Awe and Reſtraint upon them*; which is as falſe as it is baſe and fooliſh. I ſhall juſtify ſuch Language to ſuch Men upon ſuch Things in my Preface. The Faction and Sedition of the *Presbyterians* never appear'd but in the Times of the Common-Wealth, and the two *Cromwels*; and by that Sedition and Faction they brought in the King, who had thrice taken their Covenant; and the Biſhops, who by this Act rewarded them with *Jails* and *Beggary*. *Dr.* Calamy, *p.*259.

Now it was that the Word *Schiſmatick* was invented to be ſynonymous with *Presbyterian*; tho' with reſpect to the *Presbyterians* 'twas as wild as if they were call'd *Charibbeans*, or *Canibals*. Read the moſt worthy and celebrated *Hales* of *Eaton*, and let it ſtand as an eternal Reproof to all thoſe Vicars and Curates who ſound it aloud in their Pulpits, whether they do not, or do underſtand what the Word means.

" To load our *publick Forms* with the *private* Hales *up-*
" *Fancies* upon which we differ, is the moſt ſo- *on Schiſm.*
" vereign Way to perpetuate *Schiſm* to the World's
" End. *Prayer*, *Confeſſion*, *Thanſgiving*, *Read-*
" *ing of the Scriptures*, *and Adminiſtration of the*
" *Sacraments* in the *plaineſt* and *ſimpleſt* Man-
" ner, were Matter enough to furniſh out a *Li-*
" *turgy*, tho' nothing either of private Opinion
" or of *Church Pomp*, of *Garments* or *preſcrib'd*
" *Geſtures*, of *Imagery* or *Muſick*, of Matter con-
" cerning the Dead, of many Sutterfluities which
" creep into the Church under the Name of
" *Order* and *Decency*." This excellent Man, the very learned, wiſe and pious Mr. *Hales*, was a Royaliſt and zealous Churchman. Obſerve what a Buſtle they make with thoſe Words *Decency* and *Order!* Take away them, and their Argument is left as naked, not as Innocence but as Indigence. The Reverend Mr. *Hales* proceeds,

" To charge *Churches* and *Liturgies* with things
" unneceſſary, was the firſt Beginning of all Su-
" perſtition; and when Scruple of Conſcience
" began to be made or pretended, then *Schiſm*
" began to break in. If the ſpecial Guides and
" *Fathers of the Church* wou'd be a little ſparing
" of incumbring Churches with Superfluities, or
" not over-rigid, either in reviving obſolete Cu-
" ſtoms, or impoſing new, there wou'd be far
" leſs Cauſe of *Schiſm* or Superſtition, and all
" the Inconveniencies were likely to enſue wou'd
" be but this; they ſhou'd in ſo doing yield a
" little to the Imbecillity of their Inferiors."

A Thing

A.D.1662 A Thing which St. *Paul* wou'd never have refus'd to do, *but which every one of his pretended Succeſſors at the* Savoy Conference *did refuſe to do*, and *therein ſhew'd how far they were from a true Apoſtolical Spirit*. " Mean while, where-
" ſoever falſe or ſuſpected Opinions are made a
" Piece of Church *Liturgy*, he who *ſeparates* is
" not the *Schiſmatick*; for it is alike unlawful
" to make Profeſſion of known or ſuſpected
" Falſhood, as to put in Practice unlawful or
" ſuſpected Actions.

That holy Man's Learning and Knowledge will more than weigh againſt all the *Eccleſiaſticks* that have touch'd upon this Controverſy, which we leave under his ſevere Cenſure. One
Swadlin. of the beſt of them, Dr. *Swadling*, ſpeaking of the publick Service, ſaid very roundly in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, *There is not a Tittle of it but was by the Dictate of the Holy Ghoſt*. The Excuſe is, that Doctor was out of his Wits. But Biſhop *Saunderſon* told Biſhop *Walton*, *That the Holy Ghoſt ſeem'd to aſſiſt the Compoſers of the Common Prayer*, in thoſe Inſtances the *Regeneration of Infants* at their *Baptiſm*, and the *Salvation of Sinners* at their Burial.

I am quite tir'd with ſuch Reaſoning, and fear the Reader is ſo too. Let us now ſee what were the terrible Effects of this *Uniformity Act*. Above Two thouſand *Worthy*, *Learned*, *Pious* and *Orthodox Divines* (I take it from the illuſtrious Mr. *Locke*) *were thrown out of the* Church; they, their Wives and Families, aged Relations, and helpleſs Children, were driven from their Dwellings, from their Bread, from the Society of their deareſt Friends, and what is ſtill more killing, from the Charge of their deareſt Flocks, the Care of whoſe Souls they had been entruſted with:
Black Bartholomew Day. They had merited much of the Government; many of them had ventur'd their Lives for the King; all of them had labour'd indefatigably for his Reſtoration. He had promis'd all of them the Liberty of their Conſciences; but alas! what a Pillar did they build upon! Their Calamities are the Reproach of their Friends whom they deſerted, and the Mirth of their Enemies whom they had ſerv'd. What ſays Dr. *Calamy* of them? " They were not a poor inconſiderable
" Handful, a few *Scores* only of acceptable and
" uſeful Miniſters, who were by this Act caſt
" out of the Church, but many *Hundreds*. They
" did not throw themſelves out of Service, but
" were forcibly ejected. They begg'd for Con-
" tinuance with all imaginable Earneſtneſs, and
" urg'd unanſwerable Arguments in their Peti-
" tion for Peace, but were repuls'd. They were
" not caſt out becauſe not needed to carry on the
" Work of the Goſpel in the Land, for there
" were, and ſtill are among us many deſolate
" Quarters that are over-run with Ignorance and
" Profaneneſs; and there was more to be done
" in order to general Inſtruction, Excitation and
" Reformation, than all their joint Labours
" wou'd have fully ſuffic'd for, and yet they were
" ejected. This was an Action without a Pre-
" cedent, the like to which the Reform'd Church,
" nay the Chriſtian World, never ſaw before.

Who were the chief Agents in that bad Work. Let the Names of the chief Agents in this dreadful Work be remembred for ever; *Edward Hyde*, Earl of *Clarendon*; Sir *Edward Turner*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; Sir *Heneage Finch*, Sollicitor General; *John Keeling*, Serjeant at Law; *Gilbert Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *George Morley*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *Richard Sterne*, Archbiſhop of *York*; *John Coſens*, Biſhop of *Durham*; *Humphry Henchman*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*; Dr. *Barwick*, Dr. *Pierce*, Dr. *Fearne*, Dr. *Gunning*, Mr. *Thorndyke*, Dr. *Sparrow*, Dr. *Heylin*, and all the Doctors who hop'd for Dignities. If ſuch as adore the Memory of theſe Men and their Works are capable of Shame, what Confuſion muſt they be in at the Reproaches of Mr. *Locke*, the greateſt Genius of that Age! A.D.1662

" Immediately after this followeth the *Act of*
" *Uniformity*, by which all the Clergy of *Eng-*
" *land* are oblig'd to ſubſcribe and declare what
" the Corporations, Nobility and Gentry had
" before ſworn. The Clergy readily comply'd
" with it; for you know that ſort of Men are
" taught rather to obey than underſtand, and
" to uſe that Learning they have to juſtify, not
" to examine, what Superiors command, *exactly*
" *the Caſe of the* Archdeacon, *and the* Compleat
" Hiſtorian. And yet that *Bartholomew-Day*
" was fatal to our Church and Religion in throw-
" ing out a very great Number of worthy, learn-
" ed, pious and orthodox Divines, who cou'd
" not come up to ſeveral Things in that Act.
" And it is upon this Occaſion worth your Know-
" ledge, that ſo great was the Zeal in carrying
" on this *Church-Affair*, and ſo blind was the
" Obedience requir'd, that if you compare the
" Time of the paſſing this Act with the Time
" allotted for the Clergy to ſubſcribe the Book
" of *Common-Prayer*, you ſhall plainly find it
" cou'd not be printed and diſtributed ſo as one
" Man in forty cou'd have ſeen and read the
" Book they did ſo perfectly *aſſent* and *con-*
" *ſent* to.

Sir Henry Vane. This Church Hiſtory is follow'd with the Trial, Condemnation and Execution of the famous Sir *Henry Vane*, whoſe Head, as the Biſhop of *Sarum* informs us, was ſtruck off becauſe they were afraid of it. We have ſeen the King value himſelf much before the Lords and Commons, for being a Prince of his Word, nay, to do it when he was breaking an Oath he had thrice ſworn; and now, to ſhew the World how merciful he is, he thirſts after the Blood of a Gentleman whom he promis'd to ſave. Read Bp. *Burnet*, *The putting of Sir* Henry Vane *to Death was much blam'd; for the Declaration from* Breda *being full for an Indemnity to all except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; ſince tho' he was for changing the Government, and depoſing* the King, yet *he did not approve of the putting him to Death. An* Addreſs *was made by both Houſes on his Behalf, to which the King gave a favourable Anſwer; ſo he reckon'd he was ſafe, that being equivalent to an Act of Parliament. Yet the great Opinion that was had of his Parts and Capacity, made the Court think it was neceſſary to put him out of the Way.* Again, " When he ſaw his
He is murder'd. " Death was deſign'd, he compos'd himſelf to
" it with a Reſolution which was amazing to
" thoſe who knew how little of that was na-
" tural to him. Some Inſtances of this were
" very extraordinary, tho' they cannot be men-
" tion'd with Decency." I think the Biſhop is too delicate here, and that it is not at all indecent for a Couple in the Conjugal State to perform the Duty of Wedlock; and it is ſaid the Lady *Vane* began her Reckoning for her Son, the Lord *Bernard*, from the Night before Sir *Henry* loſt his Head on *Tower-Hill*, where a new and barbarous Practice was begun. My Lord of *Sarum* proceeds, " It was obſerv'd that the Dying
" Speeches of the Regicides had left Impreſſions
" on the Hearers that were not at all to the Ad-
" vantage of the Government; ſo Strains of a
" peculiar Nature being expected from him to
" prevent that, Drummers were plac'd under
" the Scaffold, who, as ſoon as he began to
" ſpeak of the Publick, upon a Sign given,
" ſtruck up with their Drums. This put him in

no

A D. 1662 " no Diſorder: He deſir'd they might be ſtopp'd, " for he underſtood what was meant by it. Then " he went thro' his Devotions; and as he was " taking Leave of thoſe about him, he happen- " ing to ſay ſomewhat with relation to the Times, " the Drums ſtruck up a ſecond time:" Upon which he ſaid, *'Tis a wretched Cauſe that will not hear the Breath of a dying Man.* Something like it was ſaid by *Scot.* Biſhop *Burnet* adds, *So he gave over, and died with ſo much Compoſedneſs*, that it was generally thought the Government had loſt *more than it had gain'd by his Death.* This Execution was about two Months before the *Act of Uniformity* was executed upon 2 or 3000 Miniſters of the Goſpel. Lieutenant General *Lambert*, who was try'd the ſame Day with Sir *Henry Vane*, 16th of *June*, extenuated his Crime, and pleaded Ignorance of Sir *George Booth* or *Monk*'s Deſigns. The Court did not fear him ſo much as they fear'd Sir *Henry Vane*; ſo tho' he was condemn'd, his Life was ſpar'd, and he dy'd a Priſoner in St. *Nicholas Iſland* near *Plymouth* about twenty-four Years after. *Starling* was the Sheriff who commanded the Drums to beat when Sir *Henry* was on the Scaffold. Lieutenant General *Ludlow* ſays of *Vane*, " He " left it doubtful which was greater, his Elo- " quence, Soundneſs of Judgment, and Preſence " of Mind, his Gravity and Magnanimity, his " conſtant Adherence to the Cauſe of his Coun- " try, and Heroick Carriage during the Time of " his Confinement, and at the Hour of his Death; " or the Malice of his Enemies, and the fri- " volous Suggeſtions at his Trial, *the Breach of* " *the publick Faith* in the Uſage he found, the " Incivility of the Bench, *thoſe ſanguinary Hire-* " *lings calling him foul Names, tho' in Compari-* " *ſon with his Birth and Quality, they were all* " *of the Dregs of the People*, and the ſavage " Rudeneſs of the Sheriff, were very remarka- " ble." After what Biſhop *Burnet* and General *Ludlow* have ſaid of them, what an Opinion muſt the Reader have of thoſe wretched Writers, who have bely'd and inſulted this injur'd Gentleman, even in the Moment when he was about to lay down his Life for the Cauſe he had engag'd in? One of them, the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, avers, that it was a juſt Sentence, and that he ran out into Lectures of *Treaſon* and *Enthuſiaſm* on the Scaffold. He then applauds the Loyalty and Judgment of the Sheriff, who got Drums and Trumpets to drown his Voice, that he might not be heard. Another of them, *Echard*, tells the World, *Nothing cou'd be more ſurprizing and ſhocking than his Pride; he tore his Papers* on the Scaffold in great Wrath; he *fell into Rants*, &c. when, directly contrary to both theſe Eccleſiaſticks, my Lord of *Sarum* aſſures us he dy'd with *great Compoſedneſs*. *Echard* blames Sir *Henry* for two Rants, as he calls them; one was his Anſwer to a Perſon who perſuaded him to ſubmit to the King, *If the King does not think himſelf more concern'd for his Honour and his Word than I do for my Life, they may take it; nay, I value my Life leſs in a good Cauſe than the King can do his Honour.* I don't wonder that thoſe two Hiſtorians call every thing that has Fervency in Devotion *Enthuſiaſm*, as they call every one that will not aſſociate with them a *Schiſmatick*. Their Argument is nothing, take away thoſe two Words from them, which, like the Drums under the Scaffold, are to drown the Voice of Religion and Reaſon. *Echard* never fails to take notice of his Majeſty's unparalell'd Clemency, ſuch as giving a Man's Quarters when the Hangman is cutting him in Pieces to his Friends, and now in admitting Sir *Henry Vane* to have his Head cut off, when the Judge had doom'd him to be hang'd. But what the *Mercies* of ſome are, we are inform'd in Scripture. A.D. 1662

Beheaded.

The Princeſs *Katharine*, Infanta of *Portugal*, was marry'd at *Lisbon* to his Majeſty by Proxy, the Earl of *Sandwich*, who had been one of *Oliver*'s Privy-Council in the Beginning of the War, and that Earl, who had been alſo an Independant, or Presbyterian, or both, in Honour of the Feaſt of St. *George*, took her a-board the 23d of *April*. The Duke of *York* met her at the Iſle of *Wight*, and the King receiv'd her at *Portſmouth*, where the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, and other Hiſtorians as compleat as he, aſſure us, ſhe was marry'd by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Biſhop of *London*, to his Majeſty. But the ſame Hiſtorian and others alſo ſay, ſhe refus'd to be marry'd by any but a Prieſt of her own Religion, which was alſo the King's Religion. The King had two Millions of *Croiſadoes* with her, beſides the *Important Town* of *Tangier*, which was of ſo much Importance, as to coſt *England* ten times as much Money as the King had with his Wife, and then to be demoliſh'd and abandon'd, and the *Rich Town* of *Bombay* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which the Company rented of the King for 15 Pounds a Year. Soon after the Arrival of the Queen-Conſort, the Queen-Mother, with the Earl of St. *Alban*'s, arriv'd from *France*, and had a Court ſettled for her at *Somerſet-houſe*.

Echard tells us, he was aſſur'd by a *knowing Perſon*, That the King's firſt Motive for the Sale of *Dunkirk* was, the great *Expence in the keeping of it.* When he gives us Inſtances of the Knowledge of his *knowing Perſons*, we always find it to be of the Size of his own. The Parliament had juſt given him Money for the keeping of it, and wou'd have kept it till Dooms-day, if Money wou'd have done it. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that the faithful *Monk* poſitively adviſ'd the King to let it go to *France* for the Money ſhe offer'd; and Mareſchal *Schombergh*, who was then in *England* in his Way to *Portugal* to command the *French* and Confederate Forces there, poſitively adviſ'd the King to keep it, ſaying, *It cou'd never be taken, conſidering the Naval Power of* England. He added, *Tho'* France *ſpeaks big, as if they wou'd break with* England, *unleſs it was deliver'd up, yet they are far from the Thoughts of it; the holding it will keep both* France *and* Spain *in a Dependance upon* England: So it was ſold, *and all the Money*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *immediately ſquander'd away among the Miſtreſſes Creatures, tho' he had promiſ'd he wou'd lay it up all in the Tower, and that it ſhou'd not be touch'd but upon extraordinary Occaſions.* Did not his Majeſty value himſelf upon being a King of his Word? *The King's Promiſes.* 179.

It was not long after the King's Marriage that he gave himſelf up to *an avow'd Courſe of Lewdneſs*; they are my Lord of *Sarum*'s Words: *He continu'd it as long as he liv'd, to the great Scandal of the World, and to the particular Reproach of all that ſerv'd about him in the Court.* The very Biſhops and Doctors, who ſo ſtrenuouſly promoted the *Uniformity Act*, ſay, *He uſually came from his Miſtreſſes Lodgings to Church, even on Sacrament Days. He held as it were a Court in them.* *King's lewd Courſes.*

A few Weeks before the Paſſing of the *Act of Uniformity*, Col. *Okey*, Mr. *Miles Corbett*, and Col. *Barkſtead* were ſeiz'd in *Holland*, and ſent Priſoners to *England*. Col. *Okey* and Col. *Barkſtead* had been receiv'd into Protection of the City of *Hanaw* in *Germany*, where they were made Burgeſſes, together with Col. *Walton* and Col. *Dixwell*. *Barkſtead* and *Okey* taking a Journey to *Holland* to meet ſome Relations, who were contented to baniſh themſelves with them, and to conduct

A.D.1662 conduct them to the Place which they had choſen for their Reſidence. Information of it was given to *George Downing*, a *New England* Teacher, who had ſerv'd Col. *Okey*, as Chaplain to his Regiment, and who had given *Okey* Aſſurance, by a Friend, that he had no Orders to look after him; for *Downing*, whom *Cromwel* had preferr'd as a gifted Perſon, to be his Agent in *Holland*, had accepted of the King's Agency, and acted for him with as much Zeal as he had acted againſt him, excepting that he did not make ſo much uſe of his Gifts. This *Fellow*, for ſure he was not ſo conſiderable as Mr. *Aſcham*, the Parliament's Ambaſſador in *Spain*, whom the Lord *Clarendon* ſo ſtiles, obtain'd an Order from the States to apprehend his old Maſter Col. *Okey*, Col. *Barkſtead*, and Mr. *Corbett*, which was done accordingly. He ſhip'd them all three for *England*, where they were ſhut up in the *Tower*, and from thence carry'd to *Tyburn*, being all under Attainder, and there hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. Mind *Echard* now, Col. *Okey* having been hang'd, bowel'd and quarter'd, his Majeſty *was moſt graciouſly pleas'd, in regard to his Chriſtian Carriage, to return his Quarters to his Friends.*

But notwithſtanding this moſt gracious Act, the Quarters were taken away again. He ſays, very falſly, on account of the tumultuous Concourſe of Fanaticks, who wou'd have attended them to the Grave. The Concourſe was numerous, ſeveral Thouſands, but not *tumultuous. They behav'd themſelves with Decency and Modeſty*, ſays *Ludlow*; however, *the King was ſo alarm'd, that he revok'd his* Grant, and diſpatch'd Orders to the Sheriffs, *Francis Menil* and *Samuel Starling*, to diſperſe the People.

A ſham Plot. The next hanging Work for State Matters, were the Executions of *George Philips*, Serjeant to a Foot Company, *Thomas Tongue*, a Strong-Water Man, *Francis Stubs*, a Cheeſe-monger, *Nathaniel Gibbs*, a Felt-maker, who with *James Hind*, a Gunner, *John Sellars*, a Compaſs-maker, one *Thomas*, one *Nye*, with *Elton*, *Rawdon*, *Spurway* and *Ward*, were to turn the King, Lords and Commons out of the Government, to rout the Army and Fleet, and ſet up a *Common-wealth*, and a Council of State, which Council of State was to be compos'd of the abovemention'd, *Thomas*, *Nye*, *Elton*, *Rawdon*, *Spurway* and *Ward*. They were to kill all that came in their Way, particularly *Monk* the General, and *Browne* the *Wood-monger*. This Farce has a very tragical End, for *Gibbs*, *Stubbs*, *Tongue* and *Philips* were actually hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, tho' the moſt credible Part of the Story was incredible, that Lieutenant General *Ludlow* was to have headed theſe obſcure Wretches, who I doubt not hated both *Browne* and *Monk*, and the Duke of *York*, and perhaps the King, enough to have taken Arms againſt them, if Opportunity offer'd, and enough to have talk'd after that idle and treaſonable Rate; but to imagine that ſo wiſe and wary a Man as *Ludlow*, wou'd throw himſelf at the Mercy of his Enemies, under the Protection of a Cheeſe-monger, a Strong-Water Man, and a Serjeant of Foot, murders all Credibility; and had not the Men dy'd for't, wou'd have been as merry a Plot as ever appear'd on the Stage. But the Men being put to Death, there is no laughing at it. *Echard* has ſtamp'd it with his Authority, *So that upon the whole, we cannot find upon what Reaſon this can be reckon'd a* SHAM PLOT. Turn now to *Ludlow*, "In "the mean Time, the *Engliſh* Court knowing "themſelves to be fallen under the Hatred and "Contempt of the People, for their Cruelty, Im-"morality and Corruption, aggravated by the "late Sale of *Dunkirk*, reſolv'd by the Contri-"vance of a Plot, to diſarm their Enemies, and A.D.1662 "provide for their preſent Safety: To this End, "by the Means of Major General *Browne* and "others, Money was advanc'd, and Arms put "into the Hands of ſome Perſons, among whom "one *Bradley*, who had formerly belong'd to "*Cromwel*, was the Principal, that by giving "ſmall Sums to Indigent Officers of the late "Army, and by ſhewing the Arms they had "ready, they might engage them and others in "this pretended Deſign.

"An Account of this Plot was printed and "publiſh'd, affirming that divers Thouſands "of ill affected Perſons were ready, under "any Command to ſieze the *Tower*, and the "City of *London*; then to march directly to "*Whitehall*, in order to kill the King and *Monk*, "with a Reſolution to give no Quarter to any "that adher'd to them, and after that to de-"clare for a *Common-wealth*. By this Means, "one *Baker*, who had been of the Guard to "*Cromwel*, and ſince the Disbanding of the Ar-"my, had been reduc'd to grind Knives for a "poor Living, having receiv'd half a Crown "from *Bradley*, and promis'd his Aſſiſtance "when there ſhou'd be Occaſion, was executed "with ſome others for this Conſpiracy. How-"ever, this ſerv'd the Court for a Pretence to ſieze "five or ſix Hundred Perſons, to diſarm all thoſe "they ſuſpected, to require thoſe they had taken, "to give Bonds of 200 Pounds each, not to take "up Arms againſt the King, and to encreaſe "their ſtanding Guards. They were not aſham'd "alſo to give out that their Meſſengers had been "ſo near to ſieze my Perſon, that they had ta-"ken my Cloak and Slippers, and committed "two Gentlemen to the *Tower*, for accompany-"ing me, as they ſaid, to the Sea-ſide, in Or-"der to my Eſcape, tho' at the ſame Time they "knew ſo well where I was, that they employ'd "Inſtruments to procure me to be aſſaſſinated, "which was diſcover'd to a Merchant of *Lauſanne*, by a Perſon of Quality, living in theſe "Parts, who had refus'd 10,000 Crowns offer'd "to him by the Dutcheſs of *Anjou*, Siſter to "his gracious Majeſty, if he would undertake "that Province.

The Lord *Clarendon* ſeems to me to be the deepeſt in theſe ſham Plots; and if they were Shams, as there is Reaſon enough to believe they were, what ſort of Men muſt they be, who cou'd make Plots and *Plotters*, and hang them for *Plots* of their own making? Such were the Champions of the Cauſe, which the *Compleat Hiſtorians* have eſpous'd.

Sir *John Lawſon*, whom the Earl of *Sandwich* left behind him in the *Streights*, brought the Governments of *Algier*, *Tripoli* and *Tunis* to Reaſon. By good Management, and the Terror of *Blake*'s Name, ſtill freſh in their Memory, he prevail'd with them to confirm the Articles of the former Treaties.

The Earl of *Peterborough* took Poſſeſſion of *Tangier* for his Majeſty, and the Earl of *Tiviot*, who had been Governor of *Dunkirk*, was ſent to command there. The City was made a free Port, and, as the Archdeacon juſtly obſerves, *it was ſeated very commodiouſly for Strength and Safety to guard any Naval Power, and to command thoſe Seas.* But the Heads of the Politicians in *England* were otherwiſe taken up. Acts were paſs'd and paſſing, that wou'd ruin the Trade at home, and then I know not what the Trade abroad ſignify'd.

His Majeſty's Counſels, ſays *Echard*, *for above two Years were regular and ſteady, and carry'd on with Wiſdom and Forecaſt.* There is not one Inſtance of it in any Hiſtory, whether *Church* or 1663.

A.D.1663 *Presbyterian.* Was it a Mark of his Steadineſs to paſs his Declaration for *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* in *October*, and the *Uniformity Act* ſix Months after, and the *Toleration* four Months after? Were theſe Things the Effects of *Wiſdom* and *Foreca ſt*, of Steadineſs and Regularity? The Archdeacon, to lay a Blemiſh on the King's Declaration of Indulgence, publiſh'd in the Beginning of this Year, intimates, that it was contriv'd among the *Popiſh* Prieſts at *Somerſet-Houſe*. The *Papiſts* were indulg'd as well as the Diſſenters, and it was on that Account that the Miniſters refus'd to thank the King for it. Aſſoon as the Parliament met, which was on the 18th of *February*, his Majeſty ſpoke of the Declaration in a favourable Way, which did not hinder the Parliament's preſenting an Addreſs againſt it; wherein they diſcharg'd him of his Promiſe at *Breda*, touching Liberty of Conſcience. And that they might not give the *Papiſts* too much Countenance by their Severity to Proteſtant Diſſenters, they preſented a Petition to the King againſt Prieſts and Jeſuits. The *Declaration* of *Indulgence* was a daring Act of arbitrary Power. *Echard* calls the *Uniformity* Act, the *Laws of the Land*; and it was therefore illegal to diſpenſe with it, but the Kings of this royal Houſe, as a noble Lord once obſerv'd to me, lov'd the Encreaſe of Power every way but by Arms. His Majeſty ſpoke very graciouſly to the Parliament, notwithſtanding he was not very well pleas'd with their Petition againſt the Papiſts, whoſe Services and Merits he extoll'd. On the 12th of *June* he made a Speech to the Commons in the Banquetting-Houſe, which is very long, and has an Expreſſion in it worth Notice: *God knows I do not long more for any Bleſſing in this World, than that I may live to call a Parliament, and not ask or receive any Money from them*; which I do verily believe, tho' not in the Senſe he ſpoke, or they took it; for there was at this time a Project on Foot. Father *Orleans* tells us, 'twas projected by *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; to raiſe a certain Fund yearly, ſufficient to diſcharge the King's neceſſary and unneceſſary Expences, without a Parliament. Biſhop *Burnet* and *Wellwood* informs us, the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord Treaſurer, gave into it, not with a View of giving Interruption to Parliaments, but out of pure Affection to the Service of the Exchequer. The Earl of *Clarendon* ſecretly oppos'd it. I cannot complement him with an Opinion, that he did it out of a Spirit of Liberty, or to keep the Crown in Dependance upon Parliamentary Subſidies. Every Body agrees, that he was declining in the King's Favour, owing chiefly to the continual Complaints of the Cavaliers, who thought their Merits were not ſufficiently rewarded, and to the more ſucceſsful Arts and Inſinuations of the Miſtreſſes, eſpecially the reigning Miſtreſs, the Counteſs of *Caſtlemain*, *Roger Palmer*'s Wife, who hated him for ſlighting her, whom all others courted. This Scheme coming in the Way, at ſuch a Juncture, the Lord *Clarendon* thought to arm himſelf againſt Diſgrace, by a popular Intereſt, and therefore pretended to be extreamly in love with Parliaments. Such a one as the preſent was, might indeed be much in his good Graces, but a good Parliament wou'd never have done his Buſineſs, both in Church and State. *Wellwood* writes, *One might have thought this Parliament had glutted his Ambition to the full, by heaping thoſe Prerogatives upon him, which had been conteſted for, with his Father, at the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure; but he graſp'd early after more, and from his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, ſhew'd but little Inclination to depend upon Parliaments.* Yet he's always telling them, that he's enamour'd with them; and wou'd not one think by his Speeches, that Mrs. *Palmer* had leſs of his Heart than the Houſe of Commons? Chancellor *Hyde* knew him too well to believe a Word of it; and having a private Conference with the good Earl of *Southampton* concerning the Project, he told that Lord, *He was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclinations than* Southampton *cou'd expect to be, having had long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majeſty abroad, and knew him ſo well, that if ſuch a Revenue was ſettled upon him for Life, according to the Scheme, neither of thoſe two wou'd be of any farther Uſe, and they wou'd not in probability ſee many Seſſions of* Parliament, *during that Reign: Upon which* Southampton *thought no more of the Project; but this Paſſage coming to the Ears of the King, prov'd the true Reaſon why his* Majeſty *abandon'd* Hyde to his Enemies.

A.D.1663

Project to raiſe Money ſpoil'd by Clar.

Mr. *Archdeacon* ſpeaking of the Proclamation *againſt Jeſuits and Prieſts*, owns, it *did not appear to be much more in the real Intentions of the Court, than another popular* Proclamation for the *better Obſervation of the Lord's Day*, which was generally ſpent then in Gaming and Revelling of all Kinds, and *likewiſe for renewing a former* Proclamation againſt vicious, debauch'd and profane Perſons; when as Mr. *Echard* juſtly obſerves, *it became more viſible, that Popery and Profaneneſs, were both in the Encreaſe at Court*; yet at the ſame Time that he acknowledges it, he highly approves of the Parliament's taking Care of the King's Revenue. They had given him a new Tax, call'd Chimney-Money, amounting to about 200,000 Pounds a Year. He had had 300,000 Pounds with his Wife, 300,000 more for *Dunkirk*, beſides his Siſter's Portion paid out of that Sale. He had 1,200,000 Pounds by an Aſſeſſment the laſt Year, and had 1,200,000 Pounds ſettled Revenue. Thus by the modeſteſt Computation, he had receiv'd about five Millions ſince he came into *England*, not full three Years when the laſt Money was paid him; yet he tells this Parliament, *If you yourſelves had not in an extraordinary Manner improv'd my Revenue, the Government cou'd not have been ſupported; and if it be not yet improv'd, the Conſequence will be the ſame.* To warm them in their Proceedings, after he has chid them a little for their Coldneſs, he acquaints them with a Plot in *Ireland, for the Surprize of the Caſtle of* Dublin, *&c.* Thus by his *obliging Carriage partly, and partly by other Inducements*, ſays Wellwood, *he made a ſhift to get more Money out of his* firſt Parliament, *towards the Expence of his Pleaſures, than all his Predeceſſors of the* Norman Race *had obtain'd before, towards the Charge of their Wars.* We ſhall not be miſled, if we remember this when we read what Lord *Clarendon* told the Parliament of the Taxes, Burthens, and profuſe Expences in the late Times, which amidſt perpetual War, did not in the Maintenance of victorious Fleets and Armies come into any Manner of Compariſon with the Squanderings of the Court on Miſtreſſes, Minions, on Luxury and Debauchery.

Another Plot.

The Parliament gave the King four entire Subſidies. *Echard* aſſures us, they were perſuaded to it by the affecting Way of his Majeſty's Delivery of his Speech. It wou'd have been no great Encomium on their Underſtandings, if he had ſaid they were mov'd to it by the Strength of Reaſoning; for it is certainly a Parcel of ſmooth Words only without Energy, or any perſuaſive Power. But what this Parliament were, is excellently well deſcrib'd in the Eloquence of *Lawrence Womach*, D. D. who was made a Biſhop for

E. *of* P.

A.D.1663 for that, and other ſuch admirable Performances of his. They were *the ſtrenuous Impugners of* Schiſm *and* Rebellion, *the ingenuous Aſſertors of the King's Supremacy, Crown, and Dignity; the zealous Patrons of the Church's Hierarchy and Liturgy; the vigorous Champions of Uniformity, aſſembled under the moſt Excellent and Auſpicious Majeſty of King* Charles *the Second.* About this Time a Book was publiſh'd which explain'd the good Effects of the late Acts made for the Glory of the Church, as two Reverend Hiſtorians and more have aſſur'd us. It was entitled, *The Five Groans of the Church*; prudently foreſeeing and paſſionately bewailing her ſecond Fall threaten'd by theſe Five dangerous, tho' undiſcern'd Miſcarriages that caus'd her Firſt, *viz.* 1. *Undue Ordination*, 2. *Looſe Profaneneſs*, 3. *Unconſcionable Symony*, 4. *Careleſs Non-reſidence*, 5. *Encroaching Pluralities*, humbly preſented to her Supream Head and Governor the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and his great Council the Parliament. The Author, a very ſtrict Conformiſt, complains with great Warmth of above 3000 Miniſters admitted into the Church, who were unfit to teach becauſe of their Youth; of 1500 debauch'd Men ordain'd; of the Ordination of many illiterate Men, of 1342 factious Miniſters a little before ordain'd; that of 12000 Church-Livings, or thereabouts, 3000 and more being *Impropriate*, and 4165 *Sine Cures*, or Non-reſident Livings, there was but a poor Remainder left for a painful and honeſt Miniſtry. Had the Biſhops, inſtead of adding another Groan to the Church, employed their Time, Pains, Prayers, and Intereſt to take away theſe *Five Groans*, wou'd it not have been more for the Glory of God, than the Act which made room for the 2842 debauch'd and illiterate Men above-mention'd?

Bp. Womach's *Eloquence.*

Church Affairs.

Dr. Cal. p. 307.

The *Uniformity* Act is laying itſelf about in all Quarters of the Kingdom, particularly in *Worceſterſhire*, where Mr. *Baxter* was unhandſomly if not inhumanly dealt with by Dr. *Morley*, Biſhop of that Dioceſs, who not only refus'd him a Licence to preach in his Dioceſs, but went in Perſon to *Kidderminſter*, and preach'd a long Invective againſt him. See Mr. *Baxter*'s own Words, "He came himſelf one Day, and preach'd "to them a long Invective againſt them and me "as *Presbyterians*, and I know not what: So "that the People wonder'd that ever a Man "wou'd venture to come into a Pulpit, and ſpeak "ſo confidently to a People that he knew not, "the Things which they commonly knew to be "untrue." Sir *Robert Holt*, Knight of the Shire for *Warwickſhire*, made a Speech in Parliament againſt Mr. *Baxter*, as one who pray'd *ſeditiouſly*, but he did not remember the Words: And the thirteen Capital Burgeſſes, the Bailiff and Juſtice of *Kidderminſter*, and almoſt all the twenty-five inferior Burgeſſes were turn'd out by the Act, which oblig'd all Perſons incorporated to declare they held *no Obligation lying upon them or any other Perſon from the Oath call'd the* Solemn League *and* Covenant, though not above two or three of them had taken it.

Baxt. *Life.* 375.

Biſhop Morley *preaches things that were untrue.*

Uniformity and Corporation Acts make Havock.

The Proceedings were the ſame all over *England*, and the *Perſecuting* Acts for Spirituals, and the *Corporation* Act for Temporals, prepar'd the Way for that Slavery Spiritual and Temporal, which wou'd have been entail'd upon us and our Poſterity had it not been for the *Revolution.*

The Havock and Deſolation ſubſequent to the Acts for *Perſecution*, will not better appear than by

A LIST *of the Miniſters turn'd out of their Livings and Dwellings by the Act of* Uniformity, *in* London, Southwark, *and* Weſtminſter.

Miniſters turn'd out.

St. Auſtins, Mr. *Simeon Aſh*, St. Leonard Foſter-lane, Mr. *James Nalton*, St. Faiths, Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Aldermanbury, *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. Mr. *Loe*, St. Magnus, Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, Mr. *Leaves*, St. Sepulchres, Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, St. Bennet Fink, Mr. *Samuel Clark*, St. Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet, *Tho. Caſe*, M. A. Mr. *Tho. Vincent*, Black-Friars, *John Gibbon*, B. D. St. Michaels Quern, *Matthew Pool*, M. A. St. Mary's Staining, *Nathaniel Holmes*, D. D. Alhallows Bread-ſtreet, *Lazarus Seaman*, D. D. Chriſt-Church, *Will. Jenkin*, M. A. St. Olave Southwark, *Will. Cooper*, M. A. *Ralph Venning*, M. A. *Samuel Smith*, M. A. St. Botolph Aldgate, Mr. *Zachary Crofton*, St. Margaret Moſes, Mr. *Benjamin Needler*, Alhallows Lombard-ſtreet, Mr. *Thomas Lye*, St. Saviour's Southwark, Mr. *John Crodacott*, Mr. *Stephen Watkins*, St. Antholine's, Mr. *Elias Pledger*, Mr. *Thomas Coniers*, St. Peter's Cheap, *Roger Drake*, D. D. St. Mary Magdalen Bermondſey, Mr. *William Whitacre*, *Robert Torcy*, St. Lawrence Poultney, *Thomas Wadſworth*, M. A. St. Mary Magdalen Fiſh-ſtreet, Mr. *Thomas Brooks*, St. Martin's in the Fields, Mr. *Gabriel Sangar*, St. Bartholomew Exchange, *Philip Nye*, M. A. Mr. *John Louder*, St. John Evangeliſt, *Robert Tatnal*, M. A. St. Brides, Mr. *Thomas White*, L. L. B. *John Herring*, St. Mary White-chappel, Mr. *Tho. Walley*, St. John Zachary, Mr. *Ralph Strethill*, Mr. *Humphreys*, St. Olave Silver-ſtreet, *Tho. Douglas*, M. D. Bridewell, Mr. *George Fowler*, Alhallows on the Wall, *Samuel Dyer*, M. A. St. Mary le Bow, Mr. *Rutten*, Savoy, Mr. *William Hook*, Trinity Pariſh, Mr. *Matthew Haviland*, Wapping, Mr. *Johnſon*, St. Bennet's Paul's-Wharf, Mr. *John Jackſon*, St. Michael Wood-ſtreet, Mr. *Thomas Parſons*, St. Andrew Hubbard, Mr. *William Wiggans*, St. Katherine's Tower, Mr. *Samuel Slater*, Mr. *Richard Kentiſh*, St. Hellen's, Mr. *Arthur Barham*, St. Sepulchre's, Mr. *William Adderley*, Mr. *Arnold*, St. Giles Cripplegate, Mr. *Samuel Statham*, St. Ann's Aldgate, Mr. *Daniel Batchelor*, St. Bennet's Sheer-hog, Mr. *Nehemiah Benton*, St. Peter's Cornhil, *William Blackmore*, M. A. St. Alban Wood-ſtreeet, *Haſlefoot Bridges*, M. A. Mr. *Fiſher*, St. Thomas's Southwark, Mr. *Cob*, Mr. *Beerman*, St. George's Southwark, Mr. *John Biſcoe*, *Henry Jeſſey*, M. A. Pancraſs Soper-lane, Mr. *George Cockayne*, *Nicholas Lockyer*, M. A. St. Michael Queenhithe, Mr. *Thomas Dawkes*, Grey's-Inn, *Abraham Caley*, B. D. St. Michael's Crooked-lane, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Thomas Mallery*, St. Martin's Ironmonger-lane, Mr. *John Fuller*, St. Botolph Biſhopſgate, *Samuel Lee*, M. A. St. Stephen Walbroke, Mr. *Thomas Watſon*, St. Margaret Weſtminſter, *Edward Pearſe*, M. A. Alhallows Honey-lane, Mr. *John After*, St. Katherine Coleman-ſtreet, Mr. *Joſ. Church*, St. Swithin, Mr. *John Sheffield*, St. Olave-Jury, *John Wells*, M. A. St. Leonard Eaſtcheap, *Seth Wood*, M. A. *John Rowe*, M. A. St. Matthew Friday-ſtreet, *Henry Hurſt*, M. A. Convent Garden, *Thomas Manton*, D. D. Mr. *Pinchbeck*, the Tower, Mr. *Hodges*, St. John Baptiſt, Mr. *Peter Witham*, St. Andrew Underſhaft, Mr. *Thomas Woodcock*, Abchurch, *John Kitchin*, M. A. St. Mildred Bread-ſtreet, *Richard Adams*, M. A. St. Leonard Eaſtcheap, *Matthew Barker*, M. A. St. Martin's Ludgate, *Thomas Jacomb*, D. D. St. Giles's Cripplegate, *Samuel Anneſley*, L. L. D. St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, *William Bates*, D. D. Charter-Houſe, *George Griffith*, M. A. Alhallows the Great, Mr. *Robert Bragg*, St. Michael's Cornhill, *Peter Vinke*, B. D. New-Chapel Weſtminſter, Mr. *Oneſephorus Rood*, St. Alphage, Mr. *Thomas Doolittle.*

A.D.166

The following had no ſettled Cures, but were incapacitated by the Act.

Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Diſney*, Mr. *May*, Mr. *Meer*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Symons*, Mr. *Goſnold*, Mr. *Wavel*,

A.D.1663 *Wavel*, *John Goodwin*, M. A. Mr. *Job Royſe*, *Stephen Charnock*, B. D. *Edward Veal*, M. A. *Jeremiah White*, M. A.

Ejected in the Univerſity of *Oxford*.

John Owen, D. D. Dean of *Chriſt-Church*; *Henry Langley*, D. D. Maſter of *Pembroke* College; *Daniel Greenwood*, D. D. Principal of *Braſennoſe* College; *Thomas Goodwin*, D. D. Preſident of *Magdalen* College; *Henry Wilkinſon*, D. D. Principal of *Magdalen* Hall; *Edmund Stanton*, D. D. Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* College; *Chriſtopher Rogers*, D. D. Principal of *New-Inn*-Hall; *Thomas Cole*, M. A. Principal of St. *Mary* Hall; *Henry Wilkinſon*, jun. D. D. *John Conant*, D. D. Rector of *Exeter* College; *Thanful Owen*, B. D. Preſident of St. *John*'s College; *Francis Howel*, M. A. Principal of *Jeſus* College; *Joſhua Croſs*, L. L. D. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; Mr. *Francis Johnſon*, Maſter of *Univerſity* College; *Ralph Button*, B. D. Canon of *Chriſt-Church*; *Theophilus Gale*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; *John Milward*, M. A. Fellow of *Corpus-Chriſti* College; *Thomas Riſley*, M. A. Fellow of *Pembroke* College; Mr. *Robert Wood*, Fellow of *Lincoln* College; *John Johnſon*, M. A. Fellow of *New* College; *Henry Hickman*, B. D. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; *Thomas Adams*, M. A. Fellow of *Braſen-noſe* College; *Henry Corniſh*, B. D. Canon of *Chriſt-Church*; Mr. *John Pointer*, Canon of *Chriſt-Church*; *Humphrey Gunter*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen*; Mr. *John Troughton*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College; *John Singleton*, M. A. *James Aſhurſt*, M. A. *George Cooper*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; Mr. *William Woodward*, ---- *Stafford*, M. A. *George Porter*, B. D. Mr. *William Sagary*, Student of *Chriſt-church*; *John Thompſon*, M. A. Student of *Chriſt-church*; Mr. *John Whitwick*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College; Mr. *Stoughton*, Fellow of *New* College; *John Gipps*, M. A. Chaplain of *Magdalen* College; *Thomas Crittenden*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; Mr. *Kentiſh*, Chaplain at *Magdalen* Cellege; Mr. *John Goddard*, Warden of *Merton* College; ---- *Allen*, M. A. Fellow of *New* College; ---- *Hitchcock*, M. A. Fellow of *Lincoln* College; ---- *Panton*, M. A. of *All Souls* College; ---- *Sayer*, M. A. of *Corpus Chriſti* College; Mr. *Thomas Brace*, of St. *John*'s College; Dr. *Philip Stephens*; *Richard Whiteway*, M. A. Fellow of *Exeter* College; *Richard Inglet*, M. A. Fellow of *Exeter* College; Mr. *Samuel Angier*, Student of *Chriſt-church*; Mr. *Joſeph Maiſters*, of *Magdalen* College; *Robert Speere*, M. A. of *Lincoln* College; Dr. *Jonathan Goddard*; *Richard Dyer*, M. A. Student of *Chriſt-church*; Mr. *Conway*, of *Magdalen* Hall; Mr. *Sprint*, of *Magdalen* Hall.

Ejected in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*,

Anthony Tuckney, D. D. Maſter of St. *John*'s College; *William Moſes*, M. A. Maſter of *Pembroke* Hall; *Joſeph Hill*, B. D. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; *William Dell*, M. A. Maſter of *Caius* College; *John Bond*, L. L. D. Maſter of *Trinity* Hall; Mr. *John Sadler*, Maſter of *Magdalen* Hall; Mr. *John Fido*, Fellow of *Trinity* College; *Thomas Moor*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; *James Illingworth*, B. D. Fellow of *Emanuel* College; *William Duncomb*, M. A. Fellow of *King*'s College; Dr. *Robert Brinſley*, Dr. *Edward Hulſe*, *John Wood*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen* College; *John Reyner*, M. A. of *Emanuel* College; Mr. *Butler*, M. A. of *Magdalen* College; *Alexander Green*, M. A. Fellow of *Pembroke* Hall; Dr. *Henry Sampſon*, *Francis Holdcroft*, Fellow of *Clare* Hall; —— *Wildbore*, M. A. Fellow of *Clare* Hall; *William Green*, M. A. Fellow of *Katherine* Hall; *John Ray*, M. A. Fellow of *Trinity* College; *Thomas Senior*, B. D. Fellow of *Trinity* College; *Edmund More*, M. A. Fellow of *Trinity* College; *John Davis*, M. A. Fellow of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Alcock*, Fellow of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Croſland*, Fellow of *Trinity* College; Dr. *John Pratt*, of *Trinity* College; *Willoughby Weſt*, M. A. of *Trinity* College; Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, Fellow of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Hayes*, Fellow of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Samuel Ponder*, of *Trinity* College; *William Diſney*, M. A. Fellow of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Thomas Locke*, of *Trinity* College; Mr, *John Caſtle*, Fellow of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Robert Ekins*, of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Joſeph Oddy*, Fellow of *Trinity* College; *Samuel Corbin*, M. A. Conduct of *Trinity* College; Mr. *Wheeler*, Fellow of *Caius* College; *Jonathan Tuckney*, M. A. Fellow of St. *John*'s College; *John Wood*, M. A. of St. *John*'s College; Mr. *Fowler*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College; Mr. *Mathum*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College; Mr. *Alden*, of St. *John*'s College; *Abraham Clifford*, B. D. Fellow of *Pembroke* Hall; Mr. *Chapman*, M. A. Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti* College; Mr. *Robert Whitaker*, of *Magdalen* College; Mr. *Cromwel*, of *Magdalen* College; Mr. *Haywood*, Fellow of St. *John*'s College; M. *Grandorge*, of St. *John*'s College; Mr. *Daniel Evans*, of *Jeſus* College; Mr. *Day*, of *Emanuel* College. A.D.1663

I ſhall add a Century of Miniſters Ejected in the ſeveral Counties of *England*.

BEDFORD.

Houghton-Conqueſt, *Mr.* Samuel Fairclough, Fellow of *Caius* College, *Cambridge*. *Norhill*, *Dr.* Fowler.

BERKS.

Newbury, Benjamin Woodbridge, *M. A. Reading*, Chriſtopher Fowler, *M. A. Hendreth*, James Baron, *B. D. Okingham*, Rowland Stedman, *M. A. Eaſt-Garſton*, Thomas Cheeſman, *M. A.*

BUCKS.

Great-Kymbels, George Swinnock, *M. A. Chalfont St. Giles*, Thomas Valentine, *B. D. Langley Marſh*, Nathaniel Vincent, *M. A. Grendon*, Samuel Clark, *M. A. Winchendon*, Thomas Gilbert, *B. D. Eaton*, John Oxenbridge, *M. A.*

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Wivlingham, Nathaniel Bradſhaw, *B. D. Eaſt-Hatley*, Richard Kennet, *B. D. Chippenham*, Richard Parr, *M. A.*

CHESHIRE.

Cheſter, Thomas Harriſon, *D. D. Burton*, Hugh Bethel, *M. A. Walloſee*, John Harvie, *M. A.*

CORNWALL.

Lanrake, Jaſper Hicks, *M. A. Bliſland*, Charles Moreton, *M. A. Fowy*, John Tutchin, *M. A. Lanceſton*, William Oliver, *M. A.*

CUMBERLAND.

Graſtock, Richard Gilpin, *D. D. Cockermouth*, George Larkham, *M. A.*

DERBY.

Bredſall, John Hieron, *M. A. Barrow* upon *Trent*, Daniel Shelmerdine, *M. A. Cheſterfield*, John Billingſley, *M. A.*

DEVON.

Exeter, Ferdinando Nichols, *B. D.* Thomas Ford, *M. A.* Alexander Hodges, *M. A.* Thomas Downe, *M. A.* Thomas Powell, *M. A.* Robert Atkins, *M. A.* Mark Downe, *M. A.*

A.D.1663

DORSET.

Dorcheſter, --- Benn, *M. A. Sherborn*, Francis Bamfield, *M. A. Blandford*, William Alleine, *M. A. Tarrant-Hinton*, *Mr.* Timothy Sacheverel, *Great Uncle to Dr.* Henry Sacheverel.

DURHAM.

Biſhops-Aukland, Richard Frankland, *M. A. Great-Stainton*, William Pell, *M. A.*

ESSEX.

Stebbing, Samuel Bantoft, *B. D. Thoyden-Mount*, *Dr.* Wells. *Moreton*, Edmund Calamy, *M. A.*

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Glouceſter, James Forbes, *M. A. Burton* on the *Water*, Anthony Palmer, *M. A. Shipton-Moigne*, Daniel Capel, *M. A.*

HAMPSHIRE.

Ewhurſt, John Harmar, *M. A. Weald*, Martin Moreland, *M. A. Brother to Sir* Samuel Moreland. *Freſhwater*, James Creſwick, *B. D.*

HEREFORDSHIRE.

Lempſter, John Tombes, *B. D.*

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Barly, Nathaniel Ball, *M. A.*

HUNTINGTONSHIRE.

Bluntſham, James Bedford, *B. D. Huntington*, Samuel Brooks, *B. D.*

KENT.

Canterbury, Thomas Ventreſs, *M. A. Chilham*, Samuel Herne, *M. A. Godmarſham*, Mr. ROBERT FERGUSON.

LANCASHIRE.

Mancheſter, Henry Newcome, *M. A. Wigan*, *Mr.* Charles Hotham, *Son to Sir* John Hotham. *Lancaſter*, *Dr.* William Marſhal.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Leiceſter, Nathaniel Stevens, *M. A. Long-Whatton*, Samuel Shaw, *M. A.*

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Lincoln, Edward Reyner, *M. A. Grantham*, Henry Vaughan, *M. A.*

MIDDLESEX.

Fulham, Iſaac Knight, *M. A. Stanmore*, Samuel Stancliff, *M. A. Hackney*, William Spurſtow, *D. D.*

NORFOLK.

Norwich, John Collins, *D. D. Great-Yarmouth*, John Brinſley, *M. A.* William Bridge, *M. A.*

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Aynoe, Robert Wild, *D. D. Wilbee*, Vincent Alſop, *M. A.*

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Newcaſtle, Samuel Hammond, *B. D. Alnwick*, *Dr.* Gilbert Rule.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Nottingham, John Whitlocke, *M. A.* William Reynolds, *M. A.* John Barret, *M. A. Cromwell*, Joſeph Trueman, *B. D. Southwell*, James Mowbray, *B. D.*

OXFORDSHIRE.

Souldern, Thomas Hodges, *B. D. Silſam*, Robert Rogers, *B. D.*

SHROPSHIRE.

Shrewsbury, Francis Tallents, *M. A. Welton*, Samuel Hilderſham, *B. D.*

SOMERSETSHIRE.

A.D.1663

Taunton, George Newton, *M. A. Mr.* Joſeph Alleine, *Mr.* John Glanvile. *Bridgewater*, John Norman, *M. A. Batcomb*, Richard Alleine, *M. A. North-Cadbury*, Samuel Cradock, *B. D. Chedzoy*, Henry Jeanes, *M. A. Wells*, Cornelius Burgeſs, *D. D. Wincaunton*, *Mr.* John Sacheverel, *Grandfather to Dr.* Henry Sacheverel. *Briſtol*, *Mr.* John Knowles, *Mr.* Thomas Ewins, *Mr.* John Paul, *Mr.* Ralph Farmer, *Mr.* Matthew Hazard, *Mr.* William Thomas, *Dr.* Ichabod Chauncey.

STAFFORD.

Kinier, Richard Moreton, *M. D. Marreſton-Riddware*, *Mr.* Richard Swynſen. *Newcaſtle under Line*, George Long, *M. D.*

SUFFOLK.

St. Edmunds-Bury, ---- Clagett, *M. A.*

SURREY.

Clapham, John Arthur, *D. D.*

SUSSEX.

Petworth, Francis Cheynel, *D. D.*

NORTH-WALES.

Flintſhire, Philip Henry, *M. A. Hanmer*, Richard Steel, *M. A. Wrexham*, *Mr.* Ambroſe Moſtyn.

SOUTH-WALES.

Glamorganſhire, Samuel Jones, *M. A.* Daniel Higgs, *M. A.* John Powel, *M. A.* William Thomas, *M. A.*

WARWICKSHIRE.

Coventry, John Bryan, *D. D.* Obadiah Grew, *D. D.*

WILTSHIRE.

Pewſey, Humphry Chambers, *D. D. Mildenhall*, Thomas Baylie, *B. D. Salisbury*, John Strickland, *B. D.*

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Kings-Norton, Thomas Hall, *B. D.*

YORKSHIRE.

York, Edward Bowles, *M. A.* Thomas Calvert, *M. A.* Richard Perrot, *M. A. Rippon*, *Dr.* Edward Richardſon. *Hull*, John Shaw, *M. A. Bradford*, Jonas Waterhouſe, *M. A. Hunſlet*, *Mr.* Thomas Hawkſworth. *Addle*, Thomas Sharp, *M. A. Bedal*, John Gunter, *L. L. B. Thrusk*, Matthew Hill, *M. A. Kerby under Hill*, Peter Clarke, *M. A. Carwood*, Robert Sherborne, *M. A.*

Miniſters bully'd and beaten.

I had exceeded my intended Number before I was aware of it; and to theſe might be added near Two Thouſand more, learned, pious, able and orthodox Divines, who were turn'd out of their Houſes, thrown into Priſons, plunder'd, whipp'd and can'd, bully'd, cudgell'd and curs'd at the Pleaſure of every drunken Juſtice and lewd Informer. 'Twou'd be endleſs if I ſhou'd enter into the Detail of the Uſage theſe venerable Divines met with, not only from the *Juſtices*, but even from the *Biſhops*, every County in *England* had ſuch Worſhipful Magiſtrates, as Sir *Edmund Bacon*, Sir *Gervaſe Elways*, and Sir *Algernoon May* in *Suffolk*! The former, *Bacon*, meeting --- *Scandaret*, M. A. of *Trinity* College, *Cambridge*, and Miniſter of *Haveril* in that County on the Road, whipp'd him with his Horſe-whip firſt, and then ſnatching Mr. *Scandaret's* Cane out of his Hand, can'd him with it till he was weary. *Peter Gunning*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, ran about with the Conſtables himſelf to break open

A.D. 1663 Doors and diſturb religious People in the Worſhip of God after the Way of the Reform'd. Once finding a Door ſhut againſt him, he order'd the Conſtable to break it open; upon which one of the Crowd cry'd out, *What has* Peter *loſt his Keys?* And upon his firing hotly againſt the poor praying Garriſon within Doors, another call'd him *Peter Gunner*; but nothing diſcourag'd him in his Warfare, he ſate as a Juſtice on the Bench at the Quarter-Seſſions at *Lewis*. A Barriſter at Law, who was in Commiſſion of the Peace, and us'd to give the Charge, deſir'd the Biſhop ſo to do, which ſham'd him a little; but tho' he took it as an Affront he ſate ſtill to have his furious Will on ſome Proteſtant Preachers and Hearers. A Juſtice, whom he wou'd have ſpirited up againſt them, refus'd it, ſaying, *He who wou'd have good Neighbours muſt be a good Neighbour himſelf.* I have been a Witneſs of the plundering of Men's Houſes and Barns, and driving away their Cattle by Biſhops Men and others in *Somerſetſhire*, having Warrants from Sir *Edward Phillips*, *Hobbs*, and other ſuch Juſtices as *Bacon* of *Suffolk*. But it was obſerv'd of that *Hobbs* in particular, that from Beggaring others he became a Beggar himſelf, and that the Plunder taken from Proteſtant Diſſenters, as Dr. *Calamy* informs us, ſeldom enrich'd the Plunderers. *God ſo order'd it in his Providence, that the Loſers were but little the poorer, and they who were eager for ſuch ill-gotten Goods* were not much the richer.

Chancellor Hyde *impeach'd of High Treaſon.*

This ſhou'd not be look'd upon as a Digreſſion, for the greateſt Part of the Buſineſs in this Reign is of this Kind. The King's Wars were all with *Presbyterians*, at home and abroad, and if the Activity of the Government, in perſecuting the Non-conformiſts, muſt not have a Place in our Hiſtory, it will be a meer Skeleton. The Glory of the Church, as the *Eccleſiaſtical* Writers term the *Uniformity-Bill*, was maintain'd after the above-mention'd Manner, 'till the next Popiſh King reſolv'd to glorify his own Church, that of *Rome*, and granted a Toleration to *Proteſtant*, as well as *Popiſh* Diſſenters. For the great Share Chancellor *Hyde* had in the aforeſaid Bill and Glory, Mr. *Archdeacon* will not believe a Word of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Charge of High Treaſon againſt him, exhibited in the Houſe of Lords, contrary to the King's particular Injunction, *That he arrogated a ſupream Direction in all things, with a traiterous Intent to bring his Majeſty into a Contempt.* 'Tis true, he arrogated the ſupream Direction, which of Conſequence, render'd the King contemptible: But I do not believe the Earl of *Clarendon* made himſelf great on Purpoſe to make the King little; *That he alienated the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects, by ſaying, the King intended to bring in Popery*, and he ſaid nothing but the Truth, knowing him to be a Papiſt; and what follows is as true, that he had ſaid, *The King was dangerouſly corrupted in his Religion, that Papiſts had ſuch Acceſs to him, and Credit with him, that unleſs there was a watchful Eye upon it, the Proteſtant Religion wou'd be overthrown*, which is what I am endeavouring to prove, that he ſaid, *His Majeſty had given* 10,000 *Pounds to remove a zealous Proteſtant*, *Sir* Edward Nicholas, *that he might bring into that high Place of Secretary of State, a conceal'd Papiſt*, *Sir* Henry Bennet. That ſeveral of his Dependants did not ſtick to ſay, *If the Lord Chancellor does not ſtand in the Gap*, Popery *will be introduc'd in this Kingdom:* That he perſwaded the King to allow *his Name to be us'd to the Pope and Cardinals, for the Sollicitation of a Cardinal's Cap for the Lord* Aubigny, which is very likely, and that he *employ'd one* Richard Bealing, *a known Papiſt, in that Affair, upon Promiſe of great Favour to Papiſts:* That he had promis'd the Pope to *do his Endeavour to take away the Penal Laws againſt them:* That he concluded the Articles of Marriage between his Majeſty and the Queen, upon Terms *ſcandalous and dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion:* That he brought the King and Queen together, *without any ſettled Agreement about the Performance of the Marriage Rites; whereby the Queen refuſing to be marry'd by a* Proteſtant Prieſt, *in caſe of her being with Child, either the Succeſſion ſhou'd be made uncertain for want of the due Rites of Matrimony, or elſe his Majeſty be expos'd to a Suſpicion of having been marry'd in his own Dominion* by a Romiſh *Prieſt:* That *he vented opprobrious Scandals againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Courſe of Life, ſuch as are not fit to be mention'd*, but ſuch as were doubtleſs very true: *That he perſwaded the King, againſt the Advice of General* Monk, *to withdraw the* Engliſh *Garriſons out of* Scotland: That he told his Majeſty, *There never was ſo weak and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, nor never ſo weak and heady a Houſe of Commons*, which as to the latter, is a more juſt Character of them than *Echard's wiſe Ones and experienc'd Ones:* That he had *adviſ'd the King to* ſell *Dunkirk:* That he had *enrich'd himſelf and his Creatures by ſale of Offices:* That he had converted Money, rais'd in *Ireland* for the publick Service, to his own Uſe: That he had procur'd a Farm of the Cuſtoms at a low Rate to make his Profit of it, *&c.* I don't *think* that *Echard*'s ſcowring has clear'd the Character of Chancellor *Hyde* as to ſeveral of theſe Articles, which are generally allow'd to be true, but the King cou'd not yet part with him: He had diſoblig'd his Subjects of the Reform'd Religion, and if he ſhou'd diſoblige his other Subjects the Papiſts, and the Promoters of the late Act, he wou'd be in Danger of travelling again, ſo the Judges were taught to give it as their Opinion, *That one Peer cou'd not exhibit a Charge of High Treaſon againſt another.* The Lords agreeing to it, the Proſecution ſunk for the preſent, and the Earl of *Briſtol* abſconded for a while, to avoid the Reſentment of his Enemy. A.D. 1663

At the Breaking up of the Parliament, *Echard* brings his *Speaker* again upon the Stage, with a *handſome* Speech, tho' the handſomeſt Part of it is, where he tells the King, that to ſecure the Peace of the Nation againſt the Diſſenters, the Parliament preſented him with an additional Bill for raiſing the *Militia*. The King anſwers him in a Speech, wherein he tells the Parliament, he has given it in Charge to the Judges, *to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours in their Circuits to prevent and puniſh ſeditious Meetings.* And as to the *Papiſts*, he will take them to Task himſelf. *I will be as watchful*, and take all the Pains I can to convict them; and if he had done his Buſineſs againſt them as well as the Judges and Juſtices did theirs againſt the *Proteſtants*, there wou'd not hath been ſuch an eternal Clamour at the *Growth of Popery*.

About the Beginning of *Auguſt*, the King and Queen went from *London* to the *Bath*. They were entertain'd at *Shaw*, near *Newbury* in *Berkſhire*, by Sir *Thomas Doleman*; at *Littlecot* in *Wiltſhire* by *Alexander Popham*, Eſq; one of *Oliver*'s Lords; at *Marlborough* by the Lord *Seymour*; at *Longleat* by Sir *James Thynne*; at *Badminton* in *Glouceſterſhire* by the Marquis of *Worceſter*; at *Cornbury* in *Oxfordſhire* by Chancellor *Hyde*; and at *Oxford* by the Univerſity. In this Progreſs, *Echard* takes Care to tell us, his Majeſty touch'd above 300 People for the *Kings-Evil*, which I believe is to be cur'd by a Touch as ſoon as any other *Evil*.

During

A.D. 1663 Yorkſhire plot.

During this Progreſs, there broke out a *Plot* in *Yorkſhire*; the main Deſign of which was to ſeize *Glouceſter* and *Newcaſtle*, *Whitehall* and *Nottingham*, *Worceſter* and *Boſton*, and all the Paſſes on the *Severne*, the *Trent*, and the *Tine*. *Boſton* lay convenient for Aſſiſtance from *Holland*; *Newcaſtle* was in the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, and *Glouceſter* lay handy to receive the *Welch* Army that was to come and join them. Their Pretences were to reform the Lawyers and Clergy, to put down Chimney-Money, and other Taxes, and procure a Reſurrection for the *Long Parliament*, which Chancellor *Hyde* told both Lords and Commons, had been bury'd at a prodigious Charge, three or four Years before.

The Forlorn of theſe Armies appear'd at *Farnley* Wood in *Yorkſhire*, but the *Militia*, and ſome regular Troops meeting them, inſtead of *Dutchmen* and *Switzers*, the Plot was ſpoil'd, and the Plotters too: The Chief of whom were, *Robert Oldroyd*, *Joſhua Aſhnith*, *Peregrine Corney*, *William Tolſon*, *John Nettleton*, Senior, *John Nettleton*, Junior, *Ralph Rimer*, *Thomas Oates*, *Samuel Ellis*, *Robert Scott*, *John Foſter*, *John Snowden*, *John Smith*, *William Aſh*, *Charles Carre*, *John Errington*, *Robert Atkins*, *William Cotton*, *George Denham*, *Henry Watſon*, *Richard Wilſon*, who were all taken, and hang'd at their own Doors, and other Places. The very Names of theſe Wretches prove the Falſhood of General *Ludlow*'s engaging with them, for Reaſons more than once offer'd in the preceding Pages. I do not at all wonder that the Court and Miniſtry are frighted out of their Wits at the Rumour of forty or fifty Rumpers got together, nor that the very Names of *Lambert* and *Ludlow* fling them into a Panick. They were told that theſe *Yorkſhire* Men had ſent for *Lambert* to head them, though they had him ſafe in the *Tower*, or in St. *Nicholas* Iſland. I doubt not that theſe raſh, deſperate Fellows, might have reſolv'd to join with any body that ſhou'd appear in Arms againſt ſo unpopular a Government, and that they might be ſo fooliſh as to provide themſelves of Weapons for ſuch an Attempt, nay, to make a Motion, in hopes the general Hate of the People wou'd ſtir up a general Riſing; for by this Time Court and Courtiers were hated as much as Men cou'd be, who were deſpis'd: The Reader will probably think *Ludlow* expreſſes it better than I can.

More Plotters.

" The endleſs Prodigality of the *Engliſh* Court,
" the Perſecution of the Diſſenters, the Sale of
" *Dunkirk*, the Articles exhibited in Parliament
" by the Earl of *Briſtol* againſt the Chancellor
" *Hyde*, and the Factions enſuing on that Ac-
" count, together with many other Cauſes of Diſ-
" content and Diviſion, had ſo alienated the Af-
" fections of the People from their King, that
" the beſt Judges were of Opinion, if a favour-
" able Juncture ſhou'd happen, they wou'd be as
" ready to ſhake off the Yoke, as they had been
" fooliſh and inconſiderate in putting it on; and
" our Friends in all Parts began to entertain
" Hopes that they might be again employed to
" reſcue their Country from Servitude." And it is true, Col. *Sidney* had an Interview about the ſame Time with Lieutenant General *Ludlow* and the Refugees in *Switzerland*, where they did all agree not to be *wanting to the publick Service*, if an Opportunity offer'd. But it is monſtrous to think they wou'd concert Meaſures, or engage with ſuch ſorry Tools as *Oldroyd*, *Aſhnith*, *Corney*, *Oates*, and the *Yorkſhire* Gang. *Echard* makes a very ſilly Reflection on this Paſſage out of *Ludlow*; *It plainly ſhew'd his Diſpoſition, and the Diſpoſition of the reſt of his Opinion*, to do what? to make War upon King *Charles*, upon *Hyde* and *Monk*, and the perſecuting Biſhops: Who ever doubted it? But does it ſhew any Diſpoſition in him to join with a raſcally Rout, without Ships, without Men, without Money, and without any thing but good Will? Was he ſuch a ſort of a Man? A Year after, when the King had declar'd War with the *Dutch*, who had ſo highly oblig'd him, both he and Col. *Sidney*, and every Hand that had held a Sword in what they call'd the *Good Old Cauſe*, were certainly very deſirous to have taken Vengeance on their Enemies in a military Way.

A.D. 1664

About the Time that the *Yorkſhire* Men were hang'd, *John Twine*, a Printer, was executed for printing a *Common wealth* Pamphlet; but they pillory'd *Simon Dover*, Printer, *Thomas Brewſter*, Bookſeller, and *Nathaniel Brooks*, Bookbinder, for uttering ſomething written by *Milton*, *Buchanan*, and other ſuch mean Writers. *Echard* tells us, that what *Milton* wrote, was in Oppoſition to that excellent Oath in the *Corporation* Act, *That it is unlawful in any Caſe whatſoever* to abdicate a Sovereign.

Upon the Death of Dr. *William Juxon*, the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury* was given to Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, to whom the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberty were indebted for the Act of *Uniformity*, and the other *ſtinging* Acts againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, whoſe Religion being the ſame with that of the *Dutch*, it is not to be doubted but the King's Quarrel with the latter was much more out of Hatred to it, than out of Concern for the Honour and Intereſt of *England*, which none of this Royal Houſe were ever much concern'd about till after the *Revolution*.

1664. *Parliament impos'd on by the King.*

The Politicks of this Government had no Diſguiſe but what the weakeſt Eyes cou'd ſee thro', and they needed no more Art than the Miniſters were capable of, to lead this willing Parliament into any thing. Never was Aſſembly ſo proſtituted to the Pleaſure of the Court, never one ſo ſhamefully Betrayers of their Country both in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Matters. The *Triennial* Bill, which paſs'd after a long Struggle in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign, ſtuck in the King's Stomach, and therefore in his Speech at the opening of the next Seſſions of Parliament, *March* the 18th, he recommends it to the Commons to be reviſ'd, in his uſual coaxing Way. Having told them of the terrible Rebellion in *Yorkſhire*, and ſaid all he cou'd think of to alarm them, and exaſperate them ſtill more againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, as at the bottom of that and all other Plots, he comes to the Point.

" Some wou'd ſtill inſiſt on the Authority
" of the *Long Parliament*, of which, they
" ſay, they have Members enough who are
" willing to meet: Others have fancied to them-
" ſelves, by ſome Computation of their own,
" upon ſome Clauſe in the TRIENNIAL
" BILL, *That this preſent Parliament was at*
" *an End ſome Months ſince, and that for want*
" *of new Writs, they may aſſemble themſelves,*
" *and chooſe Members for Parliament*; and this
" is the beſt Expedient to bring them together
" for their own Purpoſes. For the *Long Par-*
" *liament*, you and I can do no more to inform
" and compoſe the Minds of all Men, let them
" proceed upon their Peril. But methinks there
" is nothing done to diſabuſe them in reſpect of
" the *Triennial Bill*. I confeſs, *my Lords and*
" *Gentlemen*, I have often my ſelf read over that
" Bill; and though there is no Colour for the
" Fancy of the Determination of this Parlia-
" ment, yet I will not deny to you, that I have
" always expected you wou'd, and even admir'd
" you have not conſider'd the wonderful Clauſes
" in that Bill (and he might very well have ad-

*A.D.*1664 mir'd, if he had before intimated his Deſire to have it repeal'd; for he can hardly be fonder of abſolute arbitrary Power, than they are become fond of abſolute Submiſſion) "which paſs'd in "a Time very uncareful for the Dignity of the "Crown, or Security of the People."—So uncareful, that they were at the Expence of many Millions of Money and Blood in Proportion for their Security. "I pray, Mr. *Speaker*, and *you Gen-* "*tlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, give that *Tri-* "*ennial Bill* once a Reading in your Houſe, "and then, in God's Name, do what you think "fit for me, and your ſelves, and the whole King- "dom. I need not tell you how much I love Par- "liaments (*Their Ears are all ſtretch'd out to hear this*) "never King was ſo much beholden "to Parliaments as I have been, nor do I think "the Crown can ever be happy without frequent "Parliaments; and to ſhew how much he va- lu'd himſelf on being a Prince of his Word, he kept this near eighteen Years, and ſometimes ſaw them not for ten or twelve Months. "But "aſſure your ſelves, if I did think otherwiſe, *I* "*wou'd never ſuffer a Parliament to come to-* "*gether by the Means preſcrib'd by that Bill.*" He tells them there very plainly, that he matters not the Law, and intimates, if they don't repeal it, he wou'd do it himſelf, and never let it be put in execution: But he need be in no Concern about it. This Aſſembly had no reliſh of *Engliſh* Liberty, they fled from her, adorn'd as ſhe is with Celeſtial Beauty, and ran into the Arms of Slavery, the fouleſt of all Shadowy Beings. The Bill ſoon paſs'd to repeal the Act for *Triennial* Parliaments, but they were aſham'd to let it go by its right Name, ſo it was ſtil'd, *An Act for aſſembling and holding of Parliaments once in three Years at leaſt.* Biſhop *Burnet* informs us what an abſurd ridiculous Buſineſs it was; pray turn to the King's wheedling Speech about it, and then read what his Lordſhip ſays. "The Parliament repealed the *Triennial Bill*, "which had been obtain'd with ſo much Diffi- "culty, and was clogg'd with ſo many Clauſes, "which ſeem'd to transfer the Power from the "Crown to the People, that when it was car- "ried, it was thought the greateſt Security the "People had for all their other Liberties. *The King has been juſt telling the two Houſes of Lords and Commons* that it utterly deſtroyed their Security. "It was now given up without a Struggle, "or any Clauſes for a Certainty of Parliaments, "beſides a general one; that there ſhou'd be a "Parliament call'd within three Years after the "Diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, and ſo "ever afterwards; but without any ſevere Clauſes "in Caſe the Act was not obſerv'd." However, both *Echard* and the *Compleat Hiſtorian* are in the beſt Humour in the World on this Occaſion; when it is impoſſible for a good *Engliſhman* to behold his dear Country in the Hands of ſuch a Parliament, without trembling with Fear, and melting with Compaſſion.— The Speech-making Speaker, when the Parliament was prorogu'd, told his Majeſty, That the Act of Security, ſpoken of by my Lord of *Sarum*, *was impracticable, and only uſeful to learn the People how to rebel.* Then comes ſome elegant Nonſenſe: *Therefore we melted it down, extracted the pure Metal from counterfeit and droſſy Allay, and then preſented it to your Majeſty to be ſtamp'd, and made current Coin.* He return'd the Parliament's moſt humble Thanks to the King, that he had been moſt graciouſly pleas'd to paſs that new Bill, which threw down the Fences of their Security, and laid them at the Mercy of Miſtreſſes and Minions. *Echard* tells us, the *Yorkſhire* Plot gave Occaſion to that infamous Bill call'd the *Conventicle* Act. The Infamy of it aroſe from the vile Arts made uſe of to give a Colour to it, and the Cruelty and Inhumanity of the Penalties. We will repeat what *Turner* the Speaker ſaid of it in his Prorogation Speech; it will ſhew us what his Head was, and what his Heart. "Whilſt we were intent upon "theſe weighty Affairs, we were often interrupt- "ed by Petitions, and Letters, and Motions, re- "preſenting the unſettled Conditions of ſome "Counties, by reaſon of *Fanaticks*, *Sectaries*, "and *Nonconformiſts*. They differ in their Shapes "and Species, and accordingly are more or leſs "dangerous; but in this they all agree, they are "no Friends to the eſtabliſh'd Government either "in Church or State. And if the old Rule be "true,

Qui Eccleſiæ contradicit, non eſt pacificus,

"we have great Reaſon to prevent their Growth, "and to puniſh their Practice. To this Purpoſe "we have prepar'd a Bill *againſt their frequent-* "*ing of Conventicles*; the Seed-Plots and Nur- "ſeries of their Opinions, UNDER PRE- "TENCE of Religious Worſhip.

"The firſt Offence is made puniſhable with "five Pounds, or three Months Impriſonment.

"The ſecond Offence with ten Pounds, or ſix "Months Impriſonment.

"But the third Offence is Baniſhment to ſome "Foreign Plantation.

Immedicabile Vulnus ne pars ſincera trahatur.

The two Reverend Hiſtorians are not at all mov'd at this; or if they are mov'd at all, 'tis with an Emotion of Pleaſure, as much as it is ſcandalous and ſhameful to Chriſtianity itſelf. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſays, *All People were amaz'd at this Severity*, and well might it ſtrike them with Amazement and Horror. To ſee People pretending to be Proteſtants making a Law to ruin and deſtroy their Brethren of the ſame Religion, for worſhipping God in their Houſes, after they themſelves had driven them out of their Churches.

All this while was the Deſign of a War with *Holland* working. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, he was poſitively aſſur'd by Stateſmen on both Sides, that the *French* ſet it on in a very artificial Manner. They encourag'd the *Engliſh* to inſiſt on ſome extravagant Demands, and at the ſame Time preſs'd the *Dutch* not to yield to them. Theſe were *Fineſſes* in Politicks, too ſubtil to be obſerv'd by a Court and Miniſtry, whoſe Heads were full of *Sham-Plots* and *Perſecution*, and a Parliament that had given themſelves up to Bigotry and Penſions. As the *French* put the *Dutch* in hopes that if a Rupture ſhou'd follow, they wou'd aſſiſt them according to their Alliance, ſo they aſſur'd the *Engliſh* they wou'd do them no hurt. *Downing* before-mention'd, the *New-England* Pulpiteer, was then unemploy'd in *England*. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* tells us, "He was a "crafty fawning Man, who was ready to turn to "every Side that was uppermoſt, and to betray "thoſe who by their former Friendſhip and Ser- "vices thought they might depend on him; as "he did ſome of the Regicides, whom he got in- "to his Hands under Truſt, and then deliver'd "them up, *particularly Col.* Okey, *whoſe* Chap- "lain *he had been. Cromwel* employ'd him as his "Agent in *Holland*, where he had offer'd perſo- "ſonal Affronts both to the King and to the "Duke; yet he had by ſome baſe Practices got "himſelf to be ſo effectually recommended by "*Monk* (*Obſerve what Inſtruments are made uſe of*) "that all his former Offences were forgiven, "and he was ſent into *Holland* as the King's "Ambaſſador; whoſe Behaviour to the King "himſelf the States had obſerv'd, ſo they had "Reaſon to conclude he was ſent over with no "good

King's Speech againſt the Triennial *Act.*

Turner's Speech about it.

Cruel Penalties on Proteſtants.

War with Holland *breaking out.*

Downing's vile Character.

Conventicle Act.

A.D.1664 " good Intent, and that he was capable of ma- A.D.1664
" naging a bad Deſign, and very ready to under-
No viſible Cauſe of a War with Holland. " take it. There was no viſible Cauſe of a War, " a Complaint of a Ship taken was ready to have " been ſatisfied, but *Downing*, *the* quondam *Independant Parſon* hinder'd it; wherefore it was " plain the King hated the *Dutch*, and ſome " cry'd they were ſo feeble, and the *Engliſh* ſo " much ſuperior to them, that a War wou'd hum- " ble them to an entire Submiſſion. The States " had treated and preſented him with great " Magnificence, and at a vaſt Charge, *&c.* as " has been ſhewn already." But out of hatred to the *Presbyterian* Religion, and love to the *French*, who deſir'd to ſee the *Engliſh* Hereticks deſtroy the *Dutch*, that they might the more eaſily deſtroy the *Engliſh* afterwards, no Endeavours were wanting in *England* to ſet both City and Country againſt the *Hollanders*, as Incroachers on the Commerce of the *Engliſh* Merchants. *Turner*, the Speaker, ſaid in his Speech, *We find that beſides the inſufferable Indignities offer'd to your Royal Majeſty, the* Dutch *have in a few Years ſpoil'd your Subjects to the value of* 800,000 *Pounds.* The inſufferable Indignities were not ſpoken of when they were waſting their Treaſure in Treats upon him at the *Hague*, before he took Shipping for *England*. Both Houſes of Parliament had addreſs'd him to procure Satisfaction of the *Dutch*, with Promiſes to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes; and they gave him Money enough to have maintain'd the Honour of *England*, if he had had it at Heart ſo much as maintaining the Profuſion, Luxury, and Vanity of the Female Court.

Coke, *p.* 141. The greateſt Cauſe of Complaint againſt the *Dutch*, was for Injuries done to Sir *William Courteen*, and Sir *Paul Pindar*, and the Perſon to whom he granted Letters of Repriſal, Sir *Edward Turner* did, no doubt, forward the Buſineſs in Parliament to the utmoſt of his Power: But the true Reaſon was probably the ſecret League between *Lewis* XIV. and *Charles* II. ſuppos'd to be concluded by the Queen Mother, with the Aſſiſtance of Monſieur *Colbert*, who ſucceeded as Prime Miniſter in *France* after Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Death. *Colbert*'s Agent, Abbot *Primi*, gave a clear Account of this Treaty, in a Book printed by Authority at *Paris*, in the Year 1682, and ſuppreſs'd upon Complaint of Lord *Preſton*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and the Abbot ſent to the *Baſtile* for ten Days only. However, we have another Authority for it in Sir *William Temple*'s Letters, and another ſtill, that of Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, Dean of St. *Patrick's*, who teſtifies, *that he had that Information from the Author himſelf, That the Diſcovery happen'd to fall from the King's own Mouth, when an accidental Paſſion had render'd him unguarded.* In purſuance of this League, the learned *Acherly* tells us, " Was the " Declaration of War made the 22d of *February*, " 1664, againſt the *Dutch*, in order to bear down " that *Proteſtant* Power? The Pretences were, to " *recover Satisfaction* for the Wrongs *which the* " Engliſh *had ſuffer'd in Trade.*

Sir *Richard Fanſhaw* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*, to engage that King in the intended War againſt the *Hollanders*; but alas, the *Spaniſh* Court knew better than to be led away with the Bugbears, *Common-wealth's Men* and *Schiſmaticks*, while the *French* King was daily encreaſing in Ambition and Power, and threaten'd to break in upon them on all Sides, as ſoon as their weak Monarch dy'd, which was every Day expected. They no more look'd upon the *Dutch* as *Rebels*, but as their beſt Friends and Allies, in Caſe of a War in *Flanders*, which they cou'd no longer doubt wou'd be unavoidable on the King of *Spain*'s Death; and the *French* King by ſuch an Addition of Power in the *Netherlands*, wou'd become ſtrong enough to give Laws to all his Neighbours. The *Engliſh* Miniſters and Parliament never thought of *France* and the *Netherlands*; their Heads were full of deſtroying the *Presbyterians* where-ever they found them; and without either Alliances, or any juſt Reaſon, they hurry'd the Nation into a War, in which whatever Side was Conqueror, they were both ſure to be ruin'd at the end of it. Biſhop *Burnet* has aſſur'd us, *There was no viſible Cauſe of a War*; the inviſible one muſt then be, that the *Dutch* were Proteſtants, that they were Friends to Liberty, and as ſuch, hated and dreaded by all Promoters of Tyranny, Popery, and Perſecution. The Biſhop of *Saliſbury* again; *The Grounds of this War were ſo ſlight, that it was viſible there was ſomewhat more at bottom than openly own'd. A great Comet which appear'd then, rais'd the Apprehenſions of the People. The Houſe of Commons was ſo far from examining nicely into the Grounds of the War, that without any Difficulty they gave the King two Millions and a half for carrying it on; and as ſoon as the War broke out, a moſt terrible Plague broke out alſo.*

It may well be wonder'd at, that an *Engliſh* Parliament ſhou'd not ſee all this. A true *Engliſh* Parliament wou'd have ſeen it, and inſtead of addreſſing for a War with the *Dutch*, wou'd have addreſs'd for a Peace with our ſelves. I have more than once obſerv'd what kind of Aſſembly this was, but it is better explain'd in the *State Tracts*. The Act which repeal'd the Triennial Bill, " left the King at Liberty to conti- Vol. II. *p.* 340.
" nue the ſame Parliament as long as he pleas'd,
" and that King accordingly continu'd that ſame
" Parliament near eighteen Years; all which
" Time they cou'd not be ſaid truly to repreſent
" the People of *England*, many of them who
" choſe them being dead, and others were either
" grown up, or had purchas'd Eſtates, whoſe
" Opinions both of Perſons and Things might
" be much chang'd from what the Senſe of the
" Nation was when the Parliament was firſt
" call'd. But having got a conſiderable Party in
" the Houſe of Commons, they labour'd to con-
" firm and encreaſe it. Places and Penſions were
" liberally beſtow'd on all that cou'd be brought
" over to them; and 'tis no wonder they gave
" ſuch prodigious Sums of Money out of the
" poor Peoples Pockets, when a great Part was
" again to be refunded into their own. This
" ſcandalous Proceeding was manifeſt, and con-
" firm'd by the open Confeſſion of a Gentleman
" (through whoſe Hands much publick Money
" then paſs'd) in the Houſe of Commons, who
" acknowledg'd he paid annually many and great
" Penſions to Members of Parliament, of which
" ſtill more hereafter." What cou'd be expected from ſuch an Aſſembly, but ſuch Bills as *Bartholomew* Acts, *Conventicle* Acts, *Corporation* Acts, Acts againſt *Parliaments*, &c.

Downing demanded Reparation of the States in ſo inſolent a Manner, that the *French* Ambaſſador *D'Eſtrades* was aſham'd of him. The States ſent *Van Goch* into *England* to ward off the Blow, and to offer Satisfaction, when the Accounts of Damages on both Sides were liquidated. *Echard* picks up a ſilly Pretence for the War, out of a Letter written by a conceal'd Papiſt to the Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw* in *Spain*, which is that upon *Downing*'s bullying the States, and threatning them with War inſtead of paying down the 800,000 Pounds at Demand, they order'd Ships to be got ready for their Defence in caſe they were attack'd before the Accounts were fairly ſtated, and that *conceal'd Papiſt* Bennet, ſo the Lord

A.D.1664 *Briſtol* call'd him, tells Ambaſſador *Fanſhaw*, that to prepare for Defence is a Declaration of War. One may expect rare Politicians from ſuch fine Reaſoners! The *Dutch* knew full well what was intended againſt them, by Intelligence from their Friends both in *England* and *France*. *Lud-*

Growth of Popery, *low* writes, " Some of the moſt eminent Pro-
" teſtants in *France* ſent into *Holland*, to give In-
" formation that the Deſtruction of the whole
" Proteſtant Party was intended, and to adviſe the
" States to make the beſt Preparations they cou'd
" for their Defence, aſſuring them, if they ſhou'd
" be borndown in the War, the Reform'd Reli-
" gion wou'd ſoon be extinguiſh'd in *France*.

In the mean time the Engliſh *King*, ſays the Hiſtorian, *made it his Buſineſs and his great Pleaſure to viſit his Docks*, and in *November* the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Sandwich* joining ſeveral great Squadrons of Men of War, form'd a Fleet, which ſtruck Terror upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, and took ſeveral Ships laden with Wine and Brandy, bound from *Bourdeaux* to *Holland*, which, according to Mr. Archdeacon, were condemn'd as lawful Prize, tho' no War *had been actually declar'd*. *This Proceeding*, continues he, *was thought to be more arbitrary than was allow'd by the Law of Nations*. But then he adviſes us not to blame the King or his Miniſters for it; it was not their Doing. He ſeems to be willing to give his Oath, that *it was no foreign Project*, but the Cry of all the great Merchants, and of the City of *London*. *France*, according to his Information or Underſtanding, had nothing to do with it. The *Spaniards* were better inform'd, and underſtood better, who, in a Memorial deliver'd to the States ſometime after, ſay, *The* French *procur'd with a premeditated and private Deſign, a War with* England, *to weaken the United Provinces, and afterward to tyrannize over both*. He knew not, or takes no Notice of it, that the King and his Miniſters had, by various Artifices and Rumours, been working up the Spirits of the trading People with Hopes of procuring them golden Heaps of Satisfaction for ſmall Damages, which are unavoidable between Nations ſo jealous of their Commerce, and ſo well able to ſupport it as the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. The latter had diſpoſſeſs'd the *Engliſh* of their Factories at *Cape de Verd*, and an Iſland call'd *Gogee*, ſome Months before. What Pretenſions they had to them he does not tell us, only offers it as an Excuſe for taking the *Dutch Bourdeaux* Fleet in Breach of the Law of Nations, but does not ſay a Word of *Holmes*'s Acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Dutch* in *Guinea* before that, for which the States Ambaſſador ask'd Satisfaction in vain, nor that *Holmes* had taken *Cape de Verd* from the *Dutch* long before that.

About a Year after the *Dutch* had ſpent ſo much Money on the King and his Brothers, *Holmes* not only took from them *Cape de Verd*, and ſeveral other Forts in *Guinea*, but the whole Province of *New-Netherlands*, now *New-York*, in *America*, in the Year 1661; yet does the ingenious and impartial *Eckard* juſtify King *Charles*'s Breach of the Law of Nations, by the firſt Acts of Hoſtility of the *Dutch* in *Guinea* and *New-York*, only to recover thoſe Places which *Holmes* had ſurpriz'd and piratically taken by prior Acts of Hoſtility in time of profound Peace, and juſt when the State had been ſquandering their Treaſure upon the King and his Family: However, by a ſtrange logical Turn, he and his Flatterers call'd them *Ungrateful* as well as *Inſolent*, tho' he had never had it in his Power, and much leſs in his Will, to oblige them.

The Parliament met again on the 24th of *November*, and the King in his Speech mentions a vile Jealouſy rais'd of him, that when the Parliament had given him Money to carry on the War, he wou'd clap up a Peace, and put it into his Pocket. If the War had not been againſt the *Hollanders*, I ſhou'd have thought that Jealouſy not ſo unreaſonable as his Majeſty conceiv'd it; but there does not ſeem to be any Grounds for his ſo ſaying, from his Opinion of the *Dutch* Religion and Government. This Parliament then gave him that prodigious Sum of 2,500,000 Pounds before-mention'd, and the King promis'd them, that it *ſhou'd all be expended to the Advantage and Satisfaction of his People*. A.D.1664

The Members of Parliament who were moſt active in promoting this unnatural War, were known Favourers of Popery; the moſt buſy was Mr. *Clifford*, afterwards Lord *Clifford*, a Papiſt, who was Chairman of the Committee, who examin'd into the 800,000 Pounds Damages ſpoken of by Sir *Edward Turner*, and reported it to the Houſe.

The *Compleat Hiſtorian* has, in it's due Place, proper Paragraphs, which he calls the *State of Religion*, and he has ſome Remarkables that are not to be forgotten. *The Church of* England, ſays he, was *happily eſtabliſh'd by the Act of Uniformity, the Wiſdom and Moderation of which the World has Reaſon to admire*. The Moderation and Wiſdom of this Remark of his will not bear remarking, it is below Reflection. He then informs us, Mr. *Edmund Calamy* was the firſt that broke thro' it to preach in his own Church, to which God had given him a Call, when the Congregation was diſappointed of a Sermon. *It looks like a Plot*, ſays he, for he preach'd upon the *Ark of God*, and then comes his Wiſdom and Moderation. He cou'd not be thought leſs than a ſeditious, as well as a diſabled Preacher. This Writer being, as I am inform'd, a Preacher himſelf, wou'd have more adorn'd the Function, had he let his Charity have appear'd more on this Occaſion, and not have cenſur'd two Miniſters of the Goſpel as in a Plot, one to be abſent, and another preſent, for the promoting of Sedition. Beſides, it is not probable, that ſo good a Churchman as the Miniſter muſt be, who was got into Mr. *Calamy*'s Pulpit after he was pull'd out of it by the late Act, wou'd be acceſſary to ſuch a ſeditious Lecture. The Truth is, the Diſcourſe *was unpremeditated, and purely occaſion'd by the Diſappointment*. What was ſaid in the Sermon about the Danger the Reform'd Church of *England* was in, is well explain'd by Dr. *Calamy*, Grandſon of the Gentleman we are ſpeaking of. *As Circumſtances then were, there might well be a Concern ſtirring for ſerious Religion, which was in no ſmall Danger. And had this Author wav'd that Reflection, his Work wou'd not have loſt any of its Beauty*. I ſhou'd have been at the Pains to have pointed to thoſe Beauties in his Work, as I have done in *Echard*'s, had they been as worthy of it. The Writer is delighted with the Execution of the new Law upon him; Mr *Calamy* was committed to *Newgate* by the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Robinſon*, *where*, according to the Hiſtorian, *he lay but a few Days before he was diſcharg'd by his Majeſty's expreſs Order, without the due Manner of a legal Diſcharge*. You ſee how ſorry he is for it; and again, *which brought a Contempt upon the Law and Church*. How long it had been a Law, and what a Law it was, we have ſeen already. Dr. *Calamy* repreſents it thus, *He was ſoon releas'd, when it was ſeen what a Reſort of Perſons of all Qualities there went to him in* Newgate.

The next Eccleſiaſtical Affair of greateſt Importance, ſays the Compleat Hiſtorian, *was the providing a better Maintenance for the conform-*

A.D.1664 *ing Clergy. There was a pious Diſpoſition in the Commons to make every Benefice a Cure of Comfort and Credit*, which is an Explanation of that *comfortable Importance* elſewhere mention'd: Then he ſpeaks of the Plot in *Yorkſhire* for the *Presbyterians* and *Republicans*, and complains that the *Uniformity* Act, and *Conventicle* Act, were not ſteadily executed. A new Order was iſſu'd for all Rectors, Vicars and Curates, to read Divine Service in their *Surplices*; and thus ſtands the *State of Religion* with him, 'till the breaking out of the *Dutch* War.

We muſt not forget that Mr. *Prynne*, having taken upon him to amend an Act of Parliament, after it had been read in the Houſe, was reprimanded by Mr. Speaker; nor can we be juſt to Truth, unleſs we remember that Lord *Clarendon* was now very cool in the Affair of the *Dutch* War. The King intended, as he told the two Houſes, that the Lord Chancellor ſhou'd have enlarg'd upon that Matter, but he being indiſpos'd, the Steps that had been taken in it, were put into Writing, and deliver'd to them: 'Tis ſuppos'd that his Indiſpoſition was affected, and that obſerving there was no ſuch thing as a general Cry againſt the *Dutch*, but what the Court had work'd up in *London* and other Places, or elſe doubting the Iſſue of the War, or that he ſhou'd not have the Management of it, he was not forward in concerning himſelf in it. Indeed his Intereſt ſunk lower and lower every Day, and it was not long before he became the Subject of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and other witty Lords Mirth and Mimickry; yet he continu'd in his Poſt as long as he cou'd, and let them be as merry and as witty as they wou'd with him, he thought the Seal was worth more than all that.

1665. This very terrible Year opens with the *Dutch* War. If I took the ſame Liberty with divine Providence as the reverend Hiſtorians do, I cou'd not avoid applying all the dreadful Calamities of this and the following Year, War, Plague, and Fire, to the Judgments of Heaven, for the Lewdneſs, Profaneneſs, Deceit, and Cruelty of the Times; in which there was not the leaſt Appearance of Religion or Virtue in the Courtiers, or their Creatures, and very little any where elſe throughout the whole Kingdom.

Times wicked.

" As ſoon as the War broke out, a moſt ter-
" rible Plague broke out alſo (they are Biſhop
" *Burnet*'s Words) in the City of *London*, that
" ſcatter'd all the Inhabitants who were able to
" remove themſelves. It broke the Trade of
" the Nation, and ſwept away about 100,000
" Souls, the greateſt Havock that any Plague had
" ever made in *England*. This did diſhearten
" all People, and coming in the very Time in
" which ſo UNJUST a War was begun, it
" had a dreadful Appearance. All the King's
" Enemies ſaid, here is a manifeſt Character of
" God's heavy Diſpleaſure upon the Nation, as
" indeed the ill Life of the King, and the Vici-
" ouſneſs of the whole Court, gave but a me-
" lancholy Proſpect.

Dutch War unjuſt.

The King's ill Life.

Another Author repreſents it thus; " And now
" after all the Breaches on the Churches, the
" Ejection of the Miniſters, and Impenitency un-
" der all, Wars, Plagues, and Dangers of Famine
" began all at once on us; yet under all theſe De-
" ſolutions the Wicked are harden'd, *&c.*

Baxter's *Life*, 448

Dreadful Calamities.

In *February* was publiſh'd his Majeſty's Declaration of War, with this Introduction.

At the Court at Whitehall, *Feb.* 22, 166$\frac{4}{5}$.

Declaration of War.

Preſent the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Marquis of *Dorcheſter*, Lord *Great Chamberlain*, Lord *Chamberlain*, Earl of *Berkſhire*, Earl of *Angleſey*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Carliſle*, Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Carbery*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Aſhley*, Mr. *Treaſurer*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Mr. Secretary *Bennet*, Mr. *Vice-Chamberlain*, Mr. Chancellor of the *Dutchy*. A.D.1665

I think the Names of them ought not to be forgotten, nor muſt we forget that we do not find in this Liſt, the principal Counſellors, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Earl of *Clarendon*; they wou'd not countenance this unjuſt War, not only with their Counſel, but with their Preſence at the Board.

The States having publiſh'd a Memorial in Anſwer to Sir *George Downing*'s, the *Compleat Hiſtorian* calls it a *Libel*: *Downing* exhibiting a Memorial, the ſame compleat Writer terms the States Anſwer to it, *A ſecond Libel*, and he affirms, there were ſeveral Invectives in it againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, whereas the *Dutch* declar'd, *their Quarrel was not againſt the People, but againſt the King of* England, and that their Deſigns in the defenſive War, was only *to ſecure themſelves againſt the double Dealing they had met with from the* Engliſh Court.

Several Bills being ready for the Royal Aſſent, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd them, particularly one for the *Regulation of the Law*, which muſt be an excellent one, it being ſo well regulated at preſent by that and other Helps ſince that. I ſhall repeat a Paragraph of the *Speaker*'s Speech, and then have done with it, and with the *Speaker*. It is to ſhew what a Trifler he is, tho' he's a perfect *Narciſſus*, with reſpect to his Opinion of his Eloquence. He is about to preſent the King with a Bill to make a River or two Navigable, ſuch as the *Wye* and the *Lugg*, ſo often ſpoken of on the like Occaſions, and he cannot do this without a Speech too.

I ud. *p.* 183.

Coſmographers *do agree, that this Iſland is incomparably furniſh'd with pleaſant Rivers, like Veins in the natural Body, which convey the Blood into all the Parts, whereby the whole is nouriſh'd and made uſeful; therefore we have prepar'd ſome Bills* for making ſmall Rivers navigable: *A Thing that in other Countries hath been more experienc'd, and hath been found very advantagious; it eaſeth the People of their great Charge of Land Carriages, preſerves the High-ways, which are daily worn out with Waggons, carrying exceſſive Burthens: It breeds up a Nurſery of Watermen, which upon Occaſion, will prove good Seamen, and with much more Facility maintains Intercourſe and Communication between Cities and Countries.* It will be a hard Matter to meet with any thing more impertinent than this, in all Orators, antient and modern. The King's Majeſty, the moſt Honourable Lords, and moſt Reverend Biſhops, the Honourable Repreſentatives of the People of *England*, are held in Attention by Sir *Edward Turner*, while he tells them there are Rivers in *England*, and that Water Carriage is cheaper than Land Carriage. It was in this Seſſion of Parliament that a Clauſe was put in the Act for the *Royal Aid*, to oblige the *Clergy* to pay Taxes in the ſame Manner their Neighbours did, which before were levy'd upon them by Grants in *Convocation*, and Mr. *Echard* tells us, they were pleas'd to *ſubmit to it*.

Turner's ridiculous Speech.

Clergy p. 129. *Tax'd with the Laity.*

He and the *Compleat Hiſtorian* cry out againſt the *Dutch* for *De Ruyter*'s leaving Sir *John Lawſon* in the *Streights*, when he was about humbling the proud *Algerines*, and paſſing thence to *Barbados*, and from thence to *Cape de Verd*, as has been obſerv'd already, *inglorioufly* beginning a Piratick War, under the ſacred Bands of Friendſhip. He ſays not a Syllable of Sir *Robert*

A. D. 1665 *bert Holmes*'s Piratick War on the *Dutch* in *Guinea*, before *De Ruyter*'s Expedition at *Cape de Verd*.

The Fleet, and the Duke of *York* the Admiral, being ready, the Archdeacon informs us, that the Court took a proper and pious Care to compleat the Preparations, by an Order for a general Faſt, on *April* the 5th, to emplore the *Bleſſing of God on his Majeſty's Forces againſt the* Dutch in an *unjuſt War*, as my Lord of *Sarum* juſtly terms it. What a monſtrous Mixture is here, Faſting and Lewdneſs, Injuſtice and Piety! The two Popiſh Queens, the King's Mother, and his Wife, did *eminently* manifeſt their Zeal on this Occaſion (It is the Archdeacon who tells it) and commanded all their Friars and Prieſts, their Men-Servants and Maid-Servants *to ſet themſelves apart with entire Abſtinence, and extraordinary Devotions for the Service of the Day*; to light up all their Tapers, tell over all their Beads, to bring out their moſt ſtately Idols, and worſhip with more than ordinary Idolatry, for the Deſtruction of the *Presbyterian* Hereticks of *Holland*. It requir'd but a ſmall Portion of common Underſtanding to conceal ſuch Infirmities in this Reign, which there was no need of expoſing. But never did Writer ſet up for an Hiſtorian with ſo little Judgment and Diſcretion. *Acherly* the Lawyer obſerves, *The Circumſtances which attended this War, demonſtrated the ſecret Meaning to be for carrying on the ſecret Intereſt*, to make the King abſolute Maſter of his Parliaments; *for no ſort of People were ſo zealous in promoting it, as the Papiſts, the Queen Mother, and the Queen Conſort, did both eminently manifeſt their Zeal*, &c.

The Part the *French* had in this War, is too well known to ſay any thing of their Endeavours to mediate a Peace between the King and the States, or to take Notice of Monſieur *Courtin*'s, and Monſieur *Veneuil*'s extraordinary Embaſſy on that Negotiation. Their Maſter, *Lewis* XIV. muſt have as mean an Opinion of the Underſtandings, as of the Honeſty of the *Engliſh*, if he thought he cou'd make them believe that he was in earneſt, when he talk'd of Peace, while he was on both Sides fomenting the War; but he was oblig'd by his Treaties with the *Dutch* to aſſiſt them, in caſe they ſhou'd be attack'd, and this Negotiation was only to amuſe them, and gain Time while they were deſtroying one another, than which nothing cou'd better prepare the Way for his future Conqueſts.

The firſt Action of Note which happen'd in this War, was the taking a *Dutch* Caper of ſeven Guns, and two *Direction* Ships, one of Thirty-two Guns and Eighty Men, which was taken by the *Diamond*, Capt. *Golding*, who was kill'd in the Engagement; the other of Twenty-two Guns and Sixty Men, was taken by the *Yarmouth*. Young *Evertz*, Son of the Admiral, commanded one of the Direction Ships, whoſe Father having done good Offices for the King when he was in *Holland*, his Majeſty order'd him to be ſet at Liberty, and an Hundred Pounds to be paid him, to carry him home.

Sea Fight between the Engliſh *and* Dutch.

On the 2d of *June*, the Duke of *York*, with about 110 Men of War, gave Battle to the *Dutch* Fleet off the Coaſt of *Harwich*. The *Dutch* Admiral *Opdam*, fell Side to Side with him, and the Fight was fierce and bloody; at laſt *Opdam*'s great Ship was blown up, either by Accident a-board her, or by the Fire of the *Engliſh*, and it threw the *Hollanders* into ſo great a Conſternation, that the *Engliſh* obtain'd a ſignal Victory, and purſu'd the *Dutch* with good Execution, 'till a Stop was put to it. I ſhall leave *Echard* here, and borrow none of his Medals nor Mottos on the Deſtruction of the *Dutch*, but follow the Biſhop of *Sarum*.

As ſoon as the *Hollanders* ſteer'd off, a Council of War was call'd to conſult the Method of Action, when they ſhou'd come up with them. In that Council *Pen*, who commanded under the Duke, happen'd to ſay, *We muſt prepare for hotter Work in the next Engagement*. He knew well enough the Courage of the *Dutch* was never ſo high, as when they were deſperate. The Earl of *Montague*, who was then a Volunteer, and one of the Duke's Court, ſaid, it very viſibly made an Impreſſion, and all the Duke's Domeſticks cry'd, *He had got Honour enough, why ſhou'd he venture a ſecond Time?* When Matters were ſettled, they went to ſleep, and the Duke order'd a Call to be given him, when they ſhou'd come up with the *Dutch* Fleet. It is not known what paſt between the Duke and *Brounker*, who was of the Bed-Chamber, and was then in waiting; but he came to *Pen*, as from the Duke, and ſaid the Duke order'd the Sail to be ſlacken'd. *Pen* was ſtruck with the Order, but did not go to argue the Matter with the Duke as he ought to have done. He obey'd the Order, and when the Duke awoke, he came out on the Quarter-Deck, ſeeming amaz'd to ſee the Sails ſlacken'd, and that thereby all Hope of overtaking the *Dutch* was loſt. He queſtion'd *Pen* upon it; *Pen* put it on *Brounker*, who ſaid nothing. The Duke deny'd he had given any ſuch Order, but he neither puniſh'd *Brounker* for carrying it, nor *Pen* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker* out of his Service, and it was ſaid, he durſt do no more, becauſe he was ſo much in the King's Favour, and in the Miſtreſſes. *Pen* was more in his Favour after that than ever before, which he continu'd to his Son after him, tho' a *Quaker*, and it was thought that all that Favour was to oblige him to keep the Secret. Lord *Montague* did believe that the Duke was ſtruck, ſeeing the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's Favourite, the Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyl* kill'd very near him, and that he had no Mind to engage again. *Nay, according to* Acherly, *it had ſuch an Effect upon him*, that it deterr'd him from venturing any more on Board the Fleet. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, 'twas thought *Pen* had *been privately with him. If* Brounker *was ſo much in Fault as he ſeem'd to be, the Duke, in the Paſſion that this muſt have rais'd in him, wou'd have proceeded to greater Extremities, and not have acted with ſo much Phlegm. This prov'd the breaking the Deſigns of the King's whole Reign.* *Coke* gives it another Turn, tho' not much better; *If it had not been for fear of diſturbing the Duke's Nights Reſt, it's believ'd the whole* Dutch *Fleet might have been deſtroy'd.* They loſt ſeventeen or eighteen ſtout Men of War, and beſides Admiral *Opdam*, there fell *Cantineere*, *Stillingwolf* and *Stamp*, all Flag Officers. *De Wit*, Penſionary of *Holland*, who had then the Direction of the *Dutch* Affairs, was ſo apprehenſive of Miſmanagenent a-board their Fleet, that he reſolv'd to ſhare the Command of it in Perſon. Beſides the Perſons of Quality above-mention'd, there were kill'd on the *Engliſh* Side, the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was only a Captain of a Ship, Rear-Admiral *Sampſon*, and Vice-Admiral Sir *John Lawſon* ſoon after dy'd of his Wounds.

A. D. 1665

Dutch eſcape.

Bp. Burnet, *p.* 219.

Now, ſays *Echard*, the Duke of *York* was in the Height of his Glory. He then reckons up how it was, and among other Degrees of it, tells us, he had the Wine Licenſes beſtow'd upon him. Soon after this Battle, the Queen-Mother return'd to *France*. It being reſolv'd that his Royal Highneſs ſhou'd not venture his Perſon in another Sea Fight, the Command of the Fleet was diſpos'd of thus; *Edward* Earl of *Sandwich*,

Admirals.

A.D. 1665 *Sandwich*, Admiral, Sir *George Ayſcue*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *William Penn*, Admiral of the *White*, Sir *William Berkley*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *Thomas Allen*, Admiral of the *Blue*, Sir *Chriſtopher Minns*, Vice-Admiral, Sir *John Harman*, Rear-Admiral, Sir *Edward Spragg*, a Papiſt, Sir ---- *Cuttings*, and Sir *Jeremy Smith* were Captains. Which I take Notice to ſhew how his Majeſty rewarded his Sea-Officers, moſt of theſe being Knights of the laſt Dubbing.

Before *Echard* enters into the Hiſtory of the Fleet's next Enterpriſes, he tells us, that the *Dutch* waited for the Return of *De Ruyter*, who having been beaten off from *Barbados*, ſail'd to *Newfoundland*, where he plunder'd the *Engliſh* of their very Cloaths, a great Booty at St. *John*'s, and took two Cod Veſſels, the Diamond of *Plymouth*, and the Unity of *Dartmouth*. I mention this to ſhew what an admirable Uſe he makes of his Hiſtorical Facts. With theſe few Prizes, continues he, *De Ruyter crept home*, and was immediately made Admiral of the *Dutch* Fleet, tho' the Superintendency was committed to *De Wit*, *Huygens* and *Boreel*, Deputies of the States General.

The *Dutch*, with very good Reaſon, were in Pain for their *Eaſt-India*, *Smyrna* and other Fleets, which were order'd *North* about, for the Earl of *Sandwich* was ſail'd in queſt of them; but they were got ſafe into the Harbour of *Berghen* in *Norway*; upon which the Archdeadon obliges the World with a Manuſcript Account of a Negotiation carry'd on with the King of *Denmark*, by Sir *Gilbert Talbot* who wrote it, to ſeize all that Treaſure in the Port of *Berghen* by the *Engliſh* Fleet, his *Daniſh* Majeſty only breaking the Laws of Treaties and Nations by delivering up his Allies into the Hands of their Enemies. But Sir *Gilbert*'s Negotiation coming to nothing, I ſhall make no more uſe of his Manuſcript. The Earl of *Sandwich* did not ſeem to hearken ſo much to him as was neceſſary for carrying off thoſe rich Fleets. Sir *Thomas Clifford* was a-board the *Engliſh* Fleet, and was ſent into *Berghen* to diſcourſe the Governor, who putting him off with Excuſes, 'twas reſolv'd to force their Way into the Harbour: Accordingly Sir *Thomas Tiddiman* got in with a Squadron of Men of War, but had much ado to get out again; for the Commander of the Citadel, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Holland* Gunners, made no Shot in vain. So *Tiddiman* finding his Squadron ruin'd, and himſelf ready to ſink, was compell'd at length to ſlip his Cables, and fall off to the grand Fleet. *Echard* aſſures us, *He went boldly in*, and if the reſt of the Knight's Manuſcripts is no truer than that, it ought to have no Place in any Hiſtory but his own. For other Authors, tell us, Sir *Thomas Tiddiman* was order'd to attack the *Dutch* in the Harbour, but did not do it, as he might have done upon his firſt Approach; he only ſent to the Governor of the Caſtle to treat without. The *Dutch* within, alarm'd at the Danger, ſet all Hands at work that Night; ſo that by the Morning they had ſo fortify'd the Caſtle, that it was impoſſible for the *Engliſh* to force a Paſſage. There were few Perſons who did not cenſure the Attempt to bribe the King of *Denmark*, by an Offer of ſharing the Treaſure with him, to betray his Confederates. An Offer that did indeed ſo ſtagger his *Daniſh* Majeſty, that 'tis thought he cou'd not have reſiſted it, had the *Engliſh* had more Patience, and not deſtroy'd their Deſign by precipitating it. King *Charles* excus'd it, by ſaying, all Means were lawful to humble an *inſolent* and *ungrateful Enemy*. What is meant here by *Ungrateful*? What Obligations had his Majeſty laid upon them, beſides putting them to the Charge of 2 or 300,000 Crowns for his Entertainment a few Days? Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet fell in with ſome of the *Dutch* rich *India* and other Ships, and took very conſiderable Prizes. Sir *Jeremy Smith* was ſent with a Squadron into the Streights to carry on the War againſt the *Dutch* in that Sea. Sir *Chriſtopher Minns* commanded in the Channel, and kept the *Hollanders* from interrupting the *Engliſh* Commerce there; thence he ſail'd to the Mouth of the *Elbe*, where, as Mr. Archdeacon informs us, he had the Honour of a Viſit from the famous *Swediſh* General, Count *Wrangle*, and ſuch was the *Concluſion of the firſt Year's War.* A.D. 1665

Mr. *Coke* ſays, *It ſeems God was not pleas'd at theſe Things, for this Year he ſent a horrible Plague, which raged over almoſt all Parts of* England. Indeed it is well worth obſerving that there have been many Thouſands more of Men, Women, and Children, ſwept away by the Plague ſince the Houſe of *Stuart* began their Reigns in *England*, than is at leaſt recorded from the Beginning of Times to that. I always dread to make Judgments where it may be Heaven left Things to Second Cauſes, though nothing is more common in *Echard*, and other Eccleſiaſtical Writers; but really one cannot help thinking that the Firſt Cauſe mov'd in this, and the former Viſitations ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*. There have been all along ſuch Diſſembling with God and Man, ſuch Perſecution, Oppreſſion, ſuch Wickedneſs and Impiety, Superſtition and Cruelty, which are the Provocations for Judgments, that it is hardly poſſible to read of theſe horrible Peſtilences, and of this in particular, without having Recourſe to Divine Vengeance. The laſt mention'd Author proceeds; *The greateſt* Plague *which happen'd ſince* Edward *the Third's Time in* England, *was in the firſt Year of this King's Grandfather*, James *the Firſt*; *yet there was a greater in his Father*, Charles *the Firſt's Reign*; *and now a greater than either, in the ſixth Year of his actual Reign.* Though Mr. Archdeacon is no very good Painter himſelf, yet he ſometimes lights upon a better Pencil than his own, and then one may make a little Uſe of him. " Death now " rode triumphant after a very different manner " than it had done in the Seas and Ocean, and " with a much more melancholy and formidable " Aſpect, terrifying and confounding Men of all " Religions and all Profeſſions. It was certainly " a diſmal thing to ſee the great *Emporium* of " the World deſolate, and ſcarce any thing ven- " dible but Coffins (*he cannot help quibbling in* " *the midſt of the Peſtilence*) and to be continu- " ally entertain'd with the daily Groans and " Cries from the Windows, *Pray for us!* and " the Nightly Calls, *Bring out your Dead*, which " like Dung were thrown into Carts and flung into " Pits, without numbring. But it was ſtill more " amazing to ſee the prodigious Mixture both of " Piety and Profaneneſs at the ſame Time, which " was thus: In one Houſe you might hear them " roaring under the Pangs of Death; in the next " Tippling, Whoring, and belching out Blaſ- " phemies againſt God: One Houſe ſhut up, " with a *Red Croſs*, and *Lord have Mercy upon* " *us!* the next open to all Uncleanneſs and Im- " piety, as altogether inſenſible of the Vengeance " of Heaven. *The dreadful Plague.* *Lewdneſs and Impiety.*

But what is ſtill more amazing than all this, is, that in the midſt of theſe Horrors, when one wou'd think the general Judgment ſhou'd have united all Minds in general Contrition, and Charity ſhou'd have melted the hardeſt Hearts, and have left no room but for Penitence and Pity, then,

A.D.1665 *Perſecution at the ſame Time.*

then, even then, were the perſecuting Biſhops, *Sheldon*, *Pierce*, *Wrenn*, *Ward*, *Henchman*, *Blandford*, *Coſens*, *Hyde*, *Morley*, *Sterne*, and the Doctors, their Creatures, contriving new Cruelties towards *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, as will be ſeen hereafter. There were ſeveral pious, learned, and reverend Biſhops and Doctors who abhorr'd that unchriſtian Temper, but the others had the King and his Miniſters, if not his Miſtreſſes, on their Side; and thoſe good Prelates and Divines cou'd only pray for the Peace of Chriſt's Church, under all Denominations.

A particular Deſcription of the Plague.

To take a more particular Survey of this devouring Peſtilence, let us refer to Authors of Credit and Humanity; *Thomas Vincent*, M. A. of *Chriſt-Church Oxon*, who had been turn'd out of his Living of St. *Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet*, for no other Crime than being of the Reform'd Religion, as profeſs'd in *France*, *Holland*, &c. wrote a Treatiſe of it, entitled, *God's terrible Voice in the City*, which he was well qualify'd to write, having continu'd there during the greateſt Violence of the Plague, preaching and viſiting of the Sick. He tells us in that Treatiſe, it was in *Holland* in 1664, and the ſame Year began in ſome remote Parts of *England*, though the Weekly-Bills of the City took Notice but of *Three* who then dy'd of that Diſeaſe. In the beginning of *May*, 1665, *Nine* dy'd of it in the Heart of the City, and *Eight* in the Suburbs. The next Week the Bill fell from *Nine* to *Three*. In the next Week it mounted from *Three* to *Fourteen*; in the next to *Seventeen*; in the next to *Forty-three*. In *June* the Number encreas'd from *Forty-three* to *One hundred and twelve*; the next Week to *One hundred ſixty-eight*; the next to *Two hundred ſixty-ſeven*; the next to *Four hundred and ſeventy*. In the firſt Week of *July* the Number aroſe to *Seven hundred twenty-five*. Thus we may obſerve, that in two Months the Bills of Mortality, in the Plague-Time, were but little more than double in Number to thoſe of the common Deaths, which muſt give Opportunity to Thouſands of Families to remove, and leave the City deſolate and helpleſs. In the ſecond Week of *July*, the Bills mounted to *One thouſand and eighty-nine*; the next to *One thouſand eight hundred forty-three*; the next to *Two thouſand and ten*. In the firſt Week in *Auguſt* the Number encreas'd to *Two thouſand eight hundred and ſeventeen*; the next to *Three thouſand eight hundred and eighty*; the next to *Four thouſand two hundred thirty-ſeven*; the next to *Six thouſand one hundred and two*. In *September* a Decreaſe of the Diſtemper was hop'd for, but it was not yet come to its Height: In the firſt Week there dy'd of it *Six thouſand nine hundred eighty-eight*; and though in the ſecond Week the Number abated to *Six thouſand five hundred forty-four*, yet in the third Week it aroſe to *Seven thouſand one hundred ſixty-five*, which was the higheſt. And then of the 130 Pariſhes in and about the City, there were but four which were not infected; and in theſe there were but few People remaining who were not gone into the Country. In the Houſe where Mr. *Vincent* liv'd, there were eight in Family, three Men, three Youths, an old Woman, and a Maid. It was the latter End of *September* before any of them were touch'd: The Maid was firſt ſeiz'd with the Diſtemper, which began with a ſhivering and trembling. It ſeiz'd her Spirits on the *Monday*, and on the *Thurſday* ſhe dy'd full of Tokens. On *Friday* one of the Youths had a ſwelling in his Groin, and on *Sunday* he dy'd with the Marks of the Diſtemper upon him. On the ſame Day another of the Youths ſicken'd, and on the *Wedneſday* following he dy'd. On *Thurſday* Night the Maſter of the Houſe fell ſick, and within a Day or two was full of Spots, but was ſtrangely recover'd, beyond his own, or others Expectations. I knew a Man and his Wife who liv'd at that time near *Spittle-Fields*, and were then in ſo mean Condition, that they cou'd not procure Help when it was to be purchas'd at a dear Rate. The Man was taken firſt, and ſo near Death, that his Wife expected ſhe muſt deliver up his Corpſe at the next Call, *Bring out your Dead*; but he mended viſibly before the Hour came, and recover'd. His Wife being ſeiz'd immediately after, he aſſiſted her in the ſame manner, till ſhe was in the ſame Danger, and had the ſame unexpected Recovery. They grew Wealthy as they grew in Years, and told me this Account of themſelves above forty Years after.

A.D.1665

The Plague at the Height.

Particulars of the Peſtilence.

In the fourth Week in *September* there was a Decreaſe to *Five thouſand five hundred thirty-eight*. In the firſt Week in *October* there was a farther Decreaſe to *Four thouſand nine hundred twenty-nine*; in the next to *Four thouſand three hundred twenty-ſeven*; the next to *Two thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-five*; the next to *One thouſand four hundred twenty-nine*, and the next to *One thouſand and thirty-one*. The firſt Week in *November* there was an Encreaſe to *One thouſand four hundred and fourteen*, but it fell after to *One thouſand and fifty*, and the Week after to *Six hundred fifty-two*, and ſo leſſen'd more and more to the End of the Year. By which it appears that the Peſtilence did not rage above ſix Months, tho' ſome dy'd of it before *May*, and after *November*. The whole Number of thoſe who were reckon'd to die of the Plague in *London* this Year, was *Sixty-eight thouſand five hundred ninety-ſix*; but when we add by Computation, *Baptiſts*, *Quakers*, and others not number'd in the Bills of Mortality, the Sum will be ſtill greater. From *London* the Plague ſpread through many Counties. The Towns and Villages near the City were infected in *June* and *July*, and thoſe at a greater Diſtance in *July* and *Auguſt*.

The whole Number of the Dead.

Country infected.

Miniſters, Church and Diſſenting, ſtay in London.

Dr. *Calamy* informs us, *That ſome Divines of the* Eſtabliſhment *maintain'd their Stations at that Time with a Primitive Zeal and Fervour.* Which is not to be wonder'd at, there being a great Number of learned, pious, and able Divines of the Eſtabliſhment, who were Men of true Primitive Zeal, without that Bitterneſs which never accompanies Zeal but when it is falſe; and the Memory of thoſe godly, zealous Miniſters of the Church of *England*, is, and will be always reſpected, as are the Perſons of thoſe living Miniſters who imitate their Piety and Charity. And whenever another ſort of Clergy are mention'd, whether Biſhops or others, the Reflection is Perſonal to the Character of the Men, and not General, to that of the Reform'd Church of *England*, of which they were unworthy Members. *Echard* owns of the Perſecuted Clergy, "Several Miniſters in that ſad Time of Trial deſerted their Flocks, whoſe empty Pulpits were ſometimes charitably fill'd by thoſe of other Perſuaſions; whoſe ſeaſonable Fervour is ſaid to have had good Effects upon a wicked People." And to reward them for ſo doing, or rather to prevent their doing the like Good again, the Biſhops before-mention'd, or their Adherents, at that very Time got a Bill paſs'd in Parliament, to drive all thoſe Miniſters not only out of their Houſes in *London*, and all Corporation-Towns, but five Miles from the ſaid City and Corporations, as will be mention'd again immediately. As to the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhment, who continu'd Preaching in *London* all the Time of the Plague, the Names of Dr. *Walker*, Dr. *Horton*, and Dr. *Meriton*, ſhew of what moderate Principles

A.D.1665 ciples they were. Among the *Presbyterians*, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in this dangerous and important Service, were the above-mention'd Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Ckeſter*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Janaway*, Mr. *Turner*, and Mr. *Grimes*; by whoſe aſſiduous Labours, and thoſe of their Brethren, Sermons were preach'd, and the Sick viſited, to the great Comfort of the Sick both in Body and Mind. The Cures for this raging Diſeaſe, beſides the Order of the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Lawrence*, the Aldermen, and Common-Council, of the 2d of *September*, for keeping conſtant Fires in the Streets and Lanes of *London* for three Days and Nights ſucceſſively, were, according to Mr. Archdeacon, 1. *A Form of Prayer*, drawn up by the Biſhops, and appointed by the King *to be us'd in all Churches and Chapels within the Bills of Mortality, on every* Wedneſday *in the Week during the Contagion*. 2. A Proclamation requiring all Officers and Soldiers *who had ſerv'd the Parliament*, or the two Protectors, *to depart* the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*: He adds, *It was believ'd the Biſhops Form of Prayer had extraordinary Effects*; ſo liable is it to give the moſt terrible Subject in the World a Turn that is hardly conſiſtent with the Gravity of Hiſtory. He adds, The King manifeſted a Paternal Regard to his Subjects, by retiring firſt to *Hampton-Court*, and then to *Salisbury*, and leaving the City to the affectionate Care of the brave *George* Duke of *Albemarle*, and the *glorious Behaviour* of *William* Earl of *Craven*. The latter indeed behav'd very generouſly, and Archbiſhop *Sheldon* continu'd at *Lambeth* and *Croydon* all the Time of the greateſt Danger.

Echard thinks he has now ſome good Evidence of the Certainty of the *Sham Plots*; for that *Ludlow* freely informs us of ſome Negotiations between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* Refugees in *Holland*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, for their putting themſelves a-board the *Dutch* Fleet, and ſerving againſt King *Charles* in this War. But is it of Conſequence, that becauſe Lieutenant General *Ludlow* was willing to put himſelf at the Head of an Army of *Republicans*, to reſtore his darling *Republick* in *England*, that therefore he wou'd engage with a Serjeant of Foot, and a Brandy-man at one Time, and with *Oldroyd*, *Aſhnith*, *Corney*, and the *Yorkſhire* Fanaticks at another? What Logick is this! But 'tis the beſt he has. General *Ludlow* owns he was ready to make an Attempt with an Army of Foreign Proteſtants, to reſtore the Common-wealth. Several of his condemn'd Companions abroad expreſs'd the ſame Readineſs, ſo did Col. *Sidney*. It will not be deny'd; What then? Did they think that the doing ſo was what *Echard* calls *Serving againſt their own natural Prince and Country*? A late Author writes of this Matter with more Sobriety.

" I do not queſtion but General *Ludlow* did hold " Correſpondence with Mynheer *Newport*, and " the *Dutch* Miniſters of State, during their War " with the King of *England*; and that if they " wou'd have furniſh'd him with an Army, as they " once offer'd to do, he wou'd have landed with " them; as alſo, that *Rathbone* and his Brother " Soldiers wou'd have been among them. But " I can as ſoon believe *Ludlow* wou'd have made " Mr. *Echard* one of his Cabinet-Council, as have " truſted ſuch a Crew as the Archdeacon has " liſted for him. *Ludlow*, as much as he was " in the Wrong, believ'd doubtleſs he was in the " Right; That the King and his Miniſters had " unjuſtly ſtripp'd him of a large Fortune, and " condemn'd him to an ignominious Death, and " that it was very lawful for him to make Repri- " ſals; but he had too much good Senſe and Ho- " nour, too much Bravery and Virtue, making " Allowances for his miſtaken Principles, to do " any thing otherwiſe than by open Hoſtility, " which he look'd upon as fair War. The Laws " were againſt him, and had made him ſo guilty, " that nothing he cou'd act againſt King *Charles* " the Second, cou'd have added any thing to his " Puniſhment. A Man of Courage and Spirit, " in ſuch Circumſtances, cannot underſtand now " Tameneſs is a Duty, when a military Revenge " offers; and his entring into the Service of *Hol-* " *land*, when the prevailing Power in his own " Country had thrown him off, was doing no " more than *Hanibal* and *Labienus* of old, the " Prince of *Conde*, the Mareſchal *Schomberg*, and " many other renowned Heroes, have done on " the like Occaſion. But to think that he wou'd " have made ſuch a pitiful Wretch as *Oldroyd* " his Brother Plotter, or have conſpir'd with ſuch " pitiful Wretches as *Tucker*, *Flint*, and *Cole*, to " kill the King's Majeſty, his Grace General " *Monk*, and his Worſhip Sir *Richard Browne*, " is ſo incredible, that it makes the *Fable* more " modeſt than *Hiſtory*.'

A.D.1665 Ludlow *abus'd by* Echard, Clarendon, *&c.*

About the Time that the *Plague* was at the Heighth, *October* the 9th, the King met the Parliament at *Chriſt-church* in *Oxford*, and in his Speech told them the Money was almoſt all gone which they gave him in the laſt Seſſions: A great deal of it to the *Popiſh* Biſhop of *Munſter*, who he ſaid was in the Bowels of the States General's Country, and he wanted Money not only to carry on the War againſt them, but alſo to defend himſelf againſt the *French* King, if he ſhou'd prefer their Friendſhip to his, of which he knew more than any one elſe. *Parliament at* Oxford.

The Lord Chancellor, whoſe Friends boaſt of his being againſt the *Dutch* War, did in his Speech expreſs as much Malignity againſt them as cou'd be expected from the moſt inveterate Enemy, " notwithſtanding the Indignities his " Majeſty had receiv'd in *Holland*, where he " had been little leſs *proſcrib'd* than in *England*." *To ſay the contrary to this is a known Truth, is too little to expreſs the Falſity and Ingratitude: Turn to what the King ſaid to them before he embark'd for* England, "They load us with ſuch " Reproaches as the Civility of no other Lan- " guage will admit the Relation: The Truth is, " they have a Dialect of Rudeneſs ſo peculiar " to their Language and their People, that it is " high Time for all Princes to oblige them to " ſome Reformation, if they intend to hold " Correſpondence and Commerce with them." Then he appeals to the Parliament Men, Whether the Countenances of the *Presbyterians* and other Diſſenters in *England* have not been more *erect*. His Words are, our *Domeſtick Foes in all Places ſince* the Beginning of the War. He adds then a *Plot*, which wanted nothing but a *Lucky Day*, and upon peruſing the *Almanack*, the 3d of *September* was pitch'd upon as having a great deal of Luck in it; for on that Day the *Presbyterians* were beaten at *Dunbar*, and on that Day *Cromwel* dy'd; therefore he adviſes them to provide againſt their Enemies at Home, and we ſhall, without Doubt, have ſome *Act* for it in a few Days. But before it cou'd paſs, Both Houſes, and alſo the *Convocation* in *Oxford*, made a Vote to thank the Univerſity for their unparellel'd Zeal in refuſing the *Covenant*, tho' the King had ſo often taken and ſworn it. The Archdeacon informs us, theſe Thanks were in a very ſolemn Manner preſented to the Univerſity in full Convocation by four of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Lawrence Hyde* and Sir *Heneage Finch*, Members for the Univerſity, and Sir *John Birkenhead* and Col. *Giles Strangeways*, who all were created Do- *Sham Plot.*

A. D. 1665 ctors of the Civil Law, *November* the 7th, as was alſo Sir *Cyril Wyche*, tho' he had taken his Maſter's Degree there before, when the *Covenant* was in full Force and Virtue.

Being heartily tired with Sir *Edward Turner* the Speaker's Speeches, we ſhall repeat no more of them, only remember, that when he preſented the King with the *Five Mile* Act, he call'd it *Shibboleth*. *Echard* will have it that it paſs'd with *equal Vigour, Unanimity and Diſpatch*; and he adds, *It does not appear by any ſubſtantial Proof, that the Members had ever been yet led or induc'd to act contrary to their natural Inclination.* There is ſomething after this ſo very falſe, that we cannot ſtay to reflect upon this Paſſage. We have mention'd how the Miniſters, at the Hazard of their Lives, ventur'd to preach and viſit the Sick in the Plague time; let us ſee what Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "This was repreſented very odiouſly at *Oxford*; ſo a ſevere Bill was brought in, requiring all the ſilenc'd Miniſters to take an Oath, "declaring *it was not lawful, on any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King, or any commiſſion'd by him; and that they wou'd not at any Time endeavour an Alteration in the Government of Church or State. Such as refus'd this were not admitted to* come within five Miles of any City or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had ſerv'd. This was much oppos'd in both Houſes! (*Mr.* Echard's *Unanimity*) The Earl of *Southampton* ſpoke vehemently againſt it in the Houſe of Lords; he ſaid, *He cou'd take no ſuch Oath himſelf; for how firm ſoever he had always been to the Church, yet, as Things were manag'd, he did not know but he himſelf might ſee Cauſe to endeavour an Alteration.* Dr. *Earl*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, declar'd himſelf much againſt this Act. *Sheldon* and *Ward* were the Biſhops that acted and argu'd moſt for it. All that were the ſecret Favourers of Popery promoted it; *which is alſo obſerv'd by that learned Lawyer Mr.* Acherly; *tho'* Echard *is poſitive that this Parliament was under no Influence but the Rectitude of their Underſtandings and Wills. Acherly* ſays, *The Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhewing a manifeſt Diſinclination to the* Dutch *War, were by the Inſtigation of the* Popiſh Cabal, *puniſh'd by an Act call'd the* Five Mile Act. Biſhop *Burnet* proceeds, while the Act was before the Houſe of Commons, "*Vaughan*, afterwards made Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, mov'd that the Word *legally* might be added to the Words *commiſſion'd by the King*. But *Finch* the Attorney-General ſaid, that was needleſs, ſince, unleſs the Commiſſion was *legal*, it was no Commiſſion; and to make it *legal* it muſt be iſſued out for a lawful Occaſion, and to Perſons capable of it, and muſt paſs in due Form of Law. The other inſiſted, that the Addition wou'd clear all Scruples, and procure them univerſal Compliance; but that cou'd not be obtain'd, for it was intended to lay Difficulties in the Way of thoſe againſt whom the Act was levell'd. When the Bill came to the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of *Southampton* mov'd for the ſame Addition, but was anſwer'd by the Earl of *Angleſey*, who *had been* a Covenant-taking *Presbyterian*." It was ſtrongly oppos'd by the Lord *Wharton* and Lord *Aſhley*, as well as the Earl of *Southampton*. The Penalty of the Act was forty Pounds, or ſix Months Impriſonment, for every Offence, unleſs in paſſing upon the Road. Mr. *Locke*, whom *Echard* calls the *Anonymous Author*, terms the Oath moſt *Unlawful* and *Unjuſtifiable*.

Five Mile Act.

Maiz *Coll.* p. 64. *a wicked Oath impos'd on Miniſters.*

We have ſhewn what Preparations were made for this *Act*, that it was promoted by *Papiſts*, that the Oath it enjoin'd was *Unjuſtifiable* and *Unlawful*; and let us now ſhew what baſe or falſe Arguments are made uſe of to juſtify it, and prove it lawful; they are in the Archdeacon's Hiſtory, and ſome of thoſe Paſſages that have ſunk it ſo low in the Opinion of honeſt and judicious Men. "It has been generally an Obſervation, that whatever Hardſhips the Diſſenting Party met, or felt from the Laws, they aroſe more from the Seditions of ſome of them than the religious Exerciſes of any of them." *This is ſo ſcandalouſly falſe, that when the cruel* Bartholomew *Act paſs'd, the Diſſenters were in the Height of their Merit for* RESTORING *the King.* "And that every Act of Parliament "made to their Detriment was founded upon the "Reality of ſome Plot or Conſpiracy againſt the "Nation's Peace." *The Man who ſays it, knows that there was ſcarce a Perſon of common Senſe and common Honeſty all over* England, *who did not take them to be what Mr.* Locke *and other great Men call'd them,* SHAM PLOTS. Which Plots and Conſpiracies "they had promoted and "encourag'd; ſo that what the Parliament did, "look'd more like *Self-Preſervation* than *Perſecution.*" The *Presbyterians*, according to him, were about to turn the Parliament out of Doors, and the Rectors, Vicars, &c. out of their Churches, and ſo they were jayl'd, and plunder'd, and beggar'd, and ſtarv'd, purely to preſerve the Biſhops and Clergy from being ſo treated. He then wou'd glue together the Deſign of ſome Malecontents in *Holland* with the before-mention'd *Sham Plots*: For that the Malecontents did really intend to deliver the oppreſs'd, perſecuted Proteſtants in *England* from Perſecution and Oppreſſion, if they cou'd by the Aſſiſtance of Foreign Proteſtants, is not deny'd. The Vileneſs of the Inſinuation is, That becauſe ſome *Engliſh*, diſaffected Perſons, intended to ſerve in the *Dutch* War againſt King *Charles*, therefore Col. *Sidney*, Col. *Ludlow*, and others, had an Intention to have join'd with *Aſhnith* and *Flint*, two ſorry, hair-brain'd Fellows, in two Conſpiracies againſt the *Engliſh* Nation. Another Act paſs'd, enjoining *Thomas Doleman*, *Joſeph Bamfield*, *Thomas Scott*, Son to Mr. *Thomas Scott*, whom they had hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, and others in the *Dutch* Service, to return by a Day, under Penalty of High-Treaſon. Accordingly Major General *Desborough*, Colonel *Thomas Kelſey*, Col. *John White*, Major *John Grove*, Sir *Robert Honeywood*, Capt. *Nicholas*, and others, were ſummon'd to return to *England* before the 23d of *July* next enſuing, on Pain of being proceeded againſt as Traitors. *Echard* wou'd not tell us what *Ludlow* adds to this, "But "not being contented with this, they employ'd "a Jeſuit to procure the Penſioner *John de Wit* "to be murder'd, who not only undertook that "Employment, but promis'd to get me to be "aſſaſſinated alſo. Mynheer *Niewport*, who had "formerly been Ambaſſador for the States in "*England*, ſent his Son to Mr. *Say* to acquaint "him with this Matter, aſſuring him, that the "Jeſuit was already come to *Holland*, and that "they hop'd to ſeize him; but leſt other Perſons might be engag'd with him in the Deſign "againſt me, of whom they had no Information, "he deſir'd that I might be forthwith adviſ'd of "what they had diſcover'd, which Mr. *Say* punctually perform'd.

Papiſts conſpire to murder De Wit.

p. 189.

Not only the *Dutch* Republicans gave the *Engliſh* Refugees Encouragement to enter into that State's Service, but the moſt Monarchical Man that ever was in the World ſince the Monarchy of *Nimrod*, *Lewis* XIV. the *French* King, not only promis'd

A. D. 1665 promis'd them his Protection and Support, but actually ſent Orders to the Count *D'Eſtrades* his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to ſend Lieutenant General *Ludlow* a Paſs for his ſafe coming to *Holland*. The *French* Ambaſſador at *Mentz* met Col. *Sidney* at *Frankfort*, and ſhew'd him a Letter from Monſieur *de Lionne* Secretary of State, written in Cyphers by Order of the *French* King, in which he was commanded to give all the *Engliſh* Refugees all the Security the Government of *France* cou'd give, or they cou'd deſire, for the Safety of their Perſons. But General *Ludlow* wou'd have nothing to do with *France*, being well aſſur'd of the Treachery of that Court; and as to *Holland*, the Terms on which he propos'd to engage in the *Dutch* Service, were ſuch as a wiſe and gallant Man might own without bluſhing, conſidering the Circumſtances he was in. In the firſt Place he demanded Satisfaction of the States for the delivering up of Col. *Okey*, Col. *Barkſtead* and Mr. *Corbett* to that Foreſworn Covenanter *Downing*, *Okey*'s Chaplain, who deliver'd him and them up to the Hangman. He demanded that the States ſhou'd publiſh a Declaration of their Error; that they ſhou'd promiſe to uſe their Endeavours to reſtore the Common-wealth to the Exerciſe of their Authority; that they ſhou'd furniſh ſuch a Number of Troops of the Reform'd Religion as might probably be ſufficient to protect the *Engliſh*, who ſhou'd come in to them, and oblige themſelves not to leave him and his Friends in a worſe Condition than he found them. For notwithſtanding what the Chancellor wrongfully ſays of General *Ludlow* in his florid Speeches, he was too wiſe and too wary to engage in any Deſign which had not a probable Proſpect of Succeſs, and was incapable of engaging in ſuch mad Conſpiracies as he charges him with, among a Rabble of obſcure Plotters.

French *King ſtirs up the* Engliſh *Republicans.*

Ludlow's *Demand of the States.*

Mr. Baxter's *Account of the* Five Mile *Act.*

Mr. *Baxter*'s Account of the *Five Mile Act*, which the reverend Hiſtorian is ſo in Love with, is thus; " While God was conſuming the Peo-
" ple by theſe terrible Judgments, and the Non-
" conformiſts were labouring to ſave Mens Souls,
" the Parliament which ſate at *Oxford*, whither
" the King remov'd from the Danger of the
" Plague, was buſy in making an Act of Con-
" finement, to make the ſilenc'd Miniſters Caſe
" incomparably harder than it was before, by
" putting upon them a certain Oath, *&c.* So
" little did the Senſe of God's terrible Judgments
" of the Neceſſities of many Hundred Thouſand
" ignorant Souls, or the Groans of the poor Peo-
" ple, or the Fear of the great and final Reckon-
" ing, affect the Hearts of the *Prelatiſts*, or ſtop
" them in their Way. The chief Promoters of
" this among the Clergy were ſaid to be the
" Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. *Seth Ward*,
" Biſhop of *Salisbury*." *The latter had not only taken the Covenant, but the Engagement; by both which he had renounc'd and abjur'd both the Church and the King.* The Earl of *Southampton* ſaid in the Houſe of Lords, *No honeſt Man wou'd take that Oath.* As to *Echard*'s Pretences for the Neceſſity of that Act on account of *Sedition* among the Proteſtant Diſſenting Preachers, Mr. *Baxter* obſerves, " The Act which impoſes this
" Oath openly accuſes the Nonconforming Mini-
" ſters of *Seditious* Doctrine, and ſuch heinous
" Crimes; wherefore, when it firſt came out, I
" thought that at ſuch an Accuſation no inno-
" cent Perſons ſhould be ſilent, eſpecially when
" Papiſts, Strangers, and Poſterity may think
" that a recorded Statute is a ſufficient Hiſtory
" to prove us to be guilty." *This is all the* Compleat Hiſtorian *and* Echard *have to ſay* for the late Acts, however procur'd; They are the *Law of the Land*, the *Laws of the Land*, but Laws which future Parliaments have rejected with Indignation; nay, this very Parliament will, we find, bring in and paſs a Bill directly contrary to the *Conventicle Act* and the *Uniformity Act*, which was perfidiouſly loſt before it had the Royal Aſſent. Mr. *Baxter* drew up a Vindication of the Nonconformiſts againſt the Charge of Sedition. But Dr. *Seaman* and others perſuaded him againſt publiſhing it, giving for Reaſon, *That the Malice of the* Prelatiſts *wou'd make an ill Uſe of it, and turn it all againſt themſelves.* Mr. *Baxter* adds, *Wiſe Stateſmen laugh'd at me* for thinking *that Reaſon wou'd be regarded by ſuch Men as we had to do with, as* Sheldon, Ward, Gunning, Hyde, Keeling, *and* Turner, *and wou'd not exaſperate them the more.*

A. D. 1665

Baxt. *Life, Part* iii. p. 3.

The Miniſters finding the Preſſures of this Act ſo great, and ſo great the Loſs like to be to Cities and Corporations, ſome of them ſtudy'd how to take this *unlawful* Oath *lawfully*. Dr. *Bates* being much in ſeeming Favour with the Lord Chief Baron *Bridgman*, afterwards Lord Keeper, conſulted with him about it, and he promis'd to be at the next Seſſion, and to declare on the Bench of Juſtices openly, that by *Endeavour* to change the Church Government was meant only *Unlawful* Endeavour, which ſatisfying him, he thereby ſatisfy'd others, and ſo ſeveral Miniſters came in at the Seſſions of Peace and took the Oaths; as Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Samuel Clark*, Mr. *Sheffield*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Church*, Mr. *Matthew Pool*, Mr. *Lood*, Mr. *Stancliffe*, Mr. *Rolls*, Mr. *Lewis*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Arthur*, Mr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Brooks*, Mr. *Overton*, Mr. *Cary*, Mr. *Wildbore*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Mayo*, Mr. *Buſler*, Mr. *Newton* of *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, Mr. *William Thomas* of the ſame County, Mr. *Cooper* of *Southwark*.

Miniſters who took the Oath.

Dr. *Conant* in *Northamptonſhire* took the Oath, and conform'd fully ſometime after. Not only the Lord *Bridgman* but Judge *Twiſden*, Judge *Browne*, Judge *Archer*, Judge *Windham*, Judge *Atkins*, all the Judges then in *London*, declar'd, that only *Tumultuous and Seditious Endeavours* were meant, as did even Judge *Keeling*, who drew up the Act of Uniformity, and deſerves ſome Statue for it, which is not yet erected. Be it as it will, the Explanation did not ſatisfy many, and the poor Miniſters were forc'd to get Lodgings in Cottages, Barns, Stables, and wherever they cou'd have a Covering from the Inclemency of the Sky.

The Sedition before-mention'd is ſpoken of in the State Tracts; " Nothing is more notoriouſly
" known than that in the Reigns of the Houſe
" of *Stuart* many Church Arts and Court Pra-
" ctices were us'd to break in upon this happy
" Conſtitution, by raiſing the Power of the King
" above what it ought to be, and by reducing
" the Commons to a narrower Compaſs of Power
" than that of Right belongs to them. And 'tis al-
" ſo very well known, that whoſoever have ſhewn
" their Reſentments hereupon, have been repre-
" ſented as *Common-wealths* Men and *Antimo-*
" *narchical*, &c.

Vol. II. p. 635.

Upon the whole, as ſuch an Unlawful, Unjuſtifiable Oath was never impos'd upon a Chriſtian free People, ſo moſt certainly there was never ſuch a Thoughtleſs, Worthleſs Set of Men as thoſe, who promoted and procur'd it. They were for impoſing it on the whole Nation, and making the People of *England* a Nation of Knaves; for as Lord *Southampton* declar'd, No *honeſt* Man wou'd take it. That this National Knavery was not made the Law of the Land, as far as the Commons cou'd make it, was owing only to Accident, or rather to Providence, as the great Mr. *Locke* words it; " And the *Providence*

A.D. 1665 " by which this ſecond Bill was thrown out was " very remarkable, for Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* was " that Morning introduc'd into the Houſe by his " Brother the now Earl of *Lindſey*, and Sir *Thomas Osborn* now Lord Treaſurer, who all three " gave their Votes againſt that Bill, and the " Numbers were ſo even upon the Diviſion, that " their three Votes carry'd the Queſtion againſt " it. But we owe that Right to the Earl of " *Lindſey* and the Lord Treaſurer, as to acknow- " ledge that they have ſince made ample Satiſ- " faction for whatever Offence they gave either " the Church or Court in that Vote.

His Majeſty being ſo very hearty a Proteſtant, it wou'd be ungrateful not to take Notice, as the *Archdeacon* does, of his Civility to the *Hugonots*, who came to *England*, for which the *French* Church in the *Savoy* return'd him humble Thanks.

Michaelmas Term was kept at *Oxford* on Account of the Plague at *London*, and *Keeling* was there made Lord Chief Juſtice, to receive his Honour in the Place where the Bill he drew was ſo acceptable and praiſe-worthy.

His Majeſty declar'd in Council, and then wrote to the Lord Mayor, that both himſelf and his Royal Conſort wou'd wear neither Inſide nor Outſide of their Cloaths any thing but what was manufactur'd within his Kingdom of *England*, which his Majeſty did, ſays *Echard*, *to reſtrain Extravagancy and promote good Husbandry* by his Example, tho' at the very ſame Time the Prodigality of one of his Miſtreſſes only coſt him above 20,000 Pounds a Year.

Great-rakes *the Stroker.*

Mr. *Valentine Greatrakes*, the *Iriſh* Juſtice of Peace, came now to *England*, and the ſame Hiſtorian aſſures us, he cur'd the *Kings-Evil* with a Touch, which was an Invaſion of the Prerogative in this Reign. By a *ſecond Impulſe*, cries he, he cur'd *Agues* and *Head-ach*; by a third, Wounds and Ulcers; by other Impulſes *Convulſions*, *Dropſies*, &c. His Stand was in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, where other Counterfeits had alſo their Stands as well as he. The Lord *Arlington* introduc'd him to the King as a *Rarity*, and to uſe *Echard*'s wiſe Words, *many wiſe and eminent Men* believ'd he cou'd with a Stroke cure all theſe Diſtempers, from whence he was call'd the *Stroker*, tho' in Truth he was a notorious Cheat, and ſneak'd off as ſoon as his Credit began to ſink. The *Oxford* Parliament gave the King 1,250,000 Pounds for carrying on the War againſt the *Hollanders*, and a Fleet was got ready early the next Year, great enough to have been a Glory to this Nation, and a Terror to others, had the Management been in the Hands of Men who were diſpos'd to make the beſt Uſe of their Power. It is objected to ſuch as call this War with *Holland Unjuſt*, that the Common-wealth of *England* made War with the Common-wealth of *Holland*; but that War was to humble, not to deſtroy them. The Parliament were able and willing to give a Check to the Ambition of *France*, if ſhe offer'd to take any Advantage of the Weakneſs of the *Dutch*, which King *Charles* was neither willing nor able to do, and cou'd not deſtroy the *Dutch*, without expoſing the *Engliſh* to Deſtruction. *Van Goch* the States Ambaſſador was ſtill in *England* when the King was at *Oxford*, but finding his Stay was in vain, he took his Audience of Leave, and the King ſent a Letter by him to his Maſters, wherein, after having charg'd them with being Authors of the War, he expreſs'd himſelf ready to come to ſuch a Treaty of Peace as he ſhou'd approve of. The *Oxford* Parliament was prorogu'd *October* the 31ſt, to meet again *February* the 20th, but they did not then ſit, continuing under ſeveral Prorogations almoſt a whole Year, which was one of the early Bleſſings produc'd by the Repeal of the *Triennial Bill*. A.D. 1666

Long Prorogation of Parliament.

If I remember the Viſit his Majeſty made to the College of Phyſicians after his Return to *London*, it is only to copy ſome of the quainteſt Hiſtory that ever I met with, after the quainteſt Hiſtorian, Mr. *Archdeacon*. " Here he ſaw the " Marble Statue of the famous *Harvey*, the great " Diſcoverer of the Blood Circulation, and heard " the Preſident Dr. *George Ent* with Eloquence " and Art, reading upon the Myſteries of Ana- " tomy, whom he there honour'd with Knight- " hood. There he ſaw the chief Phyſician *Bates*, " renown'd both in the *Medical* Skill and his " Knowledge in the *Latin* Tongue, and *Fraſier* " his chief Phyſician, and *Gliſſon* excellent in " Medicine, and ſucceſsful *Micklethwayte*, and " much eſteem'd *Cox* and *Scarborough*, famous " among the Muſes, and *Wharton* Secretary of " the *Glandules*, &c." To theſe I might have added ſeveral other fine Panegyricks of his in the next Page, as that of the *Excellent* and *Exorbitant* Sir *Kenelm Digby* a Papiſt, Son of Sir *Evrard Digby*, who was hang'd for the *Gunpowder-Plot*; but I leave him the Glory of handling ſuch ſublime Subjects, and go on with the Hiſtory.

Doctors of Phyſick.

1666. French *King's Mock-War with* England.

The *French* King finding the *Dutch* wou'd be oblig'd to make Peace with the King of *England*, if he did not diſſemble ſo far as to join with them in the War, 'till both *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had waſted their Treaſure and Strength, he in *January* publiſh'd a mock Declaration of War againſt *England*, which he intended to carry on no farther than wou'd encourage the *Dutch* to carry it on to their Ruin The Lord *Hollis*, King *Charles*'s Ambaſſador in *France*, who was not in the Secret, labour'd as heartily to prevent the *French* King's Aſſiſting the *Dutch*, as if it had been his real Intention to aſſiſt them. 'Tis true, he ſent a Parcel of ſickly Soldiers, which rather infected than aſſiſted the *Dutch* Troops, and the Men of War which were to be his Quota, were ſo long a coming, and when come, did ſo little Service, that the *Hollanders* ſoon ſaw they had made Choice of the wrong Man to build their Hopes upon. Mr. Archdeacon inſerts a Paſſage out of a Letter from Chancellor *Hyde* to Sir *William Temple*, which he calls remarkable. " There is nothing now ought to be labour'd " with ſo much Induſtry and Dexterity as the " uniting *England*, *Spain* and *Flanders*, which " wou'd give, and which only can give Peace to " Chriſtendom; I am ſure our Maſter is paſ- " ſionately enclin'd to it;" that Maſter of theirs who five or ſix Years after, made another War with the *Dutch*, purely to give the *French* King an Opportunity to over-run, not only *Flanders*, but *Holland*. This is the Prince of whom Chancellor *Hyde* ſays, he is ſure that he is paſſionately enclin'd to unite *England* and *Spain*, for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands*. His Words are indeed *remarkable*.

King of Denmark aſſiſts the Dutch.

In the mean Time, the King of *Denmark* concluded a Treaty with the *Dutch*, which the Penetration of the *Engliſh* Miniſters cou'd not get a Hint of, 'till it was perfected. He was to lend the States Thirty Men of War, and ſome Land Forces, in Conſideration of 1,500,000 Livres a Year, as long as the War laſted. The Biſhop of *Munſter*, who had receiv'd a round Sum of *Engliſh* Money, to make an Irruption into *Friezeland* the laſt Summer, not being ſupply'd as plentiful as he expected from *England*, fell off, and concluded a Peace, by the Mediation of *Brandenburg*. The latter, and the Houſe of *Luxenburg*, were in Alliance with the States, and wou'd probably have been better Allies, had they not

waited

A.D. 1666 waited to ſee what *France* wou'd do, and like the *Dutch*, made too much Dependance upon her. After the Biſhop of *Munſter* had abandon'd King *Charles*, the Bills of Exchange came from *England* to Sir *William Temple* at *Bruſſels*; but the beſt Service Sir *William* cou'd do, was to ſend them back again. *Thus the King of* England, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, was left *deſtitute of his chief Friends*. However, when he return'd to his Palace at *Whitehall*, it was *to the infinite Joy of the Citizens*. And have they not had good Reaſon for it in the unſpeakable Felicities of his Reign! They preſented him with an Addreſs upon it, and his Majeſty preſented the two Sheriffs, *Robert Hanſon* and *William Hooker*, with Knight-hood. After he was well ſettled at *Whitehall*, he publiſh'd his Declaration of War againſt *France*; the moſt remarkable Words of which are, *The relying upon the Help of God Almighty in the Juſtice of our Cauſe*, which Biſhop *Burnet* calls *Unjuſt*, Do declare, *&c.* The *French* King was more in earneſt in the War againſt the *Engliſh* than in that for the *Dutch*, and he had no ſooner reſolv'd upon his Declaration, than he ſent a ſtout Squadron of Ships to the *Weſt-Indies*. The Troops that were on Board, diſpoſſeſs'd the *Engliſh* of St. *Chriſtopher*'s and other Places, and the *Dutch* drove them out of *Surinam*. The *Compleat Hiſtorian* informs us, that the *French* King did his Endeavours to engage Major General *Lambert* in his Intereſt, but he tells his Story ſo confuſedly, one can make nothing of it. "The "*French* King, to do ſecret Miſchief, ſends the "Governor of *Chouſey* over from *France*, in a "ſmall Boat, to carry a Letter to Major Gene- "ral *Lambert* there in Priſon, and to offer him "good Terms, for contriving to deliver up that "Iſland to the *French*." He does not tell us where he was in Priſon, nor what Iſland it was he was to deliver up. The laſt Place he mentions was St. *Chriſtopher*'s, one of the Leeward Iſlands in *America*; I ſuppoſe he means St. *Nicholas*'s Iſland, near *Plymouth*, General *Lambert* having been long confin'd there. He proceeds, "But this perfidious Governor being apprehend- "ed, did at laſt confeſs the whole Matter, and "he and his Pilot were executed on the common "Gallows, for Spies.

King Charles's *mock War againſt* France.

We have glorious Accounts in his Hiſtory, and Mr. *Echard*'s, of a mighty Victory over the *Dutch*, obtain'd by the Duke of *Albemarle*, but I have better Authorities, and I ſhall copy Biſhop *Burnet*; "It was reſolv'd on, the Duke of *York* "ſhou'd not go to Sea, but that *Monk* ſhou'd "command the great Fleet of between Fifty and "Sixty Ships of the Line, and that Prince *Rupert* ſhou'd be ſent with a Squadron of about "Twenty-five Ships to meet the *French* Fleet, and "to hinder their Conjunction with the *Dutch*; "for the *French* had promis'd a Fleet to join "the *Dutch*, but never ſent it. *Monk* went out "ſo certain of Victory, that he ſeem'd only con- "cern'd for fear the *Dutch* ſhou'd not come out. "The Court flatter'd themſelves with the Hopes "of a very happy Year, but it prov'd a fatal "one." King *Charles* did not think ſo, he told his Parliament when he met them, *I need not tell you the Succeſs of this Year, in which God hath given us great Succeſs*. My Lord of *Sarum* proceeds, "The *Dutch* Fleet came out, *De Wit* "and ſome of the States being on Board, they "engag'd the *Engliſh* Fleet for two Days, in "which they had a manifeſt Superiority, but it "coſt them dear, for the *Engliſh* fought well. "The *Dutch* were ſuperior in Number, and were "ſo well furniſh'd with Chain Shot (a peculiar "Contrivance of which *De Wit* had the Honour "to be thought the Inventor) that the *Engliſh* "Fleet was quite unrigged, and *Monk* was in no "Condition to have work'd himſelf off, but his "Ships muſt have been all taken, ſunk or burnt, "if Prince *Rupert*, being yet in the Channel, "and hearing that they were engag'd, by the "continual Roaring of Guns, had not made all "poſſible haſte to get to them. He came in good "Time, and the *Dutch*, who had ſuffer'd ſo "much, ſeeing ſo great Force come up, ſteer'd "off. He was in no Condition to purſue them, "but brought off our Fleet, which ſav'd us a "great Loſs, that ſeem'd otherwiſe unavoidable." *Monk*'s Fleet having been ſo miſerably ſhatter'd by *De Wit*'s (the Biſhop again) the Court gave out that it was a Victory. *Echard* and the *Compleat Hiſtorian* give out the ſame; however, 'tis certain his Conduct was blam'd even by Chancellor *Hyde* himſelf, tho' for ſo many Years he had been his *good Lord General*; and publick Thankſgivings were order'd, which, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, was a horrid Mocking of God, and a *Lying* to the World. I have avoided making uſe of that ſtrong Phraſe, tho' I have been provok'd to it, in almoſt every Page of their Hiſtories, either in Whole or in Part, by Miſ-repreſentation, Prevarication or downright Falſity. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, *We had in one Reſpect, Reaſon to thank God, that we had not loſt our whole Fleet*; a new Felicity which *Monk* was like to bring upon us. We loſt Sir *William Berkley*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Minns*, two gallant Officers, in this unhappy Engagement; Sir *George Ayſcue*'s large Ship the *Prince* ran aſhoar, was ſtranded, burnt, and Sir *George* taken Priſoner. Sir *John Harman* behav'd with great Bravery, and the brave *Engliſh* Officers and Seamen deſerv'd a better Cauſe, and better Succeſs: The dividing the Fleet before the Battle, is much cenſur'd. *Coke* reflects upon it, *'Tis left a Problem, whether it were a greater Treachery to divide the Fleet, or Madneſs to fight the* Dutch *with the reſt, when they cou'd not uſe their lower Tire of Guns*. One might be very ready to believe *Monk* to be Treacherous, if he had any Intereſt to promote by it, for he has prov'd himſelf to be guilty of the baſeſt Treachery and Ingratitude, but he had no Market to make by it, and beſides, the Fleet was not entirely at his Diſpoſal. The *Dutch* made great Rejoicings for this dear bought Victory, and demanded of the *French* King, their hopeful Ally, that *Te Deum* might be ſung for it at *Paris*, but he refus'd it.

A.D. 1666 Monk *in Diſtreſs, relev'd by Prince* Rupert.

The Loſs and Damage which the *Engliſh* ſuſtain'd in the laſt Fight, gave the *Dutch* an Opportunity to put out to Sea, and ride braving upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts three Weeks or a Month before the Duke of *York*, Lord Admiral, cou'd get the Fleet repair'd and refitted. But upon the 17th of *July* the *Engliſh* alſo put to Sea, and the *Dutch* retir'd to their own Coaſts, where the *Engliſh* engag'd them again on the 25th, beat the *Dutch*, and forc'd them into their Harbours. In this Fight, *Evertz* (Brother to that *Evertz*, kill'd by Sir *John Harman*) Admiral of the *Zealand* Squadron, *Tirich Hiddes* of the *Friezeland* Squadron, Vice-Admiral *Conder*, and ſix Captains were kill'd, and Vice-Admiral *Bancker*'s Ship, and the beſt Ship of *Harlem*, were taken and burnt. *Echard* tells us of a Farce which was play'd amidſt this Trajedy, and is as ſerious as if it was worth telling; "The Enemy met with a ridiculous kind of "Mortification. The *Fanfan*, a Sort of a Plea- "ſure-Boat made for Prince *Rupert*, made up "with her Oars to *De Ruyter* himſelf, and bring- "ing her two little Guns on one Side, continu'd "for near an Hour, plying Broad ſides, to the "great Laughter of the *Engliſh* and Indignation "of the *Dutch*, to ſee their chief Admiral at-

Second Fight this Year.

"tack'd

A D 1666 " tack'd by a ſingle Sloop." He then delights himſelf with the Story of Sir *Robert Holmes*'s Landing in the Iſle of *Schelling*, and burning *Brandaris*, an open defenceleſs Town, making a Bonfire of Ships and Houſes. *Holmes* had a Piratical Genius, and was the fitteſt Man in the Fleet for making ſuch ſort of Bonfires and deſtroying, when Fighting was over. He ſent in five Fire-Ships among a Fleet of 150 *Dutch* Merchant Men at the *Vlie*, near the Mouth of the *Texel*, and deſtroy'd moſt of them; in which the *Compleat Hiſtorians* take infinite Pleaſure, but ſober Writers ſpeak otherwiſe, particularly Mr. *Baxter*. " Many mutter'd that it was not wiſe-
" ly done, to provoke the *Dutch*, by burning
" their Houſes, when it was eaſy for them to do
" the like by us on our Sea Coaſts. It was no
" good Sign of future Proſperity, when thoſe that
" believ'd not that there was a God, wou'd give
" him ſolemn Thanks for the unprofitable Burn-
" ing of the Houſes of innocent Proteſtants; but
" our Height was quickly taken down by our
" great Loſſes, &c.

Upon the 16th of *Auguſt* the *Dutch* put to Sea again, and now the *Engliſh* had ten or twelve Men of War more than the *Dutch*, which was the only Time in this, and the other *Dutch* War, the *Engliſh* had ſo many Men of War as the *Dutch*, and to the Amazement of all People, the *Dutch* forſook their own Coaſt, and ſail'd towards that of *France*: For which, ſays *Coke*, " No other
" Reaſon can be given, but that the *French*
" King, who equally lov'd the *Dutch* and *Eng-*
" *liſh*, had decoy'd the *Dutch* to join that invi-
" ſible Fleet, which we divided ours to fight
" with. The *Engliſh* purſu'd the *Dutch* thro'
" the *Streights*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, and
" were ready to engage them, when by a terri-
" ble Storm, the Wind drove the *Engliſh* to an
" Anchor at St. *Hellen*'s Point, where in the Paſ-
" ſage, the St. *Andrew*, a ſecond Rate, broke
" her Back upon a Sand." The *Dutch* came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Bulloigne*, and the Wind about the 8th of *September* turning, brought the *Dutch* home before the *Engliſh* cou'd engage them.

The very great Wickedneſs of introducing the Fire of *London*, with a Tale of a Plot carry'd on by Diſſenters, is fit for no Hiſtory but the compleat One, and its Copy the Archdeacon's. It is done to throw off any Suſpicion of Guilt from the Papiſts. I have ſet the Negociation with General *Ludlow* in a fair Light. *Echard* has his Memoirs before him, in which he had read, that *Ludlow* wou'd not engage with the *Dutch*, but on certain Conditions, which they did not think fit to comply with, and he bleſſes God that he had not engag'd with them; ſince, by the Treaty of Peace ſoon after concluded, they oblig'd themſelves to deliver up the very Man whom they ſo much courted to ſerve them. Yet does *Echard* with unparellel'd Aſſurance affirm that *Rathbone*'s Plot was a Concatenation with *Ludlow*'s, and to honour *Rathbone*, and make ſome body of him, gives him the Command of a Regiment. His fellow Plotters were, *Thomas Flint*, *William Saunders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Myles*, *William Weſcot*, who beſides killing the King, were to kill alſo General *George Monk*, Alderman Sir *John Robinſon*, and Alderman Sir *Richard Browne*, and when they had knock'd them on the Head, they were to declare for *an equal Diviſion of Lands*. Mr. *Ludlow* was to put himſelf in Arms, and come over to fight for ſome Land. He had enough of his own, if they wou'd have let him enjoy it; he had *Maiden-Bradley* in *Wiltſhire*, but Sir *Edward Seymour* kept it from him, and ſeveral other Mannors in *Wilt-*

A Plot.

ſhire and *Somerſetſhire*, a fairer Inheritance than his Country Man *Hyde* was born to; and if he fought for any Lands, they muſt have been for leſs than his own, ſince upon an equal Diviſion, ſo much wou'd not have come to his Share; and becauſe he was a half-witted credulous Creature, he will do nothing but on ſome *lucky Day*. *Rathbone* and he will have a Planet on their Side, and therefore they have the Nativity of their Plot caſt in *April*, and found by *Lilly*'s Almanack alſo, that the *third of September* was a *Day of Luck*. As to theſe Plotters intending to join the *Dutch* if they had landed, I doubt it not, and that a great many Thouſands wou'd have done the ſame, for one can't think that the late Acts of Parliament and Government had made the People in love with it. The *French* King ſaid of King *Charles* at this *Time*, *The King of* England *has no Friend nor Ally, and is oblig'd to carry on the War, with the Forces of a Kingdom only, divided into ſeveral Sects, all diſaffected to his Government*. Theſe Plotters doubtleſs wou'd have join'd *Ludlow*, or *Doleman*, or the firſt Commander that offer'd to lead them; they might intend it, they might talk of it, and ſay enough to be hang'd for't; but that Mr. *Sidney*, and Lieutenant General *Ludlow* wou'd engage with ſuch Fellows is incredible and monſtrous in Imagination.

A.D.1666

D'Eſtrades.

I have mention'd the Wickedneſs of joining Mr. *Ludlow*'s Negotiations with the *Dutch* with *Rathbone*'s Plot, and *Rathbone*'s Plot with the Fire of *London*; and to prove it, I need only repeat the Archdeacon's Words: *The third of* September *was a Day auſpicious, and full of Expectation from one Party, but at this Time ominous and direful to the Nation; and though the Hand of Juſtice laid hold of theſe laſt Criminals, yet the City was burnt at the very Time thus projected and prognoſticated; which gave a ſtrong Suſpicion, though not a full Proof of the Authors and Promoters*; and that by Concatenation, Colonel *Adney*, Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Col. *Doleman*, Mr. *Say*, &c. were concern'd with *Flint*, *Tucker*, &c. who were hang'd ſix Months before, for a Plot to ſet *London* on Fire on the third of *September*. I might here make uſe of the ſtrong Phraſe us'd by Biſhop *Burnet* before-mention'd; but though ſuch Hiſtories little deſerve it, I will obſerve more Decorum, and to ſhew I might make uſe of it, read what *Echard* ſays of the Duke of *York*'s Diligence to put out the Fire: *He was as diligent as poſſible; he commended and encourag'd the Forward; he aſſiſted the miſerable Sufferers, and gave a moſt generous Example to all, by the vigorous Oppoſition he made againſt the devouring Flames*. Contrary to all which, it is known that the Gaiety of his Look and Air diſcover'd the Pleaſure he took in that dreadful Spectacle. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, *The Citizens were not well ſatisfy'd with the Duke's Behaviour; they thought he look'd too gay, and too little concern'd.*

Duke of York *pleas'd with the Fire of* London.

On *September* the 2d, after Midnight, *London* was ſet on Fire. On *September* the 3d the *Exchange* was burnt, and in three Days almoſt all the City within the Walls. The Seaſon before had been exceeding dry, and the Wind in the Eaſt, where the Fire began. The People having none to conduct them right, cou'd do nothing to reſiſt it, but ſtand and ſee their Houſes burn without Remedy, the Engines being preſently out of order and uſeleſs. The Streets were crowded with People and Carts to carry away what Goods they cou'd get out. They who were moſt active, and had alſo moſt Money to pay Cartage at exorbitant Prices, as five, ten, twenty, and thirty Pounds for a Cart, ſav'd much, and the reſt loſt almoſt all. The Loſs in Houſes and Goods is ſcarcely

to

A.D.1666 to be valu'd; and among the reſt, the Loſs of Books was an exceeding great Detriment not to the Owners only, but to Learning. Almoſt all the Bookſellers in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, brought their Books into Vaults under St. *Paul's* Church, where it was thought almoſt impoſſible that Fire ſhou'd come. But the Church itſelf being on Fire, the prodigious Weight of Stones falling down, broke into the Vaults, let in the Fire, and the Bookſellers cou'd not come near to ſave their Books. The Library at *Sion* College, and moſt private Libraries in *London* were burnt; inſomuch that the one Article of Books only loſt in the Fire, amounted to 150,000 Pounds.

Where it began and ſtopp'd.

The Fire broke out in *Pudding-lane*, at the Houſe of one *Fariner* a Baker, and ſpread itſelf, beſides Breadth, from almoſt *Tower-Hill* to St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*. After it had burnt almoſt three Days and Nights, ſome Seamen taught the People to blow up ſome of the next Houſes with Gunpowder, which ſtopp'd the Fire; ſo that contrary to the Inſcription on the Monument, *there were humane Counſels* in the ſtopping of the Fire, though thoſe Counſels muſt be acknowledg'd *as the Will of Heaven*. It ſtopp'd at *Holborn* Bridge, and near St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleet-ſtreet*, and at *Sepulchre's* Church, when the Church was burnt; and at *Chriſt-Church*, when the Church was burnt; and near *Alderſgate* and *Cripplegate*, and other Places at the *Wall*; and in *Auſtin-Friars*, the *Dutch* Church ſtopp'd it, and eſcap'd. It ſtopp'd in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, and *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, and *Fenchurch-ſtreet*, in the midſt of the Streets, and ſhort of the *Tower*. All beyond the River, and *Southwark* eſcap'd. There

The great Loſs.

periſh'd in the Flames 13,200 Houſes, valu'd one with another at no more than twenty-five Pounds yearly Rent, amount at twelve Years Purchaſe to 3,900,000 Pounds. The eighty-ſeven Churches, the ſpacious Cathedral of St. *Paul's*, the ſix Chapels, the *Exchange*, *Cuſtom-houſe*, *Guildhall*, the magnificent Halls of Companies, the ſeveral principal City Gates, with other publick Edifices and Colleges, may be well valued at 2,000,000 Pounds. The *Wares*, *Houſhold-Goods*, *Money* loſt and ſpoilt by the Fire, or pilfer'd away by thoſe wicked Wretches that made their Gains of the common Calamity, may modeſtly be computed at above 2,000,000 Pounds. The Money ſpent in general removing of Goods into the Fields, during the Fire, and bringing them back afterwards, in the Hire of *Boats*, *Carts*, and *Porters*, may be reckon'd at leaſt 2,000,000 Pounds; the Total of which is 10,050,000 Pounds, of which general Loſs, Alderman *Jefferies* had a particular Loſs in the one Commodity of Tobacco, to the Value of 20,000 Pounds.

I have not made uſe of the Account given by publick Authority, printed in the *Compleat Hiſtory*, becauſe I think my Hiſtorian's Authority, Mr. *Baxter's*, much better. He informs us, "The

Burnt by Papiſts.

" great Talk at that Time was, *Who were the* " Burners *of the City*? And there came in ſo ma- " ny Teſtimonies to prove it was the plotted Wea- " pon of the Papiſts as caus'd the | Parliament " themſelves to appoint a Committee to enquire " after it, and receive *Information*; *upon which*

Hubert, a French Papiſt ſet Fire to it. p. 230.

" *one* Hubert, a *French* Papiſt, confeſs'd openly " and conſtantly, to the laſt, that he began the " Fire." The *Compleat Hiſtorian* and Archdeacon *Echard* are poſitive that he was a *French Presbyterian*, they ſay, *Hugonot*; for which we muſt in Charity ſay, The Lord forgive them! Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us he was a *French Papiſt*. Let us repeat what he ſays: "The Papiſts were " generally charg'd with it. One *Hubert*, a *French* " *Papiſt* was ſeiz'd on in *Eſſex*, as he was going " out of the Way in great Confuſion. He con- " feſs'd he had begun the Fire, and perſiſted in A.D.1666 " his Confeſſion to his Death, for he was hang'd " upon no other Evidence but that of his own " Confeſſion. It is true, he gave ſo broken an " Account of the whole Matter, that he was " thought mad: Yet he was blindfolded, and " carry'd to ſeveral Places of the City, and then " his Eyes being open'd, he was ask'd if that " was the Place; and he being carry'd to wrong " Places, after he look'd round about for ſome " time, he ſaid, that was not the Place: But " when he was brought to the Place where the " Fire broke out, he affirm'd that was the true " Place. And *Tillotſon* told me, that *Howel*, then " the Recorder of *London*, was with him, and " had much Diſcourſe with him, and that he " concluded it was impoſſible it cou'd be a me- " lancholy Dream. The Horror of the Fact, and " the Terror of Death, and perhaps ſome En- " gagements in *Confeſſion* (*Remember* Echard *and the* Compleat Hiſtorian *call him a* Hugonot *or* French Presbyterian) " might put him into " ſuch Diſorder, that it was not poſſible to draw " a clear Account from him; but of what rela- " ted to himſelf, *Tillotſon*, who believ'd the Ci- " ty was burnt on Deſign, told me a Circum- " ſtance that made the Papiſts employing ſuch " a craz'd Man the more credible, *&c.*" I omit ſeveral other Circumſtances in *Burnet* and *Baxter*, which corroborate the Evidence againſt the *Papiſts*, and ſhall only add the Inſcription about the *Plinth* of the lower *Pedeſtal* of the *Monument*, which is deſignedly omitted by *Echard*, who has printed the large Inſcription on the *Pedeſtal* itſelf.

This Pillar was ſet up in perpetual Remembrance of the moſt dreadful Burning this Proteſtant City, begun and carry'd on by the Treachery and Malice of the Popiſh *Faction, in the Beginning of* September, *in the Year of our Lord* 1666, *in order to the carrying on their horrid Plot for the extirpating the* Proteſtant *Religion, and* Old Engliſh *Liberty, and introducing Popery and Slavery.*

This Inſcription was eraz'd by King *James*, upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, but re-inſcrib'd preſently after the happy *Revolution*, in ſuch deep Characters as are not eaſily to be blotted out again.

In direct Oppoſition to theſe Authorities, publick and private, the Archdeacon cloſes his wild Account of the Fire thus: *That he will judge on the charitable, and perhaps probable Side, that neither the Beginning nor the End of this dreadful Fire, were the Effects of Humane Means or Counſels.* While the Terrors occaſion'd by this Conflagration remain'd on the Minds of Men, the perſecuting Biſhops and Magiſtrates ſuſpended their Rage againſt the *Proteſtants* who had not conform'd, and many of their Miniſters preach'd in the midſt of the burning Ruins, to a willing attentive People; as Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Wadſworth*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Thomas Doolittle*, Dr. *Anneſley*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Franklin*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Watſon*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Nathaniel Vincent*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Griffiths*, Mr. *Brooks*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryl*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Barker*. Many pious, learned, and eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, were more than ordinarily diligent in the Diſcharge of their Holy Function in this calamitous Time; as Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Whitchot*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Patrick*, Mr. *White*, Dr. *Outram*, Dr. *Horton*, Mr. *Gifford*, Mr. *Neſt*, Dr. *Meriton*, &c. Divines of equal Merit and Moderation, Ornaments of their Sacred Profeſſion and the Eſtabliſhed Church. When I am to ſpeak of ſuch Men as theſe, I begin with Pleaſure and end with Pain.

Presbyterians and Church Miniſters frequent Preachers.

A.D.1666 On the 21ſt of *September* the Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*. They were, ſays *Echard*, the *Life and Expectation of the Nation*; and to ſhew it in their Actions, they gave the King 1,800,000 Pounds, and thank'd him for his great Care in the Management of the War, which they did in return for his Majeſty's moſt acceptable Speech, wherein he told them, *I wiſh with all my Heart that I cou'd bear the whole Charge of the War myſelf, and that my Subjects ſhou'd reap the Benefit of it to themſelves*; by which they wou'd not be much oblig'd to him.

The Clamours rais'd againſt the *Papiſts* after the Fire of *London*, produc'd an Addreſs from the Parliament, and a Proclamation from the King, *For ſuppreſſing the Inſolencies of the Papiſts*. The Houſe of Commons impeach'd the Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*, Conſtable of *Windſor-Caſtle*, for impriſoning Mr. *Taleur*, who intended to ſtand for one of the Burgeſſes for *Windſor*; which I mention, becauſe the ſaid *Taleur* was a Priſoner for Debt in the Town Priſon, when he intended to ſtand for a Member of this Parliament, and was taken thence by the Lord *Mordaunt*'s Soldiers, to be put in Hold in the Caſtle; which lets us a little into the Truth of the Archdeacon's *Rich* and *Wiſe* Men before ſpoken of. The Impeachment of the Lord *Mordaunt*, who was the King's Servant, diſguſted the King, according to *Echard*, though *Taleur* was his Servant alſo. The greateſt Importance of it was, that it caus'd a Miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes, which laſted to the End of the Seſſions, when the Speaker, *Turner*, made a Speech of unconſcionable Length, *February* the 8th, at which Time the King alſo ſpoke almoſt as long; and then the Lord *Roberts*, Lord Privy-Seal, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 10th Day of *October*.

Lord Mordaunt *impeach'd.*

Parliament prorogu'd.

The King and this eaſy Parliament, as Mr. *Acherly* calls them, began to cool a little towards each other, which was viſible on the King's Side, by ſome Expreſſions of his, in a Speech he made to them a few Days before the Prorogation. *I am not willing to complain that you have dealt unkindly with me in a Bill I have now paſs'd, in which you have manifeſted a greater Diſtruſt of me than I have deſerv'd. I do not pretend to be without Infirmities, but I have never broken my Word.* Sure enough has been ſaid of this Matter already! *If I do not flatter my ſelf, the Nation had never* leſs *Cauſe to complain of Grievances, or the leaſt Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, than it hath had for theſe ſeven Years it hath pleas'd God to reſtore me to you; and I wou'd be glad to be us'd accordingly.* The Commons had appointed Commiſſioners in the Poll-Bill, and his Majeſty wou'd have had it left to him. It is certain he did flatter himſelf egregiouſly in the Affair of Grievances. See Mr. *Acherly*, *p.* 572, in ſeveral Inſtances.

King never broke his Word.

Grievances under him. 1. *The Secret League with* France. 2. *His abandoning himſelf to Pleaſures, and delegating his Government into the Hands of his Brother.* 3. *His Contrivance to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of his Parliaments by means of the ſaid* French *League.* 4. *His concerting with* Lewis XIV. *all his Treaties with the* Dutch, *under a ſecret Aſſurance that the ſame ſhou'd never hurt, but promote the* French *Intereſt.* To this may be added his repealing the *Triennial* Bill; his modelling of Corporations by the Act ſo call'd; his *Five Mile Act*; his Profuſion, and the Inundation of Lewdneſs and Impiety with which the Nation was overwhelm'd by his Example.

Committee for the Fire. Before the Houſe of Commons broke up, Sir *Robert Brook*, Chairman of the Committee, appointed to enquire into the Firing of *London*, reported to the Houſe, that the Committee had ſome Information concerning the Matter, which might probably be enlightned by Examination of *Hubert*, which the Houſe reſolv'd to do: But *Hubert* was hang'd up the next Day, before the Houſe ſat. Several Evidences had been given in to the Committee, that Men were ſeen in many Parts of the City caſting Fire-Balls into the Houſes; and ſome that were taken firing Houſes were brought to the Guard of Soldiers, and to the Duke of *York*, but never heard of afterwards. Some Weeks after Sir *Robert Brook* went to *France*, and as he was ferry'd over a River was drown'd, with a Kinſman of his, and that Buſineſs drown'd with him. A.D.1666

Hubert hang'd to prevent his being examin'd.

The King of *England* having declar'd War againſt *Denmark* for that King's joining with the *Dutch*, the *Dane* did the ſame by the King of *England*, with better Advantage; for the *Engliſh* cou'd ſeize but little Effects of the *Danes* in *England*, whereas the latter not only ſeiz'd all the *Engliſh* Effects, which were very great in *Denmark*, but his *Daniſh* Majeſty ſtopp'd the Payment of vaſt Sums which he ow'd to the *Engliſh* Company at *Hamburgh*.

It muſt not be forgot that in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament the Act paſs'd for preventing the *Importation of* Iriſh *Cattle* (the Inconveniencies of which are well ſet forth by Mr. *Coke*) another Act for *Burying in Woollen*, to which alſo Objections have been made: But the two Acts *For Re-building the City of* London, and for *Erecting a Court of Judicature for determining of Differences touching Houſes burnt and demoliſh'd*, were very uſeful; which cannot be ſaid of many Acts of this Parliament, from their Commencement to this time.

Iriſh Cattle not to be brought over.

Echard opens the next Year with an Account of the King's Coat, Waiſtcoat and Breeches, which were eſtabliſh'd by a *Solemn and Peremptory Declaration, Straight Spaniſh Breeches, a Long Veſt down to the Middle inſtead of a Waiſtcoat, and above that a Looſe Coat after the* Muſcovite *or* Poliſh *Faſhion, the Sword girt over the Veſt, and inſtead of Shoes and Stockings a Pair of Buſkins or Brodekins*, which I repeat, that my Hiſtory may have an Ornament that is no where to be met with in antient Hiſtories, ſuch as thoſe of *Thucydides*, *Livy*, &c. He then tells us, that Dr. *Barbon*, Son of *Praiſe God Barbon*, ſet up an Inſurance-Office againſt *Fire*, and that Sir *Jonas Moor* had a great Hand in the City's Reſurrection. As the War with the *Dutch* began unjuſtly, ſo it ended diſhonourably. The Parliament had given Money enough for carrying it on this Year; but their growing inquiſitive about the Expence of what they had given, caus'd Suſpicion in the King and his Courtiers, that they wou'd hold their Hand, and therefore it was Time to put an End to a War, which tho' begun with no Reaſon, there was very good Reaſon to put an End to it; ſo Ambaſſadors were appointed on all Sides, and *Breda*, the Prince of *Orange*'s Town, was agreed upon to be the Place of Treaty. The King of *England*'s Ambaſſadors were *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*, *Henry Coventry*, Eſq; The *French* King's, the Count *D'Eſtrades*, Monſieur *Courtin*. The *States* Ambaſſadors, Mr. *Beverning*, Mr. *Hubert*. For the King of *Sweden*, the Mediator, Mr. *Jongſtall*, Lord *George Fleming*, Monſieur *Julius Coyat*. 166⅞

Treaty at Breda.

Ludlow tells us, "The *Dutch* ſhew'd themſelves ready to treat with *England* upon the "Foot of the Treaty concluded between them "in the Year 1662. The *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries, notwithſtanding the ill Condition of "Affairs at Home, ſpent a whole Month at "*Breda* without entring into Conference with "thoſe of *Holland*, which, with the Quarrels "that

A.D.1667 " that happen'd between theſe two Miniſters, " gave the States farther Occaſion to improve " the preſent Conjuncture to the beſt Advantage." The King had given his Word, that all the Monies granted for carrying on this War, ſhou'd be expended on that Service: He has had near ſix Millions for it. But *Acherly* informs us, 'Twas all ſo *diſſipated* that he cou'd ſet out no Fleet this Summer, when the *Dutch* had a very good one at Sea very early, as the *Engliſh* found to their Coſt. *Echard* aſſures us, he had *diſſipated* the Money, but was adviſ'd, *after his ſeveral Victories, to fit out a light Fleet only, which by dividing it ſelf might make great Spoil on the* Dutch *Merchant Ships.*

The States had order'd 4000 Land Forces under Col. *Doleman*, who was to have reſign'd the Command to General *Ludlow*, if he wou'd have accepted of it; and this is all the Grounds that the *Compleat Hiſtorians* have for *raving* as they do againſt the *Engliſh* Common-wealth's Men, that were enclin'd to join the *Dutch* Common-wealth's Men. The *Holland* Fleet under Admiral *De Ruyter* ſail'd directly to the River *Thames*. The Court of *England* having made no Preparations for Defence, was alarm'd to the laſt Degree with the News of their Approach, and at the firſt Meeting of the Council a Propoſition was made to aſſemble the Parliament with all poſſible Expedition, tho' they were under Adjournment, that by their Advice either a Peace might be made to the Satisfaction of the Nation, or the War be carry'd on to the beſt Advantage. On the other Side Chancellor *Hyde* knowing himſelf to be in Danger from the Parliament, did all he cou'd to oppoſe that Motion, and conceiving an Army more uſeful to promote the arbitrary Deſigns of the Court, took this Occaſion to propoſe the raiſing of 12,000 Men. And tho' the major Part of the Council carry'd it for aſſembling the Parliament on the 25th of the next enſuing *July*, and that a Proclamation ſhou'd be forthwith iſſued to that End, yet the Deſign of raiſing an Army was not laid aſide.

Dutch *Fleet in the* Thames.

Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 300, & ſeq.

Early in the Spring the *Dutch* ſent *Van Ghendt* with a good Fleet and Land-Forces on board to the *Frith* in *Scotland*, with Orders to burn the Coaſt, and land his Troops, if he found Encouragement from the Malecontents. He enter'd the *Frith* on the firſt of *May*. If he had at firſt hung out *Engliſh* Colours, and attack'd *Leith* Harbour immediately, which was then full of Ships, Biſhop *Burnet* thinks he might have done what Miſchief he pleas'd, for all were in Security looking for Sir *Jeremy Smith* with ſome Frigates for the Defence of the Coaſts, ſince the King had ſet out no Fleet this Year. *There had been ſuch a Diſſipation of Treaſure, that for all the Money that was given, there was not enough left to ſet out a Fleet.* The Biſhop adds, " The Court " cover'd this by ſaying the Peace was as good as " concluded at *Breda*, where the Lord *Hollis* " and Mr. *Coventry* were treating about it as " Plenipotentiaries; and tho' no *Ceſſation* was " agreed on, yet they reckon'd on it as ſure. " Upon this a Saying of the Earl of *Northum-* " *berland* was much repeated, when it was ſaid " the King's Miſtreſſes were like to ruin the " Nation; *No*, ſays he, *they ſave the Nation,* " *while we have a Houſe of Commons, who give* " *all the Money that is ask'd; it is better to have* " *the Money ſquander'd away in Luxury, than* " *to have it ſav'd for worſe Purpoſes.*" This is the King, and this the Parliament, who pretended to have ſuch a Regard to the Souls of Men, as to oblige them by Fines and Force to worſhip God in what they call'd the Orthodox Way! Witneſs the *Bartholomew* Act, the *Five Mile* Act, &c. This is the King, and this the Parliament; who pretended to have ſuch a Regard for the Security of the Subject! Witneſs the *Corporation* Act, the *Triennial* Parliament Act, &c. Good God! into what Hands are the poor People of *England* fallen! Inſtead of Glory and Liberty, of Religion and Trade, they are become the Contempt of the Contemptible, and a Prey to Luxury and Perſecution.

Earl of Northum-berland's *Saying of the King's Extravagance.*

A.D.1667

Calamities in England.

Van Ghendt ſailing to the *Frith* was only a *Faint* to divert the King from that which was chiefly intended, for he ſail'd out and join'd *de Ruyter*, who enter'd the River *Thames* the 9th of *June*. The firſt Ships he ſaw were eight or nine Outward-bound Merchant-men with their Convoy, which, upon Diſcovery of the *Holland* Fleet, tack'd, and were chac'd by the *Dutch* up to the *Hope*; but the *Hollanders* being ſuddenly becalm'd, were oblig'd to come to an Anchor. Here the *Dutch* met with a Storm, which ending in a favourable North-Eaſt Wind, *de Ruyter* ſtood towards the Iſle of *Shepey*, where he landed about 800 Men, took the Fort of *Sheerneſs*, which Sir *Edward Sprague* a *Papiſt* deſerted, having not fortify'd it as he ought to have done, being the Governor; *Echard* extols his Bravery on this Occaſion. A Man of War that lay for the Guard of that Fort was taken by the *Dutch* Ships at the ſame Time. The *Dutch* having poſſeſs'd themſelves of this Fort, *Van Ghendt*, with 18 of their ſmaller Ships, ſail'd up *Chatham* River the next Day; and notwithſtanding Ships had been ſunk to hinder their Paſſage, they came up to the Iron Chain which travers'd the River, and had been made on that Occaſion, fought the *Matthias* and *Charles* V. which were order'd to defend it, kill'd moſt of their Men, burnt thoſe Ships, broke the *Bomb*, and paſſing by *Upnor* Caſtle (ruin'd for want of Repair) burnt the *Mary*, took the *Unity* and *Royal Charles*, and, ſays *Ludlow*, *plac'd their Colours on the latter, in View of her Maſter, who ſtood on the Shoar obſerving the Effects of his prudent and vigilant Government.* They cou'd conquer *Venner* in *London*, and *Oldreyd* in *Yorkſhire*: They cou'd hang up *Rathbone* and *Flint* as ſtoutly as *Oliver* or the Rump cou'd have done: They cou'd make *Acts* and *Plots*, and deſtroy the Diſarm'd and the Defenceleſs: Let them now come and ſhew their Valour; let them now come out and defend their Country, or weep Blood for the Shame they have brought upon her. *Monk* ſtands on the Shoar with his Cane in his Hand, ſees the Royal Navy of *England* in Flames, a foreign Enemy roaring their Cannon within the Hearing of *London*, and has neither a Hand to help, nor a Heart to lament the Miſery and Infamy he has brought upon a betray'd and abus'd People.

Dutch *burn the Fleet at* Chatham.

Diſgrace to the Engliſh.

The Figure Monk *makes.*

On the *Third* Day the *Dutch* burnt the *Royal Oak*, the *Royal James*, and the *Royal London*. Were the *Naſeby*, the *Victory*, the *Speaker*, the *Fairfax* burnt in a River of *England*! Cou'd *Blake* live after ſuch a killing Sight as *Monk* is beholding! What is the *good Lord General* now doing! *Ludlow* tells us, *Van Ghendt* having burnt ſeveral ſmaller Ships, *Monk* had no other Way to ſave the reſt but by ſinking them in the River, and ſending five Fireſhips among the *Dutch* Fleet, which had not the expected Succeſs. In the mean time the Train'd-Bands from all the adjacent Parts were marching towards *Chatham*, to endeavour to prevent farther Miſchief by Land. Nine Ships were ſunk at *Woolwich*, and four at *Blackwall*. Platforms were rais'd and furniſh'd with Artillery, and Works to defend them, and hinder the Enemy from coming up to *London*. But the *Dutch*, who had another

London in a Fright.

A.D. 1667 another Game to play, having exacted a Sum of Money from the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Shepey*, they did not make Bonfires of their Houſes as *Holmes* did at *Brandaris*, and carry'd off the Guns and Ammunition they found at *Sheerneſs*; they ſell down with their Fleet to the *Buoy in the Nore*, landed ſome Troops below *Tilbury*, and ſwept the Country of Sheep and Cattle in Sight of 2 or 3,000 Militia within 20 Miles of *London*.

What ſays a Modern Author on this? *There is nothing like it in all Hiſtory: A foreign Fleet to throw the City of* London *into Conſternation! I will not ſay ſince the Death of Queen* Elizabeth, *but ſince the Death of King* Edgar. Blake's *Aſhes are dug out of his Grave. Did he ever ſuffer an Enemy to appear within the four Seas, but at his Peril? The Enemy is now triumphant in our very Rivers, and the Citizens of* London *tremble in their very Houſes.*

Let us now ſee how the Monarch behav'd on this Occaſion: The Monarch who is ſo greedy of Power, and exerciſes it ſo notably againſt his Proteſtant Diſſenting Subjects. *Coke* writes thus, "The next Morning after the *Dutch* had en- "ter'd the River, I was walking in St. *James's* "*Park*, when a Gentleman whiſper'd to me, "*The* Dutch *are in the River*. The King had "then fed his Ducks, and was walking on "the Weſt-ſide of the Park. Prince *Rupert* "overtook us, and met the King at the "further End of the *Pall-Mall*. He told the "Prince he had ſhot a Duck, and ſuch a Dog "fetch'd it; ſo they walk'd on till the King "came to St. *James's* Houſe, and there ſaid to "the Prince, *Let's go ſee* Cambridge *and* Kendal, the Duke's two Sons, who then lay a dy- "ing. But upon his Return to *Whitehall* he "found all in an Uprore, the Lady *Caſtlemain* "bewailing above all others, that ſhe ſhou'd be "firſt torn to Pieces. If the *Dutch* had come "up to *London*, they wou'd have found all open "to them, not one Gun mounted at *Tilbury-* "*Fort*." The Artillery made uſe of in thoſe Days were *Warrants*, *Excommunications*, *Capiendo's*, and the like; and the Enemy was the *Preſbyterians*. Tho' *Monk* cou'd do nothing at *Chatham*, the Earl of *Macklesfield* and Capt. *Elliot*, who were ſent to *Portſmouth*, us'd ſuch Diligence in fortifying it, that when the *Dutch* came before the Harbour, they thought not fit to attempt to do what they had done at *Chatham*. Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of this execrable Buſineſs is as follows; "The Affair of *Chatham* was "a terrible Blow; and tho' the Loſs was great, "the *Infamy* was greater. The Parliament had "given above five Millions toward the War, but "thro' the Luxury and Waſte of the Court, the
Money ſquander'd "Money was ſo ſquander'd away, that the King "cou'd neither ſet out a Fleet, nor defend his "Coaſts. Upon the News of the *Dutch* Fleet's "being in the River, the King did not ride "down himſelf, nor appear at the Head of his "People, who were then in ſuch imminent Dan-
The King afraid of the Dutch "ger; he only ſent the Duke of *Albemarle* down, "and was intending to retire to *Windſor*. But "that look'd ſo like a flying from Danger, that "he was prevail'd on to ſtay. And it was given "out, that he was chearful that Night at Sup-
Libels upon the King "per with his Miſtreſſes, which drew many Li- "bels upon him, writ with much Wit, and "brought him under a general Contempt," where we will leave him, and deſire to know by what Action of his future Reign he got out of it. The Biſhop again; "He was compar'd to *Nero*, who "ſung while *Rome* was burning." The Biſhop refers to ſome Lines in Sir *John Denham*'s Advice to a *Painter*, where this King's Government, eſpecially with reſpect to this War, is very naturally deſcrib'd, and much more agreeable to Truth than the *Compleat Hiſtory*, or *Echard*'s. The Verſes indeed are not ſo harmonious as thoſe of *Cooper*'s Hill. But the following are ſome of them: A.D. 1667

Denham's *Verſes upon the Infamy at* Chatham.

So paſſing Chatham, *make* Whitehall *appear,*
If not in Danger, yet at leaſt in Fear;
Make our Dejection, if thou canſt, ſeem more
Than our Pride, Sloth, and Ignorance before;
The King of Danger now ſhews far more Fear,
Than he did ever to prevent it care:
Yet to the City doth himſelf convey,
Bravely to ſhew he was not run away;
Whilſt the Black Prince, *and our* fifth Harry's
Are only acted on our Theatres: [*Wars,*
As Nero *once with Harp in Hand ſurvey'd,*
His flaming Rome, *and as that burnt, he play'd;*
So our great Charles, *when the* Dutch *Fleet*
Saw his Ships burn, &c. [*arriv'd,*

The King in the City.

Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks of the King's conveying himſelf into the City; "He came in Perſon "among the Citizens to perſwade them not to "deſert him, and made a Speech to them on "*Tower-Hill*. He had great Experience of their "Loyalty, who after ſuch Sufferings, and under "ſuch Preſſures in Matters of Conſcience, and "of worldly Intereſt, even in ſuch Extremity, "were neither prov'd to do, or ſay any thing that "was contrary to their Fidelity to him." Biſhop *Burnet* mentions this, and adds, "But the Matter "went heavily; the City was yet in Aſhes, and "the Jealouſy of burning it on Deſign, had got "ſo among the Citizens, that the King himſelf "was not free from Suſpicion. The Court was "at a ſtand what to do, for the *French* had "aſſur'd them, the Treaty was as good as finiſh'd. "Whether the *French* ſet this on, as that which "wou'd weaken the Fleet of *England*, and "alienate the King ſo entirely from the *Dutch*, "that he wou'd be eaſily engag'd in new Alli- "ances to revenge this Affront, as many believ'd, "I cannot pretend to determine.

His ſecret League with France.

This and other Diſaſters created a Suſpicion, and rais'd Clamours at the King's ſecret Meaſures with *France*, inſomuch, ſays *Acherly*, that *he loſt all Confidence with the People*, which as he never in Truth deſerv'd, ſo he never recover'd.

His diſhonourable Peace with the Dutch.

A Peace was immediately clapp'd up with the *Dutch*, and ſign'd on the 9th of *July*, at *Breda*. *Coke* ſpeaks thus of it, "However the Diſhonour "which the Nation ſuſtain'd at *Chatham* may "be forgotten, yet the ſudden and diſhonourable "Peace concluded at *Breda* never will be. By "the third Article, the Buſineſs of *Amboyna* is "bury'd, and never to be call'd in Queſtion, "which *Oliver*, tho' he made Peace with the "*Dutch*, wou'd not do. The *Hollanders* had "*Polerone*, out of which they had expell'd our "*Eaſt-India* Company during this War, con- "firm'd to them, whereby they became ſole Pro- "prietors of the *Spice* Trade, as well in *Europe* "as other Parts of the *Indies*, *Arabia* and *Per-* "*ſia*." Nay, ſo little Care was taken for Reparation of Damages, that the Agents under the Letters of Repriſal for Sir *Paul Pindar*, and Sir *William Courteen*'s Ships, valued at 151,612 Pounds, were try'd as Pirates, by Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who had the Silver Oar carry'd before him; and, ſays Mr. *Coke*, was *very zealous to have hang'd them*. A Work that went forward from the Beginning to the End of this Reign.

Parliament.

Whilſt theſe Things were in Agitation, the Parliament met on the 25th of *July*, according to the late Proclamation, and entring immediately upon the Debate of the Army, which they reſolv'd

A.D. 1667 ſolv'd to break, ſpoke ſo clearly and freely touching this Matter, that the Court reſolv'd to give them a little Interruption, hoping in that Time to take off ſome of thoſe who had appear'd with the greateſt Warmth, by ſuch Means as they had in their Hands; or if that Deſign ſhou'd not ſucceed, to think upon taking new Meaſures. To this End they were acquainted by the Chancellor *Hyde*, that it was the King's Pleaſure they ſhou'd *adjourn* 'till the 29th of the ſame Month. But before this Meſſage came to them, they had paſs'd a Reſolution, that the King ſhou'd be deſir'd forthwith to disband the Army he had lately rais'd. The Day to which they had adjourn'd being come, their Speaker, *Turner*, appear'd not 'till the King came to the Houſe of Peers, where, having ſent for the Houſe of Commons, he made a ſhort Speech touching the late Peace, and then directed the Chancellor to do as he commanded; who without any Preamble, told them, It was his Majeſty's Pleaſure they ſhou'd be adjourn'd to the 10th of *October* next. But for all this, ſome of the Council had the Courage to oppoſe the violent Courſes, and to adviſe, that the Army might be disbanded, according to the Deſire of the Houſe of Commons; that the Seal ſhou'd be taken from *Hyde*, and that the Parliament ſhou'd meet at the Time appointed, and be left to the Liberty of providing for the publick Safety in their own Way. Purſuant to this Advice, *Monk* mas employ'd to demand the Seal of the Chancellor; and *Ludlow* tells us, he *embrac'd this Occaſion of Revenge with Joy*, for the Chancellor had openly blam'd his Conduct, in preſuming to attack the whole *Dutch* Fleet the laſt Year, whilſt Prince *Rupert*, with Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet, was ſeperated from him. The Chancellor refus'd to deliver the Seal to *Monk*, under Pretence that ſome Men had ſuffer'd for parting with it too eaſily; ſaying, *He wou'd bring it to the King in Council the next Day*, being not without Hopes by his Intereſt and Preſence to prevail with them to change their Reſolution; but his Maſter finding himſelf oblig'd to give way to the preſent Torrent, perſiſted in his Demand, and having receiv'd the Seal from his Hand, entruſted it with Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* with the Title of *Lord Keeper*.

A Motion for turning out Chancellor Hyde.

Who quarrels with Monk.

Earl of Clarendon *diſgrac'd.*

Sir Orlando Bridgman *Lord Keeper.*

Among the various Reaſons that were given to juſtify the King in abandoning the Chancellor to the Reſentment of the People, one was, that he had countermin'd the King in the Deſign he had to be divorc'd from the Queen, under Pretence that ſhe had been engag'd to another Perſon, that ſhe had made a Vow of Chaſtity before her Marriage, and that ſhe was incapable of having Children. The Perſon deſign'd to fill her Place, was one Mrs. *Stuart*, a young and beautiful Lady, who had ſome Office under the Queen. The Chancellor, who, ſome ſay, procur'd his Daughter to be marry'd to the Duke of *York*, and was therefore ſuſpected of having made the Match with the Infanta of *Portugal*, that he might make way for the Succeſſion of the Collateral Line, ſent for the Duke of *Richmond*, and pretending to be ſorry that a Perſon of his Worth, and near Relation to the King, ſhou'd receive no Marks of his Favour, adviſ'd him to marry Mrs. *Stuart*, as the moſt certain Way he cou'd take to advance himſelf. The young Gentleman unwarily took in the Bait, and, ſays *Ludlow*, *credulouſly relying on what the old* VOLPONE had ſaid, made immediate Application to the young Lady, who was ignorant of the King's Intention, and in a few Days marry'd her. The King being thus diſappointed, and ſoon after inform'd by what Means this Match had been brought about, baniſh'd the Duke and his new Dutcheſs from the Court, and kept his Reſentment againſt the Chancellor to a more convenient Opportunity. A.D. 1667

King intends a Divorce from the Queen.

The Duke of *York* had at the ſame time a Deſign to be divorc'd from the Chancellor's Daughter, under Pretence of Incontinence, and had promis'd the King to engage his whole Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, to paſs the King's Divorce, if the King wou'd do the ſame for him. Several great Lords were prevail'd with to promote the double Divorce in Parliament; and the Chancellor to prevent it, told thoſe Lords, and others in Confidence, that the Duke was a *Papiſt*, and deſign'd to marry a Papiſt, and diſinherit his Proteſtant Children; which being whiſper'd about, rais'd ſuch a Jealouſy in and out of Parliament, that the Duke's Creatures durſt not make any ſuch Motion.

The Duke of York *intends a* E. *of* P. *Divorce from* Hyde's *Daughter.*

Some Time before this, the Duke of *Buckingham* was committed to Cuſtody of the Black-Rod, and the Earl of *Oſſory*, the Duke of *Ormond*'s Son, to the *Tower*, for a Challenge that had paſs'd between them, on Account of Words ſpoken in the Houſe of Lords; and not long after there happen'd another Diſturbance between the ſame Duke and the Marquis of *Dorcheſter*, for Room at a *Free Conference* in the *Painted-Chamber*. Here the Duke preſſing very hard upon the Marquis, the latter told him, *he ought not to crowd him ſo much, for he was as good a Man as he*. The Duke made ſome very ſmart Reply, to which the Marquis return'd him the *Lye*, upon which the Duke either gave him a Blow, or pull'd him by the Perriwig, and the Houſe of Lords committed them both to the *Tower*. As the Duke paſs'd thro' the City to the *Tower*, the People made Acclamations, not as he was a Priſoner, but to ſhew their Reſpect to him, for he was become popular by his Averſion to *Hyde*. Shortly after the Duke having gotten his Liberty, without begging the King's Pardon, appear'd at Court on *Chriſtmas* Day, for which he was immediately forbidden the King's Preſence. The Duke was a Man of Spirit and Wit, and the Court gave daily Occaſion for Raillery. *Buckingham* knew them, and ſpar'd them not, by which he ſo provok'd the King, that he order'd a Serjeant at Arms to apprehend him. The Serjeant having been a little roughly us'd in the Attempt, the Duke withdrew himſelf, and the King iſſu'd a Proclamation againſt him, but his Diſpleaſure laſted not long, and upon his asking Pardon, he was recall'd and reſtor'd to Favour.

Duke of Bucks *confin'd,*

Quarrels with the Marquis of Dorcheſter.

If the Earl of *Clarendon* had not loaded himſelf with the Guilt of the Miſery and Ruin which were the Conſequences of the *Bartholomew* Act, the *Five Mile* Act, and the other *Stinging* Acts, as *Echard* terms them with much Delectation; had he contented himſelf with the Diſcharge of his Office in the Chancery, he wou'd have been a Praiſe-worthy Magiſtrate. But his meddling with Politicks, of which he was no great Maſter, and his ſuffering himſelf to be inſpir'd with the Spirit of the perſecuting Biſhops, loſt him the Reſpect of Foreigners, and the Love of his Countrymen. 'Tis certain, he ſecretly oppos'd the Meaſures of the Court for two or three Years before his Diſgrace; but it is certain alſo, that his Reſentment for the Slights he daily met with, contributed as much to that laudable Oppoſition, as his Zeal for the publick Good; nor is it eaſy to think, that a Man who had promoted thoſe miſerable Bills, did any thing out of Affection to the *Common-wealth*.

Earl of Clarendon *changes his Conduct.*

He was the Courtiers Jeſt ſome time before they accompliſh'd his Fall, which his Conduct towards the King himſelf much facilitated; for he did frequently cenſure his Majeſty's lewd Courſe of Life, and was more free with the Male and

A.D.1667 Female Favourites, who ſeem'd to outvy each other in Lewdneſs and Debauchery. They wou'd often ſay to the King, when the Chancellor paſs'd *Is a Jeſt.* in the Court, *There goes your Schoolmaſter.* And *Buckingham* wou'd often act and mimick him in the King's Preſence, walking ſtately with a pair of Bellows before him for the *Purſe*, and Col. *Titus* carrying a Fire-ſhovel on his Shoulder for the *Mace*; which ſort of Mimickry the King was much captivated with. *Hyde*'s laying out 50,000 Pounds in a magnificent Palace by the Park, which the People call'd *Dunkirk-Houſe*, referring to the ignominious Sale of that Town, was a very impolitick Act in a time of *Plague*, *Conflagration*, *and War*; and the Death of the Earl of *Southampton*, his faſt Friend, and a faſt Friend to the Publick, was an irreparable Loſs to him. The Treaſury, on the Lord *Southampton*'s Death, was put into Commiſſion; and to ſhew what excellent Politicians now flouriſh'd, the Firſt Commiſſioner was General *Monk*, who underſtood *Fluxions* as well as Accompts; the other Lords of the Treaſury were Lord *Aſhley Cooper*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Houſhold; Sir *William Coventry*, Sir *John Duncomb*, Privy-Counſellors.

And the Parliament having laſt Seſſions talk'd of a Bill for *Taking and Stating* the Publick Accompts, the King, to ſupport his *Authority* Royal, iſſu'd a Commiſſion for that Purpoſe. The *King's Commiſſioners of Accompts.* Commiſſioners were *John* Earl of *Bridgwater*, *Oliver* Earl of *Bolinbroke*, *Robert* Earl of *Ailesbury*, *Edward* Viſcount *Conway*, *John* Lord *Lucas*, *John* Lord *Crew*, *Edward Boſcawen*, Eſq; *Giles Strangeways*, Eſq; *William Garraway*, Eſq; Sir *William Lowther*, Sir *Thomas Mears*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Sir *William Thompſon*, Sir *Thomas Osborn*, Sir *Thomas Gower*, Colonel *Samuel Sandys*, *John Jones*, Eſq. But what they did is not told us; on the contrary, we are inform'd that the Parliament, when they met, did not like this Commiſſion, and that they appointed a Committee to examine the Publick *Parliaments Committee of Accompts.* Accompts; of which *William Pierpoint*, Eſq; Lord *Brereton*, Col. *Thompſon*, Sir *James Langham*, and Sir *William Turner* were chief; they were call'd the Committee of *Brook-Houſe*, and were ſo diligent, and made ſuch Diſcoveries in the Accompts, particularly thoſe of the Treaſurer of the Navy, that they were ſummon'd before the King and Council, and ſeverely rebuk'd, as endeavouring to make Differences between the King and Parliament. His Majeſty alſo undertook the Deciſion of the Buſineſs, and acquitted the Treaſurer; at which the Parliament were as much diſguſted as Men cou'd be who were ſo well paid.

About this time the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a *Papiſt*, having a very fair Wife, Daughter of the Earl of *C*—— a Papiſt alſo, with whom liv'd Mr. *Johnſon*, the diſputing Champion for Popery: She lik'd other Men ſo much better than her Huſband, that ſhe forſook him. The Earl believing the Duke of *Buckingham* kept her ſecretly, was *Duel between the Duke of* Buckingham *and Earl of* Shrewſbury. not content to loſe his Wife, but he wou'd alſo loſe his Life; and ſending the Duke a Challenge, they met and fought. The Duke having for Seconds Capt. *Holmes* and Mr. *Jenkins*; the Earl's Seconds were Mr. *Bernard Howard*, and —— *Bernard. Howard* kill'd *Jenkins*, and the Duke mortally wounded the Earl, who dy'd in a Day or two.

About this time the *French* King ſet up a Title to the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, under this groſs *French King's poor Pretence to the* Netherlands. Pretence, *That by the Laws of* Brabant, *a Daughter by the firſt Wife ſhou'd inherit before the Son of a ſecond Wife*; *and that his Queen, being the Daughter of the late King of* Spain *by his firſt Wife, ought to inherit the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *preferable to the King of* Spain, *who was Son by the ſecond Wife*; under which Pretence *he pour'd into* Flanders *a great Army*, took ten or twelve ſtrong Towns by Surprize, march'd another Army into *Franche-Comte*, and took poſſeſſion of it and *Burgundy*, which made the Parliament of *England* ſtill more uneaſy. A.D.1667

The Lord *Mohun*, a young Nobleman, gave out ſome Words which caus'd a common Scandal in Court and City againſt *Dolben* Biſhop of *Ro-* *Biſhop of* Rocheſter *accus'd of* - - - *cheſter*, as guilty of moſt obſcure Actions with the ſaid Lord; and they muſt be monſtrous, as well as obſcure, to cauſe Scandal in ſuch a Court. The Reproach of it was long the Talk of the Town, but it hinder'd not his Promotion to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*. *Echard* tells us, he was an Officer in the Cavalier *Army*, and a particular Support of the *Church*.

On the 10th of *October* the Parliament met, *Parliament.* and we are not now troubled with ſuch long tedious Harangues as when the Earl of *Clarendon* and Speaker *Turner* infected one another with the Itch of *Speech-making*. The King's Speech was very ſhort, and the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*'s not very long, but to the Purpoſe. The Houſe of Commons Voted the King Thanks for disbanding the Army, which he cou'd not maintain; for turning *Papiſts* out of his Guards, and other Military Employments; tho' Sir *Edward Sprague*, a Flag-Officer, and many other Sea and Land Officers were continu'd, notwithſtanding they were *Papiſts*. They alſo thank'd him for quickning the Execution of the Law againſt Importation of *Iriſh* Cattle, and for diſplacing the late Lord Chancellor. *His Majeſty thank'd them for their Thanks*, and promis'd *never more to employ the Earl of* Clarendon: Who, on the 26th of *October*, was charg'd with by Mr. *Edward Seymour*, *Earl of* Claren- afterwards Sir *Edward*, with variety of great *don impeach'd.* Crimes; and ſeveral Debates aroſe about the Reaſon and Manner of Impeaching him; in which Debates will be found ſome of the greateſt Names at that Time flouriſhing. The Members who *Members* ſpoke for him were *Lawrence Hyde*, Eſq; Sir *He-* *for him,* *neage Finch*, Sir *Francis Goodrich*, Mr. *Swinſen*, Mr. *Coleman*, Sir *Robert Ackland*, Sir *John Goodrich*, Sir *Edward Thurland*, Sir *John Shaw*, Sir *John Bramſton*, Sir *Thomas Mears*, Mr. *Coventry*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Sir *John Talbot*. Members who ſpoke againſt him, were Mr. *Edward* *againſt him.* *Seymour*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Robert Howard*, Mr. *John Trevor*, Lord *St. John*, Sir *Thomas Osborn*, Sir *Charles Wheeler*, *Richard Hampden*, Eſq; Mr. *Street*, Mr. *Thomas*, *Andrew Marvel*, Eſq; Sir *John Denham*, *William Prynne*, Eſq; Sir *Robert Carr*, Mr. *Steward*, Mr. *Waller*, Colonel *Bowls*, Sir *Job Charlton*, Lord *Vaughan*, Sir *William Coventry*, Mr. *Garraway*, the Sollicitor General, Sir *Robert Atkins*, Sir *Walter Young*, Sir *Thomas Thompkins*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Humphry Winchcomb*, *Hugh Boſcawen*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Gower*, Lord *Torrington*, afterwards Duke of *Albemarle*.

Here are *Monk*'s Son, *Torrington*, and *Monk*'s Couſin, *Morrice*, in the Liſt of the Proſecutors of *Clarendon*, whoſe worſt Name for *Monk* was that of the good *Lord General*; but the General had loſt all his Goodneſs ſince he came to fetch the Seal from the Chancellor. After a ſhort Debate about the Nature of the Evidence againſt the Lord *Clarendon*, and the Manner of Impeaching him, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, who was Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up Heads for an Accuſation, preſented them to the Houſe; and when they were Debated, Proof of them being requir'd, it was Reſolv'd that the Members ſhou'd ſpeak to each Article what they

cou'd

A.D.1667 cou'd ſay for it; and if none offer'd any thing ſufficient to induce the Houſe to paſs it, that it ſhou'd be laid aſide.

He is charg'd with being for a Standing Army. The *Firſt* Article related to his deſigning a *Standing Army*; which being read, the Lord *Vaughan* and Sir *Robert Howard* ſaid, they had heard from Perſons of Quality, *that it wou'd be prov'd.*

Calls the King Papiſt. The *Second* Article, with having ſaid, *The King was a Papiſt in his Heart.* To this the Lord *St. John* ſpoke; *Perſons of great Quality have aſſur'd me they will make it good; if they do not, I will acquaint the Houſe who they are.*

Grants illegal Patents. The *Third* Article related to his *receiving Money for Patents, and granting illegal Injunctions.* To this Mr. *Edward Seymour* ſpoke thus; *Sufficient Perſons will make it good; and that he ſaid, with Reſpect to one of the Patents,* So long as the King is King, and I Lord Chancellor, the *Patent* will ſtand.

The *Fourth* and *Fifth* Articles charg'd him with having *procur'd People to be Impriſon'd in remote Iſlands againſt Law, and Farming the Cuſtoms at Under-rates.* To which Sir *Richard Temple* ſaid, *Divers have undertaken to make it good, if they do not, I will name them: I am inform'd he had a Share for under-ſelling them, and* 90,000 *Pounds Bribe.*

Under-farms the Cuſtoms.

The ſame. Sir *Thomas Littleton.* " It appears by the " Farmers Confeſſion, that they had it 50,000 " Pounds under, beſides Time of Payment, which " was 30,000 Pounds more." Mr. *Seymour* ſaid, *The others had more; they were told they ſhou'd not have it, and had about* 1000 *Pounds each given them to bid no more.* Sir *Thomas Osborn* declar'd, that the Earl of *Clarendon* ſaid, *Bid who wou'd for the Cuſtoms, none ſhou'd have them but the old Farmers.*

Takes Money for Penalties. The *Sixth* Article was touching his *receiving Money of Vintners to free them from Penalties.* To this Sir *Robert Car* ſaid, *I know who will prove it.*

Gets exorbitant Grants. The *Seventh* Article related *to his having rais'd a vaſt Eſtate, and got exorbitant Grants from the King.* To which ſeveral Members ſpoke, as Mr. *Edward Seymour, I ſuppoſe you need no Proof, the Sun ſhines at Noon-day.* Sir *Thomas Littleton. The Matter of Fact in this Article is eaſily made out, for his Place, as Chancellor, cou'd not be worth above* 4 *or* 5000 *Pounds a Year.*

The *Eighth* Article charg'd him with introducing an *Arbitrary Government in the Plantations.* To this Sir *Thomas Littleton*, and Sir *Thomas Osborn* ſpoke, acquainting the Houſe, that Col. *John Farmer*, a *Barbados* Planter, came from that Iſland to complain of it; and that he, with ſeveral other Planters, Sir *John Bawdon*, a *Barbados* Merchant, and others, complain'd of it by a Petition in Parliament; but *Farmer* was thrown into Priſon, and *Bawdon*, and the other *Barbados* Merchants threaten'd, which ſo diſcourag'd them, that they dropp'd their Petition.

Illegally impriſons Men.

The loſs of the Leeward Iſlands. The *Ninth* Article related to his *fruſtrating Propoſals for preſerving the* Leeward Iſlands. To this Sir *Charles Wheeler* ſaid, *My Lord Chancellor was the only Perſon oppos'd it.*

Correſponds with Cromwel. The *Tenth* Article was touching *his correſponding with* Cromwel, *and his Accomplices when he was with the* King *in Exile.* Sir Charles Wheeler *anſwer'd the Houſe he cou'd prove it clearly*; but it was agreed that he was *indemniſy'd by the Act of* Grace, and the Article was expung'd.

Sells Dunkirk. The *Eleventh* Article related to the *Sale of* Dunkirk. And Sir *Thomas Osborn*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, ſaid to it, *A great Lord told me the Earl of* Clarendon *had made a Bargain for* Dunkirk *three quarters of a Year before it was known.* Several Members ſpoke to this Article, for and againſt him, and it was Debated whether it was *Treaſon* or not: *Prynne* ſaid, *It cannot be Treaſon, becauſe ſold by the King*'s Conſent. Mr. *Vaughan*, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice, reply'd, *If the King agree to it, doth it follow that he who adviſeth the King to a Thing deſtructive to his Kingdom is not a* Traitor? A.D.1667

Alters a Patent. The *Twelfth* Article was concerning *his altering a Patent for Enrolment.* Mr. *Street* inform'd the Houſe how the Caſe ſtood. *The King gives a Thing to Dr.* Crowther. *In the Grant was a Miſtake of a County.* Crowther *finds the Miſtake, and petitions the King to amend it. The King calls for the Chancellor and Seal, and in the King's Preſence it was amended and ſeal'd.* Sir Thomas Littleton. *The Crime ſeems as great as the Chancellor cou'd commit. The King was to preſent by ſuch a Day, or not at all. The Error was found after that Day; ſo that the King by Act of Parliament had loſt his Right. The Chancellor did alter the Patent, and the Record was fetch'd away by one of the Chancellor's Servants, and brought back read and alter'd; which might be done, and in other Caſes is done, where a Word only has been miſtaken; but that is ſomething preciſely in the King's Power, and to ſave new Sealing: But here cou'd be no new Sealing, the Time being elaps'd; it was to throw another Man into his* Freehold, *and is a great Crime.*

The *Thirteenth* Article was touching his *drawing* Men's Lands into *Queſtion, and determining Caſes of Law at the Council-Board.* To this Mr. *Thomas* ſaid, *I ſhall be able to make it out.*

The *Fourteenth* Article was touching *Quo Warranto's to Corporations.* To which Sir *Thomas Littleton* ſaid, *This is ſo publick a Thing, that it needs not to be prov'd.*

The *Fifteenth* Article related to *his procuring of Bills for the Settlement of* Ireland. To this Sir *Robert Howard* ſaid, *I doubt not but it will be made out.*

Betrays the Nation in Foreign Treaties. The *Sixteenth* Article was concerning his *betraying the Nation in foreign Treaties, and diſcovering his Majeſty's ſecret Counſels to his Enemies.* Sir Thomas Littleton. *This will appear by the Treaties themſelves putting us in Hopes of Peace, and ſo hindering the Fleet's going out.* Lord Vaughan. *I brought in the Article of betraying the King's Council to the* French *King during the War, and that in the Secrecy of State, which was the Occaſion of the late Miſchiefs.* Sir Thomas Osborn. *That is direct adhering to the King's Enemies; and if ſo, it is Treaſon.* Mr. Sollicitor General. *This muſt be Treaſon, if you have any Inducement to believe it.* Sir Robert Howard. *I have heard it from an Eye-Witneſs, who told it me, and added,* That we were neither to be truſted nor dealt with who were ſo betray'd. Several others ſpoke to this Matter; and the Queſtion at laſt was, *Whether he had ſo far diſcover'd the King's Council as to be guilty of Treaſon,* which was carry'd in the Affirmative, *Yeas* 186, *Noes* 89.

The *Seventeenth* Article was about the *Miſcarriages of the War by his Means.* To which Mr. *Thomas* ſaid, *I want not Perſons to bring to make it good.* Sir Thomas Littleton. Sir Edward Sprague *deſires Money to give an Intelligencer, and has it.* Sprague *brings the Intelligencer to the King, the King commands him to meet at the* Chancellor's: *There he met the King, and then Order was given to divide the Fleet.* Theſe Articles being read, Mr. *Marvel* charg'd Mr. *Seymour* with ſaying, when he mov'd the Matter againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*, that the Earl ſhou'd have ſaid, *The King was inſufficient for Government*, which is left out of theſe Articles. To this Mr. *Seymour* reply'd, *The Party that told me at firſt, differ'd ſomething afterwards*;

A. D. 1667 *therefore I rather withdraw it than to trouble you with Uncertainties; but a Gentleman in the Houſe can give you further Satisfaction.* Sir John Denham, *A Peer of the Land heard the Earl of* Clarendon *ſay in a Coach,* That *the King* was an unactive Perſon, and indiſpos'd for Government. *This will be made good.* But the Words having been ſpoken before the Act of Oblivion, it was paſs'd over. Upon the whole, an Impeachment of *Treaſon*, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors was reſolv'd on, and Mr. *Edward Seymour* order'd to carry it to the Lords, which he did the 12th of *November*.

But the Lords did not think fit to ſecure the Earl's Perſon, becauſe the Charge was general and without Proof, which gave great Offence to the Houſe of Commons, and occaſion'd a warm Debate about their Privileges in this Caſe and Precedents. They had ſeveral Conferences with the Lords, who inſiſted upon it to have their Reaſons for the Impeachment before they cou'd ſecure the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whom the perſecuting Biſhops ſtuck cloſe. In the mean time the Earl provided for himſelf, and made his Eſcape to *France*, where he reſided at and near *Rouan* as long as he liv'd. The Houſe hearing he was gone, order'd Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, to deſire his Majeſty that the Ports might be ſtopp'd, which was done, but the Bird was flown firſt. The Earl left a kind of Petition behind him addreſs'd to the Houſe, juſtifying or extenuating his Offences in a Stile and Air no ways becoming a Perſon under an Impeachment of High-Treaſon. This Petition was deliver'd at a Conference to the *Commons* by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who ſaid, when he deliver'd it,

Earl of Clarendon *flies.*

The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this ſcandalous and ſeditious Paper ſent from the Earl of Clarendon, *deſiring the Committee of Peers to preſent it to you, and to deſire you, in a convenient Time, to ſend it to their Lordſhips again, for it has a Stile which they are in Love with, and deſire to keep it.*

His Petition gives Offence.

The Petition, or rather Remonſtrance, is very long, and I refer for it to the Hiſtoriographers. After it was read, Mr. *Vaughan* ſpoke to it, and ſaid among other Things, "'Tis the firſt Time "that I ever heard an innocent Man run away "under the greateſt Charge with Hopes to re- "turn again and vindicate himſelf. Mark one "Expreſſion, he ſays, *He is as far from Corrup- "tion as from Diſloyalty.* If he had ſaid he "was guilty of neither, he had ſaid ſomething; "but by that Expreſſion he may be guilty of "both. So inſolent a Paper I never met with "in this Kingdom, nor have I ever heard the "like in any other. So inconſiderable a Part of "the Nation as he is to lay it upon the Nation, "who, if innocent, might defend himſelf! If "*guilty*, why doth he charge the Nation with "Perſecuting? Therefore, without troubling "your ſelves with it, do as the Lords have done, "who deliver'd it to you as a ſcandalous and "ſeditious Paper; it hath Malice in it, and is "the greateſt Reproach upon the King and the "whole Nation that ever was given by Man." Therefore put the Queſtion whether this Paper ſhall not have the Character, That it is a *ſcandalous and malicious Paper*, and *a Reproach to the Juſtice of the Nation*, which was carry'd in the Affimative. Sir *Robert Howard* mov'd that it ſhou'd be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman; but that was oppos'd, becauſe the Lords deſir'd the Paper might be return'd: However, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, tho' I am fully convinc'd that ſome of his Speeches when he was Chancellor, eſpecially thoſe vile ones about *Sham Plots*, and ſome of his Characters in the *Grand Rebellion Hiſtory*, eſpecially that of the great *Hampden*, deſerve that Uſage much more than his Petition, and had he not been the Inſtrument of ſo much Miſchief to humour the perſecuting Prelates in the Stinging Acts, a generous Mind cou'd not now have deny'd him Compaſſion. "It was a notable Pro- "vidence of God, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, that this "Man, who had been the grand Inſtrument of "State, and done almoſt all, and had dealt ſo "cruelly with the Nonconformiſts, ſhou'd thus "by his own Friends be caſt out and baniſh'd, "while thoſe that he had perſecuted were the "moſt moderate in his Cauſe, and many for him. "And it was a great Eaſe that befel good Peo- "ple throughout the Land by his Dejection; "for his Way was to *decoy* Men into Conſpira- "cies, or to pretend Plots." *Echard* and the *Compleat Hiſtorian* inſiſt upon it ſtrenuouſly that they were *true Plots*. "And then, upon the "Rumour of a Plot, the innocent People of ma- "ny Countries were laid in Priſon, ſo that no "Man knew when he was ſafe. And it is nota- "ble, that he who did ſo much to make the "*Oxford* Law for baniſhing Miniſters from Cor- "porations who took not that Oath, does in his "Letter from *France*, ſince his Baniſhment, ſay, "*that he never was in Favour ſince the Parlia- "ment ſate at* Oxford.

A. D. 1667

He made the Sham Plots.

The Parliament reſolv'd on an Addreſs for a *Proclamation to ſummon the ſaid Earl to appear by a Day, and to apprehend him, in order to his Trial.* But the Lords wou'd not give their Concurrence to this Vote, they having paſs'd a Bill for Baniſhing the Earl of *Clarendon*, which many of the Houſe of Commons did not think a *ſufficient Puniſhment.* Mr. *Trevor* ſaid, *What if he hath Life in other Parts, his Family untainted, and his Children alive, and enjoy his Eſtate.*

Baniſh'd by an Act of Parliament.

Sir Robert Howard. *There is no Attainder; but if there had been ſuch a Bill, the Thing which ſhou'd ſway me, ſhou'd be the Duke of* York's *Marriage*, &c. This Bill occaſion'd great Debate between thoſe who thought *Baniſhment* was not Puniſhment enough, and thoſe who thought it was. At laſt it was put to the Vote, and carry'd in the Affirmative. *Yeas* 109 *Noes* 55.

Duke of Buckingham *a Miniſter.*

After his Fall the Duke of *Buckingham* came into Play, and was look'd upon as Prime Miniſter. He ſhew'd himſelf openly for *Toleration* or Liberty for all Parties in Matters of God's Worſhip; and others alſo ſeem'd to look that Way, as thinking the King was for it. One Reaſon was, his being an Enemy to every thing that diſturb'd him in his Pleaſures: Another was, his being a Friend to Popery, which was to be underſtood in a general Toleration. This Diſpoſition of the King's ſo diſquieted Dr. *Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that he cou'd not help ſhewing it. His Heart ſeems to have been incapable of any tender Emotion: Piety the moſt tender of all, vaniſh'd in Ceremonies and Forms, and carry'd away Charity with it. The King diſcours'd with *Sheldon* about removing Lord *Clarendon* from the Miniſtry, and thought it was the Archbiſhop's Opinion that it ought to be done by what he then ſaid. But when he was remov'd the King ſent for the Archbiſhop to tell him of it. *Sheldon* made him no Anſwer. The King requiring him to declare himſelf, *Sir*, ſays the Biſhop, *I wiſh you wou'd put away this Woman that you keep.* The King reply'd ſmartly, *Why did not you talk to me of it ſooner, but take this Occaſion to do it?* Other warm Words paſs'd between them, and *Sheldon* cou'd never recover the King's Confidence. 'Tis evident, that his re-

Sheldon ſticks by Clarendon.

proving

A.D. 1667 proving the King for keeping a *Harlot* at that Time, and not doing it in ſeven Years before, proceeded not ſo much from a pious Indignation at Lewdneſs, as from Reſentment for the Diſgrace of the Chancellor, who had procur'd the Perſecuting Acts at the Inſtigation of this proud Prelate. *Morley*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was ſoon after diſplac'd as Dean of the Chapel, and was ſucceeded by Dr. *Croſts*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, who not liking a Court Life reſign'd his Office, and had for Succeſſor *Blandford*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, at which Time Dr. *Crew*, Son to the Lord *Crew*, afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*, was made Clerk of the Cloſet.

Sheldon reproves the King for Lewdneſs. The King reproves him.

Echard, in taking Leave of the Earl of *Clarendon*, has this Reflection. " Thus was this Great " Man, who had ſo often triumph'd in his Elo- " quence almoſt from the Throne (*He means his Speeches recommending the Bartholomew Act, the Five Mile Act, the Corporation Act*, &c.) " re- " duc'd to employ his Parts to plead, in Effect, " at the Bar of the ſame Houſe. *Again*, Thus " after he had ſpent the Vigour of his Life in " the moſt difficult Services of two GREAT " KINGS, *Charles* I, and *Charles* II, *&c.*"

On the 19th of *December*, the Day after the Commons had paſs'd the Bill againſt the Earl, the King, by Commiſſion, paſs'd it, and ſome other Bills; which being of no great moment, I leave in Mr. Archdeacon's Liſt, as I ſhou'd this other Paſſage in the Chronicle, was it not for its abundant Curioſities; That his Majeſty went in- to the City, laid the firſt Stone of the Foundati- on of the *Royal Exchange*, was treated by the Lord Mayor, Sir *William Boulton*, and Knighted the two Sheriffs, Sir *Dennis Gauden*, and Sir *Thomas Davis*: That the Duke of *York* went thither a Week after, and laid the firſt Stone for a ſecond Pillar, was treated as his Brother had been; and the *Laying theſe Stones gave ſo great Encouragement to the Workmen, that ſo large a Structure was never carry'd on with greater Expedition.*

Great Hiſtorical Curioſities.

The King, who was himſelf as good a *Catholick* as his Libertiniſms wou'd let him be, publiſh'd a Proclamation to hinder the Concourſe of *Catholicks* to the Popiſh Chapels at St. *James*'s and *Somerſet-Houſe*. In which ſort of Acts, *Echard* is ſo weak as to ſay, the King took *great Delight*; though a Page or two afterwards he owns, *That Popery, as well as Pleaſures, became more open in the* Engliſh *Court*; which he wou'd not have been ſo careful to remember, if the Miniſters had not ſhewn a Diſpoſition to Moderation towards Proteſtant Diſſenters.

1668. The Scene of the little Action there is, varies ſo often, that without interrupting the Courſe of the Hiſtory with the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, we are forc'd to break in upon Chronological Order. To do it as little as poſſible, we have poſtpon'd the Affairs of thoſe Kingdoms till the End of the firſt *Dutch* War in this Reign, which is the firſt Remarkable Period in it.

We have ſeen what dangerous Deſigns have been carrying on in *England* againſt the Conſtitution, as it is Proteſtant and Free; and the Adminiſtration in *Ireland* and *Scotland* has not been better.

Ireland. I touch the Affairs of *Ireland* firſt, becauſe leaſt has been ſaid of them. We have mention'd the Government of that Kingdom to have been put into the Hands of the Earl of *Orrery*, the Earl of *Montrath*, and Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, as Lords Juſtices; of whom, the two Earls had ſignaliz'd their Zeal to the *Good Old Cauſe*, as they call'd it, under the *Rump* and *Cromwel*.

We have hinted ſomething of the Debate before the King and Council concerning the *Iriſh forfeited* Lands. Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, then mentioned, was a Knight of the Pope's making. His A.D. 1668 Reaſons againſt the *Settlement* of theſe Lands on the Purchaſers, Officers, and Soldiers, were anſwer'd with great Solidity at the Council-Table in *Ireland* by the Lord *Santry*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*; who, when the Parliament met at *Dublin*, was confin'd for a Day or two in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, at the Motion of the Earl of *Orrery*, for inſiſting on his Right to be Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in Oppoſition to the Primate, the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, nominated by the Lords Juſtices. Had the Lord *Santry*'s Advice been taken, 'twas thought few of the *Iriſh* Rebels wou'd have got their Eſtates. But the Duke of *Ormond* and Earl of *Angleſea*, great Proprietors in *Ireland*, falling in with the Court-Party, the Lord *Santry*'s Advice to leave the Popiſh Claimants to be try'd at Common-Law, was ſet aſide, and a Court of Claims erected, compos'd of Members entirely devoted to the Pleaſure of the King and his Miniſters.

The Lords Juſtices having receiv'd a Commiſſion for calling a Parliament, juſt when it was about to be read, and the two Houſes were got together in order to obey it, 'twas found to have no Date; ſo the Lords Juſtices were forc'd to ſend an Expreſs to *England* for a New Commiſſion, and ſome Pretence was contriv'd to put off the Opening of the Seſſion till that Commiſſion arriv'd, which was within ſix Days.

But the great Diſputes in this Aſſembly about 1662. the Variety of Intereſts, made it neceſſary to ſend over a Lord Lieutenant, who was a Perſon of Character ſufficient to have Weight of his own in the Balance of thoſe Diſputes; and the Privy-Council in *England* were for the Lord *Roberts*, a Perſon whoſe Indifferency, as to the various and oppoſite Intereſts of that Kingdom, might produce an impartial Settlement, he being an *Engliſh-man*, and no Proprietor in *Ireland*: But the Duke of *York* ſo work'd the Matter with his Brother, that the Duke of *Ormond* was ſent thither as Lord Lieutenant; in whom however the Papiſts, contrary to the Expectation of the Court, were diſappointed. For though he was plac'd at the Helm, in Kindneſs to the *Iriſh*, yet he ſo ſignally eſpous'd the Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in all their juſt and legal Demands, that he loſt the Favour of the Duke of *York*.

The *Iriſh* found Means to get ſeveral Commiſſioners of the Court of Claims ſet aſide, and others put in, exactly calculated for their preſent Deſign. The Chief of them was one *Rainsford*, who drove ſo furiouſly, that Complaints were made to the King. *Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, was the *Iriſh* Agent at Court, the Duke's Favourite, and not much leſs the King's. He often procur'd Letters of Recommendation of Cauſes in the Court of Claims, by which, and other unwarrantable Artifices, many of the *Iriſh* Rebels had their Eſtates reſtor'd to them, and many paſs'd Claims for twice as much Land as they had loſt, as the Earl of *Clancarty*, Earl of *Clanrickard*, Lord *Coſtelo*, *Dillon*, Earl of *Carlingford*, &c.

Iriſh Rebels get their Eſtates, and more than they had.

It was believ'd, that upon the King's Reſtoration, there cou'd not have been the twentieth Part of *Ireland* gain'd from the *Engliſh*, yet what with the Thirds taken from them at one Blow, and by Nominees, and other State Stratagems, there was almoſt half of the Kingdom in Value loſt, notwithſtanding at the ſame Time, the moſt Innocent of the *Iriſh* were depriv'd of their Eſtates, and the greateſt Rebels got more than their own. *This*, ſays my Author, *was the firſt Step advanc'd for the Introduction of Popery into that Kingdom, and notwithſtanding the ſmall Progreſs it had then ſeemingly made*, it ſo far encourag'd, even in this Time of its Infancy, the moſt conſidera-

Illegal Practices of the Court of Claims.

A.D.1668 ble of the *Iriſh*, as often to intimate to the *Engliſh*, that in a ſhort Time the Proteſtants and they muſt be of one Religion.

Popery promoted. The Earl of *Orrery*, upon the coming over of the Duke of *Ormond*, as Lord Lieutenant, retir'd to *Charleville*, where he kept his Court, as Preſident of *Munſter*, and among other good Acts of Government, he took due Care of the *Church*, not in *Echard*'s, or the *Compleat Hiſtorian*'s Way, by providing profuſely for the Avarice or Extravagance of Eccleſiaſticks, but by being careful that the Eccleſiaſticks ſhou'd do their Duty. He particularly ſent for *Sing*, Biſhop of *Cork*, and admoniſh'd him to ſend Clergy-men into the Weſtern Parts of his Dioceſs, where were a great Number of Proteſtants but no Miniſters, the Biſhop keeping the Revenues of thoſe Livings in his own Hands, as *fine Cures*. Biſhop *Sing* told my Lord, he was very willing to do as he commanded, but he wanted Clergy-men. *Then*, ſays the Earl, *you will do well to employ the Revenues of the* fine Cures, *in the Education and Maintenance of young Men in the College for that Purpoſe; and if you do not, I will ſequeſter thoſe Livings for the Maintenance and Education of ſuch young Men as may be fit for the Miniſtry.* The Biſhop promis'd to obey the Lord Preſident's Injunctions, and ſome Time after, ſix young Miniſters were ſent into thoſe Parts. The Duke of *Ormond* had not been long in *Ireland* before there was a Rumour of a Plot. The Author of the Earl of *Orrery*'s Memoirs will have it, that his Lordſhip diſcover'd it by his Spies in his Province of *Munſter*, and that the Chief of the Conſpiracy was Col. *Jephſon*, a conſiderable Officer in the ſame Service with himſelf, and *Coote*, Earl of *Montrath*. He was to have ſurpriz'd the Caſtle and Government of *Dublin*, by the Help of the Soldiers who were diſaffected

A Plot. on account of the Wrongs done them in the forfeited Eſtates. Indeed, ſo many Men who had deſerv'd well of the Proteſtant Cauſe, were in danger of being ruin'd by the unjuſt Proceedings of the Court of Claims; that it is more than probable, they did expreſs much Reſentment, and in Times of *Plot* making, 'twas eaſy to work up a Conſpiracy out of a very ſmall Ferment. Several Members of Parliament in *Ireland*, as Mr. *Staples*, Mr. *Shapcot*, being accus'd of Intelligence with the Conſpirators, were call'd to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, and expell'd for ever; which 'tis likely wou'd not have been thought ſufficient Puniſhment, if the Government had really had ſufficient Proof againſt them. Some under Plotters were however hang'd: A quick Way of determining Matters ſince the Year 1660.

Scotland. We left the Affairs of *Scotland* immediately after Mr. *Guthrie* the Miniſter was executed, and ſhall take them up there again out of our Author, who ſeems to be well acquainted with the *Scotiſh* Hiſtory.

Mem. Ch. Scot. *Having now taſted Blood*, ſays he, their Fury ſeem'd to encreaſe, and in conſequence of the Act for reſtoring *Prelacy*, they advanc'd ſuch Principles as they knew were directly contrary to the *Presbyterian Doctrine*, and ſuch as they knew no Bonds, no Affliction, no not Death it ſelf wou'd ever bring the Kirk to comply with. Theſe were,

1. " A Declaration in the Preamble to the Act
" for eſtabliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, ſignifying, *that the*
" *Diſpoſal of the Government of the Church* is
2. " in the King, *as an inherent Right of the Crown*,
" Depriving the Church of the Freedom of call-
" ing and chooſing their own Paſtors. This was
3. " included in the Act for reſtoring Patronages,
" diſpoſſeſſing the Miniſters who wou'd not con-
" form to *Epiſcopacy*, and this without legal A.D.1668
" Proſecution, by a meer Act of Council.

Theſe tyrannical Proceedings were owing to the Meaſures concerted by the Earl of *Middleton* and Archbiſhop *Sharp*. *Lauderdale*, who liv'd at Court, declar'd at firſt againſt them, and gave a Charge in Writing againſt *Middleton*, when he came to Court, for ſeveral Articles of Male-Adminiſtration; but *Sheldon*, and even *Monk* ſupported *Middleton*, yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* got the King's Ear, and *Sharp* coming to *London* to vindicate *Middleton*'s Conduct, finding the King was alienated from *Middleton*, he made great Submiſſion to *Lauderdale*, who reproaching *Biſhop Burnet.* him for his Engagements with *Middleton*, *Sharp* denied all, particularly that he had written to the King in *Middleton*'s Favour; but the King *Sharp's Treachery.* had given the original Letter to *Lauderdale*, who upon *Sharp*'s ſolemn Denial of it, ſhew'd it him; with which Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, he was ſo *ſtruck, that he fell a crying in a moſt abject Man-* *Prov'd upon him.* *ner.* This was not very long after he was conſecrated; and this Man, who made no Scruple of telling, and even ſwearing Things which he knew to be falſe, is *Echard*'s Champion for the *Church*. His Morals were a Scandal to the *His Wickedneſs.* Name of Religion; but ſuch *Scandals* are nothing to ſome Men if they are varniſh'd over with a glaring Zeal for Forms, Dignities, Revenues and Power. *Lauderdale* promiſing to be a better Friend to the *Church* than *Middleton* had been, *Sharp* forſook his Patron at once, and deliver'd himſelf up to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, the King's Buffoon, and the Caterer of his libidinous Pleaſures, inſomuch that 'tis ſaid, he ſhou'd ſay to the King in his Jollity, *Wonnot your moſt ſaucred Maujeſty plaſe to have a Whear to Nit?* And his Miniſtry was ſo acceptable to his Majeſty, that Secretary *Morrice* was, at his Inſtigation, ſent with an Order to *Middleton* to deliver his Commiſſion, and he was turn'd out of all. The Earl of *Rothes* was declar'd the King's Commiſſioner, but *Lauderdale* would not truſt him, ſo he went with him to *Scotland*, where 1663. the Parliament met again, and condemn'd the Lord *Wariſtoun*, Uncle to Biſhop *Burnet*, for ſiding with *Cromwel*. He had eſcap'd beyond Sea after the Reſtoration, but was deliver'd up by thoſe he confided in, and put to Death *Lord* without Mercy, notwithſtanding his great Age, *Wari-* and great Intereſt among the *Presbyterians*, who *ſtoun be-* almoſt idoliz'd him. He well deſerv'd their ut- *headed.* moſt Eſteem and Reſpect, being a Gentleman of great Parts and Piety, and of an unalterable Affection to the Common-wealth. He ſpoke long before the Parliament, but his Speech was broken and diſorder'd, occaſion'd by his Age and Infirmities, and not affected, to raiſe Pity, as his Enemies fancied. When the Day of his Execution came, he was very ſerene, chearful, and fully ſatisfy'd with his Death. He read a Speech twice over on the Scaffold, all which he compos'd himſelf. In it he juſtify'd all the Proceedings in the *Covenant*, and aſſerted his own Sincerity, but condemn'd his joining with *Cromwel*, tho' even in that, his Intentions had been ſincere. The King was particularly ſet againſt him, and his Virtue, Conſtancy, Capacity and Popularity, are Things which cou'd not but render him criminal beyond Pardon to ſuch a Prince as we write of. What adds to the Merit of this good Man's Memory, is, that he was Father of the excellent and worthy Mr. Secretary *Johnſtoun*, whoſe Services to the Publick, in and after the *Revolution*, will be a conſiderable Part of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, if he ſhall think fit to make them known under their proper Name. This Parliament paſs'd an Act, ſomething like the

Five

A.D.1668 *Five Mile Act* in *England*; and another, offering an Army of 20,000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe to the King, to be ready upon Summons, with Forty Days Proviſion. When the Seſſion broke up, the two Earls, *Rothes* and *Lauderdale*, return'd to *London*, the Government in *Scotland* being left to the Earl of *Glencairne*, Lord Chancellor, who oppos'd *Sharp*'s driving ſo furiouſly as he did, not out of Love to the *Presbyterians*, but out of Pique againſt *Rothes*, who ſupported *Sharp*, and was recommended by that imperious Prieſt to the Biſhops in *England*. *Sharp* follow'd to *London*, to complain of *Glencairne*, and the Privy-Council, who giving a little Check only to his Rage, he ſaid, *There was ſuch a* Remiſſneſs, that unleſs ſome more Spirit was put in the Adminiſtration, *it wou'd be impoſſible to preſerve the* Church. *That was the Word*, ſays the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *always us'd, as if there had been a Charm in it*, and as ſuch *Echard* uſes it, ſo does the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, and ſo has it been us'd in and out of *Convocation* by all thoſe that claim the Merit of being the only good Church Men. *Sharp*'s chief Buſineſs was to get a High Commiſſion Court ſet up in *Scotland*, and an Order that he ſhou'd ſit above the Lord Chancellor: *Lauderdale* gave into it, Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, much againſt his own Mind; and that tho' then very young, he expoſtulated with him upon it, and adds he, *I thought he was acting the Earl of* Traquair's *Part, giving way to all the Follies of* 1664. *the Biſhops, on Deſign to ruin them.* The Modeſty of *Sharp* was equal to his Honeſty, for the Earl of *Glencairne* dying about this Time, Sharp's *Pride and Wickedneſs.* he wrote to *Sheldon*, his Brother Archbiſhop, that *upon the Diſpoſal of the Seals, the very Being of* the Church *did ſo abſolutely depend, that he begg'd he wou'd preſs the King very earneſtly in the Matter*, and procure his being ſent for to Court, before that Poſt ſhou'd be fill'd up. *Sheldon* fail'd not to ſpeak to the King, *who had a very ill Opinion of* Sharp, and bid him tell him, *he wou'd take Care about it, and that he need not come up to* London. Notwithſtanding this Check, away comes the Archbiſhop, and was receiv'd very coldly by his Majeſty, who ask'd him, *If he had not receiv'd the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury's *Letter*; *Yes*, reply'd Sharp; *but I choſe rather to venture on your Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, than to ſee the* Church *ruin'd.* The *Charm* again! What follows, ſhews this Prelate to be one of the moſt deceitful Wretches that ever was a Diſ- Biſhop Burnet. grace to Hiſtory. He told the King, "He cou'd "not anſwer it to God and the *Church*, if he did "not beſtir himſelf. He knew many thought of "himſelf for that Poſt, but he was ſo far from "that Thought, that if his Majeſty had any "ſuch Intention, he would rather chooſe to be "ſent to a Plantation; he only deſir'd it might "be a *Church Man*. From the King he went "to *Sheldon*, and preſs'd him to move the King "for himſelf, and furniſh'd him with many Rea- His *aſtoniſhing Wickedneſs* "ſons to ſupport his Motion. *Sheldon* doing it "with more than ordinary Earneſtneſs, the King "ask'd him whether *Sharp* had not ſet him on; "*Sheldon* own'd it, tho' not without ſome Un- "eaſineſs, and then the King told him what "*Sharp* had ſaid to himſelf of his chooſing ra- "ther to be ſent to a *Plantation*; and then it "may be eaſily imagin'd, continues Biſhop *Bur-* "*net*, in what a Stile they both ſpoke of him." The Earl of *Rothes* had the Seals given to him, 'till ſome other Chancellor cou'd be pitch'd upon; and it being a Propoſal of *Sharp*'s, after his own Diſappointment, when he return'd to *Scotland*, a dreadful *Scene of illegal Violence* was open'd. *Sharp* govern'd Lord *Rothes*, who abandon'd himſelf to Pleaſure; and when ſome cenſur'd him for it, all the Anſwer he made was a ſevere A.D.1668 Piece of Raillery, *That he who was the King's Commiſſioner, ought to repreſent his Perſon.* *Sharp*'s Creatures made work for the new High Commiſſion Court, and brought daily Offenders before it, to be puniſh'd by Fines, Whippings, Jails, and other inhumane Severities, for not coming to Church to hear Curates, whoſe Morals they abhorr'd, and whoſe Ignorance they deſpis'd. This Cruelty and Injuſtice rag'd towards the Weſt of *Scotland*, where the Country was ever now and then ſwept of *Conventiclers*, to fill the Priſons. The Lawyers ſtanding too much on Forms of Law in theſe Proſecutions, *Sharp* often complain'd that Favour was ſhewn to the Enemies of the *Church*, and often did he cry, *muſt the* Church *be ruin'd for Punctilio's of Law*? The Earls of *Argyle*, *Tweedale* and *Kincardin* were cold in theſe Matters, upon which *Sharp* ſaid, they were *Friends to the* Church's *Enemies*.

Earl of Rothes *profane Saying.*

Tyranny.

Burnet.

Further Wickedneſs of Sharp.

Sir *James Turner* was order'd to quarter the Guards thro' the Country, where the Miniſters had forſaken their Pulpits, and the People flock'd to hear them pray and preach in other Places: He was commanded to take Orders from the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and being mad when he was *The* Scot's drunk, which was very often, he liv'd as if he *dragoon'd.* had been upon Military Executions. He confeſt to Biſhop *Burnet*, it went ſometimes againſt the Grain with him to ſerve ſuch *a debauch'd and worthleſs Company, as the Clergy* generally were; and that he often did not act up to the Rigour of his Orders, for which he was always chid by *Sharp*, but never for his illegal and violent Proceedings. And tho' the Complaints of him were very high, ſo that when he was afterwards ſeiz'd on at *Dumfries*, it was intended to make a Sacrifice of him; yet when the *Covenanters* look'd into his Orders, and found that his Proceedings, how fierce ſoever, fell ſhort of theſe, they ſpar'd him, as a Man who had merited by being ſo gentle among them. Some time after *Sharp* went to *London* again, and accus'd Lord *Lauderdale* Sharp *a* as a Favourer of Fanaticks; ſo did this wicked *Renegade.* Renegade call the Party, for which he had formerly been a zealous Agent. *Lauderdale* deſir'd that *Sharp* might put his Charge in Writing; the King conſented to it, and that he ſhou'd demand it of *Sharp*, which he did in ſo ſevere a Tone, that *Sharp* fell a trembling, and retracted what he had ſaid to the King, who preſently accus'd the Earl of *Lauderdale* of ill Nature, *Gives him-* to preſs it ſo heavily on Archbiſhop *Sharp*, *ſelf the* *and force him upon giving himſelf the* Lye in *Lye.* ſuch coarſe Terms. This *Sharp* is *Sheldon*'s Fel- Ibid. low Labourer.

In *October*, after the Fire of *London*, *Turner* was commanded to renew his Hoſtilities in the Weſt of *Scotland*. The People were alarm'd, and ſaw they were to be undone: Upon which they met together, and ſome Miniſters came among them. Two Gentlemen who had ſerv'd in the Wars, Lieutenant Colonel *Wallace*, and Major *Lairmonth*, were the beſt Officers they had. The chief Gentlemen of that Country had been thrown into Priſon, under Pretence of a *Dutch* Invaſion; ſo the Multitude had no body to head them of more Note than *Wallace* and *Lairmonth*. They were told that all things were in ſuch Confuſion after *London* was burnt, *Covenan-* that a vigorous Attempt might be their Deli- *ters riſe.* verance; and truly the Provocations they had met with were intolerable; for beſides the Laws *Impious* before-mention'd, theſe impious and barbarous *Edicts* Edicts had paſs'd by Procurement chiefly of *againſt* *Middleton* and *Sharp*, two wicked Renegades. *them.*

A.D.1668

" 1. An *Act* forbidding all Writing, Remonſtrating, Printing, Praying, or Preaching in " ſuch Manner as ſhou'd ſhew any Diſlike of " the King's Supremacy in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtick, " or of the King's Abſolute Prerogative in " Church-Government, or of Biſhops.

" 2. An *Act* prohibiting any Miniſters to " preach in Churches publickly, or privately in " Families, without Licence firſt had from the " Epiſcopal Miniſters call'd *Curates*, and forbid- " ing all Houſe-Meetings for religious Exer- " ciſes.

" 3. An *Act* declaring that all Nonconforming " Miniſters that ſhall preſume to exerciſe Mini- " ſtry in any Manner whatſoever, ſhall be pu- " niſh'd as ſeditious Perſons, and ordaining Pe- " nalties to all that ſhou'd withdraw from the " publick Worſhip;" every *Nobleman*, *Gentleman* or *Heritor* one Fourth of his yearly Revenue; every *Yeoman* one Fourth of his moveable Goods; every *Burgeſs* the Loſs of his Freedom, leaving it alſo to the Council to inflict further Puniſhment, and to provide for the moſt effectual Execution, which they did by Proclamations of the moſt *Arbitrary*, *Illegal* and *Tyrannical* Nature. The High Commiſſion Court determin'd Cauſes without Appeal, where that Perjur'd Apoſtate *Sharp*, or his Creatures preſided. They ſuſpended, depriv'd, excommunicated, impriſon'd, condemn'd and tortur'd at Pleaſure. A Miniſter was ſentenc'd to Baniſhment for calling that Lordly Prelate *Sir*, and not *My Lord*. One Mr. *Porterfield*, a Gentleman of a Loyal Family, was baniſh'd for ſcrupling the Oath of Supremacy. Mr. *John Levinſton*, an eminent Reverend Miniſter, being baniſh'd the Kingdom for the ſame Scruple, *Scot*, a lewd Curate, at that Time under Excommunication, had his Benefice given him, and the Pariſhioners hating him, as an immoral, ſcandalous Perſon, four of them were brought before the *High Commiſſion* for being preſent when ſome others of the Pariſh had expreſs'd their Diſſatisfaction at *Scot*'s coming to their *Kirk*, for which this deteſtable Sentence was pronounc'd againſt them, *That they ſhou'd be ſcourg'd thro' the Town, ſtigmatiz'd on the Forehead with the Letter* T *at* Edinburgh *Croſs, and ſent Slaves to* Barbados.

Tyrannical Government.

Cruelty.

I cou'd fill Volumes with Inſtances of the like Injuſtice and Cruelty exercis'd againſt the Proteſtants in *Scotland*; and is it a Wonder that People, who every Day lay expos'd to the Rage and Barbarity of bloody-minded Mercenaries, worſe if poſſible than *French Dragoons*, had rather die with Arms in their Hands, than be ſtarv'd or tortur'd to Death, as was the Fate of thoſe that ſtay'd and thoſe that fled?

1666.

" If the poor People, *ſays my* Scotch *Author*, " were by thoſe inſupportable Violences made " deſperate, and driven to all the Extremities " of a wild Deſpair, who can juſtly reflect upon " them? when they read in the Word of God, " *That Oppreſſion makes a wiſe Man mad*: And " therefore, were there no other Original of the " Inſurrection, known by the Name of the *Ri-* " *ſing of Pentland*, it was nothing but what the " intolerable Oppreſſions of thoſe Times might " have juſtify'd to all the World; Nature ha- " ving dictated to all People a Right of Self- " Defence, when illegally and arbitrarily attack'd " in a Manner not juſtifiable either by the Laws " of God, or the Laws of the Country.

" But beſides all this it is evident, that this " *Inſurrection* was no premeditated Deſign, but " began in the Violence of Military Execution, " committed by four Soldiers commanded by Sir " *James Turner*, who falling into ſome Houſes " in *Galloway* without Commiſſion, or without " Orders from their own Officers, as Sir *James* " afterwards alledg'd, were oppos'd and driven " out of their Doors by four or five honeſt Men " of the Inhabitants, in the juſt Defence of " their Wives, Children and Goods, unjuſtly in- " ſulted, and offer'd to be plunder'd by thoſe " Soldiers.

A.D.1668

We have ſeen that the *Riſing of Pentland* was a raſh Action on a ſudden, without Concert even with the *Scots* at fifty Miles Diſtance; yet *Echard*, I deſire the Reader to meaſure the Man's Conſcience and Capacity by this Inſtance, aſſerts with a ſurprizing Confidence, that this Inſurrection was not on a ſudden, but fram'd and rais'd by the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, in Concert with the *Presbyterians* in *England*, who, ſays he, *were thought to have held too near a Correſpondence with them.* The *Compleat Hiſtorian* is no fairer in his Account of this Riſing than Mr *Archdeacon*. *They by Degrees form'd an Army*, and then with an Inſolence which they were taught by the Stinging Acts, the Miniſters are put at the Head of them. *Moſt of the Leaders of theſe Troops were caſhier'd Preachers.* Let us now read the true Hiſtory of this Presbyterian Army.

Mem. Ch. Scot. 160.

Sir *James Turner* was an Officer of Dragoons, who by Order of the Council was ſent with his Troops to quarter *at Diſcretion* upon the poor *Weſtern* People of *Scotland*, becauſe there they found the chief Body of the *conſtant Sufferers for, and Adherers to the* true Religion. *Turner* was a Tool to their Minds, a Stranger to the Country, being an *Engliſhman*, bred to Plunder and Rapine in the Service of the *French*, perfectly void of the Fear of God or Man, and unacquainted either with Religion or Humanity. He had made three Invaſions into the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, where his Exactions and Cruelty had been ſuch as had almoſt ſtripp'd the Country, not of its Subſtance only, but of its Inhabitants, who were oblig'd to quit their Habitations to avoid the Fury and Brutality of the Soldiers. 'Tis impoſſible to give the Detail of the Cruelties and inhumane Uſage the miſerable People met with from this *Butcher*, ſent among them by *Sharp*. They had patiently ſuffer'd the mercileſs Treatment this Man ſhew'd them many Months, and thereby teſtify'd more *Paſſive Obedience* than moſt of thoſe who have ſince upbraided them with *Reſiſtance* can pretend to, when Sir *James Turner* put an End to their Patience by the following Occaſion.

Sir James Turner's *Character.*

On the 13th of *November*, 1666, he ſent four Soldiers from *Dumfries*, where he quarter'd, to a Town call'd *Dalray*, in the Shire of *Galloway*, with Orders to ſeize upon a poor Man's Goods, who, he pretended, had broken the Laws by not coming to his Pariſh-Church; and if he had no Goods, to take the Man, and bring him Priſoner to *Dumfries*. The Soldiers, as *Turner* alledg'd afterwards, went beyond their Inſtructions, in ſeizing not only his Goods, but his Perſon, and binding the old Man Hand and Foot, brought him out like a Beaſt, and laid him on the Ground while they rifled the Houſe. The Neighbours mov'd with Compaſſion at the Indignity of this Treatment, and at ſeeing a poor antient Man lying on the Ground, bound like a Sheep to be carry'd away to the Slaughter, came to the Soldiers, and calmly entreated them to unbind him, and let him go like a Priſoner, and like a Man, not like a Beaſt. The Soldiers pretended to be affronted at this Motion, fell immediately upon the People with their Swords, and wounded two or three of them; which ſo enrag'd the reſt, that they attack'd the Soldiers, wounded one, and the reſt throwing down their Arms, begg'd *Quarter.*

This

A.D. 1668 This Breach, tho' purely accidental, and by an unforeſeen Provocation, being begun, the *Compleat Hiſtorian* affirms 'twas a *fram'd Deſign*; *Echard*, that it was in Correſpondence with the *Engliſh Presbyterians*. The Soldiers vow'd Revenge, and preparing to fall upon the whole neighbouring Country, drove the innocent People *Ib.* 161. to the Neceſſity of gathering together, and ſtanding upon their own Defence; ſo that when ten or twelve Soldiers return'd with their bloody Reſolution of Plunder and Deſolation, they were diſarm'd and made Priſoners. Upon which ſome Troops were ſent on the ſame Errand, who found the People too ſtrong to be attack'd; upon which the *Cry* was preſently, A REBELLION, and they ſent for more Forces to deſtroy them. This naturally excited others to run in to the Aid of their Brethren; all which was purely caſual; till finding themſelves reduc'd by this laſt Gathering to a Circumſtance, that *Stay* or *Go* wou'd be fatal to them; if they fell into the Hands of a cruel Government, they ſaw no Remedy but to ſtand to it; and inviting all the injur'd and oppreſs'd People to join with them, they declar'd *For Liberty and the Kirk of* Scotland. They then enter'd *Dumfries* and ſeiz'd Sir *James Turner* their Perſecutor. Thence they march'd to *Kirkenbright*, *Aire*, and ſo to *Lanerick*, where they ſolemnly renew'd the *Covenant*, and reſolv'd to ſeal it with their Blood. From *Lanerick* they advanc'd towards *Edinburgh*, where they arriv'd to the Number of about 2000 on the 17th of *November*; but being not ſtrong enough to attack the City, they poſted themſelves on the South-Weſt, at the Foot of *Pentland* Hills, waiting for the Conjunction of other Friends. They carry'd Sir *James Turner* Priſoner along with them, intending to make an Exchange of him for others of the Covenanters that might fall into the Enemies Hands, and they us'd him very civilly, as he himſelf confeſs'd.

The Governor of *Carliſle* ſent the firſt Expreſs of this Commotion to Court, and another from *Sharp* follow'd it two Days after. It is not eaſily to be imagin'd into what Conſternation it threw that inſolent Prelate and his Inſtruments; nor were the Court of *England* without thoſe Fears, which are ſoon mov'd in the Minds of thoſe who have done wrong. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *Sharp* was in a terrible Fright, and his Obſervation confirms it, *That Cruelty and Cowardice go together:* He mov'd that the Privy-Council might ſhut themſelves up in *Edinburgh* Caſtle; but the reſt of the Board were aſham'd of his cowardly Council, ſaying, it was to abandon the Town, and betray an unbecoming Fear. *Dalzeel*, who had learnt his good Manners and good Nature among the *Ruſſians*, whom he had ſerv'd, was ſent againſt the Covenanters with all the Forces that cou'd be got together. He publiſh'd a Proclamation of Pardon to all who ſhou'd return Home in 24 Hours, which reduc'd the Covenanters from 2000 to 800; the major Part of them loſing Heart when they ſaw no body of Note come to them out of *Edinburgh*, and but very few Citizens or People from any other Parts of the Kingdom. The chief Noblemen, as Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Airly*, purſu'd the Inſpirations of *Sharp*, and put themſelves and their Vaſſals in Arms againſt the *Covenanters*. The Earl of *Argyle*, who had been reſtor'd in Blood and Eſtate, rais'd 1500 Men, but *Sharp* was afraid to truſt them, and acting as chief Conductor of the War, ſent him no Orders to march; ſo he was at a vaſt Charge to levy and maintain his Men to no Purpoſe. But this Charge, vaſt as it was, bore no Compariſon with the Expence that noble Lord and his Father had been at for the Service of King *Charles* II. in whoſe Reign *A.D.* 1668 they were both condemn'd to die, after they had expended 40,000 Pounds *Sterling* to ſerve him, which he promis'd to repay, but never did, and made no other Acknowledgments for it than the Tragical Ones juſt mention'd. On the 28th of *November*, during a Ceſſation proclaim'd for 24 Hours, to give the *Whigs* (ſo the Covenanters were at this Time firſt ſtil'd) Opportunity to retire, *Dalzeel* ſurpriz'd and attack'd them, and after a very bold Reſiſtance they were at length over-power'd and broken. About 50 were kill'd in the Place, 80 were taken Priſoners, and the reſt ſav'd themſelves by Flight. The King's Forces *Covenanters routed.* did not purſue them very vigorouſly; beſides, being weary with long Marches, they had no great Affection to the Service; for, ſays the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the Covenanters *were a poor harmleſs Company of Men become mad by Oppreſſion.* Not above five of the King's Soldiers were ſlain; and now had the perſecuting *Scots* Prelates a Triumph, which cou'd not but be inexpreſſibly grateful to them, as giving them an Opportunity to have their Fill of Blood. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, the Archbiſhops of St. *Andrew*'s and *Glaſgow* enflam'd the Lord *Rothes*, who came down from *London* full of Rage, and provok'd him to proceed againſt the *Priſoners with the utmoſt Severity*. *Glaſgow*, not *Leighton*, adviſ'd him to hang up all who wou'd not renounce the Covenant. *The beſt of the Epiſcopal Clergy ſet upon the Biſhops to lay hold upon this Opportunity to recover the Affections of the People by interceeding for the Priſoners*: *But* Sharp *wou'd not be mollify'd. It was a moving Sight*, continues his Lordſhip, *to ſee ten of them hang'd upon one Gibbet at* Edinburgh. *Thirty-five more were ſent to their Countries, and hang'd up before their own Doors, the* Epiſcopal Clergy *all the while uſing them hardly, and declaring them Damn'd for their Rebellion. They might have all ſav'd their Lives, if they wou'd have renounc'd the* Covenant. *So they were really a ſort of* Martyrs *for it.* *Are Martyrs for the Covenant.* *They did all at their Death give their Teſtimony, according to their Phraſe, to it, and they expreſs'd great Joy in their Sufferings.* *Sharp* publiſh'd a Proclamation prohibiting the Concealing any of thoſe who fled, under Penalty of *High Treaſon*, naming the following Miniſters in particular; Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *James Smith*, Mr. *John Cuningham*, Mr. *Gabriel Semple*, Mr. *Alexander Peddin*, Mr. *William Veach*, Mr. *John Crookſhanks*, Mr. *Gabriel Maxwell*, Mr. *John Carſtairs*, Mr. *John Guthrie*. The latter was conceal'd in the Houſe of Biſhop *Burnet*'s Mother, a zealous Covenanter, Siſter to the Lord *Warriſton*. Mr. *Maccail*, a young Miniſter, who had been with the Covenanters at *Pentland* Hill, was put to the Torture of the Boot, and for all the Pains of the Rack dy'd in this Rapture of Joy, *Farewel Sun, Moon, and Stars; Farewel Kindred and Friends; Farewel World and Time; Farewel weak and frail Body. Welcome Eternity; Welcome Angels and Saints; Welcome Saviour of the World; and Welcome God the Judge of all*; " which, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, he ſpoke with " a Voice and Manner that ſtruck all who " heard it. *Miniſters proſcrib'd.*

Were the *Compleat Hiſtorians* ſenſible of the *Pathetick* and *Sublime* in Eloquence, they wou'd own there is nothing like it in whatever they have ſeen of Antiquity; and it being a ſuffering Miniſter's dying Words, adds a Truth to the Beauty, which cannot be met with in prophane Learning. This is one of the Covenant Martyrs, which the *Scots* Curates gave over to Damnation. Tho' I doubt not every good Chriſtian, after reading the Divine Exultation of Mr. *Maccail*, will be

A.D.1668 ready to ſay to them, Be my Portion with this good Man, and take ye your Lot with one another.

We muſt now return to the Affairs of *England*, which are our Principal Subject; and we treat of *Scotland* and *Ireland* only as they have Relation to them.

Triple-League. The Archdeacon, and moſt of our Hiſtoriographers, ſpeak of the King's entring into a League with *Holland* and *Sweden* for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands*, as one of the moſt Politick Acts of this Politick Reign; and it was certainly grounded on the beſt Reaſon that right Judgment cou'd lead Miniſters into. *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, being the only Powers who were willing or able to have put a Stop to the *French* King's Conqueſts, if the King and his Chief Miniſters had been as much in earneſt as were the People. But King *Charles* had no Pretence left him to ask Money of Parliament, to whom a very ſlight Pretence wou'd have been ſufficient. He had made an inglorious War and Peace, after an Expence of many Millions of Money. He knew the *Engliſh* Nation was very jealous of the *French* Acquiſitions in *Flanders*, which they juſtly look'd on as a Barrier to *England*; and any Meaſures taken to preſerve it from falling into *French* Hands, wou'd be very popular, and extreamly acceptable to the States-General; ſo he order'd Sir *William Temple*, his Envoy at *Bruſſels*, to repair to the *Hague* in the Beginning of *January*, and conclude a Treaty with the United Provinces; which was perfected and ſign'd a few Days after his Arrival, to the great Joy of the two Nations. The Purport of it was, to oblige *France* by Mediation or Force to ſtop the further Progreſs of her Army in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and *Sweden* entring into this Alliance ſoon after the Concluſion of it, 'twas call'd the *Triple-League*. But the *Dutch* only were ſincere in it; and *Lewis* XIV. knew the King of *England*'s Inclination and Religion too well to be alarm'd at it. All the Miniſters of the three Allies, who had the Conduct of this Treaty, were in the *French* Intereſt, as well in *Holland*, as in *England* and *Sweden*, Sir *William Temple* only excepted, who was as hearty in it as he was diligent. The *French* King knowing that whatever Publick Alliances the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters might conclude, they were ſtill at his Devotion, ſeem'd to take little Notice of the Concluſion of this; the League being all Grimace in thoſe that were to execute it. For tho' the Penſionary *De Wit* told the Count *D'Eſtrades*, his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, *The States are of Neceſſity to endeavour for ſuch Securities and Alliances as may ſhelter them from his Majeſty's great Power*; yet he remain'd as much attach'd to the *French* King's Intereſt as ever, out of Fear of the Prince of *Orange*'s Party, who, with the Prince, had been extreamly ill us'd by him; and he thought he cou'd not have a better Support againſt both than the *French* King. Before the *Triple-League* was perfected, the Count *de Lionne*, Secretary of State in *France*, wrote thus to *D'Eſtrades*, which ſhews ſufficiently that his Maſter was in no manner of Pain about an Alliance concluded by Potentates whoſe Miniſters he had made ſure of. *Live merrily whatever you ſee happen*, be under no Concern about the *Triple-League*. He knows what he ſays, and on what Foundation; and *D'Eſtrades* cou'd not help ſaying, *It will all vaniſh in Smoak, and the King my Maſter will but laugh at it.* The *French* Faction in *England* talk'd after the ſame Rate. Sir *Thomas Clifford* whiſper'd a Gentleman in ſome Company where this League was highly extoll'd, *Well, for all this Noiſe, we muſt yet have another War with the Dutch before it be long.* This Treaty being little leſs than *Felonious* on the Part of *England* and *Sweden*, it is not worth dwelling upon, or one might very much enlarge on it out of Sir *William Temple*'s Memoirs and Letters. A.D.1668

The Irruption of *Lewis* XIV. into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, very much facilitated the Peace, which was now concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*; the Earl of *Sandwich*, the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador, acting as a Mediator; which proves that it was no very difficult Negotiation.

Parliament. On the 10th of *February* the Parliament met, and his Majeſty made a Speech to them, wherein he mention'd the *Triple-League*, and wiſh'd them to *think ſeriouſly of ſome Courſe to beget a better Underſtanding and Compoſure in the Minds of his Proteſtant Subjects, in Matters of Religion; whereby they may be induc'd not only to ſubmit quietly to the Government, but alſo chearfully give their Aſſiſtance for the Support of it.* Theſe Sentiments put in Exerciſe in the beginning of his Reign, wou'd have prevented the miſchievous Conſequences of the Lord *Clarendon*'s *Stinging Acts*. The Houſe of Commons order'd a Committee to enquire into the late Miſcarriages at Sea, and at *Chatham*, and expell'd Mr. *Brouncker*, before-mention'd, for giving the Orders for ſlackening Sail. They impeach'd Sir *Peter Pett*, and Sir *William Penn*, Commiſſioners in his Majeſty's Yards, for Irregularities and Embezzlements. Theſe Impeachments ſerving only to retard Buſineſs, ſays *Echard*, by which he means giving of Money, were never compleated ſo as to anſwer the Ends of them: For as yet this Aſſembly is too full of *Penſioners* to compleat any thing that the Court does not reliſh. He then tells us, they had ſome other Buſineſs beſides giving Money, and notwithſtanding it is but a Year or two before this Parliament will, by a Publick Act, declare that they are ſenſible of the Growth of Popery, from the Diſunion among Proteſtants, yet does this ingenious Hiſtorian aſſure us now, That the Houſe of Commons were ſtill of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Judgment; that *Popery* had its Growth under Cover of indulging Proteſtant Diſſenters; tho', in truth, while thoſe Diſſenters were moſt cruelly perſecuted, the Papiſts were moſt tenderly indulg'd. But this Aſſembly had ſtill a Majority of the ſame Judgment with Sir *John Duncomb*, Sir *John Robinſon*, Sir *Courtney Pool*, Sir *Job Charlton*, &c. which Four only had among them 5500 Pounds yearly in Penſions, as will be further made appear in the Sequel. As yet *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and the perſecuting Prelates, had an Influence upon them; and they muſt undergo ſtill more Calamities before their Eyes will be open to ſee the Beauty of Charity and Moderation. They ſhew'd their Wiſdoms in taking this Way to compoſe the Minds of the King's Proteſtant Subjects, the preſenting an Addreſs againſt the *Meetings of Nonconformiſts*; they cou'd not well help joining the *Papiſts* too, and a Proclamation was iſſu'd accordingly.

Two Houſes differ in Skinner's Caſe. In this Seſſion of Parliament a Difference happen'd between the Two Houſes, in the Caſe of Mr. *Thomas Skinner*, a Merchant of *London*; who having receiv'd great Damages from the *Eaſt-India* Company, had brought the Matter by Petition into the Houſe of Lords originally, and was reliev'd in 5000 Pounds Coſts. This the Commons Voted to be not agreeable to the Laws of the Land, and that *Thomas Skinner*, in procuring Judgment, with Directions, to be ſerv'd upon the Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company, being a Member of the Houſe, is guilty of a Breach of Privilege, and they order'd him to be taken into Cuſtody of their Serjeant at Arms. This occaſion'd

A.D.1668 ſion'd ſeveral Conferences. The Lords Voted the Petition of the *Eaſt-India* Company to the Commons to be *Scandalous*; the Commons Voted it to be *not Scandalous*, and ſent a Meſſage to the Peers, that for promoting a fair Union between the Two Houſes, all further Proceedings be forborn upon the Sentence in the Caſe of *Skinner*; and that Sir *Andrew Riccard*, Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*, Mr. *Rowland Gwynne*, and Mr. *Chriſtopher Boone* be ſet at Liberty; and Reſolv'd, that whoever ſhall be aiding and aſſiſting in putting in Execution the Sentence of the Lords, in the Caſe of *Skinner*, againſt the *Eaſt-India* Company, ſhall be deem'd a Betrayer of the Rights and Liberties of the Commons, *&c.* On the ſame Day that they paſs'd this Vote, *May* the 8th, the King ſent for them to the Houſe of Peers, and paſs'd an Act for raiſing 301,000 Pounds by an Impoſt on Wines, and three or four Acts more. *Coke* tells us, the Parliament gave an additional Duty of eight Pounds a Ton on *French* Wines, and Twelve Pounds a Ton on *Spaniſh* Wines, for eight Years, which amounted to 560,000 Pounds; alſo an Act for Sale of the *Fee-Farm* Rents, to the Value of 1,300,000 Pounds, which enabled him to ſtay almoſt a Year and half without a Seſſion. The Parliament was then adjourn'd to the 11th of *Auguſt*, but it was then prorogu'd, and again after that; ſo they met not again till the 19th of *October* in the following Year.

When the Conteſt was on foot between the Lords and Commons in the Caſe of *Skinner*, the Lord *Hollis* wrote a Pamphlet on the Side of the Houſe of Peers, in which he ſeem'd to outdo the higheſt who had ever written for the Privileges of the Houſe of Lords; which was the more taken Notice of, becauſe it was the Reverſe of his Opinion when he was a Member of the Houſe of Commons. For *Ludlow* ſays, " He ſo far deſpis'd " the Privileges of the Lords, that at a Confe- " rence between the Two Houſes, in which the " Peers ſhew'd themſelves unwilling to comply " with the Commons, he ſaid openly, *If they* " *perſiſt to refuſe their Concurrence, the Commons* " *will do the Thing without them.* One of the " Members of the Houſe of Commons anſwer'd " Lord *Hollis*'s Pamphlet with ſuch Force and " Sharpneſs, that upon Debate, the Commons " came to three Reſolutions to this Effect: *That* " *divers Things affirm'd in his Book are falſe and* " *ſcandalous: That from this Time the Lords* " *ſhall never originally intermeddle with the Cauſe* " *of any Commoner; and that what the Lords* " *have done in the Buſineſs of* Skinner, *ſhall be* " *raz'd out of their Books.* Which Votes being " carry'd to the Lords for their Approbation, " they return'd for Anſwer, they wou'd ſhortly " ſend them a Bill touching that Matter.

The Hiſtory is very thin of Buſineſs all this Reign, unleſs in Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters, and making Plots, and hanging Plotters. But the chief Plot-maker, the Earl of *Clarendon*, being in Exile again, other Work is found out *A Tumult.* for the Executioner. A Rabble of lewd Fellows, not lewder however than their Betters, aſſembled the 25th of *March* in a tumultuous Manner, it being in *Eaſter* Holidays. They broke open ſeveral Priſons, and demoliſh'd the Houſes of ſome Perſons who had given them Offence; but the Guards coming, diſpers'd them. Several of the Rioters were taken, and this Government knew well what to do with their Priſoners: Four of them were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd at *Tyburn.*

The *French* King having not yet prepar'd Matters for carrying on a War in the *Netherlands*, himſelf march'd another Way at the Head of an Army of 40,000 Men, and over-ran the *Franche Compte* and *Burgundy*, for two excellent Reaſons, to forward the Peace with *Spain*, and to ſecure himſelf againſt any Army the Emperor might raiſe and ſend into *Burgundy*. *England* and *Holland* were very active in procuring a Peace between *France* and *Spain*; *Aix la Chapelle* was appointed for the Place of Treaty. Sir *William Temple* was the *Engliſh* Miniſter; and the Neceſſity of the Affairs of *Spain* was ſuch, that ſhe was forc'd to part with *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Doway*, *Fort de Scarpe*, *Tournay*, *Oudenarde*, *Liſle*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, *Bergues*, and *Furnes*, with their Dependencies, to *France*. This was the firſt good Effect of the *Triple-Alliance*; inſtead of making War, to recover thoſe Cities and Territories in the *Netherlands*, the League joins in giving them up. *Spain* indeed was not very punctual in payment of the Subſidies promis'd to *Sweden*. The King of *England* never intended to make War againſt *France*, though not only the *Spaniſh*, but the *Dutch Netherlands* were in Danger; nay, he was ſo far from any ſuch Intention, that he ſeem'd more enclin'd to make War againſt *England*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King, as appears by *D'Eſtrades*'s Letter to that King of the 21ſt of *July*, 1667, when the *Breda* Treaty was juſt concluded. *If the King of* England *will take the ſame Counſel he did when I was Ambaſſador there, not to pretend to any thing in* Flanders, *but to aſſiſt your Majeſty with all his Power to conquer it, provided you wou'd aſſiſt him with* 10,000 *Foot, and ſome Horſe, one need not mind the States.* *Echard*, after *Coke*, tells us, that whatever the *Spaniards* loſt, the *Engliſh* got ſomething by the *French* Ravages; for they drove one *Brewer* out of *Flanders* into *England*, where he taught the *Engliſh* Diers a new Way of dying fine Cloths forty *per Cent.* cheaper than they cou'd die before; which theſe two notable Hiſtorians tells us only as a Proof of an old Saying, *'Tis a bad Wind*, &c. The Archdeacon then informs us, that Sir *William Temple* thought the *Spirit and Vigour of the great Men in* England *were enervated*; as if they had ever been nervated ſince this King came to the Crown! Then out of his great Zeal to the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Church, he falls foul upon his Succeſſor in the Miniſtry, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Aſſociate the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who *ſeem'd capable of corrupting any Court in the World* but the Court of *England*, which was incapable of Corruption, the Meaſure of whoſe Vices were as full as the Vial of Vengeance that threaten'd them. He owns, *That the Court*, following the King's Example, was over-run with Luxury and Extravagance. The Light of Natural Reaſon led thoſe two Lords into an Opinion that the Cruelty towards Proteſtant Diſſenters was unchriſtian like, and inhumane, and contrary to the natural Right of Free-born Men. Allow that they did not act from a Principle of Chriſtian Charity, but from meer Humanity and good Nature, thoſe are amiable and laudable Qualities, infinitely preferable to blind Zeal and frantick Bigotry.

A.D.1668

Spain's diſhonourable Peace with France.

The Court lewd.

The King had expreſs'd his Willingneſs to have the Minds of the Diſſenters compos'd, in his late Speech, and the Duke of *Buckingham* declaring himſelf for Liberty, they were conniv'd at in *London*; which occaſion'd the Country Miniſters to hold their Meetings as openly as the *London* Miniſters held theirs.

Diſſenters conniv'd at.

The *Compleat Hiſtorian*, among a thouſand weak and malicious Reflections, has this: " It " cou'd be no great Credit to the Diſſenting Party " to have had the Earl of *Clarendon* their Oppo- " ſer, and the Duke of *Buckingham* their Pro- " moter. The firſt oppoſing them upon no worſe " Principle than a Zeal to the eſtabliſh'd Church,

*A.D.*1668 " as the moſt effectual Bulwark againſt Popery; " and the other appearing in their Intereſt upon " no better Account than a ſtrong Affection to the " univerſal Liberty of Opinion and Practice." If this had been the only fooliſh Reflection in that Hiſtory, we wou'd have had Pity on it for its Folly, and have left it undiſturb'd where we found it; but it is ſo much againſt common Senſe, that one cou'd not well paſs it by. Do People under Oppreſſion refuſe Relief, unleſs it comes from a Principle of Conſcience? Do People in Want enquire if the Hands are clean that relieve them? But which ſtill is moſt eligible as a Patron, a Man of wicked Principles, or a Man of no Principles? There is no greater Wickedneſs than Oppreſſion and Cruelty, and without Principles, a Perſon may be ſo well natur'd as to wiſh well to his Neighbour, and encline to do good for the meer Pleaſure of doing it. Read the learned and judicious Dr. *Calamy* upon this: *I ſhou'd think, if ſuch Conſiderations as theſe are here brought in, the* Church *will have no great Cauſe to boaſt, who was help'd to her ſtrongeſt Laws againſt the poor Nonconformiſts by thoſe who, it appear'd plainly afterwards, were carrying on a* Popiſh *Intereſt: And yet, when they ſuffer'd under thoſe Laws, they were willing to accept Relief from any Hand, as knowing that whatever Principle they might be of who appear'd for them, there was too much of an implacable Spirit in ſuch as were againſt them.*

Compleat Hiſtory *wrong.*

Echard takes much Delight in repeating Sir *William Temple*'s Deſcription of Presbyterian Virtue, *'Tis peaking and formal*; as for *peaking*, it is no more *Engliſh* in Language than in Sentiment; and as to *formal*, one may have a very good Conception of it in Sir *William*'s Memoirs, which have as much Form and Affectation as the Memoirs of the moſt errant *Frenchman*. Presbyterian *Virtue* includes *Piety*, which with theſe Men renders every thing *peaking in* Morals.

About this time Mr. *Baxter* receiv'd a Letter from Dr. *Manton*, intimating he had been told by Sir *John Baber*, that the Lord Keeper *Bridgman* deſir'd to confer with them Two about a *Comprehenſion* and *Toleration*. When thoſe two Divines waited on the Lord Keeper, he told them, he had ſent for them to think of a Way for their Reſtoration; to which End he had ſome Propoſals to offer them, which were a Comprehenſion for *Presbyterians*, and an Indulgence for *Independents*, and the reſt. Mr. *Baxter* propos'd, that not only the *Presbyterians*, but the *Independents*, and all ſound Chriſtians, might be taken into the Eſtabliſhment. The Lord Keeper ſaid, *That was a Thing he wou'd not have*; but a *Comprehenſion* for the *Presbyterians*, and an *Indulgence* for the reſt. The Lord Keeper's Propoſals were much the ſame as King *Charles*'s Healing Declaration a few Months before the bitter *Bartholomew Act*, and were drawn up by Biſhop *Wilkins*; with whom, and Dr. *Burton*, the Lord Keeper's Chaplain, Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Manton* had Conference about the Propoſals, and ſome Additions to be made to them, as againſt *Re-ordination*, in Caſe of Comprehenſion: For *Subſcription* only to the Scriptures, and the Doctrinal Articles of the Church; for limiting the Power of Biſhops, Chancellors, *&c.* in Suſpending and Silencing; that Meetings for Religious Exerciſes might not be taken for *Conventicles*. But theſe Things wou'd not paſs, for which Biſhop *Wilkins* expreſs'd himſelf ſorry. Sir *Matthew Hale* drew up a Bill to be brought into the Houſe of Commons when the Parliament met, to the Purport of the above-mention'd Propoſals. And Biſhop *Wilkins*, a candid, ingenious, open-hearted Man, acquainted *Ward*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the old Republican and Covenanter, with the whole Matter, hoping to have prevail'd for his Concurrence in it; inſtead of which, he ſo beſtirr'd himſelf and all his Friends, and made ſuch a Party againſt it, as that upon putting it to the Vote, it was carry'd, That no Man ſhou'd bring an Act of that Nature into the Houſe; which prevented all farther Motion of it.

*A.D.*1668 *Hinder'd by* Ward *Bp. of* Salisbury.

Comprehenſion for Diſſenters.

Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Stillingfleet* join'd heartily in this *Comprehenſion* Project. All the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Party cry'd out againſt it, as an *Undermining and Betraying of the* Church (the *Charm* again!) *The Cauſe of the* Church *is given up*; *'tis unworthy the* CHURCH *to treat with Enemies*. Biſhop *Burnet* proceeds, *The Fears of* POPERY, *and the Progreſs that* Atheiſm *was making, alarm'd good and wiſe Men* (What was this Orthodox Parliament then?) *And they thought every thing that cou'd be done without Sin, ought to be done towards the Healing our Diviſions.*

Echard, who takes care to bring ſome Falſity into almoſt every Fact which concerns *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, aſſures us, that Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, &c. were a parcel of *whiffling Fellows*. If he has taken ſuch Liberty with Divines ſo infinitely ſuperior to him in all good Qualities, why am I ſo much upon my guard towards him, on account of his being an Eccleſiaſtick? *There was nothing of Conſcience in all their Pretences.* Here he uſurps the Prerogative of the Omniſcient, who can only know the Heart of Man. They had nothing but *Tergiverſation and Cavils*, falſe to a Prodigy. I have repeated what they had to ſay, the whole Matter was agreed upon, and the Act for it had been brought into Parliament, if *Ward*, and other ſuch Eccleſiaſticks, had not ſtir'd up a Party in the Houſe of Commons, who paſs'd a Vote againſt bringing of it in; *A very extraordinary Vote!* ſays my Lord of *Sarum*; and moſt of the Votes of this Parliament have hitherto been indeed very extraordinary.

However, the King, under the Influence of Miniſters who were for Moderation, ſhew'd an Inclination to favour the Nonconformiſts, and expreſs'd himſelf, that an Addreſs from them wou'd be accepted; which Addreſs met with ſome Oppoſition from thoſe Miniſters who cou'd not have Confidence in the Court. The Subſtance of it was to thank his Majeſty for his Clemency and Forbearance, which ſeem'd like a Banter to Perſons who knew both the King and the Addreſſors. However, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Ennis*, preſented an Addreſs of Thanks, and were very graciouſly receiv'd. His Majeſty told them, *He wou'd do his Utmoſt to get them comprehended in the Eſtabliſhment, and wou'd remove all Bars; for he cou'd wiſh that there had been no Bounds or Bars at all, but all had been Sea.* He added, " They might have " had Liberty enough, but ſomething muſt be " done for publick Peace. However, they cou'd " not be ignorant that this was a Work of Diffi- " culty and Time to get it fully effected for their " Aſſurance. In the mean Time he wiſh'd they " wou'd uſe their Liberty temperately. He ſaid, " their Meetings were too numerous, and ſo, be- " ſides that they were againſt Law, gave Occa- " ſion to many clamourous People to come with " Complaints to him, as if their Deſign was " wholly to undermine the *Church*, and to ſay, " Sir, *Theſe are they that you protect againſt the* " *Laws*. The King then ſpoke of *Farrington*'s " Preaching in the Play-houſe." The Miniſters told his Majeſty they all diſlik'd the Action. He inſtanc'd Mr. *Baxter*'s drawing in all the Country round about him at *Acton*. Dr. *Manton* ſaid, " Mr. *Baxter* goes to the Publick, and preaches " in the Interval between Morning and Evening " Service,

Diſſenters addreſs the King with Thanks.

He confers with the Miniſters.

A.D.1668 " Service, beginning at Twelve. That the firſt " Intendment was for the Benefit of his own Fa- " mily, and the great Company was not invited " by him, but intruded upon him; that it was " hard to exclude thoſe, who in Charity might " be ſuppos'd to come with a Thirſt after the " Means of Edification. He alledg'd the general " Neceſſity, and that Nonconformiſts were not all " of a Piece; and if People of unſober Princi- " ples in Religion were permitted to preach, a " Neceſſity lay upon them to take the like Liber- " ty; that thoſe who had invincible Scruples " againſt the Publick Way, may not be left as a " Prey to thoſe who might leave bad Impreſſions " upon them, which wou'd neither be ſo ſafe for " Religion nor the publick Peace." The King reply'd, *That the Raffle of the People were not of ſuch Conſideration, they being apt to run after every new Teacher; but People of Quality might be entreated to forbear to meet, or at leaſt act in ſuch Multitudes, leſt the publick Scandal taken thereby, might obſtruct his Intention and Deſigns for their Good.* His Majeſty ſeem'd well pleas'd when Dr. *Manton* ſuggeſted, " That their " Sobriety of Doctrine, and meddling only with " weighty Things, and remembrance of him in " their Prayers with Reſpect, preſerv'd an Eſteem " of his Perſon and Government in the Hearts of " his People; and that probably People of ano- " ther Humour might ſeaſon them with worſe " Infuſions." Here the Earl of *Arlington*, in whoſe Lodgings the King receiv'd the Divines, pluck'd him by the Coat, as deſiring him to note it. The Addreſs was conſider'd, and approv'd by the Cabinet Council; but the Miniſters did not make it publick, that they might not be thought to open the Door to a Toleration of *Papiſts*; and their Care not to give the leaſt ſhadow of Countenance to ſuch an Indulgence, was probably the main Reaſon that they had ſo little Benefit of one.

His Majeſty this Year took a Progreſs, accompany'd by the Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert*, &c. from *Newmarket*, croſs the Country by *Bagſhot*, to *Portſmouth*; and thence again to *Newmarket*, *Audley-End*, *Ipſwich*, *Harwich*, and the *Downs*, where he view'd a Squadron of Ships bound for the *Streights*, commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, who in the Treaty he renew'd with the *Algerines*, added two or three Articles concerning *Tangier*, without which the *Marine* in this Reign wou'd have been ſeldom mention'd. Ambaſſadors were ſent to ſeveral Courts, as Sir *William Godolphin* to *Spain*, Sir *Edward Sprague* to *Bruſſels*, both Papiſts; the Earl of *Carliſle* to *Stockholm*, Mr. *Ralph Montagu* to *Paris*, Sir *Daniel Harvey* to *Conſtantinople*, Sir *William Temple* to the *Hague*. The Kingdom was now ſo infeſted with Robbers, that a Proclamation was publiſh'd the 23d of *December*, for apprehending *Swiffnix*, *Madox*, *Daval*, and twenty more, promiſing a Reward of twenty Pounds for each Man, to be paid by the Sheriffs of the Counties where they were taken. Monſieur *Colbert*, Ambaſſador of *France* at the Treaty of *Aix*, came to *England* in the ſame Quality, and negotiated a Treaty here of a quite contrary Tenor to thoſe of *Breda* and *Aix la Chapelle*. Sir *John Vaughan*, the great Mover in the Lord *Clarendon*'s Impeachment, was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*; the Lord Viſcount *Fitzharding* dying, Sir *Thomas Clifford* was made Treaſurer of the Houſhold; the Duke of *Monmouth* Captain of the Horſe Guards, on the Reſignation of the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*; and Sir *John Trevor* Secretary of State, on the Reſignation of Sir *William Morrice*, who had 10,000 Pounds given him in lieu of it.

Ambaſſadors.

Robbers.

Promotions.

From the Treaty of *Aix* above-mention'd, to the ſecond *Dutch* War in this Reign, the *French* King and his Miniſters, us'd all their Arts to break the *Triple* League, which the three Powers, *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland*, were oblig'd in Honour and Intereſt to maintain; yet at the ſame Time *France* ſeem'd to have little Regard to the Friendſhip of *England*, not that ſhe was afraid of Enmity, but being ſure of the King, ſhe valu'd not the People. A.D.1669 *The King's Friendſhip with* France.

The Iſland of St. *Chriſtophers*, one of the *Caribbees* in *America*, was to be reſtor'd to the *Engliſh*, yet the *French* kept it two or three Years, and when they left it, deſtroy'd all the Plantations, plunder'd and carry'd away all that was portable, leaving it in a much worſe Condition than if it had never been planted. They interrupted the Trade of the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, aſſuming to themſelves the Sovereignty of the Seas there, not ſuffering any Ships but their own to ſail by or about thoſe Iſlands. Upon no other ground did they take Prizes, and confiſcate ſeveral Veſſels. Add to all this the great Duties they laid now upon our Merchandiſe in *France*, which was as bad as a Prohibition, while we continu'd to trade with them for ready Money, to the Value of a Million yearly loſs. And what was more miſchievous than all the reſt, were their continual Intrigues to poiſon the Counſels of *England*, and draw off the Court from the true Intereſts of the Nation; however, nor Court, nor Country were in ſuch high Eſteem with King *Charles*, and his Brother the Duke of *York*. The late War between *England* and *Holland*, gave the *French* King an Opportunity to encreaſe his Shipping and naval Stores as he did, in a ſcandalous Manner in *Holland*, by Means of *De Wit*, and in *England*, by Means of the *French* Faction here. In *Holland* he purchas'd twelve ſtout Men of War, and as many more great Merchant Men, which he converted to Men of War. Beſides this there was exported thence to *France*, within the Compaſs of two Years, 400,000 Pounds Weight of *Powder*, 500,000 Pounds Weight of *Match*, 200 Casks of *Pitch* and *Tar*, 40,000 Weight of Iron for Bullets, 6000 Hand-Granades, 2 Galliots, 13 Fly-Boats, 5 Pinks laden with Plank, Cordage, Maſts, Sails, &c. And that he was as well ſupply'd from *England*, is to be ſeen by our Exports to *France*, in this and the following Years.

St. Chriſtophers *plunder'd by the* French.

Loſs by the French *Trade.*

The Dutch *furniſh the* French *with Naval Stores.*

Dr. *Welwood* gives us a very good Account of King *Charles*'s contributing to the Greatneſs of the *French* at Sea. " Within theſe few Weeks, " *ſays he*, there has ſomething relating to that " Subject accidentally come to my Knowledge, " which, perhaps, a great Part of the World has " not been yet acquainted with. No body doubts " but King *Charles* II. underſtood *Sea Affairs*, " and the Art of Building Ships, as well almoſt " as any of his Subjects: And I have ſeen under " his own Hand ſeveral extraordinary Diſcoveries " and Experiments in that Matter, which ſpeaks " him to have been a Prince of great Abilities, " as in all other Things that might aggrandize " *France* and level *England*; ſo in this Art of " *building Ships*, King *Charles* was willing to " aſſiſt his intimate Ally, *Lewis* XIV. to the " utmoſt of his Power: In order thereto, he not " only faithfully communicated to the *French* " *King*, from Time to Time, all his own Obſer- " vations and Experiments, but likewiſe thoſe of " the moſt skilful Perſons about him in the Art. " Nay ſuch was that King's Zeal for *France*, and " his Care to acquaint the *French* King with Sea " Affairs, that I have lately ſeen the *Doubles* of " ſeveral Letters from King *Charles* to the *French* " King, about Implements, and *new Diſcoveries* " *in building Ships of War*, and at the Foot

Hiſtory of Peace with France.

King Charles *inſtructs the* French *King in Ship-building.*

A.D.1669 " of ſome of the *Doubles* of conſiderable Lengths, " written by King *Charles* himſelf to this Pur- " poſe, *The Original with my own Hand, " ſent him ſuch a Day.* Strange! That a Prince " ſo much in *love with Eaſe*, and who writes *ſo " ill a Hand*, cou'd be brought to write near a " Sheet of Paper at a Time, meerly to teach an " inveterate Enemy of the *Engliſh* Nation, a Way " to contend with him the *Dominion of the " Seas*, the brighteſt Jewel of his Crown. But " this is not all, King *Charles*'s Love to the Peo- " ple of *England*, went farther yet, for there is " to be ſeen the *Double* of a Letter from him " to the *French* King, full of Inſtructions about " this ſame Subject, dated at a Time when he " pretended to concur with other Princes, in " obliging that King to make a Peace, &c.

Inſtead of ſuch Truths as theſe, the Archdeacon informs us, that Sir *William Temple* took daily Pains to ſtrengthen the *Triple Alliance*, which Monſieur *Colbert*, in *England*, took daily Pains to break in Pieces, and had much more Succeſs in his Endeavours, which was ſuſpected by all Miniſters who had the leaſt Inſight into Buſineſs; and the *French* Court did not ſtick to ſay, *That* England *wou'd certainly fail the* Dutch, *and was already chang'd in the Courſe of thoſe Counſels they had taken with* Sweden *and* Holland. Monſieur *Puſendorf*, the *Swediſh* Envoy at *Paris*, was told there, and he told *De Wit* as much, as he paſs'd thro' *Holland*, in his Way home. The *Swede* added, that Monſieur *Turenne* ſhew'd him a Letter from Monſieur *Colbert*, at the Court of *England*, wherein he gave an Account of *the happy Succeſſes he had met with in his Negotiation there, of the good Diſpoſition of the Courtiers*, and eſpecially thoſe of ſome *of the chief Miniſters*, with the Addition of theſe Words, *And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the whole Extent of his Majeſty's Liberality.*

Prince of Tuſcany *in* England.

About the End of *March*, arriv'd in *England Coſmo de Medicis*, Prince of *Tuſcany*, in his Travels over *Europe*. The Earl of *Pembroke* entertain'd him magnificently at his Seat in *Wiltſhire*. At *Brentford* he was met and complemented in the King's Name, by the Lord Viſcount *Mandeville*. On his Arrival at *London*, he receiv'd Complements from the King, Queen, Duke and Dutcheſs, by Sir *William Killegrew*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and Sir *William Powel*.

At the End of the Month, the King, the Duke, and Prince *Rupert*, accompany'd him to *Newmarket*, whence he went to *Cambridge*, and was complemented by the two Divinity Profeſſors, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Pearſon*, the young Noblemen and Magiſtrates attending them. Dr. *Widdrington*, the Univerſity Orator, entertain'd him with a publick Speech at the Gate, which no doubt had in it the uſual Spirit of Academical Orations, and as little Fuſtian and Affectation as is conſiſtent with the Nature of ſuch Harangues. The Prince of *Tuſcany* being conducted to the *Regent Houſe*, there was a Congregation held, Degrees in all Faculties created by the King's particular Command, and a *Philoſophy Act* was perform'd, to the ſingular Satisfaction of his *Tuſcan* Highneſs.

On the 3d of *May*, the Prince arriv'd at *Oxford*, and was waited on by Dr. *Fell*, the Vice-Chancellor, at his Lodgings in the *Angel-Inn*, which he preferr'd for Privacy, to the Lodgings offer'd him by the Doctor. Dr. *South*, the publick Orator, made a Speech to him in the Convocation-Houſe, where his Highneſs ſate in a Chair of State, on the right Hand of the Vice-Chancellor, but it is to be queſtion'd, whether *South* complemented his Highneſs the Prince of *Tuſcany* ſo well as he did his Highneſs *Oliver Cromwel.*

At Tu Dux pariter Terræ Domitorque profundi A.D.1669
Componunt Laudas cuncta Elementa tuas;
Cui Mens alta ſubeſt pelagoque profundior ipſo, Dr South's
Cujus Fama ſonat, quam procul Unda ſonat. Panegyrick
Si Currum aſcendas domito pœne orbe triumphans, on Oliver.
In Currus, &c.

Captain at Land, and Conqu'or of the Main,
All Elements confeſs your glorious Reign;
Seas are leſs deep than your capacious Soul,
Your Fame ſounds far as ſounding Waters [rowl;
The Globe too weak for your triumphant [Pow'rs,
Bends with your Weight, and both the Poles [are Yours.

Tho' Dr. *South*'s Latin Poetry is not much better than the *Engliſh*, it ſhews his good Will to *Cromwel*. To ſatisfy his *Tuſcan* Highneſs how Academical Affairs were diſpatch'd, his Phyſician *John Bapt. Gornia*, Doctor of Phyſick of *Bononia*, was incorporated and admitted to the ſame Degree. The Prince was then ſhewn the *New Theatre*, not quite finiſh'd, and the publick Library, where he had a View of thoſe Manuſcripts, &c. which it is ſo difficult for any one that wou'd make uſe of them, to obtain an uſeful View of. He heard a Lecture in *Geometry* read by Dr. *Wallis*, and what muſt be ſurprizingly edifying, *ſome Diſputations* in the School of Tongues. In the *Muſick-School* he was entertain'd with Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick, and had an Opportunity to make a Compariſon between *Ben. Rogers* and *Corelli*. *Echard* enlarges on theſe Matters, as if there was ſomething in them, and ſure I cannot follow a better Example.

The Prince ſtaid in *England* about nine Weeks, and it is certain he was ſo well pleas'd with his Reception here, that when afterwards he became great Duke of *Tuſcany*, he receiv'd the *Engliſh* in his Court, after a more free and diſtinguiſhing Manner than any other Nation, and did as long as he liv'd, ſend Preſents of the fineſt *Florence* Wine, every Year to the Court, the chief Courtiers, and many other Perſons of Diſtinction in *England*.

Prince George *of* Denmark *in* England. Sheldon's *Theatre open'd at* Oxford.

About *July*, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, after a ſhort Tour in *France*, made a ſhort Tour in *England*. In the ſame Month, *Sheldon*'s Theatre at *Oxford* was open'd, with a Speech by the publick Orator Dr. *South*; and ſeveral Panegyricks were pronounc'd by proper Orators, and if thoſe Orations had liv'd till now, they wou'd doubtleſs have been diſtinguiſh'd by fineneſs of Wit, and delicacy of Thought and Expreſſion, which diſtinguiſh the Panegyricks of that Theatre from all others. *There was then a Dialogue in* Poetry, *which continu'd ſome Time*, to the great awakening of the Audience. This was follow'd by another *Oration*, two *Speeches in* Poetry, *a Diſcourſe in Favour of Learning, a ſhort Speech from the Muſick Gallery, uſhering in two Odes; after which was another Speech, and ſo a Concluſion.* The Hiſtory of it is an Entertainment which nothing cou'd equal, but the Hearing of ſo many ſet Speeches in Proſe and Verſe, for they have generally ſo much Nature, Truth, Simplicity, Senſe, Spirit and Elegance in them, that they muſt needs be tranſporting.

Parliament.

When the Parliament met on the 19th of *October*, the King made a Speech to them, recommending the Payment of his Debts, and a Union with *Scotland*. The Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* recommended a Union between the two Houſes, and ſpoke of the *Triple League*, as the great Security of the Nation. The Commons, inſtead of taking the King and Keeper's Speeches into Conſide-

A.D.1669 Conſideration, enquired into Points of Privileges between the two Houſes, and the Diſpoſal of the publick Monies, and found one of their Members, who kept ſome of the publick Accounts, ſo blameable, that they expell'd him their Houſe. But then, to the great Comfort of Mr. *Archdeacon*, they thank'd his Majeſty *for putting in Execution the Laws againſt Nonconformiſts*, and paſs'd a Vote, That they will adhere to his *Majeſty in the Maintenance of the* Church, as it is religiouſly eſtabliſh'd by the *Bartholomew Act*, *Five Mile Act*, *Conventicle Act*, and all the other Stinging Acts. This is extreamly fooliſh, conſidering that the perſecuting Proteſtant Diſſenters was perſecuting their own Religion, if they were Proteſtants, and that the Proteſtant Intereſt is one in general, under whatever particular Denomination, of which this very Parliament was ſo ſenſible, that a Year or two after they, *Nemine contradicente*, voted a Bill to deliver Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Oppreſſion of thoſe very Laws, yet ſo long as the Spirit of Perſecution is ſo prevalent among them, ſo long does the Archdeacon never leave off his Encomiums on their Wiſdom and Piety. They flatten as that Spirit wears off, as what is falſe always will. There is ſomething ſtill more fooliſh to come; *Information was given to the Houſe from General* Monk, that old rank *Republican* and *Independent*, " Of the great Reſort of " dangerous and diſaffected Perſons to *London*, " and of the Meetings and Endeavours to di- " ſturb the publick Peace, and that he had, and " wou'd take Care, what he cou'd, to prevent " their Attempts to hear the Word of God, and " pray in private Aſſemblies." This Folly, which, falſe as it is, is next to Stupidity, was given into by the Majority of the Commons, who reſolv'd, *That the Thanks* of this Houſe be return'd to the Lord General, for his Care, &c. as aforeſaid. Why was he not thank'd for his Care in preſerving the Fleet by dividing it, and the Ships at *Chatham*, by ſinking them, after he had ſtood on the Shoar and ſeen eight or ten Firſt and Second Rate Men of War burnt and taken? This old Man has almoſt both Feet in the Grave, and yet he wants to be ſome body in the laudable Buſineſs of Perſecution.

Sir G. C. *expell'd.*

Monk's *idle Meſſage.*

He is thank'd for it.

Skinner's *Caſe again* The Houſe then reſum'd the Debates of the Difference between the two Houſes in *Skinner's* Caſe, and Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton*, Deputy-Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company, having been fin'd 300 Pounds, and order'd into Cuſtody of Sir *John Eyton*, Uſher of the Black Rod, till 'twas paid, they voted the Proceedings againſt him to be contrary to, and a Subverſion of their Rights and Privileges, and that the Lords be deſir'd to vacate their Judgments againſt both him and the *Eaſt-India* Company. But while theſe Heats were encreaſing, the King by Commiſſion, *December* the 11th, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 14th of *February*.

It is worth Remark, that in the Biography of this Year, *Echard*, ſpeaking of Dr. *George Bates*, among other Eulogy, tells us he was Phyſician to *Charles* I. and to *Oliver Cromwel*, whom, as he inſinuates, he poiſon'd, which is, however falſe, as much as he intended it in the Doctor's Praiſe, he gave him *a ſure Doſe*. Thus he commends him for an Act, which, had it been true, he ought to have been hang'd for, *Bates* having no Commiſſion that warranted him to murder the Protector. He tells us alſo of the Death of the Queen-Mother *Henrietta Maria* in *France*, and that her Heart was put in a Veſſel of *Silver*, and that her Body was carry'd by Friars and Prieſts with Tapers, and that the Lord *Montague*, who by the way was only *Montague* the Prieſt, her Almoner, attended the Corpſe with a noble Retinue, and that ſhe was a great Queen. General *Ludlow* ſpeaks of it thus; " About this " Time *Henrietta Maria*, Queen-Mother of " *England*, and Aunt to the preſent King of " *France*, having been formerly an active Inſtru- " ment in contriving and fomenting the long and " bloody *Civil War* in *England*, and encouraging " the barbarous Maſſacre of the Proteſtants in " *Ireland*, and more lately from a Spirit of Re- " venge and Malice, a principal Adviſer of the " Cruelties acted in *England* upon the Alteration " of the Government, dy'd at *Paris*. Her Di- " ſtemper at firſt ſeem'd not to be dangerous; but " upon taking ſomething preſcrib'd by the Phy- " ſicians to procure Sleep, the Potion operated " in ſuch a Manner that ſhe wak'd no more. She " receiv'd 60,000 Pounds a Year from *England*, " *ſo ſhe had had about* 600,000 *Pounds ſince her Son* " *was call'd in*, and yet left many and great Debts " unpaid: She conſtantly favour'd the Deſigns " for aſſaſſinating the *Engliſh* Refugees in *Swit-* " *zerland* and elſewhere." It is as well worth remembring as the reſt that *Caſſimir*, the abdicated King of *Poland*, the *French* King, and a great Number of Princes and Princeſſes, attended at her Funeral.

Queen-Mother's Death.

A.D.1669

On the 3d of *January* dy'd *George Monk*, 1670. whom the King had made a Duke, giving him Monk's the Title of *Albemarle*, which had been held by *Death.* ſeveral Princes of the Blood. *Echard* tells us, he was a Perſon diſtinguiſh'd by the *Bleſſing of Heaven*, tho' he knew that the ſudden Incident of the Reſtoration was accompliſh'd by repeated Perjury, and the Breach of the moſt ſolemn and ſacred Promiſes and Engagements. *He was a wonderful Inſtrument in reſtoring Happineſs to a Nation over-run with Miſery.* You have ſeen what a Reſtorer he was, and what was the Happineſs. He preſerv'd himſelf in *the Eſteem of the Court, and the Affections of the People*, which is as great a Falſhood as ever *Monk* himſelf was guilty of; for neither the King eſteem'd, nor the People lov'd him long before his Death. Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, *He became ſo uſeleſs,* p. 98. *that little perſonal Regard cou'd be paid him.* Directly contrary to which, not only *Echard*, but the *Compleat Hiſtorian* aſſerts, that *He all along preſerv'd himſelf in the Eſteem of the Court.* My Lord of *Sarum* adds, *The King deſpis'd him.* The *Compleat Writer* applauds his *Sincerity and Judgment*, which were in Truth well match'd. And both theſe *Compleat Writers* muſt certainly flatter his Character ſo enormouſly, on account of his giving ſuch Proofs of his Sincerity, as Swearing and Forſwearing the Covenant, his joining with and perſecuting the *Presbyterians*, his renouncing King *Charles* II. and his bringing of him in. His Character appears ſufficiently in his *and Cha-* Actions; ſo I ſhall ſay no more of him, only that *racter.* King *Charles* was at a great Expence in his Burial, and gave his Son moſt of his Places, together with his Garter. He was a Man of leſs Merit than his Father, and dying without Iſſue, all thoſe dear-bought Honours, together with the Name of *Monk*, in this Line at leaſt, periſh'd in 30 Years Time.

We muſt not forget, that by the Beginning of this Year the City of *London* was rebuilt with more Space and Splendor than has been before ſeen in *England*. The Act of Parliament beforemention'd for rebuilding it was drawn by Sir London *Matthew Hale*, with ſo true Judgment and Fore- *rebuilt.* ſight, that the whole City was rais'd out of its Aſhes without any Suits of Law, which, if that Bill had not prevented them, wou'd have brought a ſecond Charge on the City, not much leſs than the Fire it ſelf had been. And upon that, to the Amazement of all *Europe*, *London* was in

A.D. 1670 four Years Time rebuilt with ſo much Beauty and Magnificence, that thoſe who ſaw it in both States, before and after the Fire, cou'd not reflect on it without wondring where the Wealth cou'd be found to bear ſo vaſt a Loſs, as was made by the Fire, and ſo prodigious an Expence as was laid out in the Re-building. This good and great Work was very much forwarded by Sir *William Turner* in his Mayoralty, 1669. He never diſturb'd the Nonconformiſts during all that Time: He ſo little regarded his own Gain, and ſought the Common-good, and puniſh'd Vice, that no Lord Mayor was ever more honour'd and belov'd, inſomuch that at the End of his Year they choſe him again, and wou'd have heard of no other, but that he abſolutely refus'd, partly as being an unuſual Thing, and partly becauſe of a Meſſage from his Superiors, who were diſpleas'd with his moderate and peaceable Temper.

Sir William Turner a good Magiſtrate.

Lord Roos's Divorce.

About this Time an Accident happen'd, which made the Diſcouſe of the *Divorce* the common Subject of Converſation. The Lord *Roos*, afterwards Earl of *Rutland*, brought Proofs of Adultery againſt his Wife, and obtain'd a Sentence of *Divorce* in the Spiritual Court, which amounting only to a Separation from Bed and Board, he mov'd for a Bill to diſſolve the Bond, and enable him to marry another Wife. The Duke and all his Party apprehended the Conſequences of a Parliamentary Divorce; ſo they oppos'd this with great Heat, and almoſt all the Biſhops were of that Side, only Dr. *Coſens*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Dr. *Wilkins*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, were for it. The King was as earneſt in ſetting it on, as the Duke was in oppoſing it. The Zeal which the two Brothers expreſs'd on that Occaſion, mov'd all People to conclude, that they had a particular Concern in the Matter. The Bill paſs'd, and upon that Precedent ſome mov'd the King to order a Bill to be brought in to divorce him from the Queen. But the Duke of *Buckingham* propos'd another Way to rid the King of her. He ſaid he wou'd ſteal her, and ſend her to a Plantation, where ſhe ſhou'd be well and carefully look'd to, but never heard of any more; ſo it ſhou'd be given out ſhe had deſerted, and upon that it wou'd fall in with ſome Principles to carry an Act of Divorce. The King wou'd not hear of it, ſaying, *'Twas wicked to make a poor Lady miſerable only becauſe ſhe was his Wife, and had had no Children by him, which was not her Fault.* As if indeed he did not make her miſerable enough by living in a conſtant Courſe of Adultery with a Company of Concubines, who were no more conſtant to him than he was to his Queen. But this Year Care was taken to procure him a new Miſtreſs, whoſe Head ſhou'd be as full of Politicks as her Heart was of Pleaſure, and being a *French* Woman, and conſequently devoted to the *French* Intereſt, ſhe was to draw him into it by the Witchery of her Perſon and Paſſion.

King earneſt for it.

Dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

Penſion Parliament.

I have more than once ſpoken very meanly of this Parliament, and I refer to the Reader, whether they cou'd have been guided by any thing but an irregular mercenary Spirit. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *The Houſe of Commons loſt all Reſpect in the Nation:* And again, *It was thought the King cou'd never have been prevail'd on to part with a Parliament ſo much practis'd upon, and where every Man's Price was known; for as a Man roſe in his Credit in the Houſe, he rais'd his Price, and expected to be treated accordingly.* Such was the Aſſembly, who paſs'd the *Bartholomew Act*, the *Five Mile Act*, the *Conventicle Act*, and another Act, of which more preſently.

Notwithſtanding the Committee of *Brook-houſe* had been brow-beaten by the Council, they ſtill went on with their Enquiries, and of the prodigious Sums that had been given ſince the *Dutch* War, they cou'd find but 800,000 Pounds brought to Account, and that, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, in *moſt ſhameful Terms*; but, as has been hinted, a good Part of it was diſtributed among the Members who made the Majority, which carry'd Mr. *Echard*'s Bills for the Safety and Honour of the Church. The Biſhop proceeds, *The chief Men who promoted the* Brook-houſe Enquiries *were taken off, as the Word then was for corrupting Members.* But by thoſe Enquiries the Careleſsneſs and Luxury of the Court came to be ſo much expos'd, that the King's Temper was much ſharpen'd upon it. All the Flatterers about him magnify'd Foreign Governments, where the Princes were abſolute, particularly that in *France*. Many to pleaſe him ſaid, it was a very eaſy thing to ſhake off the Reſtraints of Law, if the King wou'd but ſet about it. The Crown of *Denmark* was *elective* and ſubject to a Senate, and yet was in one Day, without any viſible Force, chang'd to both *Hereditary* and *Abſolute*. The King lov'd the Project, but according to my Lord of *Sarum*, reſolv'd to *keep all things within himſelf, 'till it grew clearer, and his Affairs were made eaſier*; ſo he went balancing one Party with another, to get Money of the Parliament, under the Pretence of the *Triple League*, which was the wooden Leg he us'd to beg with, 'till he broke it. Money *Bills* paſs'd eaſily in the Houſe of Commons, but met with Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, who began to complain that Money Bills came on ſo thick, that it was ſaid, *There was no* End *of their giving:* End *ſignifying Purpoſe as well as Meaſure:* This paſs'd as a ſevere Jeſt. At that Time Sir *John Coventry*, a leading Member of the Country Party in the Houſe of Commons, made a groſs Reflection on the King's Amours. He was one of thoſe who ſtruggled much againſt giving Money. The common Method is, after thoſe who oppoſe ſuch Bills fail in the main Vote, the next Thing they endeavour is to lay the Money on Funds that will be unacceptable, and will prove deficient. So theſe Men propos'd the Laying a Tax on the Play-Houſes, which according to the Biſhop, *were in ſo difficult a Time, become Neſts of Proſtitution. The Stage was defil'd beyond all Example*, Dryden, *the greater Maſter of Dramatick Poeſy*, which Saying ſhews his Lordſhip to be no great Judge of it, *was a* Monſter *of Immodeſty and Impurity of all Sorts.* This was oppos'd by the Court; it was ſaid, *the Players were the King's Servants, and a Part of his Pleaſure.* Coventry *ask'd, Whether the King's Pleaſure lay among the* Men, *or the* Women *that acted?* This was carry'd with great Indignation to the Court. "Twas "ſaid, this was the firſt Time that the King "was Perſonally reflected on; if it was paſs'd "over, more of the ſame Kind would follow, "and it would grow a Faſhion to talk ſo?" What then? Was it not known that the King had two Stage Harlots, *Nell Gwin*, and *Moll Davis* in keeping, beſides all the other Female Fry, and muſt not the People, as the only Loſers, have leave to ſpeak? The Biſhop proceeds, It was therefore thought fit to take ſuch ſevere Notice of this, that no body ſhou'd dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of *York* told one, he ſaid all he cou'd to the King, to divert him from the Reſolution he had taken, which was to ſend ſome of the Guards, and watch in the Streets where Sir *John* lodg'd, and leave a Mark upon him. Sir *Thomas Sandys*, *Charles Obrian*, Eſq; *Michael Reeves*,

A.D. 1670

Money ſquander'd.

King's Temper ſour'd.

Love's arbitrary Power.

Coventry Act.

Play-houſes lewd.

A.D.1670 " *Reeves*, *Simon Parry*, and ſome others, went " thither, and as *Coventry* was going home, they " drew about him, he ſtood up to a Wall, ſnatch'd " the *Flambeaux* out of his Servant *William* " *Wilkes*'s Hands, and with that in one Hand, " and his Sword in the other, he defended him- " ſelf ſo well, that he got more Credit by it " than by all the Actions of his Life. He wounded " ſome of them, but was ſoon diſarm'd, and then " the Ruffians cut his Noſe to the Bone, *to teach* " *him to remember what Reſpect he ow'd to the* " *King*, as the Villains ſaid in doing their Vil- " lainy." Let the Reader judge what Reſpect cou'd be due to a King, who was capable of ſuch an unkingly Action! Sir *John Coventry*'s Wound was ſo well ſew'd up, that the Scar was ſcarce diſcernible; but the *vile Attempt* put even this Houſe of Commons in a furious Uproar. The Ruffians fled, and a Bill of Baniſhment paſs'd againſt them, with a Clauſe in it, that it ſhou'd not be in the King's Power to pardon them, as alſo to make it Death to *maim* any Perſon maliciouſly.

Notwithſtanding the Dialogue between the King and Dr. *Manton*, when the before-mention'd Addreſs was preſented, the King has upon his Hands another ſort of Buſineſs, which is to get another Act of Parliament paſs'd againſt his Proteſtant Subjects, who worſhipp'd God in any other Manner, than he and the perſecuting Biſhops thought fit. The Parliament began their Meeting on the 14th of *February*, to which Day they had been prorogu'd, and the King, as uſual, made them a Speech concerning the *ſecuring the Well-being of the* Church, and after what has been ſaid of the Committee of *Brook-houſe*, and their Enquiries from the Authority of the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, it wou'd be ſurprizing to the Reader to ſee what follows, if he had not met with ſo much of this King's Character before; *That no Miſrepreſentation or Miſtakes touching the Expences of the laſt War may remain with you, I think fit to let you know, that I have fully inform'd my ſelf in that Matter, and do affirm to you, that no Part of thoſe Monies that you gave to me has been diverted to other Uſes.* Which, if it had not been ſaid by a King, wou'd have been too groſs for Remark. He put them in Mind of Supplies and of the *Union* with *Scotland*, purſuant to a Declaration of the Parliament of that Kingdom, impowering Commiſſioners to conclude it. The Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* ſpoke to the ſame Purpoſe. But the Houſe beginning with a Debate of the conteſted Caſe of *Skinner*, and the King doubting it wou'd hinder the Supplies, interpos'd in the Affair, and made up the Matter between the two Houſes, by adviſing the vacating of all that had paſs'd concerning it, which both Houſes agreed to; and then with new Delight *Echard* informs us, *That Information had been given of the Dangers of unlawful Meetings, and the Houſe of Commons were rous'd by new Complaints, and had receiv'd Information of a dangerous Conventicle in the Weſt.* It wou'd be very ridiculous, if it was not very wicked. He adds, *It was obſervable, that all the Laws againſt the Diſſenters were made more upon Civil and Political than upon Moral or Religious Accounts:* Wherein he ſpeaks a very great Truth, when he intended a very great Falſhood.

Parliament.

The Perſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters, and all the Acts made for it, were, it is true, irreligious and immoral, but that the Plots and Rebellions of the *Presbyterians* made thoſe Acts neceſſary for the publick Peace, is as falſe as ever any thing was that came from the Father of *Falſhood*, better known by the Name of the Father of Lies. The Preamble to this ſinful Act does not juſtify him, nor his Brother Hiſtorian in their Account of it. See the Subſtance of it, which they repeat as a Treaſure in their Hiſtories; " If any Perſon upwards of ſixteen ſhou'd " be preſent at any Aſſembly, Conventicle, or " Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Ex- " erciſe of Religion, *Mind the Mocking, and*, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *the Lying to God and Man.* Under Colour or Pretence, *Theſe Men knew, and were fully convinc'd, that thoſe Aſſemblies were for the true Exerciſes of religious Worſhip*, " in any other Manner than according " to the *Liturgy* and Practice of the Church of " *England*, where there was five Perſons or " more, beſides thoſe of the ſaid Houſhold; in " ſuch Caſe the Offenders were to pay five Shil- " lings for the firſt Offence, and ten Shillings " for the ſecond; and the Preachers and Teach- " ers in any ſuch Meetings were to forfeit twenty " Pounds for the firſt Offence, and forty for the " ſecond Offence. And thoſe who knowingly " ſuffer'd any ſuch Conventicle in their Houſes, " Barns, Yards, *&c.* were to forfeit twenty " Pounds." I muſt own, I was very glad to meet with this Act, for having conceiv'd a juſt Indignation againſt the former Cruelties of this Aſſembly, I was glad the Majority that paſs'd them into a Law had ſo expos'd themſelves by ſuch a bare-fac'd Defiance of all Chriſtian Virtues, that within a Year or two they were reduc'd to a Neceſſity of owning the Shame of it, of bluſhing at what they had been doing, and of endeavouring to atone for it by undoing it, and paſſing an Act for the *Eaſe of thoſe Diſſenters whom they had made thus uneaſy.* The King ſollicited the paſſing of this Bill in the Houſe of Lords. Biſhop *Wilkins*, well ſatisfy'd that all the pretended Danger from the religious Aſſemblies of Proteſtants, were forg'd, *argu'd long againſt the Bill in the Houſe of Lords.* *Echard* argues long for it in his Chronicle. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, " The King was " much for having of it paſs, and ſpoke to *Wil-* " *kins* not to oppoſe it." The pious Biſhop anſwer'd, *I think it an ill thing both in Conſcience and Policy.* If ill in Conſcience it was a *Sin: And therefore, both as I am an* Engliſhman *and a* Biſhop, *I am bound to oppoſe it.* The King then deſir'd him not to come to the Houſe of Lords while it depended. The Biſhop anſwer'd, *By the Law and Conſtitution of* England, *and by your Majeſty's Favour, I have a Right to debate and vote, and I am neither afraid nor aſham'd to own my Opinion in this Matter, and to act purſuant to it.* Neither is the Archdeacon afraid or aſham'd to own his Opinion directly oppoſite to this reverend and learned Father of the Church, whoſe Judgment in this, or any other Affair, will weigh more with ſober Perſons than that of all the perſecuting Biſhops put together. Not long after this notable Bill was made the *Law of the Land*, the Houſe of Commons dropp'd the Committee of *Brook-houſe*, and all Enquiries into the publick Accounts vaniſh'd and came to nothing; for having taken the King's Hint to provide thus for the *Well-being of the Church*, they left it to his Majeſty to provide for their own Well-being, and to Chance, to diſpoſe of the publick Affairs.

A.D.1670

A ſevere Act againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters.

The King ſollicits that Act.

Oppos'd by Bp. Wilkins.

We muſt not omit, that in this Year the Prince of *Orange* made his two Uncles, the King, and Duke of *York*, a Viſit. His chief Buſineſs was to ſee how the King intended to pay the great Debt, which had been contracted by his Father, on his Account, and alſo to try what Offices the King wou'd do, in order to his Advancement to the *Stadtholderſhip*. The King treated him very civilly; he aſſur'd him he wou'd pay the Debt, but did not lay down any Method of doing it. He gave him good Words only, and try'd the Prince

Prince of Orange in England.

A.D.1670 in Point of Religion. *He ſpoke of all the Proteſtants, as of a* FACTIOUS *Body broken among themſelves, ever ſince they had broken off from the main Body, and wiſh'd he wou'd take more Pains and look into thoſe Things better, and not to be led by his* DUTCH *Block-heads.* His Highneſs told all this to Monſieur *Zuyleſtein*, his natural Uncle. They were both amaz'd at it, and wonder'd how the King cou'd truſt ſo great a Secret to ſo young a Perſon, the Prince not being twenty. His Highneſs told Biſhop *Burnet*, he never ſpoke of this to any other Perſon, 'till after the King's Death, but he carry'd it always in his own Mind, and cou'd not hinder himſelf from judging of all the King's Intentions after that, from the Diſcovery he had then made of his Sentiments: Nor did he upon his not complying with that Propoſition, expect any real Aſſiſtance from the King, but general Interceſſion, which ſignify'd nothing, and that was all he obtain'd, tho' otherwiſe he was civilly treated, conſidering the King had juſt concluded a Treaty with *France*, in the Proſecution of which, nothing but the miraculous Providence of God preſerv'd him from periſhing.

The King wou'd have him turn Papiſt.

I cou'd very eaſily prove that the *French* Jeſuit *Orlean*'s Revolutions, is as falſe a Hiſtory as the Archdeacon's, who tells us, the Jeſuit's ſhort Account of the *Cabal* is more material than moſt of the *Engliſh* Pamphlets and *Secret Hiſtories*. He refers to my *Secret Hiſtory* of *Europe*, which I ſhall never be aſham'd to own, and, if it were worth while, cou'd prove it to be more authentick than the beſt Authorities he has made uſe of. The Introduction to his Account out of *Orleans* is the Reverſe of the *Truth*. *The Republican Spirit was inſenſibly creeping into Parliament* again, was the laſt Act againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, juſt paſs'd by them, a Proof of their creeping into Commonwealth Principles? The *Cabal* was ſo term'd from the Initial Letters of the Names of the five Lords who compos'd it, *Clifford*, *Aſhley-Cooper*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, *Lauderdale*, who were Men of great Capacity, but little Virtue, and having got the King into their Hands, they reſolv'd to keep him, by giving into all Meaſures that pleas'd any of his Paſſions, of which the moſt flagrant Inſtance was their humouring him in the ſecond *Dutch* War, which was now beginning to be projected.

The Cabal.

The ingenious Mr. Archdeacon attack'd my Secret Hiſtory again, for ſuggeſting that the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* came to viſit her Brother, King *Charles*, at *Dover*, on very ill Errands. *His Accounts are ſome ſcandalous, ſome uncertain*, &c. The Reader will ſee preſently what a fine Judge he is of Scandal and Truth. The Hiſtory of *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, is not a ſecret One, and yet we there read, "If the King of *Sweden* was
Vol. II. p. 344. "not dazled with *French* Gold, it gain'd more "on the King of *England*, by the Perſwaſions "of the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, his Siſter, ſupported by Monſieur *Colbert*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who made the King believe what he
Dutcheſs of Orleans at Dover. "wou'd. A hundred thouſand Piſtols were remitted to that Miniſter, which he laid out to "Advantage to engage thoſe who had the greateſt "Intereſt in the King. The Lords of the *Cabal* "had moſt of the Money; they were known to "be the moſt mortal Enemies of the united Pro"vinces, and *Charles* II. King of *Great-Britain* "contented with the Name of King, left the Go"vernment to them, and ſeem'd to have no other "Inclination but what thoſe baſe Miniſters in"ſpir'd him with. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's "Bounty had all the Effect that cou'd be ex"pected. This wicked Miniſtry, who betray'd "their Country, and wou'd have betray'd their "Maſter, if they cou'd have got by it, pretended "to give Credit to what the Miniſter of *France* A.D.1670 "told them of the Inſtances the States, both by "Letters, and their Ambaſſadors had made to "the *French* King, to treat of an Alliance with "them, that they might jointly attack *England*: "Accordingly the *Cabal* were perpetually repreſenting to King *Charles*, that he ought no more "to have any thing to do with a Republick that "had vow'd his Deſtruction." It is not to be doubted but this imaginary Proceeding of the States made a very ſtrong Impreſſion on the King's Mind: Thus far the *French* Author, who ſeems not to know King *Charles* ſo well as he did his Miniſters; for there was no need of animating him much to a Rapture, which none of them was ſo deſirous of as himſelf. The Author of *L'Hiſtoire de Corneille*, and *Jean De Wit*, beforemention'd, puts the following Speech into the Mouth of the *Cabal*, "Your Majeſty runs no "Riſk: Theſe Republicans have made themſelves odious to all the Princes of *Europe*; "there's not one who will oppoſe you in this "Undertaking; the moſt Powerful will be ſatisfy'd with being Spectators of the War, and "with Pleaſure ſee the Pride of that Commonwealth that has brav'd ſo many Crown'd "Heads, humbled. *Spain* will be ſo far from "aſſiſting them, ſhe will rejoice in the Mis-fortune of a Nation whom ſhe ſtill looks upon "as her rebellious Subjects. Tho' the Emperor "ſhould be willing to defend the *United Provinces*, he dares not undertake it in this difficult Poſture of Affairs, the *Ottoman* Empire "arming ſo mightily as it does, and the Revolt "of his Subjects in *Hungary*, will cut him out "Work enough of his own, and hinder his thinking of others. The Court of *France* by their "Money, and the Jealouſy they'll take Care to "maintain between the two Northern Crowns, "will engage them to ſtand neuter. The War "between the *Turks* and the *Poles*, will prevent "the Elector of *Brandenburg* aſſiſting them; nay, "who does not know but he might be glad of "this Opportunity to recover the Towns in the "Dutchy of *Cleves*, which the States have ſo "long kept from him? The Elector of *Cologne*, "and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, deſire nothing more "than to enter thoſe Provinces with their Armies; will they be in a Condition to reſiſt ſo "many Enemies, attacking them on all Sides, "eſpecially at a Time when Faction reigns ſo "much among them? The King of *England* "ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſeduc'd by theſe and the "like Conſiderations; however, he would not ſign "the private Treaties with *France* 'till he had "receiv'd the Money which was promis'd him, "amounting to Six Millions, beſides 300,000 "Crowns a Month to be paid him during the "War." *Abbot Primi*, whoſe Maſter Monſieur *Colbert* was more in the Secret than the *Engliſh* Secretary himſelf, gives a good Account of this Matter. *As for the King of* England *he was exceedingly perplex'd; there was need of Money to carry on the Deſign, and that ſecretly too, he cou'd raiſe none at home without calling a Parliament, and that cou'd not be done without acquainting all* Europe *with his Intentions. There was alſo great Fear of Oppoſition, both from the Miſunderſtandings which in that* tumultuous Aſſembly *do for the moſt Part ariſe between the two Houſes, and from the Intrigues of the* Hollanders; *for which Reaſon, the King of* France *furniſh'd him with ſuch Sums of Money as were ſufficient to equip a conſiderable Fleet, and he adviſ'd the King of* England, *the better to conceal their Agreements, to keep a fair Correſpendence outwardly with the* Dutch, *to appear firm to the* Triple League, *and to declare that he ſet out a*

Fleet

A.D.1670 *Fleet for no other Reaſon but becauſe his Neighbours, and eſpecially the* French, *who made great Preparations in all their Ports upon the Ocean, ſtrengthen'd themſelves ſo very conſiderably by Sea.*

p. 579. The Judicious *Acherley* lets us farther into thoſe baſe Intrigues: "The Scheme which King "*Charles* propos'd, and ſent to the *French* King, "was, *That* France *ſhou'd aſſiſt him firſt to ſubdue* England, *and introduce* Popery, *and after that the Proteſtant States of* Holland: *But* France *ſent the Dutcheſs of* Orleans *in* May, 1670, *to meet her Brother, King* Charles, *with a* Counter Scheme, viz. *Firſt to conquer* Holland *by invading it with joint Forces by Sea and Land, and to make a Partition, allotting* Zealand, *and the Sea Coaſts to King* Charles, *and the Inland Countries to* France; *inſinuating, that after Succeſs in that, the reſt wou'd be an eaſy Work, and* France *wou'd pay King* Charles 350,000 *Pounds* per Annum *during the War; and ſhe did pay* 700,000 *Pounds for the two firſt Years.*

This is the Account which the ſincere *Echard* calls *uncertain.* He adds, there are no *real Proofs*; and in the next Page owns, that Abbot *Primi* tells us, "*Henrietta Maria*, Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, "a Princeſs whoſe Wit and Capacity was equal "to her Beauty, concluded the Treaty at *Dover*, "when ſhe made that *myſterious Voyage.*" I ſuppoſe he was in Pain for fear any ſaucy Reader ſhou'd miſtake what is ſaid in the *Secret Hiſtory* to reflect on the Virtue of this Lady. All that I have to ſay is, that ſhe muſt needs be a Lady of more than ordinary Virtue, who took ſo much Care of her Brother, as to ſupply him with a new Miſtreſs out of her Train, Madam *Queroualle*, *an inchanting Lady*, ſays the Reverend Hiſtorian; and her Buſineſs became a Princeſs who lov'd the Country ſhe ow'd her Nativity to, by making uſe of her Charms and Intrigues to enſlave it to the King of Slaves, *Lewis* XIV. For after *Holland* was conquer'd, How long cou'd *England*

p. 138. 215. 279. have preſerv'd her Liberty? Biſhop *Parker*, that Renegado *Independent* and *Cromwelian*, who afterwards was the moſt celebrated Champion for *Sheldon*'s Church of *England*, till he was driven out of the Field by Mr. *Marvel*, acknowledges, *That the* Triple-League *was* baſely *broken*; *that King* Charles II. *united the Knot, and that the Breach was a deadly* Sin *againſt the Laws of Nature and Nations.* That was the doing of that moſt Virtuous Princeſs the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*; yet to ſay ſhe cou'd be guilty of a *deadly* Sin, is not only very *indecorous*, but, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, ſevere and ſcandalous. As to other Things, in which Gallantry is concern'd, I will touch upon them as little as may be, that I may not offend the Archdeacon: But Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, *The King of* France *made Love to her, and if ſhe reſented it, 'twas when ſhe ſaw it was only a Pretence to cover his Addreſſes to Madamoiſelle* De la Valiere, *one of her Maids*; *that King* Charles *was ſo much charm'd with his Siſter at* Dover, *that every Thing ſhe propos'd, and every Favour ſhe ask'd, was granted, the King cou'd deny her nothing*; *ſhe propos'd an Alliance for the Conqueſt of* Holland. *The King had a Mind to have begun at Home. The Conqueſt of* England, to uſe Mr. *Acherley*'s Words, *was look'd upon as ſecure, eaſy, and ſpeedy*; *and the Conſtitution and Form of Government in* England *was in Imagination ſubverted, and the Parliament maſter'd.* Good God! What a Conſpiracy was here againſt the Religion and Liberties of the poor innocent People of *England.* This is no *Sham Plot*, and never was a more ruinous one hatch'd in the Infernal Divan. The Dutcheſs of *Orleans* diverted his Beginning with the Conqueſt of his own Subjects, not out of Compaſſion to them, but becauſe *ſuch a Deſign wou'd alarm all his People, and perhaps ſend them with their Wealth and Trade to* Holland; *which by ſuch an Acceſſion wou'd grow ſtronger, as he wou'd grow weaker: So ſhe propos'd that he ſhou'd begin with* Holland. A Prince capable of ſuch Counſels to deſtroy his own Subjects, and in order to it, to deſtroy his Neighbours who had highly oblig'd him, is a proper Subject for the Eulogy of thoſe Hiſtorians only, who were perpetually flattering him while he was paſſing the Acts for Perſecution. Abbot *Primi*'s Book, wherein the Secret of this accurs'd Treaty is laid open, was read by Biſhop *Burnet* at *Paris.* The Lord *Preſton*, who ſome Years after was condemn'd for High Treaſon, was then the King's Ambaſſador in *France*, and knowing how great a Prejudice the publiſhing this wou'd be to his Maſter's Affairs, he complain'd of it. The Book was upon that ſuppreſs'd, and the Writer put in the *Baſtile* for a few Days; but he had drawn it out of the Papers of Monſieur *Le Tellier*'s Office; ſo, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *There is little Reaſon to doubt of the Truth of the Thing.* But *Echard* very dogmatically ſays, 'Tis very *uncertain*; though he informs us, that Monſieur *Colbert* paid *Primi* a Penſion for collecting theſe Memoirs. I have many other Proofs of this *Felonious Treaty* with *France*, but I think here are enough, and ſhall not enlarge upon it farther, but refer to my other Account of it. *See Hiſtory of* Europe.

A.D.167° Madam's Journey was very fatal to her, and I know not how it comes about, *Echard* himſelf does not deny but that her Husband, the Duke of *Orleans*, conceiv'd an unaccountable Jealouſy of her Conduct at *Dover*; whereas the Reverend Hiſtorian had told us, *Joy, Mirth and Pleaſure reign'd without Abatement or Intermiſſion*; *Love and Gallantry were intermix'd with Comedies, Masks, Muſick, Banquetings, and all kind of Diverſions.* The Duke of *Orleans*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, had *heard ſuch things of her Behaviour, that it was ſaid he order'd a great Doſe of* Sublimate *to be given her in a Glaſs of Succoury Water*; and he then informs us of ſome of her amorous Intrigues, as with the Marquis *des Vardes*, wherein ſhe went ſo far as to tell Madam *de Soiſſons*, whom *des Vardes* had an Amour with, *She was her Rival*; nay, her Favour to the Count *de Treville* was ſo great, that in the Agony ſhe cry'd out, *Adieu* Treville! Theſe are ſome of the ſevere ſcandalous Things. That ſhe was poiſon'd, appears plainly by the late Duke of *Montagu*'s Letters, who was then Ambaſſador in *France*, as in that of the 30th of *June.* Madam, *on* Sunday *the 29th Inſtant, being at* St. Clou *with a great deal of Company, about Five of the Clock in the Afternoon call'd for a Glaſs of Chicory Water, that was preſcrib'd her to drink, ſhe having for two or three Days after Bathing found herſelf indiſpos'd*; *ſhe had no ſooner drank this, but ſhe cry'd out,* I am dead, *fell into Madam* Maſcbourg's *Arms, and deſir'd to be put to Bed, and have a Confeſſor: She continu'd in the greateſt Tortures imaginable till Three o'Clock in the Morning, when ſhe dy'd.* In that of the 6th of *July* the Ambaſſador writes, *I ſuppoſe by this time you may have with you the Mareſchal* de Bellefonds, *who, beſides his Condolance, will endeavour, I believe, to diſabuſe our Court of* Madam's *being poiſon'd*; *which having ſo good an Authority as her own ſaying it ſeveral times, makes the Report much more credited: But to me in particular, when I ask'd her ſeveral times whether ſhe thought herſelf poiſon'd, ſhe wou'd anſwer nothing*; *I believe, being willing to ſpare the Addition of ſo great a Trouble to the King our Maſter, which was the Reaſon why in my firſt Letter I made no mention of it. The King and the Miniſters here ſeem extreamly* Dutcheſs of Orleans poiſon'd. *Mr.* Monday's Letter about it.

King Charles *conſpir'd againſt the Conſtitution of* England.

A.D.1670 *treamly afflicted with the Loſs of* Madam, *and I do not doubt but they are, for they hop'd, upon her Conſideration, to bring the King our Maſter to condeſcend to Things, and enter into a Friendſhip with this Crown ſtricter, perhaps, than they think he will now ſhe's no more.* But the Ambaſſador was at that time none of the Court Confidents. He knew not how many Millions in Hand was to be paid his Maſter, enough to comfort him for more than the Loſs of a Siſter, that of his Honour, and the Love of his People. *What was begun,* continues he, *or what was intended, I will not preſume to ſearch into, ſince your Lordſhip does not think fit to communicate the leaſt Part of it to me, but I cannot help knowing the Town-Talk: All I deſire to know, my Lord, is, that whilſt I am here, I may know what Language to hold in Converſation with the other Miniſters, that I may not be ridiculous with the Character I have upon me.* P. S. Monſieur *complains extreamly of the King our Maſter, for having a Confidence with* Madam, *and treating Things with her without his knowledge.* Whoever has a Mind to ſee more of this poiſoning Affair, will find enough of it in the Memoirs of Mademoiſelle *de Fayette*, and the *Secret Hiſtory* of *Europe*.

p. 76. & ſeq.

King's Secret League with France.

Monſieur *De Wit*, Penſionary of *Holland*, was one of the firſt who diſcover'd the Secret League between *France* and *England*; but he cou'd hardly be brought to believe the King of *England* wou'd venture to break the *Triple-Alliance*, of which the *Engliſh* were ſo fond. He did not then know what Reſource the King had, and as far as his Politicks cou'd direct him, he thought the Parliament wou'd never give him Money to act againſt a League, which they offer'd to ſupply him to maintain; and having it always in his Head, that the King of *England* wou'd one time or other inſiſt upon reſtoring the Prince of *Orange* to the *Stadtholderſhip*, he ſeem'd reſolv'd to put every thing to venture, rather than ſubmit to what he thought wou'd ruin his Credit and Intereſt in his Republick: For Sir *William Temple* was beginning to prepare the Way for the Breach of the *Triple-League*, by making Demands of new Satisfaction for Damages in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and at *Suriman*, though he knew not what was intended by our Court's being ſo impetuous in thoſe Demands.

But the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*'s Arrival at *Dover* alarm'd *De Wit*, and made him haſten away *Van Beuningen* to *England*, who had declar'd for the Prince of *Orange*'s Advancement. He found immediately that the Court thought no more of the *Triple-League*; the Miniſtry, through Corruption or Ignorance, was gain'd to the *French* Side: *Clifford* and *Arlington* had not Complacency enough for the *Dutch* to diſſemble it. Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, then Lord Keeper, was of another Opinion, ſo were Prince *Rupert*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and Sir *John Trevor*, Secretary of State, who were all remov'd from the *Committee of Foreign Affairs*, to make room for ſuch as wou'd give themſelves entirely up to the Management of *France*.

Cabinet-Council chang'd.

The Cabal.

As to the Characters of the *Cabal*, they are as well known as if they had liv'd in our own Time. We may ſee what was to be expected from *Arlington*, by one of the Articles in the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Charge againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*, whom he accuſes, for ſaying on the Removal of Secretary *Nicholas*, to make room for *Bennet*, now Earl of *Arlington*, *That his Majeſty had given* 10,000 *Pounds to remove a* zealous Proteſtant, *that he might bring into that Place a* conceal'd Papiſt. Every one has heard of *Clifford*'s abandonning his Poſt to own himſelf a Papiſt, and of the ſcandalous Life and Morals of *Lauderdale*; *Buckingham*'s various Character is well deſcrib'd by *Dryden* in his *Abſolom* and *Achitophel*; and *Aſhley*'s troubleſome and unſettled Humour, will add no great Reputation to that Miniſtry, who were Men of more Parts than Principles, and of more Ability than Virtue: However, the two latter atton'd for their evil Counſels, by their ſteady Adherence to the Cauſe of *Liberty* afterwards. A.D.1670

There was all the Reaſon in the World for our Court to have kept firm to the *Triple-League*, which wou'd not only have preſerv'd the *Netherlands*, but have hinder'd the future Power of *Lewis* XIV. and made King *Charles* Arbiter of the Affairs of *Europe*. But the King and his Courtiers were inſenſible of every good Sentiment; neither Intereſt nor Reſentment cou'd touch them, or elſe, after ſo much Expreſſion of brotherly Love and Tenderneſs to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, at the Interview of *Dover*, her ſudden Death wou'd have had other Effects in *England*.

Duke of Buckingham *ſent to* France.

Notwithſtanding, the Duke of *Buckingham* was diſpatch'd to *France*, to return Monſieur *de Bellefond*'s Complement, and purſue his Negotiations; yet ſo well did the Court of *England* diſſemble, that they diſſipated all Monſieur *Van Beuningen*'s Fears, and made him look on the Voyages of the Mareſchal and Duke as pure Ceremonies only. The Ambaſſador writing to *Holland* it was his Opinion, "That as far as com-
" mon Appearance wou'd go, he had all the Rea-
" ſon that cou'd be to believe that nothing had
" been treated by the Mareſchal or the Duke,
" nor was ever intended to the Prejudice of King
" *Charles*'s Alliance with the *Dutch*.

De Wit jealous of it.

However, Monſieur *De Witt*'s Jealouſies were not cur'd, he declar'd to Sir *William Temple*, "He had obſerv'd a Coldneſs in all our Negotia-
" tions ever ſince *Madam*'s Journey into *Eng-
" land*, and upon the late Journey of the Duke
" of *Buckingham* to *Paris*, which he cou'd not
" think was *pour voir le Pais*, ou *apprendre la
" Langue*, to ſee the Country, or learn the Lan-
" guage. He deſir'd Sir *William* to tell him what
" he cou'd make of all this laid together; for on
" the one Side there were Circumſtances enough
" to awaken a ſuſpicious Man, and on the other
" Side he cou'd never think it poſſible for any
" Nation or Court itſelf to quit ſo certain a Point
" of Intereſt, and ſo great a Point of Honour, as
" muſt be forfeited by our breaking our Alliance
" with them. *He added*, His Majeſty had en-
" gag'd the States in thoſe common Meaſures,
" and even prevail'd with them to make a Sacri-
" fice of the antient Kindneſs and Alliance the
" States had always before with *France*, to the
" Conſiderations of the preſent Danger, from the
" Greatneſs of that Crown to the reſt of *Chri-
" ſtendom*; though they might have had what
" Terms they pleas'd from her for the dividing
" of *Flanders*." True it was, King *Charles*, put upon it by the Clamours of his Subjects, had engag'd the *Dutch* in the *Triple-League*, and drawn on them the Diſpleaſure of *France*, to which he was now about to join himſelf for the Deſtruction of their Republick. Sir *William Temple* was not let into the Secret, and cou'd only anſwer the *Penſionary*, "He confeſs'd he was apt to make
" many of thoſe Reflections himſelf had done,
" but cou'd not believe it poſſible for any Crown
" ever to enter into Councils ſo deſtructive to their
" Honour and Safety. But if ſuch Things ſhou'd
" happen, he deſir'd Monſieur *De Witt* to re-
" member what he told him upon the Scruple
" he had made in truſting our Court in the Ne-
" gotiations of the *Triple-Alliance*, *of his Maje-
" ſty's and the Miniſters good Reſolutions. He con-*
tinu'd,

A.D.1670 *tinu'd*, " I cannot believe it poſſible for them to " change in a Point of ſo evident Intereſt, and " which will be ſo underſtood by the whole Na- " tion. However, I can anſwer for no body be- " ſides myſelf; but this I will aſſure you, that " if ever ſuch a thing ſhou'd happen, I will ne- " ver have any Part in it; *which, he ſaid*, he had " told the King as well as him, and wou'd make " it good." The Ambaſſador needed not to have taken that Precaution: The Miniſtry knew he was not a Man to be ſent on their wicked Errands, and it was one of their firſt Steps towards the War, to re-call him. In the mean Time, that upright Miniſter *Arlington*, was doing his beſt to deceive *Van Beuningen*, and the other Foreign Ambaſſadors concern'd in the Support of the *Triple-League*: What a Face he put upon our Court's cloſe Correſpondence with *France*, will appear by a Paſſage in a Letter of his to Sir *William Godolphin* in *Spain*. " Monſieur *Van Beuningen* " was with me Yeſterday, being full of theſe " Apprehenſions, and inferring poſitively from " them, that the Peace wou'd be immediately " broken. I told him I cou'd not believe it, be- " cauſe the King our Maſter had all the moral " Aſſurances that can be receiv'd from his moſt " Chriſtian Majeſty, that he will inviolably keep " the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*." The Reader is deſir'd to obſerve that this was written two Months after *Madam* had been at *Dover*, where, as ſhe herſelf told Mr. *Montague*, afterwards Duke, *She had perſuaded her Brother, King* Charles, *to join with* France *againſt* Holland; and long after *Colbert*'s Treaty was concluded. Wou'd one think it was poſſible for Gentlemen to be guilty of ſuch double Dealing and Perfidy? *Arlington* proceeds, *In the Confidence of which* (of keeping the Treaty of *Aix*, which they had agreed to break) *we live in a perfect good Underſtanding with that Court*, with *France*, whoſe Ambition we have agreed to ſerve at the risk of the Religion and Liberties of *England*. *Again*, " Such Civilities paſs between the two Kings, as " give great Uneaſineſs to Monſieur *Van Beu-* " *ningen*, particularly by his Majeſty's ſending " the Duke of *Buckingham* to requite the Com- " plement brought hither by the Mareſchal *de* " *Bellefonds*."

Sir Will. Temple's *Saying to* De Wit.

Perfidy of the Engliſh *Court.*

Arlington and *Clifford* were in the Depth of this ruinous Intrigue, *Buckingham* and *Aſhley* not admitted ſo far into it, and *Lauderdale* was a Tool to be us'd or laid by at Pleaſure, being eaſily contented with the Share he had of the *Gallant* Miniſtry, in which he was *Prime*, while *Clifford* was at the Head of the *Political*. The latter being a ſtanch *Papiſt*, cou'd not but bear mortal Hatred to the *Dutch*, as may be ſeen by what paſs'd between him and Sir *William Temple*, upon Sir *William*'s Return from *Holland*. He made him ſtay an Hour and half for his firſt Audience, and when he enter'd into Diſcourſe with him, after much Anger expreſs'd againſt the *Hollanders*, and the Ambaſſador's ſtrenuous Vindication of his Negotiations, Sir *William* gives this Account of it himſelf, in a Letter to his Father, " Being, I confeſs, a little heated, after ſo " long and unpleaſant a Converſation, as well as " he, I ask'd him, in the Name of God, What " he thought a Man cou'd do more?" Upon this, in a great Rage he anſwer'd me, *I will tell you what a Man may do more, and what you ought to do more, which is, to let the King and all the World know, how baſely and unworthily the* States *have us'd him, and to declare publickly how their Miniſters are a Company of* Rogues *and* Raſcals, *and not fit for his Majeſty, or any other Prince, to have any thing to do with.* Pray mind! This Rogue and Raſcal is the Language of a *Prime* Miniſter, and ſpoken of another Prime Miniſter; but that this Language is not ſo uncourtly, as is generally conceiv'd, let us have recourſe to the Example of Kings and Princes: Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* came Poſt from *Paris* as ſoon as Madam was poiſon'd, to acquaint King *Charles* with it. The King wept, and expreſs'd himſelf very paſſionately againſt *Monſieur*, ſaying, *He is a* Raſcal: *But Prithee*, Tom, *don't ſpeak of it.* Theſe *Indecorums* are more outragious than any the Treachery and Villainy of the Enemies of the Reform'd Religion and *Engliſh* Liberties have been able to extort from me, tho' Reſentment and Indignation may have ſuffer'd ſome warm Expreſſions to have eſcap'd me.

Arlington's *Deceit.*

Lauderdale *Prime Miniſter for the Ladies.*

Clifford *ill treats Sir* Will. Temple.

Rogue and Raſcal Court Language in this Reign.

When the Peace was actually broken, and the *French* King had invaded the *United Provinces*, the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* having aſſiſted the *Dutch*, *Clifford* undertook to have the Governor check'd, and to get a ſtop put to the Succours for the future, by a Letter to Sir *William Godolphin* at *Madrid*. " There are now at " leaſt 10 or 12,000 Men, Horſe and Foot, of " theirs, in the *Holland* Service and Garriſons, " which is contrary to their Treaty made with " us; and tho' they may ſend Auxiliaries not- " withſtanding any Treaties they have made with " *France*, yet to ſend ſuch Numbers is ſo pro- " voking, that it will be a Wonder if the moſt " Chriſtian King doth not march with his Ar- " my to *Bruſſels*, and the World will juſtify him " in it.

Theſe Proceedings of *France* and *England* cou'd not probably have had the deſir'd Effect, had *Sweden* continu'd firm in her Alliances with *Holland*. To debauch that Court, Mr. *Coventry* was diſpatch'd away Ambaſſador to *Stockholm*; and he did not find it a very difficult Work to take off the Edge of their Zeal for the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*. 'Twas not likely indeed that the *Swedes* wou'd be anxious for others Liberties, who had made their Monarch a Preſent of their own. Ever ſince the Irruption of *Guſtavus Adolphus* into *Germany*, and the great Subſidies *France* paid to *Sweden*, the Miniſters there have been ſo us'd to touch *French* Gold, that their Party in *Sweden* was far from being inconſiderable.

The Duke of *Buckingham*'s Reception at the Court of *France* was calculated to the Vanity and Profuſion of his Temper; all was Shew and Pleaſure, and he behav'd as one who underſtood Gallantry as well as the moſt Gallant of that ſplendid Court. Having once open'd a Ball with a Lady of the firſt Rank, which was perform'd by him with wonderful Gaiety and Addreſs, the Ladies were very curious in viewing a Diamond Hatband he wore, and ſome of 'em, out of Envy, cry'd, *They were counterfeit*. When he had done Dancing, he twiſted the Hatband round his Finger, and flung the Diamonds among the Ladies, ſaying, *See, Ladies, if they are true or no.* The Secret League between the two Kings of *England* and *France* was thus confirm'd, and the *French* Army was order'd to break up, and march toward the new Conqueſts. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Paris* demanded of Mr. *de Lionne*, Secretary of State, Whether that Army was to be employ'd againſt his Maſters? *Lionne* aſſur'd him, If thoſe Troops were employ'd at all, the Storm wou'd fall far enough from their Territories. The Fraud is uppermoſt ſtill in all their Words and Actions. This Army, under *Crequi*, enter'd *Lorraine*, ſeiz'd that Dutchy, and was within half an Hour of ſurprizing the Duke, for no other Reaſon, but his offering to be a Party in the *Triple-League*; and when that Duke's Miniſter complain'd of it at our Court, he was told, *The preſent*

French *and* Engliſh *Fraud*

A.D.1670 *ſent Violence, like the Miſchiefs of a ſudden Inundation, muſt be endur'd at this Time.*

Parliament. However, on the 24th of *October* the Parliament met, and the King having made a very ſhort Speech, refer'd them to the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman*, who was directed to ſay, among other Things, *Since the Cloſe of the late War, his Majeſty hath made ſeveral Leagues to his own* HONOUR, *and of infinite Advantage to the Nation. One known by the Name of the* Triple-League; *wherein his Majeſty, the Crown of* Sweden, *and the* States *of the* United Provinces, *are engag'd to preſerve the Treaty of* Aix la Chapelle, *concerning a Peace between the two warring Princes; which Peace produc'd that Effect, that it quench'd the Fire that was ready to have ſet all* Chriſtendom *in a Flame; and beſides other great Benefits by it, which ſhe ſtill enjoys, gave Opportunity to tranſmit thoſe Forces againſt the Infidels, which wou'd otherwiſe have been embru'd in* Chriſtian Blood. *Another between his Majeſty and the ſaid States, for a mutual Aſſiſtance, with a certain Number of Men and Ships, in caſe of Invaſion by any others.* Prodigious! All theſe Treaties, upon which the King values himſelf ſo much by his Keeper, are not only every one of them broken, but a new one fraudulently and clandeſtinely made to deſtroy thoſe very States, and ſet Chriſtendom in a Flame. The Keeper told them, that ſince *France* and *Holland* were fitting out Fleets, 'twas neceſſary the King of *England* ſhou'd do ſo too, and demanded 800,000 Pounds for that Expence, which this giving Parliament readily gave his Majeſty; and with that Money he put himſelf in a Condition to break thoſe Treaties for the Maintenance of which it was given him.

Duke of Monmouth. In the beginning of the Summer, *James* Duke of *Monmouth*, the King's eldeſt Son, by Mrs. *Lucy Walters*, or *Barlow*, of *Pembrokeſhire*, was admitted into the Privy-Council. He was born at *Rotterdam*, *April* 9, 1649, at the Time when *Echard* ſays, the King was as eminent for *Continence*, as he was for Incontinence afterwards. The Queen Mother, it ſeems, lik'd him not the worſe for his being the Baſtard Son of her Son, but took particular Care of his Education, under *Thomas Roſs*, Eſq; at *Paris*. At twelve Years old he was brought to *England*, and was created Duke of *Orkney* in *Scotland*, and Duke of *Monmouth* ſome time after. His Beauty and fine Mien gain'd the Love of the whole Court; his Father was ſo fond of him, that it created Jealouſy in the Duke of *York*. In 1665, he was marry'd to the Lady *Anne*, Daughter and Heir to *Francis* Earl of *Buccleugh*, generally eſteem'd the greateſt Beauty and Fortune in the three Kingdoms. He was made Captain of the Horſe Guards, Lord Lieutenant of the *Eaſt* Riding of *Yorkſhire*, Governor of *Hull*, and afterwards General of all the Land Forces.

Blood's *Plot to ſteal the Duke of* Ormond. In *December* this Year, there was diſcover'd a horrid and bloody Plot, no ſham one, contriv'd by Captain *Blood* of *Ireland*, who, ſays *Echard*, had been in a Plot there to make himſelf Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and the *Compleat Hiſtorian* ſays, *Blood*'s Deſign was to force the Duke to ſign ſome Writings to ſurrender an Eſtate he had forfeited by *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, and that he was a *deſperate Villain*. Mr. *Baxter* tells us, *He had been a Soldier in the old King's Army againſt the Parliament*. The other Plotters were *Richard Hallowell* of *Frying-pan Alley* in *Petticoat-lane* without *Biſhopſgate* (I am ſo particular, becauſe it ſhews how well the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, from whom I take it, underſtands the Dignity and Majeſty of Hiſtory) *Thomas Allen*, *Thomas Hunt*, and *Ralph Alexander*. The Plot was to ſteal the Duke of *Ormond*, and hang him at *Tyburn*, in Revenge of ſome Plotters whom the Duke had hung in *Ireland*. They way-laid him as he was going to *Dunkirk-Houſe*, in *Piccadilly*, in the Night, and *Blood* taking him out of his Coach, by the Help of *Alexander*, mounted him on Horſeback behind his eldeſt Son, afterwards Lieutenant General *Blood*. The Duke was carry'd as far as *Devonſhire-Houſe* before Help got to him; and then he flung himſelf off the Horſe, the Perſon to whom he was ty'd falling with him. By which time the Duke's Porter, and other Aſſiſtance coming up, the Fellow diſengag'd himſelf, mounted, and rode off with the reſt of the Plotters. The *Compleat Hiſtorian* adds to this Piece of Hiſtory two Conſecrations, that of Dr. *Creighton*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, a virulent Preacher, and that of *Shadwel* Church; as you may ſee there more at large. A.D.1670

There was a ſtupid worthleſs Mechanick, one *Starling*, who had got himſelf in to the Chair in the City of *London*; he was Mayor the Year before, and join'd with the Archbiſhop's Nephew, Sir *Joſeph Sheldon*, and one Sir *Andrew King*, an obſcure Knight, in ſending two eminent and worthy Citizens, Mr. *Jekyl*, and Mr. *Hayes*, to Goal, for endeavouring to ſave ſome poor Citizens from Priſon, who were in danger of it, by being found worſhipping God according to Scripture and their own Conſciences. *Echard* calls their offering a Crown or two to the Conſtables, for letting the Proteſtant Diſſenters go about their Buſineſs, an *Attempt to bribe the Magiſtrates*. The Parliament, who, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *had loſt the Reſpect of the People*, ſtood by *Starling* and *Sheldon*, againſt whom Mr. *Hayes* and Mr. *Jekyl* had brought their Action for falſe Impriſonment, and Voted the Commitment of thoſe Gentlemen, *to be for the Preſervation of the King*; which is as much Nonſenſe as a Majority of *Wrong-heads* cou'd be guilty of. Both the *Compleat Hiſtorians* take Notice of the great Favour done *Seth Ward*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, by making him Chancellor of the Garter, as ſome Biſhops of that See had been formerly; but I muſt remember that *Covenanting Presbyterian*, *Independent Republican*, and *Cromwelian*, for ſomething elſe, which I find in *Baxter*'s Life. "This Year *Salisbury* Dioceſe "was more fiercely driven on to Conformity by "Dr. *Seth Ward*, their Biſhop, than any Place "elſe, or than all the Biſhops in *England* beſides "did in theirs. Many Hundreds were perſecuted "by him with great Induſtry, and among others, "that learned, humble, holy Gentleman, *Tho*"*mas Grove*, Eſq; an antient Parliament Man, "of as great Sincerity and Integrity as almoſt "any Man I ever knew. He ſtood it out a while "in a Law Suit, but was overthrown, and fain "to forſake his Country, as many Hundreds more "are quickly like to do." Mr. *Grove*'s Nephew, Dr. *Robert Grove*, was afterwards the learned and pious Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.

About the ſame time Dr. *Manton* was ſent to the common Goal for preaching the Goſpel in his own Houſe, and was kept in the *Gate-houſe* ſix Months.

Such was the State of Religion, and ſuch the ſad State of the Publick Affairs: The moſt Honourable and Safe Leagues were breaking, the moſt Sober and Religious Proteſtants in the Nation perſecuting, and Popery and Slavery make very quick Approaches; but the Wicked will not always proſper.

Before we proceed farther in the Preparations of a new War, we muſt look into the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. 1671.

The *Papiſts* in *Ireland* had conceiv'd ſuch Hopes of the Eſtabliſhment of their Religion, that they cou'd not conceal them from the Proteſtants.

A.D.1671 teſtants. 'Twas very remarkable, that in the Year 1668, *Peter Talbot*, Brother to *Tyrconnel*, and Titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, landing from Ireland. *England* at a Place call'd the *Skeriſh*, within 12 Miles of that City, and being very hoſpitably entertain'd by one Captain *Coddington*, with whom he lodg'd one Night, *Talbot* the next Morning took him aſide, and after the moſt affectionate Expreſſion of Kindneſs, ask'd him what Title he had to that Eſtate? For he obſerv'd he had expended conſiderably upon its Improvement. *Coddington* anſwer'd, 'Twas an old Eſtate belonging to the Earl of *Thomond*. *Talbot* reply'd, *That's nothing; it belongs to the Church, and will all be taken away; therefore I adviſe you, lay out no more Money upon it, but get what you can and deſert it.* All which was offer'd upon ſtrong Injunctions of the moſt inviolable Secrecy.

The Duke of *Ormond* was then Lord Lieutenant, and nothing advantageous to their Intereſts cou'd be manag'd while he continu'd in that Poſt, which occaſion'd ſeveral Conſultations at Court about his Removal. It had been too palpable for the *Popiſh* Party to have appear'd in it; wherefore an Intrigue was then form'd of renewing the antient Animoſities between him and the Duke of *Buckingham*. This was reduc'd to Act, and the Effect was proportionable to the Deſign. Being recall'd, he left his Son, the Earl of *Oſſory*, to command in his Abſence; and no ſooner was it known at *Dublin* that he was remov'd, than the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Provoſt of the College, the Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, and many of the principal Citizens and Clergy, waited on the Earl of *Oſſory*, to acknowledge the Benefits they enjoy'd under the good Government of his Father. The next thing to be conſider'd was, who ſhou'd ſucceed him, which was a Matter that requir'd a very nice and critical Management. They pitch'd upon the Lord *Roberts*, *A. D.* 1669, as a Perſon who had formerly been diſappointed of that Station, which begetting a Prejudice in him, and meeting with a vindictive Spirit, whoſe Temper they knew to be ſuch, wou'd procure him invidiouſly to inſpect into, or elſe to create Faults in the Government of the Duke of *Ormond*, which was the End of the Contrivance, and of his Advancement, as knowing that his Uneaſineſs to thoſe of that Kingdom wou'd ſerve to prepare a fair Reception for the Lord *Berkley*, a Man of whoſe Inclinations to their Intereſt the *Popiſh* Party had the moſt convincing Aſſurances.

Some Years before the Lord *Roberts* was made Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Antrim* was accus'd of being Actor in the *Iriſh* Maſſacre, and as ſuch, his Eſtate was to be forfeited. Theſe Articles being prov'd againſt him: 1. He was in the Conſpiracy to ſurprize the Caſtle of *Dublin* with *Macguire*, *Macmahon*, who were hang'd, *&c.* 2. He afterwards join'd the Rebels, particularly *Renny O-Moor*. 3. *He enter'd into the* Popiſh Conſpiracy before the Year 1643. 4. He conſtantly adher'd to the *Nuntio*'s Party. 5 He ſate from Time to Time in the *Council* of *Kilkenny*. 6. He ſign'd the execrable Oath of *Aſſociation*. 7. He acted as Lieutenant General by Commiſſion from that *Council*. 8. He declar'd he had join'd with *Owen Roe*, and *Neal* in oppoſing the Peace made by the Lord *Ormond*. Theſe Proofs taken in *Ireland* were tranſmitted to King *Charles* II. who ſent back a Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, then the Duke of *Ormond*, to clear *Antrim*; in which Letter 'tis alledg'd, *That the Marquis of* Antrim *was innocent from any Malice or* Rebellious *Purpoſe againſt the Crown, and that his Tranſactions with the* Iriſh Rebels *were by the Inſtruction of the King his Father, and for his Service; that his Royal Father was well pleas'd with what the Marquis had done, and approv'd the ſame; and that he,* Charles II. *cou'd not in Juſtice deny him this Teſtimony; that what he did by way of correſponding with the* Iriſh, *was in order to the Service of his Royal Father, and warranted by his Inſtructions.* This *Letter* was dated from *Whitehall July* the 10th, 1663, and enter'd at the Signet Office *July* the 13th following. " Upon " this, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, the Parliament's old " Adherents grew more confident than ever of " the Righteouſneſs of their Wars. And the " very Deſtroyers of the King, whom the firſt " Parliamentarians call'd Rebels, did preſume " alſo to juſtify their Cauſe, and ſaid, *That the* " *Law of Nature did warrant them.*" It ſtopp'd not here. The Lord Viſcount *Maſſareen*, a zealous Proteſtant, ſtill proſecuted *Antrim*'s Cauſe, and carry'd it ſo far, that the Marquis was forc'd to produce in the Houſe of Commons of *England* a *Letter* of King *Charles* I. by which he gave him Order for his taking up Arms againſt the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*; which being read even in this *Giving* and *Taking* Houſe, put all the Members into a Silence.

Antrim *an* Iriſh *Rebel,*

A.D.1671

had King Charles I. *Commiſſion.*

Dr. *Calamy* very juſtly complains of the foul Mouths that broke out againſt him for mentioning this Paſſage of the Marquis of *Antrim* after Mr. *Baxter*, tho' it had been told by ſeveral Writers long before Mr. *Baxter*'s Life came out, as by the Author of *Murther will out*, by Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, &c. Indeed it bears hard on the Memory of *Charles* the Firſt, and proves, beyond Contradiction, that his Martyrdom cou'd not be for the Proteſtant Religion, againſt which he commiſſion'd an *Iriſh* Maſſacrer to take Arms. I never thought that King gave a formal Commiſſion to the *Iriſh* Papiſts to cut the Throats of the *Engliſh* Proteſtants: But I always thought, and always ſhall think, that if a Commiſſion to take Arms is given, or even countenanc'd, and the Conſequence of that Commiſſion is a Maſſacre, that the Power who gave it, or countenanc'd it, is as much acceſſary to the Maſſacre as ever Perſon was acceſſary to a Murder, in which there's no Difference in Guilt and Puniſhment between the Acceſſary and the Principal.

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A ſad Accident.

Soon after the Lord *Robert*'s Arrival at *Dublin* a very unfortunate Accident happen'd there. Moſt of the Nobility and Gentry being at the Theatre in *Dublin* to ſee *Ben. Johnſon's Bartholomew Fair* acted, the upper Galleries on a ſudden fell all down, and the People out of them into the Pit and lower Boxes. The Lord Lieutenant and his Lady were in the King's Box, or what ſerves inſtead of it, in that *Play-houſe*, but they both eſcap'd the Danger, part of the Box where they were remaining firm, and ſo reſiſting the Fall from above, only his two Sons were found quite bury'd under the Timber. The younger had receiv'd but little Hurt, but the eldeſt was taken up dead to all Appearance; he was preſently let Blood and recover'd. Many of the Audience were dangerouſly hurt, and ſeven or eight kill'd out-right. If, like the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, we cou'd ſuffer our Paſſion to cry out a *Judgment* on every extraordinary Incident, one might ask why ſhou'd not this be imputed ſuch, when the Buffoonry of the Stage was play'd againſt the Purity of Divine Worſhip; for the ſober religious *Puritan* was the Jeſt of the Farce, and a proper Cant put into his Mouth to adapt it to the Times, the lewdeſt that ever were known in a Country where Profeſſion was made of any Religion at all. Lord *Roberts* remain'd Lord Lieutenant but about ſix Months, and then the

Lord

A.D.1671 Lord *Berkley* was ſent over in the ſame Station. He arriv'd *April* the 2d, 1670. *Richard Talbot*, Brother to *Peter*, and the Duke of *York*'s Favourite, went from Court to *Ireland* ſoon after, where, pretending to retire and live private, he was ſtill engag'd in all the ſecret Counſels with Sir *Ellis Leighton*, as great a Sinner as his holy Brother, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, was a Saint, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant *Berkley*.

It was now pretended, that when the King was in Exile, he had oblig'd himſelf to the *French* King to reſtore the *Iriſh* to their Religion and Eſtates; and leſt a Neglect of this ſhou'd occaſion a Breach with *France*, which the King under his new Engagement durſt not admit a Thought of, ſomething therefore muſt be done to ſatisfy his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; ſo it was order'd, notwithſtanding the Law, to prefer *Iriſh* Papiſts to the Commiſſion of the Peace, in this Year 1671. But they behav'd ſo partially and inſolently, that they became odious to ſober Men of their own Party.

The next Year an Attempt was made to regulate *Corporations*. The Lord *Berkley* acting, as he was directed, by the Duke of *York*, or his Agents the *Talbots*, the Lord Lieutenant was impower'd to do it by an Act of the laſt Parliament there. This was manag'd with ſuch Secrecy, that none were made acquainted with it till a Draft of it was drawn and brought ready to the Council Board. The next Day an Order was ſent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin* to call a Common Council, to turn them out and make a new Government in the City. This *Berkley* and the Privy-Council well underſtood wou'd make a Diſturbance, which they were deſirous ſo to improve among the Citizens, as to render the Proteſtants diſaffected. To this End they labour'd induſtriouſly to irritate and provoke them, as the Lord *Berkley* had done the Year before, when a Number of Boys got up in a Tumult to pull down a Bridge, which was erecting contrary to the Deſire of the City. The Lord Mayor and Conſtables having ſuppreſs'd them, the Lord Lieutenant order'd Soldiers, as they were carrying them to Priſon, to diſcharge ſeveral Shots among the Boys, by which ſeveral of them were kill'd.

The Aldermen of *Dublin* gave ready Obedience to the Order, tho' they fear'd the Bottom of the Deſign; and this Compliance put the Lord Lieutenant on new Meaſures; for the moſt conſiderable Aldermen had been noted for keeping *Papiſts* from the Freedom of the City, and while they were in Power no *Popiſh* Deſign cou'd ſucceed; wherefore the next Work was to prepoſſeſs the Populace with a Prejudice againſt the Aldermen, repreſenting them as the Authors and Contrivers of this new Model, tho', as it was afterwards prov'd upon an Hearing before the Earl of *Eſſex* and Council, when he was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, they never heard one Word of that Model till the Order was brought to them upon *Toleſey*, with a Command to put it in Execution. About the ſame Time, 1672, came over to *Dublin* a Perſon who aſſum'd ſeveral Names, ſometimes *Payne*, ſometimes *Nevill*, the ſame Man who was committed to *Newgate* a few Years after for ſome High Miſdemeanor relating to *Coleman* and the *Popiſh Plot*. This *Nevill* was ſent to *Ireland* by *Coleman*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, to act as he ſhou'd receive Inſtructions from himſelf and the chief Papiſts of *England*. He kept himſelf cloſe at firſt, but at laſt was receiv'd into the Caſtle, and appear'd as Under-Secretary to Sir *Ellis Leighton*. His Buſineſs was to infuſe into the Citizens of *Dublin* an Opinion of the Treachery of their Recorder Sir *William Davis*; and to make the Pretext the more plauſible, he had Inſtructions to add, that the Recorder and the Lord Primate, then Lord Chancellor, counſell'd the Lord *Berkley* to enact thoſe Laws for aboliſhing the antient Government of the City, and further inſinuating, that this was done at the Deſire, Inſtigation, and Contrivance of the chief Aldermen. The impious Suggeſtion being not only artfully ſpread, but alſo too eaſily credited by the Citizens, they were induc'd to pitch upon *Nevill* as their moſt proper Agent, and in order to this advanc'd Money, which they preſented to Sir *Ellis Leighton*, who, together with *Nevill*, brought the then Lord Mayor *Totty*, with the Sheriffs, to the Lord Lieutenant, who publickly declar'd the Relation above, and promis'd to recal his Order. Upon which he ſummon'd a Council, but the unravelling of the Buſineſs diſcover'd a *Popiſt* Intrigue, which occaſion'd their not agreeing with the Lord *Berkley*. A.D.1671

However, a Conſultation was held by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs with Colonel *Talbot* his Brother, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, as alſo with Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, the Pope's Knight, at *Talbot*'s Houſe, three Miles from *Dublin*, where it was reſolv'd, that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs ſhou'd call a general Aſſembly of the City, and by an Act of that Aſſembly turn out the Recorder, and all the Aldermen and Common-Council-Men, who oppos'd the Popiſh Party. But when the Aſſembly met, all the four and twenty Aldermen were unanimous, and without them no Act cou'd paſs; upon which they ſent to the Lord Lieutenant for further Inſtructions, keeping the Aſſembly ſhut up till the Anſwer came from him, which was, that one of the Sheriffs, and ſeveral of the Commons, ſhou'd deliver a Petition to the Aldermens Court to turn out Sir *William Davis* and ſeven of the chief Aldermen. One of the Sheriffs, aſham'd of theſe treacherous Proceedings, diſcover'd the ſecret Contrivance: *Popery promoted.* And thus the Aldermen had ſome Time to be on their Guard againſt it; and they defended themſelves ſo well when the Matter came to be debated, that the adverſe Party obtain'd only the Suffrages of two indigent Aldermen; but then the Lord Mayor, who was corrupted by *Leighton* and *Payne*, call'd a private Aſſembly, at which not one of the ſeven Aldermen were preſent. The Commons were call'd into the Aldermen's Court, and there, in a tumultuous and irregular Manner, the ſeven chief Aldermen were turn'd out, and ſeven of the Rabble put in their Places; *Leighton* was alſo made Recorder, ſeveral Papiſts were brought into the Common-Council. *Talbot*, the Titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, borrowed rich Hangings, Silver Candleſticks, Plate, and other Utenſils of the Lord Lieutenant to uſe at *High Maſs*, which *Leighton* got to be ſent with this Complement, *That he hop'd to have High Maſs at* Chriſt-Church *at* Chriſtmas.

In *Berkley*'s Time the *Papiſts* in *Ireland* became ſo inſolent, that *Richard* and *Peter Talbot* were look'd upon as a kind of Favourites at the Caſtle, and a horrid Conſpiracy was on Foot to maſſacre the Proteſtants, which was diſcover'd by the Babling of a Prieſt, who was come from abroad to forward that *bleſſed Work*, as they were pleas'd to call it. Suſpicion was taken by Croſſes of *Straw*, which the Prieſts had order'd the Papiſts to fix over their Doors, as a Token of Diſtinction to ſave them when the Proteſtants were deſtroy'd. The Prieſt was ſought after, but he was convey'd away, and the Government gave no Encouragement to any Enquiry into the Plot, or after the Plotters. The Men who were *outed*, ſent

A.D.1671 ſent Sir *William Davis*, the outed Recorder, to *London*, to lay the State of their Caſe before the Miniſtry, which when the Earl of *Shafsbury* had heard, he ſwore the Lord Lieutenant was mad, and about a Month after the Earl of *Eſſex* was appointed to ſucceed *Berkley* in that Station. The latter went Ambaſſador to *France*, where he behav'd ſo poorly, that he was ſaid to have loſt his Wits, if ever he had any. The Earl of *Eſſex*, ſome Time before this, being at *Paris*, in his Way to *England* from the Waters of *Bourbon*, the Queen-Mother, then living, ſent for him, and told him there were Agents from *Ireland*, who deſir'd Money and Arms of the *French* King as alſo ſome Officers, and they wou'd put that Kingdom into his Hand. But, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, the *French* King had *greater Things in View*. However, this is no ſmall Proof of the traiterous Deſigns of the *Iriſh* Papiſts againſt their King and Country, for they were not as yet let into the Secret of King *Charles*'s Religion.

We muſt in the next Place caſt an Eye upon Scotland. *Scotland*, which we left after the Tumult at *Pentland-Hill*. The Executions which follow'd it are too bloody and barbarous for a Chriſtian Hiſtory. Archbiſhop *Sharp* was the moſt Sharp's *Inſolence and Baſeneſs.* deeply concern'd in them, inſomuch that after he had receiv'd a Letter from the King to ſtop his Hand, he ſuffer'd ten Men to be put to Death before he paid Obedience to it. His Majeſty having receiv'd Information of the ill State of Affairs in *Scotland* by the Earls of *Tweedale* and *Kincardin*, who went to *London* on Purpoſe, was diſpleas'd at *Sharp*'s Tyranny and Cruelty, and order'd the Lord *Rothes* to write to that proud and hated Prelate to ſtay within his Dioceſs, and come no more to *Edinburgh*. Upon this he was ſtruck with ſo deep a Melancholy, that, to uſe the Lord of *Sarum*'s Words, he ſhew'd as *much Abjectedneſs under the ſlight Diſgrace, as he had ſhewn Inſolence before, when he had more Favour.* He preſided in the laſt Convention, but Duke *Hamilton* was appointed to preſide in the next, *A. D.* 1667. *Sharp* had been order'd to look after the Education of the young Marquis of *Huntly*, and ſee that he was not bred a Papiſt; for the Strength of Popery in *Scotland* lay in his Family. *Sharp* car'd not for that; the Earl of *Rothes*'s Miſtreſs was related to *Huntly*, and a good Catholick herſelf, ſo he let *Huntly*'s Mother breed him as ſhe pleas'd; and Biſhop *He favours Popery and Lewdneſs.* *Burnet* adds, The Intereſt which *Popery had in* Scotland was believ'd to be chiefly owing to *Sharp*'s Compliance with the Earl of *Rothes*'s Amours, which cou'd not but be very much for the Credit of the Cauſe he had eſpous'd at the Expence of his Oaths and his Conſcience. *That eminent Prelate, his Grace*, ſays *Echard* of him; and the Biſhop of *Sarum* does not ſcruple to ſtile the very ſame Man *Infamous*. The Lord *Rothes*, *Sharp*'s Patron, ſent Colonel *Drummond* with a Meſſage to the King, repreſenting the Neceſſity of putting to Death all thoſe who wou'd not renounce the *Covenant*. Such an Order was ſent, but with it a Letter, commanding the Execution of it to be forborn, unleſs there was expreſs Command for it from Court; ſo it ſerv'd only to make *Rothes*, *Sharp*, and their Party ſtill more odious. *Burnet*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, got into the Management upon *Sharp*'s leaving it; but he drove ſo furiouſly, that even *Sharp* was thought a more moderate Counſellor, and accordingly recall'd to the Council-Board, and *Burnet* alſo grew ſomewhat tamer. The Biſhops, ſays my Lord of *Salisbury*, ſeem *only concern'd for their Authority and Revenues, and took no Care of regulating Worſhip and Diſcipline*, which I never did, nor ever ſhall wonder at. *Authority* Scotch *Biſhops take no Care of Religion.* and *Revenues* are of the Kingdom of the World in which we live; *Religion* and *Piety* are of the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, which is too remote to have any Attraction on worldly Minds. A.D.1671

All this while Lord *Lauderdale* kept himſelf pretty much in the good Opinion of the *Presbyterians*; but about eight Years after the Reſtoration he ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd by the Counteſs of *Dyſert*, Wife of Sir *Lionel Talmaſh* of *Suffolk*, with whom he had ſo familiar Commerce in her Husband's Time, that it gave Occaſion to Cenſure. This Woman had Beauty, Wit, and ſome Learning; but, as Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, wou'd *ſtick at nothing to compaſs her Ends*. When *Lauderdale* was a Priſoner after *Worceſter* Fight, ſhe ſav'd his Life by her In- *Dutcheſs of Lauderdale great with Cromwel.* trigues with *Cromwel*, which was not a little taken Notice of. The Biſhop adds, *He was certainly fond of her, and ſhe took Care to entertain him in it, till he, finding what was ſaid upon it, broke it off*. She liv'd after the *Reſtoration* ſo much with *Lauderdale*, that his Wife left the Kingdom, went to *Paris*, and dy'd there. After which he marry'd Lady *Dyſert*, and deliver'd himſelf up to all her Humours and Paſſions; by which Means he fell out with all his beſt Friends, and among others with the *Presbyterians*, who paid him more than ordinary Reſpect in Hopes to keep him, if not theirs, at leaſt their Friends. Lord *Tweedale* had the Commiſſion for *Scotland* after Lord *Rothes*; and to expoſe the latter, *Turner* the Dragoon was queſtion'd for his Cruelties, which provok'd the People to riſe about *Dumfries*. It was expected *Turner* wou'd produce his Warrants, and that then *Rothes* wou'd appear to have been chiefly concern'd in it; but he ſunk them, and his Commiſſion being taken from him, wou'd not produce any Vouchers to pleaſe his Enemies. The wiſe and virtuous Sir *Robert Murray* was Aſſiſtant to the Earl of *Tweedale* in the Government, and paſſing through the Weſt of *Scotland* to endeavour to compoſe Matters a little, he found out the Source of all the Evils which had there happen'd. The Epiſcopal Clergy in that Country were, as he told the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *a Set of Men* ſo ignorant *Ignorant Clergy.* *and ſo ſcandalous, that it was not poſſible to ſupport them, unleſs the greateſt Part of them cou'd be turn'd out, and better Men put in their Places.* The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, *Burnet*, had put them *all in, and they were ſo link'd together, that none of them cou'd be got to concur in getting Proofs of Crimes brought againſt their Brethren.* How do the *Compleat Hiſtorians* rejoyce at the obtruding of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland!* and theſe are, you ſee, the ſweet Effects of it. Sir *Robert Murray* propos'd a Method to purge the Church of ſuch Scandals to it, by erecting a Court, conſiſting of Clergy and Laity, to examine into the Complaints of the People againſt their Curates. *Burnet* of *Glaſgow* roar'd againſt this as an Encroachment on his Authority; and his Clergy cry'd out, *They were undone*. Indeed Sir *Robert Murray*'s Project was too pious to ſucceed in ſuch impious Times. The Lord *Tweedale* prevail'd on the holy *Leighton* to go to *London*, where he repreſented to the King the Madneſs of the Adminiſtration of Church Affairs in *Scotland* under *Sharp*, and the Archdeacon's other *Scotch* Biſhops. A Treaty of an Accommodation was propos'd with the Presbyterians, but came to nothing. Oppreſſion had wrought the rigid *Presbyterians* into Phrenzy, and they were not ſoon to be brought into a treating Temper. The more ſober Part of them were not averſe to it; but ſo many Difficulties were ſtarted, that this Propoſal, like all other good Propoſals in theſe bad Times, had no Effect. In the Year 1668,

A.D. 1671 *Sharp* the Archbiſhop, who was as much hated as it is poſſible for a Man to be, was ſhot at in a Coach in *Edinburgh* Street; but the Bullet was intercepted by the Arm of the Biſhop of *Orkney*, who was then getting into *Sharp*'s Coach. *Echard* aſſerts, That the Man who ſhot off the Piſtol was a *Conventicle Preacher*. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, he was ſhot at by a Man, but does not ſay he was a Preacher, or a Presbyterian, tho' 'tis very likely he was a *Conventicler*, as that modeſt, ingenious Hiſtorian terms the Proteſtant Diſſenters, and for the Sake of this *Billingſgate*, does he affirm a Falſhood, for my Lord of *Sarum* intimates, that the Man, *Mitchel*, whom *Echard* names, was a
p. 413. Shop-keeper. *Sharp* was as much frighted as a wicked Man and a Coward cou'd be. *Mitchel* made off, and was not diſcover'd 'till ſix Years after, and how that happen'd is worth knowing, there being a Series of Villainies in the Beginning and End of this Buſineſs, which is not eaſily to be met with in any other Hiſtory. I take it from the Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

Sharp *guilty of a Series of Villainies.*

" *Sharp* had obſerv'd a Man that kept a Shop " at his Door, who look'd very narrowly on him " always as he paſs'd by, and he fancy'd he was " the Man that had ſhot at him ſix Years be- " fore; ſo he order'd him to be taken up and ex- " amin'd. It was found he had two Piſtols by " him, that were deeply charg'd, which encreas'd " the Suſpicion, yet the Man deny'd all. But " *Sharp* got a Friend of his to go to him, and " deal with him to make a full Confeſſion, and " *Sharp* made ſolemn Promiſes that he wou'd " procure his Pardon. *Mitchel*'s Friend an- " ſwer'd, he hop'd he did not intend to make " uſe of him to trapan a Man to his Ruin." *Now, Reader*, fix thy Eyes upon this *Sharp, and ſee him in the higheſt Act of Devotion, telling the moſt execrable Falſity that ever came from Man's Lips.* " *Sharp*, with lifted up Hands, promis'd " by the *Living God*, that no Hurt ſhould come " to the Man. The Perſon went to the Priſoner, " who offer'd to tell all, if a Promiſe was made " in the King's Name; upon which *Lauderdale*, " then the King's Commiſſioner, impower'd the " Lord *Halton* his Brother, the Lord *Rothes* and " *Primroſe* to promiſe him his Life, which was " done, and the Priſoner *Mitchel*, kneeling im- " mediately down, confeſs'd the Fact. There was " but one Perſon privy to it, and he was then " dead. Echard *inſinuates that all the Presby- " terians were privy to it.*" *Sharp* was troubled to ſee ſo ſmall a Diſcovery, and the Man was ſent Priſoner to the *Baſs*, to be kept there for Life; however, he was ſometime after brought into the *Juſticiary Court*, upon an Indictment for this Crime, to which it was expected he wou'd plead *Guilty*, " But the Judge, as he went up the " Stairs, paſſing by the Priſoner, ſaid to him, " *Confeſs nothing, unleſs you are ſure of your* " *Limbs as well as your Life.* Upon this Hint, " he refus'd to confeſs, which being reported to " the Council, an Act was paſs'd, that ſince he " had retracted his Confeſſion, they likewiſe re- " call'd the Promiſe of Pardon. *Sharp* would " have his Life, *Lauderdale* gave Way to it, and " he was brought to *Edinburgh*, in order to his " Trial. All were amaz'd at the Proceeding, " *Primroſe* took a Copy of the Act of Council " for *Mitchel*'s Pardon, and then going to *Lau- " derdale*, told him, many thought there had been

Lauder- dale's *Falſhood.* " a Promiſe of Life given: *Lauderdale* deny'd " it ſtiffly; *Primroſe* deſir'd the Council Regi- " ſter might be look'd into, to ſee if there was " any Act for it." *Lauderdale* ſaid, he was ſure it was not poſſible. *Lockhart*, Uncle of *Carnworth*, pleaded for *Mitchel* with ſuch Force and Eloquence, as amaz'd the Audience, but it was over-rul'd. Then the Promiſe of Pardon was in- A.D. 1671 ſiſted on; the Perſon who went to *Mitchel*, gave Evidence of that Promiſe from *Sharp*, which *Sharp*, who had ſworn his Promiſe by the *Living God*, flatly deny'd. The Duke of *Lauderdale*, the Earl of *Rothes*, and the Lord *Halton*, deny'd alſo that there was any Promiſe of Pardon; at which, all preſent, were ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment. *Lockhart* demanded a Copy of the Council Act, which was regiſter'd. Duke of *Lauderdale*, who was in the Court, only as a Witneſs, and ſo had no Right to ſpeak, ſtood up and ſaid, *I and theſe other noble Perſons, are not brought hither to be accus'd of Perjury, the Books of* Scot's *Council are the King's Secrets, and no Court ſhall* Privy *have the Peruſing of them.* So *Mitchel* was caſt Counſellors and condemn'd. *perjur'd.*

Sharp *ſworn.*

As ſoon as the Court broke up, the Lords of the Council ſearch'd the Regiſter, and to their Shame, found the Act for Pardon enter'd there, and ſign'd by Lord *Rothes*, as Preſident of the Council, whoſe poor Excuſe was, that he ſign'd any thing the Clerk put in the Book, upon whom it was then intended to throw it; but he, to clear himſelf, ſearches among his Papers, and found the Draught of the Act in *Nisbit*, the King's Advocate's Hand. *Nisbit* being rich, a ſevere Fine was determin'd to be laid upon him; but he examin'd the Minutes of the Council Book, and ſpoke to all who were then at the Board, of whom nine happen'd to be in *Edinburgh*, who were ready to depoſe upon Oath, that when the Council order'd this Act to be drawn, the Clerk of the Council deſir'd the Help of the King's Advocate, which he gave him, and his Draught was approv'd by the Council, yet *Lauderdale* ſtill ſtood to it. Lord *Kincardin* ſent a Biſhop to him before the Trial, deſiring him to conſider better of the Matter, and not deny a Thing upon Oath, which he, *Kincardin*, had under both his own, and his Brother *Halten*'s Hand, nay the very Letters wherein he deſir'd that a Pardon might be ask'd of the King for *Mitchel*, purſuant to the Promiſe that had been given him. This made ſome Impreſſion on him, and he was willing to grant a Reprieve, but *Sharp* ſaid, *That was to expoſe him to any Man who wou'd attempt to murder him.* Then ſaid Duke *Lauderdale* in an Lauder- impious jeſting Way, *Let* Mitchel *glorify God in* dale *per- the Graſs Market*, where he was hang'd; which *jur'd and* Action, and all *that were concern'd in it*, were *impious. look'd at by all People with Horror.* Biſhop *Burnet* adds, *It was ſuch a Complication of Treachery, Perjury and Cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known*, and I cannot think that all the *Conciergeries* and *Chatelets* in the World, cou'd furniſh ſuch a Set of Men as dipp'd their Hands, and their very Souls in the Blood of this Man. Remember *Echard*'s Lord Primate, his Grace is at the Head of them. *Lauderdale*'s Chaplain, *Hicks*, a Conventicle Preacher, after he was turn'd out of the Deanery of *Worceſter*, publiſh'd *a falſe and partial Account of this Matter*, ſays my Lord *Sarum*, to juſtify his Maſter, but his Lordſhip's Account was ſent him by *Primroſe*, and every Page ſign'd by the Clerk of the Court. To return to the *Scot*'s Hiſtory where we left off. *Sharp*, after this Attempt againſt him, was ſent for to Court, and well receiv'd by the King, whoſe moderate Meaſures then taken up, he ſeem'd to approve, and when he return'd to *Scotland*, he mov'd in Council, that an Indulgence might be granted to ſome of the *Kirk* Miniſters, who wou'd oblige themſelves not to ſpeak or preach againſt Epiſcopacy, *&c.* but it had no great, or rather a very ill Effect; for the ſtrict *Covenanters* objected, that if they bound themſelves againſt the Covenant, by which they renounc'd *Epiſco-*

A D. 1671 *pacy*, the Sin was their own; if the King bound them, they had ſtill Liberty left to refuſe Obedience, and undergo the Puniſhment.

Illegal Government. The *Militia* of *Scotland*, conſiſting of 2000 Horſe, and 16,000 Foot, were arm'd, train'd and caſt into Independent Regiments, under ſuch Orders as they receiv'd from the Council Board; all which was againſt Law.

Mention has been made of the Scheme for a Union of the two Kingdoms, for which *Scots* Commiſſioners were appointed, but it went no farther. About Forty Miniſters receiv'd Licenſes to preach, on the Conditions therein mention'd, but thoſe Miniſters who cou'd not comply, look'd on them, as in a *Schiſm* which divided the *Presbyterian* Intereſt. The indulg'd *Presbyterians*, and the Cameronians, who wou'd not be indulg'd on the Terms of Suſpending the *Covenant*, carrying their Prejudices as far as *Excommunication*.

Tyranny enacted. The *Scots* Parliament, in the Year 1669, paſs'd an Act to aſſert the King's Supremacy in ſo high a Strain, that it might have been ſtretch'd to every thing. Biſhop *Leighton* was againſt it, ſo were many of the beſt Epiſcopal Clergy, as *Nairn*, *Charteris*, &c. By another Act, they ſettled the *Militia*, declaring they ſhou'd march into any of the King's Dominions, as his Majeſty ſhould think neceſſary, and now having enſlav'd both Church and State, *Lauderdale* brag'd of his Merit in it, and told the King in a Letter, *All* Scotland *is now in your Power*. Notwithſtanding the Talk ever now and then of *Moderation*, *Indulgence*, *Comprehenſion* and *Union*, in the very next Seſſion of the *Scots* Parliament, the Severities againſt the *Kirk* were encreas'd. *Lauderdale*, with his own Hand, put in a Word in the new Act that cover'd *Papiſts*, the Fines being to be laid only on ſuch of the *Reform'd Religion* as went not to the Church.

Field Meetings made Treaſon. All Field Meetings were declar'd Treaſonable and Capital in the Preacher. The Landlords on whoſe Grounds they were held, were to be ſeverely fin'd, and all who were at them, to be be puniſh'd Arbitrarily. Half of the Parliament abhorr'd this Act, and the King himſelf ſaid, *He wou'd never have paſs'd it, had he known it before-hand.* In this miſerable State we muſt leave *Scotland*, but ſhall hardly find any other Part of the *Britiſh* Dominions in a better.

The Parliament of England. At laſt the Parliament of *England* cou'd ſee what every one elſe had ſeen long before them, and in *March*, preſented an Addreſs to the King, ſetting forth the Cauſes of the *Growth of Popery*, the great Number of Prieſts and Jeſuits frequenting the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, their Chapels and Convents in other Cities and Towns in *England*, their *Schools*, *Books* and *Catechiſms*, their enjoying beneficial Places, other Perſons acting in Truſt for them, &c. They then propos'd

Againſt Papiſts. *Remedies againſt theſe growing Miſchiefs*, a Proclamation to baniſh all *Popiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits, a vigorous Execution of the Laws againſt *Recuſants*, a Check to be given to the great Reſort of the *Engliſh* to the Popiſh Chapels of Foreign Miniſters, not to admit them to any Employment, Civil and Military; an Order to apprehend one *Plunket*, who goes under the Name of Primate of *Ireland*, and one *Peter Talbot*, who takes on him the Name of Archbiſhop of *Dublin*. The Lords boggled a little at this Addreſs, when it was firſt ſent up to them, but came into it afterwards, and join'd with the Commons in preſenting it. His Majeſty after a gracious Anſwer, told them, he wou'd *make a Difference between thoſe who had newly chang'd their Religion, and thoſe who had ſerv'd his Father and himſelf in the late Wars.* It goes againſt the Grain to do any thing that gives good Catholicks Offence. However, a Proclamation did come out againſt *Papiſts*, and I wonder the Parliament ſhould ſo gravely mention ſuch a Thing, when not one Proclamation againſt them had been effectually executed, ſince this Royal Houſe reign'd in *England*. Dearly did they buy what was ſo little worth, the gracious Anſwer to the Addreſs againſt Papiſts, by a *Subſidy Bill*, an *Exciſe Bill*, a *Law Bill*, a Bill for *Impoſition on foreign Commodities*. Againſt the Subſidy Bill, the old Lord *Lucas* ſtood up, and made an honeſt old *Engliſh* Speech on the 22d of *February*, which being printed and publiſh'd, was order'd by the Miniſtry to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hang-man. This Speech being at large in the *State Tracts*, and *Echard*, I ſhall refer to it, only take what was ſaid upon it, at the Time it was burnt, out of anothor Author, " All true *Engliſh* Men were griev'd and aſtoniſh'd at the " Burning of it, but I dare affirm this barba- " rous Uſage did ſo little diſcourage my Lord " *Lucas* from doing his Duty, that he wou'd " have ſubmitted himſelf to the ſame Fate, if " his Death might have prevented theſe ap- " proaching Calamities, which have ſince been " ſo fatally deſtructive to this poor Kingdom; " but God has taken him from an ungrateful " Generation, and from the Evil to come, and " left us to lament the Loſs of ſo worthy a " Patriot. Who ſhall ſhew his Majeſty thoſe " dreadful Precipices, whereon *French Fraud* and " *Popiſh Malice* have plac'd us, from whence they " daily expect not only to ſee him fall, but to " daſh himſelf in Pieces? Who ſhall tell the Houſe " of Peers *by what generous Steps their Anceſtors* " *aſcended to thoſe immortal Titles of Honour and* " *Renown*? Who ſhall tell the Houſe of Com- " mons of their profuſe and laviſh Squandring " the Wealth and Liberties of this now weak " and periſhing, but once mighty, and invinci- " ble People?" He intends the Felicities of this felicitous Reign, which the *Compleat Hiſtorian* ſo dwells upon. The *Exciſe Bill*, the *Law Bill*, and the *Subſidy Bill*, only were computed at two Millions and an half. The ſtanding Revenue of the Crown was two Millions yearly; yet all this, and more, wou'd not pay for the Fleet one Summer, and anſwer the numberleſs prodigal Calls of the Court. The Duke of *York* too had 24,000 Pounds a Year given him this Seſſion, inſtead of the *Wine Licenſes*. The Bill for laying Impoſts on certain Foreign Commodities, paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition that was made to it by the *London* Merchants, who follow'd it to the Lords, and petition'd them againſt it, ſhewing the Inequality and Diſproportion of the Rates, and that it wou'd be an irreparable Prejudice to the *Engliſh* Plantations; upon which the Lords thought it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome Alterations in the Bill, and ſent it back to the Commons, with their Reaſons for thoſe Alterations, which the Commons wou'd by no Means admit of, and it occaſion'd a long Controverſy, about the Right or no Right of the Lords to alter Money Bills; in which the Commons had ſo far the better of the Argument, that the King was forc'd to put an End to the Seſſion, as the ſureſt Way to cut the Knot which the Lords had ty'd; and on the 22d of *April* his Majeſty prorogu'd the Parliament to the 16th of the next *April*, almoſt a whole Year; after which it was prorogu'd again, and made a Receſs of twenty-one Months.

Lord Lucas's Speech burnt.

The King a Parliament Solicitor. In this Seſſion the noble Earl of *Clare* made a notable Speech on the King's coming ſo frequently to the Houſe of Peers, and ſitting without his Robes, to influence the moſt honourable Members of that Houſe, which was done ſometimes with ſo much Indecency,

A.D.1671 Indecency, that his Majeſty wou'd not ſtick to ſollicit for or againſt Bills, as one Lord does another.

On the 31ſt of *March* dy'd the Dutcheſs of *York*, after a long Indiſpoſition, in the 34th Year of her Age. She was interr'd in the Vault of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. It was obſerv'd that ſhe had not receiv'd the Sacrament in fourteen Months before the Time of her Deceaſe, and that ſhe was upon all Occaſions for excuſing the Errors which the Church of *Rome* was charg'd with, giving them the beſt Colours they were capable of. An unmarry'd Clergy was a common Topick with her. Biſhop *Morley* was her Father Confeſſor, ſhe having practis'd ſecret Confeſſion from the Time ſhe was twelve Years of Age. When Biſhop *Morley* preſs'd her to receive the Sacrament, ſhe pretended ill Health or Buſineſs, proteſting ſhe had no Scruples with relation to her Religion. *Blandford*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was her Confeſſor after *Morley* was ſent from Court: She ſolemnly engag'd to *Morley*, that if ever ſhe had any Scruples, ſhe wou'd let him know them; and he proteſted to Biſhop *Burnet*, that to her Death ſhe never own'd to him ſhe had any Scruples, though ſhe was for ſome Days entertain'd by him at *Farnham*, after the Date of the Paper which was publiſh'd in her Name.

Biſhop *Burnet* writes, "All this paſs'd between *Morley* and me, upon the Duke's ſhewing me that Paper, all writ in her own Hand, which was afterwards publiſh'd by *Maimbourg*. He wou'd not let me take a Copy of it, but gave me Leave to read it, of which I gave *Morley* an Account immediately; and he concluded that that unhappy Princeſs had been prevail'd on to give Falſhoods under her Hand, and to pretend that what was contain'd in that Paper, were the Grounds of her Converſion. When ſhe was in the Agony of Death, *Blandford* was ſent for, but before he came, the Queen was come, and ſat by her. *Blandford* was ſo modeſt and humble, that he had not Preſence of Mind enough to begin Prayers, which probably wou'd have driven the Queen out of the Room: But that not being done, ſhe pretended Kindneſs, and wou'd not leave her. He happen'd to ſay, "*I hope you continue ſtill in the Truth*: Upon which ſhe ask'd, *What is Truth*? And then her Agony encreaſing, ſhe repeated the Word *Truth, Truth, Truth*, often; and, continues the Right Reverend Hiſtorian, *in a few Minutes after ſhe dy'd, very little belov'd or lamented.*"

Dutcheſs of York dies, very little belov'd or lamented.

The long Letter her Father, the Earl of *Clarendon*, wrote her, when he heard of her wavering in her Religion, came not till after her Death. The Duke of *York* abjur'd the Proteſtant Religion about the ſame Time, and in that ſhew'd he had a little more Conſcience than his Brother, and was aſham'd, or afraid, of mocking God any longer.

Blood *ſteals the Crown.*

On the 9th of *May*, Major *Blood*, with two more, his Son, and one *Perrot*, attempted to ſteal the *Crown*, and Crown Jewels, in the *Tower*. *Blood* pretended Friendſhip to the Keeper, ſuddenly Gag'd the old Man, and when he cry'd out, ſtruck him on the Head, but wou'd not kill him, and ſo went off with the Crown. As ſoon as he and the two others were gone, the Keeper's Son comes in, ungags his Father, runs out after them, crying, *Treaſon! Murder!* Which giving the Alarm to the Warders and Centinels, *Blood*, his Son, and *Perrot*, were taken, and the Crown recover'd. It was a little batter'd, and ſome Stones miſſing, but they alſo were found, and brought back to the *Tower*. *Blood* diſguis'd himſelf in a *Parſon*'s Gown, which gave occaſion to a Rhime which is too well known to be repeated here, tho' one may be provok'd to it, by the Eccleſiaſticks repreſenting *Blood* and his Company as ſo many Murtherers; for if they wou'd have knock'd the Keeper, *Edwards*, on the Head, they had infallibly carry'd the Crown away. 'Tis a long Hiſtory in *Echard*, from a notable Manuſcript of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*'s, which being a Treaſure among ſo much Poverty, I will rob his Work of no more, but ſay what is not there. *Blood* was brought to the King, and expected Death; but he ſpoke ſo boldly, that, as my Author has it, *all admir'd him*. He told the King, *Many of his Subjects were diſoblig'd, and that he himſelf was one, who took himſelf to be in a State of Hoſtility, and had not taken the Crown as a* Thief, *but as an* Enemy, *thinking that lawful which was lawful in a War; and that he cou'd many a time have had the King in his Power, but that he thought his Life was better for them than his Death, leſt a worſe ſucceed him; and that the Number of reſolute Men diſoblig'd was ſo great, that if his own Life was taken away, it wou'd be reveng'd.* What a Myſtery does *Echard* make of the King's pardoning *Blood*, and his Accomplices? Why 'tis plain they were all frighted at Court, and thought it ſafer to bribe him than hang him: So, according to *Echard*, he had 500 Pounds a Year ſettled upon him in *Ireland*; but he wou'd not tell us 'twas in Conſideration of an Eſtate which had before been taken from him by the Duke of *Ormond*. For *Blood* told the King farther, "That "he intended no Harm to the Perſon of the Duke "of *Ormond*, but becauſe he had taken his Eſtate "from him, he wou'd have forc'd him to re"ſtore the Value in Money; and that he never "robb'd nor ſhed Blood, which if he wou'd have "done, he cou'd eaſily have kill'd *Ormond*, and "eaſily have carry'd away the Crown. My Author concludes thus, "In a Word, he ſo behav'd "himſelf, that the King did not only releaſe and "pardon him, but admitted him frequently to "his Preſence: Some ſay, becauſe his *Gallantry* took much with him, having been a Sol"dier of his Fathers." The Archdeacon, as honeſtly and ingeniouſly as one might expect from him, calls this *Blood* the *Arch-Villain*, and tells us, *he pretended great Intereſt and Sway among the Diſſenters; and that the Cauſe of his engaging in a Plot to murder the King, was for his Majeſty's Severity over the Conſciences of the* GODLY, *in ſuppreſſing the Freedom of their Religious Aſſemblies.* Though ſuch Wickedneſs as this meets not its Reward in this World, it will not fail of it in the next; and 'tis Pity ſuch a Thought as that had not reſtrain'd the Author. For to inſinuate that the *Presbyterians* were in Conſpiracy with *Blood*, not only to ſteal the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Crown, but to aſſaſſinate the King, adds Malignity to Uncharitableneſs, and is what I am really aſham'd to meet with in *Engliſh* Hiſtory. There is however ſome excellent Memoirs in his Annals of this Year, as theſe.

A.D.1671

Baxter's *Life*, Fol. 88.

Blood's *Speech terrifies the King.*

p. 89.

Solemnities.

Before the King undertook the War, he thought fit to celebrate ſome great Solemnities relating to the *Garter*, at his Palace of *Windſor*, where noble Preparations were made; and on the 23d of *April*, being the Feaſt of St. *George*, the King of *Sweden* was inſtall'd Knight of the Order by his Proxy the Earl of *Carliſle*, and the Elector of *Saxony*, by his Proxy the Earl of *Winchelſea*; and the Arms of the following defunct Knights were hung up, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* Earl of *Berkſhire*, *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Southampton*, *Montagu* Earl

A.D.1671 Earl of *Lindſey*, *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *George* Duke of *Albemarle*. *Monk*'s Garter was given to *Chriſtopher* his Son, though Objections were made to the Genealogy in *Weſtminſter-Hall* about twenty Years after. The Feaſt being over, the King went to *Portſmouth* and the *Iſle of Wight*; from thence by Sea to *Plymouth*; thence back by *Exeter* and *Wilton* to *Windſor* and *Whitehall*; from thence again to *Newmarket*, *Euſton-Hall*, *Yarmouth*, and the City of *Norwich*, where he Knighted the Author of *Religio Medici*, Dr. *Thomas Brown*; thence to Sir *John Hobart's* at *Blecking*, Sir *Robert Paſton's* at *Oxney*; to *Newmarket* and *Cambridge*, where he Knighted *Charles Cæſar*, Son to Sir *Henry Cæſar*; thence back to *Newmarket* and *London*, where, on the Lord Mayor's Day, he and the Court were feaſted in the City; and he conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on *Jonathan Dawes* and *Robert Clayton*, Eſquires, then Sheriffs: One of them, Sir *Robert Clayton*, treated the ſame Company in his Shrivalty; when the Duke of *Buckingham*, to whom *Clayton* was Scrivener, and who underſtood Gallantry as well as any Courtier in *Chriſtendom*, miſſing his Majeſty, made ſuch a Diſcovery as is fit for no Hiſtory but what is intended to be *Secret*.

Echard enlarges on theſe Solemnities, Journies, and Feaſtings, which are unworthy Hiſtorical Remembrance. If any thing of that Hand is met with in good Hiſtorians, it refers to great Princes and Conquerors, of whoſe Actions the curious Reader wou'd let not the leaſt eſcape him; but the Curioſity ceaſes when one finds nothing elſe of more Importance; and if a Prince does not appear concern'd for the Welfare of his People, none of them can have much Concern for his Pleaſures and Paſtimes. I can't help remembring
p. 285. what the *Compleat Hiſtorian* calls the *State of Religion* this Year.

Walter, Lord Biſhop of *Oxford*, was, on the 10th of *June*, at St. *Mary Savoy*, in the Preſence of all the Biſhops in Town, tranſlated to the See of *Worceſter*, and did Homage to his Majeſty in the uſual Forms, on *June* the 18th.

On *June* the 27th, for the Hiſtorian is extreamly exact in the Dates of theſe Religious Matters, Dr. *Nathaniel Crew*, Son to the Lord *Crew*, and Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty, Biſhop elect of *Oxford*, and Dr. *Thomas Wood*, late Dean of *Litchfield*, Biſhop elect of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, receiv'd their Confirmation at St. *Mary Savoy*; and on *Sunday*, *July* the 2d, were ſolemnly Conſecrated in the Chapel at *Lambeth*, by his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Worceſter*, and *Rocheſter*.

On *Sunday*, *October* the 1ſt, Dr. *Henry Bridgeman*, Dean of *Cheſter*, was in the Choir of that Cathedral Church conſecrated Biſhop of *Sodor* and *Man*, by the Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, as Subſtitute of his Grace the Archbiſhop of *York*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Bangor*, *St. Aſaph*, and *Clougher*, in the Preſence of many Perſons of great Quality, who were afterwards very nobly entertain'd by the new Biſhop.

On *February* the 12th, upon the Vacancy of the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, upon the Death of Dr. *John Coſens*, Lord Biſhop and Count Palatine (*this is what the* Compleat Hiſtorian *terms the State of Religion*) his Majeſty was pleas'd to conſtitute Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Knight and Baronet, to be High Sheriff of the ſame; as likewiſe to appoint Sir *Francis Goodrick* to be Temporal Chancellor, *&c.* There is more of this *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* in the ſame Paragraph, but I am not much edify'd by this; and fearing the Reader ſhou'd make the like Complaint, I have done with it. This will ſerve to ſhew what theſe Men underſtand by the *State of Religion*. The ſame Hiſtorian ſpeaking of the perſecuted Diſſenters, ſays, "They ſhou'd not have complain'd of Per- Compleat
"ſecution, without confeſſing the true Reaſons Hiſtory
"of it;" and then he continues eight or ten *falſe*.
Lines with true Reaſons, which has in them as much Falſity in Fact and Argument, as they cou'd well contain. I will quote him at large, that I may not be thought to have done him Injuſtice; and here let me obſerve, that when I animadverted on *Echard*'s Hiſtory of *England*, my Deſign was at firſt to have taken in alſo the *Compleat Hiſtory*, with which I was well acquainted, having had a conſiderable Hand in the Publication of both of them, and having made my Objections to both with ſome Warmth before they were publiſh'd, as is well known to the Proprietors; but the *Compleat Hiſtory* was ſo incompleat, ſo immethodical, ſo mean in Matter and Stile, that I cou'd not think it worth Animadverſion, and I am drawn into ſo much of it now, by this *Church Hiſtory*: That concerning the Diſſenters follows immediately that concerning the *State of Religion*, and is thus; "The Laws had im-
"poſ'd moderate Penalties upon the Diſſenters:
"The two Houſes were expreſs for the Executi-
"on of thoſe Laws; the Biſhops and Clergy
"were ſincerely zealous in it, but the King and
"the Miniſtry were for ſtopping the legal Pro-
"ceedings againſt them, and were in the Secret
"of diſpenſing with the Laws Eccleſiaſtical and
"Civil, for the ſake of indulging the Papiſts and
"the Nonconformiſts. This encouraged the Diſ-
"ſenters to defy the Laws, to which they wou'd
"moſt of them have ſubmitted, if they had found
"a ſteady and impartial Execution of them; and
"this again provok'd the honeſt Juſtices and Ma-
"giſtrates to bear the more hard upon them,
"when they ſaw them ſo bold in deſpiſing and
"evading the Juſtice of the Nation." There it is! the Page 286— and one may defy the moſt Bookiſh Man in *Great Britain* to match it. Dr. *Calamy* preſerves a Chriſtian Temper on this Occaſion, which it wou'd be happy for me, and all Men, if we cou'd imitate, and be calm amidſt ſuch a Tempeſt of Abuſe and Railing. *He*, ſays the Doctor, our excellent Hiſtorian, *affirms the Laws impoſ'd but moderate Penalties upon* Diſſenters, and that they defy'd the *Juſtice of the Nation*; which ſpeaking of them as a Body, and in general, as this compleat charitable Writer does, is notoriouſly falſe. Yet all that the Doctor adds upon it, is, *He in effect juſtifies the Severities againſt them, and if this yields him Comfort upon a cool Reflection, I am far from envying him his Satisfaction.* I begin with the moderate Penalties, and ſhall make uſe of an Author who wrote on the ſame Side with *Atterbury*, *Sacheverel*, &c. in *Harley*'s Time, I mean the *Review*, he muſt have no other Name in Hiſtory; and in his Preface to *Delaune's Plea*, he has this Paſſage: *I am ſorry to ſay Mr.* Delaune *is one of the* 8000 *Diſſenters that periſh'd in Priſon in the Days of that merciful Prince King* Charles *the Second, and that meerly for diſſenting from the Church in Points, which they cou'd give ſuch Reaſons for, as this* Plea *aſſigns; and for no other Cauſe were ſtifled* (I had almoſt ſaid murder'd) *in Goals, for their Religion, in the Days of theſe Gentlemens Power who pretend to abhor Perſecution.* I ſhall in the next Place produce the *Plea* itſelf, where it ſpeaks of theſe Penalties, and the defying of the Juſtice of the Nation. "As p. 45.
"for the ſevere Penalties inflicted on *Diſſenters*,
"as *Seditious* and *Riotous*, for their aſſembling
"together to worſhip God, as though they there-
"by infring'd the Law, and violated the publick

A.D. 1671 " Peace, and for which they have within theſe " three Years ſuffer'd in their Eſtates and Trades " at leaſt two Millions, *which by the way is twice as much as all the Biſhops Lands in* England *are worth at* 20 *Years Purchaſe*, " contrary to the true " Intent and Meaning of thoſe Statutes, if the " Maxim of the Law be true, that the Intention *Diſſenters great Suf-ferings.* " makes the legal Treſpaſs, both as to *Treaſon*, " *Felony*, *Murder*, *Riot*, 23 Years Experience " evidences their quiet and peaceable Behaviour, " and that they have been as far from Sedition " and Riot, as the Law defines, as any in the " Nation." He then gives the Definition of a Riot out of the great Lawyer *Lambert*. I have a Cloud of Witneſſes againſt the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, which I am ready to produce, when it is thought neceſſary; but theſe two Evidences are, I think, ſufficient. He confeſſes the Biſhops and *Biſhops and Clergy Perſecutors* Clergy were zealous in perſecuting Proteſtant Diſſenters; but he ſhou'd have done Juſtice to thoſe Biſhops and Clergy who abhorr'd it; as Biſhop *Wilkins*, Biſhop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Whitchcot*, Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Grove*, Dr. *Fowler*, &c. And it muſt here be remember'd, that in the Times of *Whitgift*, *Bancroft* and *Laud*, and now in *Sheldon*'s Perſecution, the moſt pious, learned, wiſe and reverend Fathers, the Biſhops, and the moſt pious, wiſe and learned Divines of the Church of *England*, declar'd againſt theſe Unchriſtian like Severities, were always for Moderation, and as exemplary for Prudence, Temper and Charity, as for their Abilities, Learning and Piety; for which they have always been belov'd and eſteem'd as the Pillars and Glory of the *Reformation*. The *Compleat Hiſtorian* begs the Queſtion, and aſſerts, that if the Diſſenters had been perſecuted more, they wou'd have all come in. Does he mean, If they had periſh'd all, there had been none left to diſſent? And he commends the Juſtices of Peace, who hal'd the Reform'd Miniſters out of their Pulpits; ſuch as *Philips*, *Sheldon*, *Steward*, *Starling*, &c. for their *Honeſty* in ſo doing, tho' it is well known, that the *Juſtices*, *Informers*, *Conſtables*, and all Officers, who buſy'd themſelves in that infamous Buſineſs, were the moſt lewd, debauch'd, inſolent, deſpicable Wretches, pick'd out for doing Work which a truly honeſt Man wou'd have dy'd before he wou'd have conſented to. As to his Biſhops and Clergy, we will ſee an Account of them in Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Memoirs*. " The King *Bp.* Burnet's *Account of them.* " himſelf was highly offended at the Behaviour " of the Biſhops: He took Occaſion to vent it at " the Council-Board. Upon the Complaints that " were made of ſome Diſorders, and of ſome " Conventicles," He ſaid, *The Clergy were chiefly to blame for them; for if they had liv'd well*, we might have read our ſelves blind before we ſhou'd have found they liv'd ill in ſuch Hiſtories as the *Compleat* one and *Echard*'s. *If they had gone about their Pariſhes and taken Pains to convince the* Nonconformiſts, *the Nation might by this Time have been well ſettled; but they thought of nothing but to get good Benefices, and to keep a good Table.* Again, His Majeſty is ſtill ſpeaking, *If the Clergy had done their Part, it had been an eaſy Thing to run down the* Diſſenters; *but they will do nothing, and will have me do every thing; and moſt of them do worſe than if they did nothing. I have a Chaplain who is a very honeſt Man, but a very great Blockhead, to whom I gave a Living in* Suffolk, *which was full of that ſort of People. He went about among them from Houſe to Houſe, tho' I can't imagine what he cou'd ſay to them, for he was a very ſilly Fellow; but I believe his Nonſenſe ſuited their Nonſenſe, for he brought them all to Church, and in Reward of his Diligence, I gave him a Biſhoprick in* Ireland. This Chaplain one may ſuppoſe to be a pious, ſober Man, which explain'd according to this King's Way of living and thinking, muſt be *Nonſenſe*, and that Meeting with the Sobriety and Piety of the *Suffolk* Proteſtants, which was their *Nonſenſe* alſo, might produce the Harmony his Majeſty ſpeaks of. A.D. 1671

The *Compleat Hiſtorian* knew, at leaſt one ought to believe his Knowledge went ſo far, that the perſecuting Acts, the Laws Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, as he ſtiles them, were the Laws of a Set of Mercenary Penſioners, and ſo much againſt natural Juſtice, that the ſame Parliament vacated them, one only excepted, which, many think, deſerv'd vacating as much as the reſt, by their Bill for the Eaſe of *Diſſenters*. I do not reckon this a Digreſſion, as long as it is, becauſe my Deſign in this Undertaking was not ſo much to tell the Facts, as to tell the Cauſes and Intent of them, and to ſhew what Meaſures and what Inſtruments were made uſe of in theſe Reigns to deſtroy the true reform'd Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject, in theſe Nations. Among thoſe Inſtruments we ſhall find none more active than the perſecuting Biſhops and Clergy, whoſe Zeal is ſo highly recommended to us by the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory*.

We have mention'd Mr. *Coventry*'s Negotiation in *Sweden*. Sir *George Downing* was ſent to *Holland* to ſupply Sir *William Temple*'s Place. The Lord *Arlington* ſtil'd him his *Rough Hand*, for his Manners were as rude as thoſe of an *Iroquois*, in whoſe Neighbourhood he was bred, and had all the Brutality without the Simplicity of thoſe *American* Savages. His Arrival at the *Hague* was the ſure Preſage of a Storm: He fell Downing *ſent to bully the States.* a bullying the States immediately about ſomething or nothing, as his thick Scull work'd him. He was to demand Satisfaction for Damages ſuſtain'd by the *Eaſt-India* Company ſince the Treaty of *Breda*. A Committee of that Com- Coke, 199. pany was ſent for to *Whitehall* to warrant that Demand by a Complaint; but they gave it under their Hands, that ſince the Treaty of *Breda they knew none*. The next Demand was Satisfaction for detaining the *Engliſh* Planters at *Surinam*. The *Dutch* reply'd, that thoſe Planters might go if they wou'd; but they knew not where elſe to get a Livelihood. A third Demand was Satisfaction *The King's weak Demand of the* Dutch. for certain Droll Pieces, as the *King* and *Nell Gwin*, *Moll Davis* and his Majeſty, a Purſe without a Penny in it, and the like; which the States General knew no more of, than Queen *Anne* did of the Printſeller's mounting her on a Dray-Horſe in a Half-Penny Picture. But the chief Demand of all was about the Honour of the Flag; for you muſt know, that the Royal Houſe of *Stuart* piqu'd themſelves in a marvellous Manner on their Standing up for the Honour of the Nation. This however wou'd have been made up in a Minute's Conference, if the King had not been ſet upon breaking the Treaty of *Breda*, the *Triple League*, and the Treaty of *Aix*; all which the *French* King had bought of him for 700,000 Pounds, to be paid to Mr. *Chiſfinch* for his *Britanick* Majeſty's Uſe. The Particular of the *Flag* is a very merry Incident, *The merry Incident of the Flag.* and is told by Sir *William Temple* in the following Letter to his Father Sir *John Temple*: " In " *July* the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the " Channel, to ſhew, I ſuppoſe, that they were in " Condition to meet any of thoſe Dangers they " began to ſuſpect from the Motion of *France*, " and from our late Conduct. When the Captain " of the *Yatch* that was order'd to convey my " Wife over, took his Leave at Court, he had " publick Orders given him, if he came in Sight " of the *Dutch* Fleet, he ſhou'd ſail thro' them,

A.D.1671 " and ſhoot at thoſe Ships that were next him, " till he made them ſtrike Sail, or till they ſhot " at him again, and then purſue his Courſe. " He paſs'd, it ſeems, into *Holland* without ſee- " ing them; but as he return'd he met the Fleet, " and ſailing up to them, made ſeveral Shot at " thoſe near him; upon which they ſeem'd at " leaſt not to know what he meant, and to be- " lieve he might be in ſome Diſtreſs: And the " Admiral ſent a Boat a-board him to enquire. " The Captain told them he had been ſent to " bring back the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadreſs with her " Family from *Holland*, and had Orders to make " the *Dutch* Fleet ſtrike wherever he met with " them in the Channel. Upon this Meſſage by " the Boat, Vice-Admiral *Ghent* came a-board " the *Yacht* upon a Complement to my Wife, " which he perform'd very handſomely, and " afterwards deſir'd to ſpeak with the Captain, " of whom he enquir'd the Reaſon of his ſhoot- " ing, and receiving the ſame Anſwer which " had been given to the firſt Boat, He ſaid *it* " *was a Point they had receiv'd no Order in* " *from their Maſters, and did not know how that* " *Affair was agreed been his Majeſty and the* " *States; but tho' it were ſettled, yet the Captain* " *cou'd not pretend the Fleet and Admiral ſhou'd* " *ſhrike to a* Yacht, *which was but a Pleaſure-* " *Boat, or at leaſt ſerv'd only for* Paſſage, *and* " *cou'd not paſs for one of the King's Men of War.* " The Captain reply'd, *He had his Orders, and* " *was bound to follow them.* After *Van Ghent* " was gone, the Captain, perplex'd enough, " came to my Wife, and deſir'd to know what " ſhe pleas'd he ſhou'd do in that Caſe, which " ſhe ſaw he did not like very well, and wou'd " be glad to get out of by her Help. She told " him he knew his Orders beſt, and what he " was to do upon them, which ſhe left to him " to follow as he thought fit, without any Re- " gard to her and her Children. He purſu'd " his Courſe, and landed her ſafe; after which " ſhe went to Court, and was very well receiv'd, " and much commended for her Part in what " had paſs'd; and at Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins* " was ſent to take her Information in Form " upon the whole Matter of Fact. When I went " next to the King's *Levee*, he began to ſpeak " of my Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to commend " it as much as he blam'd the Captain's, and " ſaid ſhe had ſhew'd more Courage than he." *Which I do not underſtand. Wherein did the Captain ſhew want of Courage, in not Fighting his Cockboat againſt the* Dutch *Admiral and* 100 *Sail of Men of War?* " The King falling upon " the *Dutch* Inſolence, Sir *William Temple* ſaid, " That however Matters went, it muſt be con- " feſs'd that there was ſome Merit in his Fa- " mily, ſince he had made the Alliance with " *Holland*, and his Wife was like to have the " Honour of making the War. The King ſmil'd " as well as he, and it turn'd off the Diſcourſe to " ſomething elſe." Thus was *Chriſtendom* to be made a Scene of Slaughter and Blood out of *Frolick* in one Prince, and *Ambition* in another. The *French* King was not at much Trouble to draw up his Declaration of War; he only told the World he was *diſſatisfy'd* with the *Dutch*, and among other Things about Pictures too, probably that of his beloved Concubine, Madam *Monteſpan*, whom I have ſeen in a *Dutch* Print ſtraddling the Globe in a very indecent Poſture, aſſiſting *Lewis* to cut his Way through it. But many of the Perſons then living liv'd long enough to ſee his Prime Miniſter begging a Peace in their Maſter's Name, in a Corner of one of the Provinces which he had already conquer'd in Imagination.

A.D.1672 *Secret League with* France *to enſlave* England.

The *Secret League* between King *Lewis* and King *Charles* is as well atteſted as any Hiſtorical Event in ſeveral Authentick Memoirs; but the Obligation of it is beſt ſet forth in a Paper found in the Earl of *Tyrconnel*'s Cloſet; which Paper is mention'd by his Grace Dr. *King*, Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, in a Thankſgiving Sermon before the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*, preach'd in St. *Patrick*'s Church in *Dublin* upon the Reduction of that Kingdom. It bears Date the 1ſt of *July*, this Year 1671, and by it both Kings, *Charles* and *Lewis*, *oblige themſelves to ſuppreſs the Inſolency of the* Dutch, *to eſtabliſh Popery in* England, *and make the King abſolute Maſter of his Subjects.* My Lord Archbiſhop produces another Proof of it; the Count *d'Avaux*'s Memorial to the States before the *Revolution*; as alſo a Letter written by *Maloony*, the Popiſh Biſhop of *Killaloo* in *Ireland*, to a Correſpondent of his, wherein he ſtates this to be the Deſign of the *French* King, and expreſſes great Anger, that *ſome Trimmers about the King*, then *James*, *did diſown any ſuch Treaty with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.* The learned *Acherly* writes of it thus: *As to the Conſequences of the* BREACH *of the Triple League*, " In regard that ſecret End of " that *Breach*, and of the Alliance with *France* " to ſubdue *Holland*, was to make King *Charles* " abſolute Maſter of the Parliament, the pleaſing " Acquiſition was in immediate View, by the " ſure Conqueſt of *Holland*; it was therefore fit " for the King to exerciſe, and he did exerciſe " ſome Acts of arbitrary Power, in order to inure " the People to bear the *Form* of his intended " new Government, which he experimented " thus;

Diſpenſing Power. *He diſpens'd with all Penal Laws againſt* Non-conformiſts.

139. *Bp.* Parker *calls the King Robber.* *He ſhut up the Exchequer*; and to uſe Biſhop *Parker*'s own Words, *He turn'd it into a Place of* Robbery.

Exchequer ſhut up. *He caus'd* Writs *to be ſent out for* Elections *of Members, to fill up vacant Places in the Houſe of* Commons *in the laſt Interval of Parliament*, &c.

1672. On the 2d of *January* the King declar'd in Council, " That ſeeing all the neighbouring Pow- " ers and States were making great Preparations " for War both by Sea and Land, he, for the " Safety and Government of his People, look'd " upon himſelf as oblig'd to make ſuch Prepara- " tions as might be proportionable for the Pro- " tection both of the one and the other, and to " that End had given Orders for fitting and " preparing a very conſiderable Fleet againſt " next Spring; and conſidering the great Charges " that muſt attend ſuch Preparations, and not " finding any Poſſibility to defray ſuch unuſual " Expences by the uſual Ways and Means of " borrowing Money, by reaſon his Revenues " were ſo anticipated and engag'd, he was there- " fore neceſſitated, contrary to his own Inclina- " tions, upon theſe Emergencies, and for the " publick Safety, to cauſe a Stop at preſent to " be made of the Payment of any Monies now " being, or to be brought into his *Exchequer*, for " the Space of one Year, ending the laſt Day of " *December* next, unto any Perſon whatſoever, " excepting only ſuch Payments as ſhall grow due " upon Orders on the *Subſidy*, according to the " Act of Parliament, and Orders and Securities " upon the *Fee-Farm Rents*, but Payment of In- " tereſt to be duly made in the mean Time at " 6 *per Cent.* At the ſame Time the King de- " clar'd, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhall be de- " frauded of any thing that is juſtly due to him, " nor ſhall this Reſtraint continue longer than " the aforeſaid laſt Day of *December*.

The

A.D.1672 The Sum ſtopp'd by this Declaration was 1,400,000 Pounds; the *Reſtraint* was never taken off, and the Creditors were defrauded of every Farthing, which is an additional Proof to others given before, of his Majeſty's being, as he ſaid, a King of his Word. Mr. *Baxter*, who had 1000 Pounds in the *Exchequer* when it was ſhut up, tells us, *The Murmur and Complaint in the City was very great, that their Eſtates ſhou'd be, as they call'd it, ſo ſurpriz'd, and the rather, becauſe they took a Year to be Perpetuity, and the Stop to be a Loſs of all, ſeeing Wars uſe to encreaſe Neceſſities, and not to ſupply them.*

How this Matter came about was not known, till the Publication of the Third Volume of the *Secret Hiſtory*. I took that Account out of a Manuſcript, written by Sir *Joſeph Tyley*, the ſame whoſe Name is in the Proclamation about the pretended *Presbyterian* Plot at the latter End of this Reign. He went to *Holland*, came back to *England* with the Duke of *Monmouth*, made his Eſcape after *Sedgmore* Fight, return'd to *Holland*, and from thence came back again to *England* with the Prince of *Orange*, was choſen Citizen in Parliament for *Exeter*, in Oppoſition to Sir *Edward Seymour* in the Year 1695, and was ſoon after Knighted by King *William*. He had great Acquaintance with the leading Men of the *Country Party* in this and the following Reign, till his Death, which I ſpeak for the Credit of his Memoirs, wherein I found as follows;

His Majeſty, in a private Meeting with the *Cabal*, declar'd, *If any one of them cou'd adviſe a Method how to raiſe 1,500,000 Pounds without a Parliament, he ſhou'd have the White Staff.* The next Day the Lord *Aſhley* told Sir *Thomas Clifford* in Confidence, *There was a Way to ſupply the King immediately with ſuch a Sum, but that it was hazardous to be put in Practice, and might draw with it a Train of ill Conſequences, by enflaming both the Parliament and People.* Sir *Thomas* was impatient to know the *Secret*; he was bold and daring, entirely in the *French* and Popiſh Intereſt, pleas'd with every thing that might render the King uneaſy with Parliaments, to engage him the cloſer with *France* and *Rome*, which made him eager to know my Lord *Aſhley*'s Project. He ply'd my Lord with Viſits, and having one Night drank him to a Pitch, he inſenſibly led him into a Converſation of the King's Neceſſities; and Lord *Aſhley* being warm, dropp'd the important Secret. Sir *Thomas* took the Hint immediately, left my Lord as ſoon as he handſomely cou'd, went directly to *Whitehall*, and without going to Bed attended till the King roſe, fell on his Knees, and demanded the *White Staff*, according to his Promiſe. His Majeſty reply'd, *God's-fiſh! I'll be as good as my Word, if you can find the Money.* Then Sir *Thomas* told him, *If you will ſhut up the Exchequer, you may be ſure of 1,500,000 Pounds.* The King, who was as quick as any of his Miniſters, and had a Conſcience of pretty much the ſame Turn, gave into it preſently, and Sir *Thomas Clifford* was made Lord High Treaſurer, and a Peer. Lord *Aſhley* was ſenſibly touch'd at being thus circumvented by Lord *Clifford*; but the Thing was done, and he put the beſt Face he cou'd on it, ſaying, Clifford *has plough'd with my Heifer.*

Clifford too hard for Aſhley.

He is made Lord Treaſurer.

The Propoſal for ſhutting up the *Exchequer* was made in Council by Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who ſaid, *The King muſt have Money to carry on the War againſt* Holland, *in which his Honour was engag'd, that he knew no other Means at preſent than ſhutting up the* Exchequer; *and he deſir'd none wou'd ſpeak againſt it, without propoſing ſome Method more certain and expeditious: To which there was no* Reply. So the *Exchequer* was ſhut up by Force of the *Prerogative*, to the Surprize of the whole Kingdom, attended with the Tears and Lamentations of the many unfortunate Families concern'd in it, who found themſelves ruin'd in a Moment. A.D.1672 *Thouſands of People ruin'd in a Moment.*

The Earl of *Arlington* writing to the Earl of *Sunderland*, then Ambaſſador in *Spain*, ſpeaks of it thus; *His Majeſty has reſolv'd this Week in Council to reſume his Aſſignations*; a Courtly Term for what Biſhop *Parker* calls *Robbery*, and *poſſeſs himſelf with all his current Revenue*; which was not his, but the Merchants, Bankers, and other Mens, who had lent their Money to him, *poſtponing their Debts for a Twelve Month, and paying only* 6 per Cent. *of what thereof was taken up at Intereſt. This hath made a great Outcry in the City, and meeting with ill Humours*, not to ſubmit patiently to the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of an ill Government is an *ill Humour* with them, *hath begot a great deal of angry Diſcourſe; but we hope, when thoſe who have lent the Bankers Money, ſhall reflect better upon it, and ſee their Principle and Intereſt better ſecur'd.* The *Effrontery* and Inſolence! They never had a Penny of the Money from the *Stuart* Line, and it was better ſecur'd, was it not, in the King's Word, than the Law of the Land? *That they will appeaſe themſelves, and have no Cauſe to apprehend thoſe ill Conſequences they have foretold upon it:* All which the Man that ſays it knew very well wou'd happen. He tells his Correſpondent, the Money will be all paid in a Twelve Month, which is not all paid to this Day. He adds, *His Majeſty having Yeſterday conven'd the* Bankers *before him at the Treaſury, after many kind and confident Aſſurances given them*, not one of which was ever perform'd, *that he wou'd punctually ſatisfy his Debt to them, either out of what the Parliament ſhou'd give in the next Seſſion, or out of his own Revenue*, which was appropriated to more gallant Uſes, *he told them*, what follows is as merry as Abſurdity can make a Thing, *he requir'd of them, that without Delay they take off the Stop they had made of paying the Merchants their current Caſh, which lay depoſited in their Hands, not to be lent to his Occaſions, or for Intereſt, but for the Security of keeping it, becauſe indeed the Stop of this had occaſion'd great Clamour.* The King keeps their Money from them, and then commands them to pay thoſe to whom they owe it. His Majeſty knew better what Goldſmiths receiv'd current Caſh for, than to think it was only to lock it up in an Iron Cheſt, and tell it out again to the Merchants and others as they wanted it.

Echard has made ſome Uſe of Sir *Joſeph Tyley*'s Memoirs, and particularly where the Shutting up of the *Exchequer* is ſpoken of, which he alſo ſaw in the *Secret Hiſtory*, and alſo what follows, which is likewiſe to be ſeen in the *State Tracts*. The Treaſurer *Clifford* was the moſt deeply engag'd of any of the Miniſters in the *Secret* Alliance with *France*; and tho' the Archdeacon's, and the *Compleat Hiſtorian*'s Rage againſt this Miniſtry, is very remarkable, yet it is not to be imputed to them as a Diſguſt for theſe ruinous Meaſures; not for ſhutting up the *Exchequer*, but for opening Proteſtant Meeting-Houſes; not for ſtopping Payments, but for ſtopping Perſecution, tho' the Miniſtry came into that upon different Views, as will be ſeen in its Courſe. Lord *Clifford*'s View was well known to every body; he was a *Papiſt*, tho' he durſt not yet own it, he was zealous for *Popery*, and one who wou'd not ſtick at any thing to promote its Intereſts. It happen'd, while he had the *Staff*, that the King, the Duke of *York*, and himſelf, were ſhut up in a Room

A.D.1672 by themſelves, when Sir *William Bucknall*, a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, came to ſpeak with the King, to whom he had free Acceſs, he frequently accommodating his Majeſty with Money. In Preſumption of his uſual Liberty, he went directly to the Room where he heard the King was, and hearing a Diſcourſe, had the Curioſity to get up cloſe to the Door, and hearken to it attentively, which he was excited to do by the King's ſpeaking with ſome Earneſtneſs, but he cou'd only hear broken and imperfect Expreſſions: The Duke ſpoke ſo low, he cou'd not underſtand what was ſaid, but *Clifford* ſpoke loud, as in Publick, anſwering the King in a very audible and articulate Manner, in theſe Words, *Sir, If you are driven off upon Fears, you will never be ſafe, the Work will do, if you declare your ſelf* with Reſolution, *there is enough to ſtand by you*; the King reply'd, *this Name* Popery *will never be ſwallow'd by the People*; which having ſaid, he ſtarted from his Seat, crying, *ſomebody is at the Door*. *Clifford* ran haſtily to it, and without ſpeaking a Word, fell furiouſly upon Sir *William Bucknall*, dragging him to a Pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down, and ſoon after Sir *William* dy'd, which was not improbably, imputed to that Misfortune.

Clifford adviſes the ſetting up Popery.

Sir William Bucknall beaten by Clifford.

If we remember what is told us of the Conduct of *Lauderdale*, *Rothes* and others in the Murder of *Mitchel* at *Edinburgh*, and join it with the Conduct of the Court and Miniſtry at *London*, We muſt ſink into the Dregs of Language to find Words to expreſs our Sentiments; a Man is there murther'd, thouſands are here robb'd by a Conſpiracy of the Government, the Crimes of Malefactors receive a Sort of horrid Sanction by the Crimes of Miniſters. —— There is nothing in Hiſtory to compare to it.——

Prodigious Tyranny.

Mr. *Marvel*, in his *Growth of Popery*, ſets theſe Things in a good Light, which he was well able to do from his Knowledge of Men and Affairs, being an active Member of this Houſe of Commons. Having ſpoken of the Robbery at the *Exchequer*, he proceeds to the Attempt to rob the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet. *There remain'd nothing now but that the Conſpirators after this Exploit upon our own Country-men, ſhould manifeſt their Impartiality to Foreigners, and avoid on both Sides the Reproach of Injuſtice, by their Equality in the Diſtribution. They had now ſtarted the Diſpute about the Flag, upon the Occaſion of the* Yatch, *and begun the Diſpute of* Surinam, *and ſomewhat of* Pictures *and* Medals, *but they handled theſe Matters ſo nicely, as Men not leſs afraid of receiving all Satisfaction therein from the* Hollanders, *than of giving them any Umbrage of arming againſt them upon thoſe Pretences. The* Dutch *therefore not being conſcious to themſelves of any Provocation given to* England, *but of their Readineſs, if there had been any to repair it, and relying upon that Faith of Treaties and Alliances, which has been thought ſufficient Security, not only among* Chriſtians, *but even with* Infidels, *purſu'd their Traffick and Navigation thro' our Seas*, and accordingly a *great and rich Fleet of Merchant Men from* Smyrna *and* Spain, *were on there Voyage homeward, near the Iſle of* Wight, *&c.* All the Excuſe *Echard* makes for this felonious Attempt againſt thoſe Merchant Ships, before a War declar'd, is, that the King was adviſ'd to it by the *French*, and brings Sir *Holms* into Action as if he had been a *Hero*, not a *Felon*, as if he was going to *Fight*, and not to *Steal*. The ſofteſt Term that can be us'd for that *Incendiary*, is *Sea-Wolf* that preys by *ſtealth*, and dives in Danger. However, it muſt be own'd that this Government knew what Tools were fit for their Work, and were never in want of any, to the Scandal of the *Engliſh* Honeſty and Reputation. I will again make uſe of *Marvel*. "The *Dutch* were under a ſmall Convoy of five or ſix of their Men of War; the "*Smyrna* Fleet was that, in Contemplation of "which, the Conſpirators had ſo long deferr'd "the War to plunder in Peace; the Wealth of "this was that, which by its Weight turn'd the "Ballance of all publick Juſtice and Honour. "With this Treaſure they imagin'd themſelves "in Stock for all the Wickedneſs of which they "were capable, and that they ſhould never after "this Addition ſtand in need again, or fear of "a Parliament; therefore they had with great "Stillneſs and Expedition, equipp'd early in the "Year, ſo many of the King's Ships, as might "without Jealouſy of the Numbers, yet be of "competent Strength for the intended Action;" but if any thing ſhou'd chance to be wanting, they thought it abundantly ſupply'd by the Virtue of the Commander, for Sir *Robert Holms* had with the like Number of Ships in the Year 1661, the very next Year after the States had ſquander'd away between two and three hundred thouſands Crowns, in entertaining the King and his Brothers, ſo timely commenc'd the firſt Hoſtility againſt *Holland*, ſeizing upon *Cape de Verde*, and other of the *Dutch* Forts, on the Coaſts of *Guinea*, in Time of Peace, and the whole new *Netherlands*, with great Succeſs, in Defence of which Conqueſts the *Engliſh* undertook in 1665, the firſt War againſt *Holland*. *Clarendon*, *Monk*, *Nicholas*, *Turner*, &c. were then chief Men in both Houſes of Parliament, active in the Perſecuting Bills, and becauſe they were ſo good Church Men, in the Opinion of the *Compleat Hiſtorians*, therefore do they belie all Hiſtory, and ſay as the Archdeacon does of *De Ruyter*, by taking *Cape de Verde*, and the Forts in *Guinea*, which the *Engliſh* Buccaneer *Holms* had before taken from the *Dutch*, in Time of Alliance and Friendſhip, *He ingloriouſly began a Pyratick War under the ſacred Bands of Friendſhip and Alliance*. And if ever *Pyratick* War was begun, it was now in the ſecond Pyratical Enterprize of *Holms* againſt the *Dutch Streights*, and *Smyrna* Fleets. *Marvel* proceeds,

A.D.1672

Holmes's *Piracies.*

Holmes in the firſt War, with a proportionable Squadron, ſignaliz'd himſelf by burning the *Dutch* Ships and Village of *Brandaris* at *Schelling*. *Echard* exults upon that Conqueſt, and in Amplification of *Holmes*'s Glory, as he calls it, turns the Village into a City. But continues *Marvel*, That *was unfortunately reveng'd upon us at* Chatham, for theſe good Reaſons, *Holmes* was pitch'd upon, as the Perſon for underſtanding Experience, and Courage fitteſt for a Deſign of this Nature, and upon the 14th of *March*, as the *Dutch* ſail'd on to the Number of 72 Veſſels, near our Coaſt, he fell upon them with his accuſtom'd Bravery, and cou'd not have fail'd of giving a good Account of them, wou'd he have join'd Fortunes with Sir *Edward Sprague*, who was in ſight at the ſame Time with his Squadron, and Captain *Legg* was making all the Sail he cou'd towards him, to acquaint *Sprague* with the Deſign of falling upon the *Dutch* Merchant Men, but *Holmes*, who was his Admiral, call'd him back by a Gun, which gave Occaſion to various Speculations. The moſt probable is, that he thought himſelf ſure of Victory, and the Spoil. *Sprague* came then from *Algiers*, and had kept Company with the *Dutch* Fleet, 'till they advanc'd near the Iſle of *Wight*. By this Means *Sprague* knew nothing of the Secret, and the *Dutch* Convoy, and their Merchant Men did ſo beſtir themſelves, that *Holmes*, tho' he ſhifted his Ship, fell foul on his beſt Friends, and did all that was poſſible,

Dutch Smyrna Fleet ſurpriz'd.

A.D.1672 unleſs he cou'd have multiply'd himſelf, was forc'd to give it over, and all the Prize that was gotten, ſuffic'd not to pay the Surgeons and Carpenters. *Holmes* was one of the Penſioners in this Parliament, and cou'd very eaſily prove, that he had never given one Vote in Favour of the *Proteſtant* Religion, or *Engliſh* Liberty, but a conſtant Vote for Archbiſhop *Sheldon*'s ſtinging Acts, and therefore the Archdeacon does not let him come off quite ſo ſhamefully. *He took one Man of War, and four Merchant Ships*, one of which from *Smyrna*, wou'd pay more Carpenters and Surgeons, than his Fleet cou'd find Employment for. Two Days after was publiſh'd his Majeſty's Declaration of Indulgence,

Declaration of Indulgence.

An Account of which *Declaration*, *Echard* might have taken out of *Marvel*, *Baxter*, *Calamy*, or even out of the *Compleat Hiſtory* of *England*, with good Authority; inſtead of which, he has Recourſe to the moſt *Lying Memoirs* that ever were publiſh'd, thoſe of *Orleans*, the *French* Jeſuit, and he introduces them with this notable Encomium, *He ſeems to have had from King* James *a clearer Information of this Affair, than the* common *Engliſh Writers.* I am ſure to have my Place among thoſe *Common Writers* in his marſhalling of us; but as never Hiſtory was more proſtituted to a Faction, than his own, and never Hiſtory ſtuff'd with ſuch pitiful Matter and idle Remarks, we may all comfort ourſelves with the Hopes, that the Diſgrace he has laid upon us, will laſt no longer than his Chronicle. It happens, I have by me a clearer Account, than his cleareſt Account from the *French* Prieſt, and mine is taken from one of the common Writers, Mr. *Locke*, that Gentleman had it from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who knew more of the Matter, even than King *James*, and is ſuppos'd to be the

Des Maiz. *Col.* p. 67. *& Seq.*

Pen-man of the *Declaration. Thus, Sir*, ſays *Mr.* Locke, *You have perhaps a better Account of the* Declaration, *than you can receive from any other Hand, and I cou'd have wiſh'd the Indulgence a longer Continuance, and a better Reception than it had, for the Biſhops* Sheldon, Morley, Gunning, Wood, Sparrow, Henchman, Dolben, Ward, Blandford, Stern, Rainbow, I name them in full Belief that their Names ought never to be forgotten, *took ſo great Offence at it, that they gave the Alarm of Popery thro' the whole Nation, and by their Emiſſaries the Clergy, who by the Contexture and Subordination of their Government, have the Advantage of a quick Diſpenſing of their Orders, and a ſudden and univerſal Inſinuation of whatever they pleaſe, rais'd ſuch a Cry, that thoſe good and ſober Men, who had really fear'd the Encreaſe and Countenance Popery had hitherto receiv'd, began to believe the Biſhops were in Earneſt, their Eyes open'd, and therefore join'd in heartily with them.* The

Lord-Shaftſbury for Toleration.

Lord *Shaftsbury* explaining the Advantages of this *Declaration* to Mr. *Locke*, has theſe Expreſſions; *As to the* Church, *I conceive the* Declaration *is extreamly for their Intereſt; for the narrow Bottom they have plac'd themſelves upon, and the Meaſure they have proceeded by, ſo contrary to the Properties and Liberties of the Nation, muſt needs in a ſhort Time prove fatal to them, whereas this leads them into another Way to live peaceably with the diſſenting and differing* Proteſtants, *both at home and abroad.* Such Politicks as theſe never enter'd into the Heads of *Laud*, *Sheldon*, *Mortey*, &c. Did they, or does Mr. Archdeacon believe that their Severities to *Non-conformiſts*, plac'd them on a *Narrow Bottom*, or that their Meaſures were *againſt the Properties and Liberties of the Nation*?

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was a Promoter of the *Toleration*, but not the main Mover in it; Lord *Clifford* had more Intereſt at Court, and by means of the Duke of *York*, cou'd do much more with the King than *Shaftsbury*, whom neither the King nor the Duke lov'd. *Baxter* tells us, the Toleration was chiefly for the *Papiſts* Sakes, and one may be aſſur'd, that *Clifford* had the chief Hand in it. For when the Declaration was publiſh'd, the Proteſtant Diſſenters were ſo far from taking hold of it greedily, that it was a Queſtion among them, *Whether it was adviſeable, either in Conſcience or Prudence for the* Presbyterians *to take Advantage from his Majeſty's Declaration*? and a reverend Prelate in a Speech about the Occaſional Bill 1703, told the Lords, it was the Lord *Clifford*, who got a Motion to be made in Favour of the *Non-conformiſts*, hoping that wou'd have provok'd either the one Side or the other, and that either the Church Party might be offended with the Motion, or the *Diſſenters* with the refuſing it. But it was ſtopp'd by Alderman *Love*, one of the Citizens in Parliament for the City of *London*, who was a Diſſenter, and deſir'd that nothing with Relation to them might intervene to ſtop the Security the Nation and the Proteſtant Religion might have by the *Teſt Act*; and in this he was ſeconded by moſt of his Party, ſo that the Act was obtain'd in ſome Meaſure by their Aſſiſtance, and inſtead of the Earl of *Shaftſbury*'s propoſing the Tolelation, as the Jeſuit *Orleans* very falſly affirms, the Lord *Clifford* propos'd it, as Mr. *Locke* informs us. *This Dominion continu'd unto them until the Lord* Clifford, *a Man of a daring ambitious Spirit, made his Way to the chief Miniſtry of Affairs by other and far different Meaſures, and took the Opportunity of a War with* Holland, *the King was then engag'd in, to* propoſe *the* Declaration of Indulgence, *and the Earl of* Shafsbury *preſently clos'd with it. Echard* had an idle Imagination, that becauſe King *James* told *Orleans*, what he tells us, therefore we wou'd, as he does, give implicite Faith to it. We have prov'd it to be diametrically oppoſite to the Truth, and yet this is what he fooliſhly and pragmatically calls a *clear Account*, not in the *Common Writers.*

A.D.1672

Cal. 336.

Des Maiz *Col.* p. 66.

Declaration of War with the Dutch.

Two Days after the Publication of the *Indulgence* came out, the Declaration of the *War* with *Holland*, grounded upon the notable Reaſon before-mention'd; *the Flag*, which the *Dutch* offer'd to yield up; the *Surinam* Planters, who ſtaid there becauſe they cou'd live no where elſe; the *Pictures* and *Medals*, which the States knew no more of than the Man in the Moon.

The moſt admirable Part of the Declaration was the winding it up. *And whereas we are engag'd by a Treaty to ſupport the Peace made at* Aix la Chapelle, *we do finally declare*, that notwithſtanding *the Proſecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the ſaid Treaty*; which is as good *wild Iriſh* as ever was put into Print. Notwithſtanding I am going to cut your Throat, I am your moſt faithful and loving Friend. Again, *and that in all* Alliances *which we have or ſhall make in the Progreſs of this War, we have and will take Care to preſerve the Ends thereof inviolable*; which is as *brazen* a *Bull* as was that of *Phalaris.* He has made a Treaty with the *French* King to deſtroy the States, and take their Country from them; and yet according to this Declaration, he has taken care in that very Treaty, to preſerve the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* inviolable. This Bundle of Nonſenſe is entire in Mr. Archdeacon's Collections.

The *Dutch*, who knew that the Bent of the Nation was againſt this Rupture, fed themſelves all along with Hopes that the Miniſtry durſt not take this bold Step; and when *De Wit* receiv'd a certain Account of it in a Letter from *England*,

A D.1672 he fell back upon his Chair almoſt in a Swoon; but preſently recovering himſelf, he encourag'd the States to make all neceſſary Preparations. *It muſt be own'd*, ſays *Echard*, *the* Dutch *had been too inflexible in anſwering the Demands of the* Engliſh, *as to the Flag*; which is as falſe as the reſt of his Chronicle. *Marvel* tells it thus: *The pretended Cauſe was the not having vail'd the* Bonnet *to the* Engliſh Yatch; *though the* Dutch *had all along, both at Home and here, as carefully endeavour'd to give, as the* Engliſh *Miniſters to avoid, the receiving of all Satisfaction, or letting them underſtand what wou'd do it; nay, the Council Clock was on purpoſe ſet forward, leſt their utmoſt Compliance in the Flag at the Hour appointed, ſhou'd prevent the Declaration of War by ſome Minutes.* Yet does *Echard*, with as much Preſumption as Gravity aſſert, *It muſt be own'd the* Dutch *were too inflexible*, &c. Another Pretence was intended, if the Intention had ſucceeded, Colonel *Joyce*, he who when Cornet took the King from *Holmby*, living in *Holland*, Orders were ſent to *Downing* to demand him; that if the States refus'd it, the Quarrel might be founded upon it, and if they granted it, the Common-wealth Party might be diſguſted: But the States were too wiſe to be caught by our Miniſters, they order'd a Warrant for ſeizing *Joyce*, and at the ſame time caus'd it to be intimated to the Officer, that he ſhou'd let him make his Eſcape. The States, in this Extremity, apply'd the beſt Remedy they had to their Diſeaſe, and preſented the Prince of *Orange* with the Command of their Armies, and with the Title of Admiral of the United Provinces, out of which he had been kept by the Intrigues of the *Louveſtein* Faction, whoſe Head was *De Wit*, from his *Majority* to the two and twentieth Year of his Age. About the ſame time, in *April* this Year, King *Charles* ſent 6000 choice Foot, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, into *Flanders*, to join the *French* Army, and aſſiſt in the intended Conqueſt of *Holland*.

Arbitrary Meaſures. Beſides the ſtretching of the *Prerogative* in the *Exchequer Buſineſs*, and the *Toleration*, the King ſuſpended two Acts of *Parliament*, the *Act of Navigation*, and the *Act for Encouragement of Trade*, the *Cabal* affecting thoſe Meaſures which ſerv'd to make his Majeſty a *great King*, as their Cant was, as if Power wou'd make a Prince Great, which was not of his own acquiring, and which he had no more Genius to maintain, than he had to acquire in an honourable Way.

The Archdeacon affirms, that to make himſelf popular, the King took *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter* into his Privy Council; the ſame Marqueſs whom the People, by their Repreſentatives, ſome time after addreſs'd him to remove from his Counſels, and *George* Viſcount *Hallifax*, againſt whom was the like Addreſs, and *Thomas* Viſcount *Falconbridge*, *Oliver*'s Son in Law, and *Arthur* Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Capel*'s Son, and Sir *Thomas Osborn*, afterwards Earl of *Danby* and Duke of *Leeds*, who ran the Gauntlet through two Parliamentary Impeachments. Sir *Thomas Clifford* was created Baron *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*, *Henry* Lord *Arlington*, Earl of *Arlington*, *John* Earl of *Lauderdale*, Duke of *Lauderdale*. The King alſo made ſeveral Knights of the Garter, as *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, *Henry* Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, the Earl of *St. Albans*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Earl of *Oſſory*.

The Duke of *York* took upon him the agreeable Command of the Fleet: The Count *d'Eſtreet*, Vice-Admiral of *France*, commanded the White Squadron; and *Montagu*, Earl of *Sandwich*, the Blue Squadron; the Red being immediately under his Royal Highneſs. The War being as *Inglorious* as *Unrighteous*, I take no Pleaſure in the Detail of it, as *Echard* does, becauſe the Duke has the Command of it. I ſhall content my ſelf with Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of the *Souldbay Fight*. Fleets. A.D.1672

De Ruyter had the Glory of ſurpriſing the *Engliſh* Fleet, when they were thinking leſs of engaging the Enemy, than of an extravagant Preparation for the uſual Diſorders of the *Twenty-ninth of* May; *a Feſtival which has produc'd as much Wickedneſs*, as another *Statute Holiday has Miſchief*. Which Diſorders *De Ruyter* prevented, by engaging them the 28th of *May*, in one of the moſt obſtinate Sea-Fights that has happen'd in our Age; in which the *French* took more Care of themſelves than became gallant Men, unleſs they had Orders to look on, and leave the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to fight it out, while they preſerv'd the Force of *France* entire. *De Ruyter* diſabled the Ship in which the *Duke* was, whom ſome blam'd for leaving his Ship too ſoon; but Mr. Archdeacon informs us, *He left her with gread Intrepidity*, very much like the *French* running away at *Blenheim* like *Lions*. *Then*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *the Duke's Perſonal Courage began firſt to be call'd in queſtion.* One wou'd think theſe Hiſtory Writers affected Falſhood out of a meer Spirit of Oppoſition, or rather, out of meer Hatred to Truth. The Admiral of the Blue Squadron was burnt by a Fire-ſhip, after a long Engagement with a *Dutch* Ship, much inferior to her in Strength: In it the Earl of *Sandwich* periſh'd, with a great many about him, who wou'd not leave him, as he wou'd not leave his Ship, by a piece of obſtinate Courage, to which he was provok'd by an indecent Reflection the Duke made, on an Advice he had offer'd of drawing nearer the Shoar, and avoiding an Engagement; as if in that he took more Care of himſelf, than of the King's Honour. The Fight continu'd from eight in the Morning till Sun-ſet; and when it was over, the *French*, according to *Ludlow*, *ſet Sail for* Breſt, *and the* Engliſh *retir'd into Port, leaving the* Dutch *Maſters at Sea*; and according to *Echard*, *The* Dutch *ſtood off, and the* Duke *ſailing after, got the* Appearance *of a Victory*. He is never without a Laurel for that dear Popiſh Duke of his.

Duke of York's *Courage queſtion'd.*

Earl of Sandwich *loſt.*

The Duke worſted.

On the Engliſh *Side were* KILL'D,

The Earl of *Sandwich*, Mr. *Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Briſtol*, Captain of the *Henry*; Sir *Fretcheville Hollis*, Capt. of the *Cambridge*; Sir *John Cox*, Captain of the *Prince*; Captain *Pearce*, of the *St. George*; Capt. *Waterworth*, of the *Anne*; Capt. *Hannam*, of the *Triumph*; Capt. *Tennes*, of the *Alice* and *Frances* Fire-ſhip. *Engliſh Officers kill'd, &c.*

WOUNDED,

Lord *Maidſtone*, Mr. *Montagu*, Mr. *Richard Nicholls*, Mr. *Roger Vaughan*, Sir *Philip Cartaret*, Sir *Charles Harbord*, Mr. *Cotterel*, Mr. *Burgh*, Captain *Bromley*, Captain *Bennet*, Captain *Barry*, Mr. *Bowles*, &c.

Of the Dutch *were* KILL'D,

The Admiral of *Amſterdam*, the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, Capt. *Brakes*, and three of *Cornelius de Wit*'s Halberdiers near his Perſon. He had the joint Command of the Fleet with *De Ruyter*, and ſat on the Deck in a Chair, dreſs'd like a Magiſtrate, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, giving his Commands, with twelve Halberdiers about him for his Guard.

The

*A.D.*1672 The States of *Holland* well knowing that the Alliance between the *Engliſh* Court and the *French* was not at all pleaſing to the People of *England*, Dutch *Declaration.* publiſh'd a *Declaration*, to ſhew that they had been conſtrain'd to make War againſt the King, and his private Council, who had deſign'd and endeavour'd to deprive them of their Commerce and Liberty, and to render the Crown of *England* Abſolute and Independent. But that they were ready to conſent, that the People of *England* might trade freely, either with them or others, they diſcharg'd and ſet at Liberty ſuch Ships, Men, and Merchandize, belonging to the *Engliſh* Nation, as they had ſeiz'd in their Ports, in requital of the Attempt made by that Arch-Pirate *Holmes*, to ſurprize their Homeward bound *Smyrna* Fleet, before any Declaration of War had been publiſh'd againſt them. Theſe things oblig'd the King to promiſe Reſtitution of what had been unjuſtly taken from the *Dutch* before the Date of the ſaid Declaration; but whatever Advantages the *Dutch* might have by Sea, they were infinitely over-balanc'd by their Loſſes at Land.

French *Conqueſts in* Holland. *Lewis* XIV. having drawn together 120,000 effective Men, divided them into three Bodies; the *Firſt* conſiſting of 70,000, he took under his own peculiar Command; at the Head of the *Second*, which was of 40,000, he plac'd the Prince of *Conde*; and gave 10,000 more to the Count *de Chamilly*, to ſerve as a flying Camp. All theſe Forces directing their March towards *Maeſtricht*, a Council of War was held in the King's Quarters, and a Debate ariſing about beſieging that Place, it was adjudg'd to be an Enterprize ſo full of Hazard and Difficulty, by reaſon of the numerous Garriſon and good Fortifications about the Town, that they reſolv'd to turn their March towards the *Rhine*, where the Places were not in ſo good Condition; yet it was thought convenient to leave *Chamilly* near *Tongeren*, to prevent the Excurſion of the Garriſon of *Maeſtricht*, which was done. The two Armies, commanded by the King and Prince of *Conde*, march'd ſeveral Days without ſeeing an Enemy, except only about two hundred Men, who had entrench'd themſelves on the Side of the *Rhine*, and render'd themſelves Priſoners after little Reſiſtance: From thence the Prince of *Conde* was ſent to beſiege *Weſel*, whilſt the King beſieg'd *Orſoy*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne*, *Burich*. Theſe three Sieges being undertaken at the ſame time, caus'd a general Alarum; but when they ſaw that *Orſoy* had hardly held out twenty-four Hours, and *Burich* and *Weſel* not much longer, the Conſternation greatly encreas'd. The Governor of *Weſel*, which was accounted a ſtrong Place, was ſentenc'd to loſe his Head; but having Friends in the Government, the Executioner was order'd only to paſs the Sword over him. The Count *D'Eſtrades* was made Governor of *Weſel*; *Reez*, *Emerick*, *Beavize*, and *Dedekom* follow'd the Example; and an *Iriſhman*, who commanded in *Rhynberg*, deliver'd the Town without a Shot, and loſt his Head for his Cowardice. The *French* King reſolving to paſs the *Rhine*, was inform'd by a *Dutch* Traitor of a Place where the Water was low, and the Paſſage ſafe; which being try'd, and found to be true, this invincible Conqueror expreſs'd himſelf to rejoice greatly in that Opportunity to ſhew his Intrepidity. The *Dutch* Officer who was poſted there abandon'd his Poſt; but General *Wurtz* advancing, by command of the Prince of *Orange*, with a good Force to defend it, the *French* King rais'd Batteries, which ſo gall'd *Wurtz*'s Troops, that they were forc'd to ſhelter themſelves in the *They paſs the* Rhine. Woods. Part of a *French* Regiment of Horſe paſs'd the River firſt, but was driven back into it again by *Wurtz*. The *French* being well ſeconded, they ſoon became ſtrong enough to make good their Ground, and put the *Dutch* Cavalry to flight. In this Paſſage the Duke of *Longueville*, the Prince of *Conde*'s Nephew, was kill'd, and the Prince himſelf wounded by a Muſket Ball. This is the Paſſage of the *Rhine*, the Subject of ſo much *French* Poetry; wherein the *French* King makes a Figure equal to *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, or rather equal to both of them; *as if all*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *had been animated by his Preſence, though he was viewing it at a very ſafe Diſtance.* After this the *French* took the Caſtle of *Tolhuys*, and laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*; which ſo terrify'd the *Dutch*, that they abandon'd all their Entrenchments. The King re-paſſing the *Rhine*, reſolv'd to paſs the *Yſſel*, and was not a little ſurpriz'd to find the Paſſage ſo eaſy. Having taken *Doesbourg*, Deputies arriv'd in his Camp from *Utretcht*, offering to deliver up their Town. The Duke of *Orleans* took *Zutphen* and *Gueldre*, and the King himſelf advanc'd to *Utretcht*, having ſent *Rochefort*, a Lieutenant-General, with ſome Troops before him, to take quiet Poſſeſſion of the Place. Here he receiv'd the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, who were ſent to know upon what Terms he wou'd treat. In the mean Time the Dutch *Loſſes.* Mareſchal *de Turenne* poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Arnheim*, and the Fort of *Knotſembourg* and *Nimeguen*; upon this News the *Dutch* abandon'd *Grave*, and *Turenne* ſeiz'd *Bommel*, and the *Sckinck Scans* fell alſo into the Hands of the *French*. The Biſhop of *Munſter* took *Droll* and *Daventer*, and the Marqueſs *de Rochefort* made himſelf Maſter of *Naerden*, and other Places. A Hero of any other Make than that of *Lewis* XIV. wou'd have been aſham'd of ſuch eaſy Victories, and not have aſſum'd to himſelf the Title of Conqueror, when a Trumpeter wou'd have done the Buſineſs every whit as well with ſuch an Army, and againſt ſuch Enemies. He paid for it before he dy'd, and let him now have his Fill of Vainglory and Flattery. The *French* King's Succeſs, as my Lord of *Salisbury* obſerves, "was owing "rather to *De Wit*'s Errors, than his own Con- "duct. There was ſo little Heart or Judgment "ſhewn in his Management of it, that when that "Year is ſet out, as it may well be, it will ap- "pear to be one of the leaſt Glorious of his Life; "tho' when ſeen in a falſe Light, it appears one "of the moſt Glorious in Hiſtory. The Conqueſt French "of the *Netherlands*, at that Time, might have *King de-* "been ſo eaſily compaſſed, that if his *Underſtand-* *ficient in* "*ing* and his *Courage* had not been equally de- *Conduct at* "fective, he cou'd not have miſcarry'd in it." The Utretcht. Biſhop adds other Inſtances of his Deficiency in both, which relate too little to the Hiſtory of the *Stuarts* to have a Place here.

We have mention'd the Arrival of the *Dutch* Deputies at *Utretcht*, who were humbly to implore his Majeſty to grant them a Treaty on his own Conditions, which, however, were ſo rigorous, that it made the *Dutch* deſperate; and Deſpair recover'd them out of the Diſtreſs into which they had been ſunk by Deceit and Cowardice. He demanded of them *Maeſtritcht*, *Boiſleduc*, *Breda*, and *Bergen op Zoom*, by the Advice of Monſieur *Pompone*; which certainly the States wou'd have comply'd with, but *Louvois* adviſ'd him to inſiſt upon an immenſe Sum of *Money for the Charges of the War, and their giving the chief Church in every Town for the Exerciſe of the Popiſh Religion; that they ſhou'd put themſelves under the Protection of* France, *and every Year ſend an Ambaſſador with a Medal acknowledging it; and ſhou'd enter into no Treaties or Alliances but by the Directions of the* French *King*. One of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors ſwoon'd when he heard *His Demands.*

A.D.1672 thoſe extravagant Conditions which were made without any Concert with *England*, though *Lockhart*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, was then in the *French* Court. The States ſent *Dykevelt* and *Halewyn* Ambaſſadors to *England*, to join with *Boreel*, who was ſtill at *London*, and of whom Biſhop *Burnet* tells a pleaſant Story, which ſhews the Simplicity of the Man. Some time before the Arrival of theſe Ambaſſadors, *Boreel* had Audience of the King, and in Diſcourſe about the War, his Majeſty took occaſion to upbraid the *Dutch* with their Uſage of him and his Brother in the Time of the *Common-wealth* and *Cromwel*. *Boreel* having no Guard on his Expreſſion, reply'd, *Ha! Sire, c'eſt une autre choſe* Cromwel *eſtoit un grand Homme, & il ſe faiſoit craindre, & par Terre & par Mer.* "Ah! Sir, that's quite "another thing, *Cromwel* was *a great Man*, and "made evey body afraid of him both by Sea and "Land. The King's Anſwer was, *Je me feray craindre auſſi a mon bour*; "I will alſo make them "afraid of me in my Turn." But as my Lord of *Salisbury* has it, *He was ſcarce as good as his Word*; and there was not a Prince nor Power in *Europe*, who was ever afraid of any one of the Kings of the Race of the *Stuarts* before the *Revolution*. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Hampton-Court*, and told the King they would not treat ſeparately, without his Ally, the *French* King. They met ſecretly with many in *England*, and inform'd themſelves by them of the State of the Nation. They gave Money liberally, and gain'd ſome in the chief Office to given them Intelligence, which the Court underſtanding, and that the Nation was much inflam'd, commanded them to go back, and ſent the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Arlington* to *Utrecht*, giving it out that they were to put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *French* in *Holland*. They were come as far as *Muyden*, and had the Keys of the Town deliver'd to them; but they flung them into the Ditch, as an inconſiderable Place, not knowing the Importance of it by the Command of the Water that cou'd drown all to *Amſterdam*. And when the Conſequence of the Place was underſtood, another Party was ſent to ſecure it. Theſe came too late, for the Prince of *Orange* had thrown two Battalions into it, and by that Means *Amſterdam* was preſerv'd, where all were trembling, and thought of nothing but Treating and Submitting. And this Check given the *French*, when the States had almoſt given over all Things for loſt, recover'd their Spirits ſo far, that they began to look about them, and think of defending themſelves to the Utmoſt. The Lord *Hallifax* was ſent to *Holland*, after *Buckingham* and *Arlington*; but he was not truſted with the whole Secret. The *Dutch* hearing their Ambaſſadors were coming from *England* without a Peace, ran together in great Numbers to *Maesland Sluice*, and reſolv'd to cut them in Pieces at their Landing, for they heard they were at the *Brill*; but as they were croſſing the *Maes*, a little Boat met them, and told them of their Danger, adviſing them to land at another Place, where Coaches were ſtaying to carry them to the *Hague*; ſo they miſs'd the Storm which broke out fatally the next Day againſt the two *De Wits*.

The De Wits *murder'd.*

John De Wit going Home one Night from the States, four Perſons ſet on him to murder him: He defended himſelf ſo well, that he got out of their Hands with ſome Wounds. One of them was taken, and condemn'd for it: All *De Wit*'s Friends preſs'd him to ſave the Man's Life, but he thought ſuch an Attempt on a Perſon in his Poſt, was not to be pardon'd; though as to his own Part in the Matter, he very freely forgave him. The young Man confeſs'd his Crime, and repented of it, proteſting he was led to it by no other Conſideration, but that of Zeal for his Country and Religion; and he dy'd as in a Rapture of Devotion, which made great Impreſſions on the Spectators, and exaſperated them ſtill the more againſt the *De Wits*, *Cornelius* and *John*. At the ſame Time a Barber accus'd *Cornelius*, *John De Wit*'s elder Brother, of a Practice on him, in order to his murdering the Prince of *Orange*: There were ſo many Improbabilities in his Story, which was ſupported by no Circumſtances, that it ſeem'd no way credible; yet *Cornelius De Wit* was put to the Torture on it, but ſtood firm to his Innocence. The Sentence was accommodated rather to the State of Affairs, than to the ſtrict Rules of Juſtice. In the mean Time, his Brother had reſign'd his Charge of *Penſionary*, and was made one of the Judges of the *High Court*. *Cornelius De Wit* was baniſh'd, which was intended to ſend him out of the Way, and not as a Puniſhment. The Barber went about the *Hague*, and told the Populace he had convicted the *Grand Baily of* Putten, ſuch was *Cornelius De Wit*'s Title, and he was in Priſon under Condemnation. Upon which great Numbers ran thither, and *John De Wit* coming in his Coach to fetch him out, the Populace cry'd out, *Now the two Traitors are together, they ſhall not eſcape.* In the Inſtant, a falſe Report was ſpread among the People, that ſome thouſands of *Boors* were coming to plunder the *Hague*, by which Means the two Brothers were depriv'd of all Hopes of Safety; for upon this Report, the Guards that had been plac'd by the Council of State about the Priſon, for the Defence of the Priſoner, took Occaſion to draw off, and left them to the Mercy of the Rabble; who immediately broke open the Doors, and ruſh'd into the Chamber where the two Brothers were. *John De Wit*, who was ſitting on the Bed-ſide with a Book in his Hand, demanded of them, *What they wou'd have?* And receiving for Anſwer, *You ſhall ſee if you will go down.* He took his Brother by the Hand, and led him down into the Street, where they were no ſooner arriv'd, but the enrag'd Multitude fell upon them, and with a thouſand Wounds moſt barbarouſly murder'd them: Their Bodies were dragg'd about the Town, and torn to Pieces.

The *Dutch* judging by the plain Reaſon of our own Intereſt in their Preſervation, welcom'd the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, as Perſons that were come to deliver them out of the deſperate Condition they were then in. "The common Belief in *England* "and *Holland*, ſays Sir *William Temple*, made "the Subject of their Embaſſy to be our Jealouſy "of the *French* Conqueſts going ſo faſt, while "ours were ſo lame, and great Hopes were rais'd "in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or "Extent; but theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the re-"turn of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd "and faſten'd the Meaſures formerly taken be-"tween the two Crowns. And the Ambaſſadors "were indeed content, as they paſs'd through "*Holland*, that the Firſt ſhou'd be thought; "which gave Occaſion for a good Repartee of "the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* to the Duke "of *Buckingham*, who viſited her as he paſs'd "through the *Hague*; and talking much of their "being *Hollanders*, ſhe told him, *That was more "than they ask'd, which was only that they ſhou'd "be good* Engliſhmen. He anſwer'd, *We are not "only ſo, but good* Dutchmen *too: Indeed we do "not uſe* Holland *like a Miſtreſs, but we love her "like a Wife.* To which ſhe reply'd, *Uraymentje croy que vous nous aymez comme vous aymez la vôtre: Truly, I believe you love Us as you "love Yours.*" Theſe Ambaſſadors had Confe-

Princeſs of Orange's *Saying to the Duke of* Buckingham.

A.D.1672 rences with the Deputies of the States, to whom they us'd all Expreſſions imaginable both of Kindneſs to *Holland*, and of Concernment and Trouble to ſee the *French* ſo far advanc'd. They gave the *Dutch* Miniſters to underſtand, they wou'd engage that the *French* King ſhou'd give up all his Conqueſts for *Maeſtricht*; or if he wou'd not, they were empower'd to *enter into* new Meaſures with the *States*, to prevent the Deſtruction of that *Common-wealth*. But they did not long keep in this Tone, for they had not been many Hours in the *French* Camp, which was not far off, before their Judgments were better inform'd by Golden Arguments: The Terror of the *French* King's Greatneſs vaniſh'd, and the firſt Meſſage they ſent the Prince of *Orange* was, *That the States were to give Satisfaction to both Kings jointly, and that neither Crown cou'd or wou'd treat without it.* The Satisfaction to the *French* King was, as we have ſeen, a *Toleration* of Popery, without which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors will enter into no Treaty with the *Dutch*; as alſo the *Admiſſion of Papiſts into Offices, and Payment of Penſions to the Prieſts.* The *French* King took little Notice of them at firſt, ſaying, *The King of* England *might treat as he pleas'd, what I have got is my own; and what I ſhall get I will not reſtore without an Equivalent:* At which the Ambaſſadors conceiv'd ſo much Indignation, that they talk'd of compromiſing Matters with the *Dutch*, till the Extent of the *French* King's Generoſity made them alter their Minds. Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, who was diſmiſs'd the *Committee* for foreign Affairs, becauſe he oppos'd the *French* Intereſt, wrote the following Queries, on Occaſion of the *Plenipotentiaries* being ſent to the *French* Camp.

Engliſh Ambaſſadors at the French Camp in Holland.

Secretary Trevor's Queries.

" I. Whether they were ſent only to promote " the *French* Conqueſts? and if not, how they " cou'd think it adviſeable by making the Peace " impoſſible to force the *Dutch*, as far as in them " lay, to caſt themſelves into the Arms of the " *French* King, and ſubmit themſelves to his " Domination?

" II. Whether they can deny they knew the " joint Propoſals tender'd to the *Dutch* ſhou'd " not be granted, ſince the *French* Demands " alone had been unanimouſly rejected? And " in that Caſe how agreeable was it to the " Intereſt of *England*, to make it impoſſible " for the *Dutch* to give his Majeſty any Satiſ- " faction?

" III. Whether they had not receiv'd, as well " from the Prince of *Orange* as from the States " Commiſſioners, all publick Aſſurances of the " infinite Deſire they had to ſee his Majeſty re- " turn to his former Amity with them, and of " their Readineſs to purchaſe it at any Rate that " the Condition they were in wou'd bear? If ſo, " how faithfully the Plenipotentiaries diſcharg'd " their Truſt in neglecting thoſe Offers, and en- " tring into a new Engagement, which was ſo " prejudicial to *England*?

" IV. How far thoſe that were join'd in Com- " miſſion with them did concur with them in " their Judgment; and whether all thoſe Conſi- " derations, with many others, were not repre- " ſented to them, and urg'd by ſome, who had " no other End but to ſerve their Maſter faith- " fully?

" V. Whether it was for that Reaſon they op- " pos'd ſo fiercely my Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*, " who came a Day or two after them, his ap- " pearing and acting jointly with them, tho' " commiſſionated in as full and as ample a Man- " ner as themſelves?

" VI. Who were thoſe, after my Lord *Hallifax* " cou'd be kept out no longer, who went private- " ly to the *French* Camp under ſeveral Pretences, " and had ſtill Negotiations of their own on " Foot? A.D.1672

" VII. Whether they had Orders to call the " *French* King the King of *France*, and to name " him ſtill before their Maſter, as well as to ſet " in the firſt Place, the *French* demands before " thoſe of his Majeſty; as all this was done in " the Copies of Agreement they had made, and " of both Kings Pretenſions, which they ſent to- " gether to the Prince of *Orange* by Sir *Gabriel* " *Silvius*?

" VIII. and *Laſtly*, How far their Inſtructions " will juſtify their ſtanding in Behalf of the " *French* upon a publick Exerciſe of the *Roman* " *Catholick* Religion in the *United Provinces*, " the Churches to be divided, and the *Romiſh* " Prieſts maintain'd out of the publick Reve- " nue?

Juſt before the *French* King came to *Utrecht*, which was in the Beginning of *July*, the Prince of *Orange*, notwithſtanding the obſtinate Oppoſition of the *De Wits* (for which the Populace made them pay dearly) was reſtor'd to the Power of *Stadtholder*, and a deſign'd Deſcent upon *Holland*, near the *Hague* or *Harlem*, was prevented by the miraculous Alteration of the Courſe of the Tide, which flow'd full twelve Hours later than it's natural Order, and giving Time to *De Ruyter* to come up with the *Dutch* Fleet, the *Engliſh* and *French* drew off. The variable Temper of the Duke of *Buckingham* appear'd on a very remarkable Occaſion while he was in *Holland*: The Prince of *Orange* arguing with him one Day upon the King's Conduct, as the moſt unaccountable Thing poſſible, he contributing ſo much to the Exaltation of *France*, which in Concluſion muſt prove fatal to himſelf, which he urg'd in ſeveral Particulars, the Duke ſwore he was in the Right, and offer'd to ſign a Peace immediately with the Prince. Lord *Arlington* ſeem'd amaz'd at his Raſhneſs; yet he perſiſted in it, and ſaid poſitively he wou'd do it. Upon which the Prince, not knowing what ſecret Powers he might have, order'd Articles to be drawn up and engroſs'd: But before that cou'd be done, *Buckingham*'s Mind was chang'd. The Duke at parting preſs'd him much to put himſelf in the King's Hands, and aſſur'd him he wou'd take Care of his Affairs as of his own. The Prince cut him ſhort, ſaying, *My Country has truſted me, and I will never deceive nor betray them for any baſe Ends of my own.* The Duke anſwer'd, *You are not to think any more of your Country, for it is loſt. If it ſhou'd weather out the Summer by reaſon of the Waters that have drown'd a great Part of it, the Winter's Froſt will lay them open.* And he often repeated theſe Words, *Do not you ſee it is loſt?* The Prince's Anſwer has more of the Hero in it than whatever is boaſted of in Antiquity. *I ſee it is indeed in great Danger; but there is a ſure Way never to ſee it loſt, and that is to die in the laſt Dyke.* The *French* King having offer'd his Highneſs the Sovereignty of the *Seven Provinces*, to tempt him to abandon the Defence of them, he reply'd, *I will never betray the Liberty of my Country which my Anceſtors have ſo long defended.* And to one of his Servants, who expoſtulated this Matter with his Maſter, asking him, *How he pretended to live after* Holland *was loſt?* The Prince reply'd, *I reſolve to live upon my Lands in* Germany, *and had rather paſs my Life in Hunting there, than ſell my Country or my Liberty to* France *at any Price.* The Reader has the Hiſtory of the *Stuarts* before him. Did ever any Saying come from them ſo Grand, ſo Heroical as This? The Prince of *Orange* deſpis'd Power, unleſs to defend

Duke of Buckingham's variable Temper.

A fine Saying of the Prince of Orange.

A.D.1672 fend Liberty, and he was crown'd with Empire. The *Stuartine* Princes graſp'd at Power to enſlave their People, and we have ſeen, and ſhall ſee what was their Fate.

In the Beginning of *July Henry Coventry*, Eſq; was made Secretary of State in the Room of Sir *John Trevor*, lately deceas'd. His Merit is told by *Coke*; "At the Inſtance of the *French* King "*Coventry* was ſent to the Court of *Sweden* to "diſſolve the *Triple League*; which he did "ſo effectually, that that King not only ſtood "neuter in the Beginning of the War with the "*Dutch*, but in it join'd with the *French* againſt "the Confederates; and for this Buſineſs, which "put all *Chriſtendom* in a Flame, *Coventry* was "made Principal Secretary of State, and, it may "be, was preſented with his fine Ranger's Place "in *Enfield-Chaſe* too, and that perhaps with "thrice more from the *French* King; whereas "Sir *William Temple*, who was the principal In"ſtrument in the Peace at *Nimeguen*, loſt 2200 "Pounds by it, and his only Recompence was to "be Secretary of State in *Coventry*'s Place, if Sir "*William* wou'd give him 10,000 Pounds for it."

Lord Shaftsbury *Lord Chancellor* In *November* the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord Chancellor, upon the Reſignation of Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, and *Thomas* Lord *Clifford* Lord Treaſurer; and upon his Entring on that high Office, the Lord Chancellor made a remarkable Speech to him, as full of Flattery as Eloquence. As to other Promotions, there is a long Catalogue of them in the *Compleat Hiſtory*, copy'd very exactly out of the *Gazette*. In *December* the King, who had declar'd, that the Payments of the *Exchequer* ſhou'd be ſtopp'd only for a Year, did now declare, that they ſhou'd be ſtopp'd longer, and, as being a King of his Word, *He did not doubt but all his loving Subjects had ſuch Truſt and Confidence in his Juſtice, that it will take away all Apprehenſions of their being in the leaſt defrauded of any thing that is juſtly due to them.* They were however defrauded of every Penny of it. We ſhou'd not forget, that inſtead of a Medal to diſtinguiſh the Glories of this Year from thoſe of another in this glorious Reign, there were *Farthings* coin'd, having on one Side the King's Head, and about it *Carolus à Carolo*, and on the Reverſe the Figure of a Woman repreſenting *Britain*, with this Inſcription, *Quatuor Maria Vindico, The Four Seas are mine.* But theſe Words were ſoon after alter'd, on ſome Marine Succeſſes of the *Dutch*, and only *Britannia* circumſcrib'd in the Room.

Farthings with a Motto.

1673. *Parliament.* On the 4th of *February* the Parliament, which had been continu'd under ſeveral Prorogations to this Day, met, and the Place of *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons* being void by the Promotion of Sir *Edward Turner* the *Speech-maker* to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Sir *Job Charlton*, Serjeant at Law, was choſen Speaker, and approv'd by the King. At the ſame Time his Majeſty made a Speech, in which he told the two Houſes, that he had been forc'd to a *moſt important, neceſſary and expenſive War.* How he was forc'd to it, how important it was, how neceſſary, has been ſhewn already. He then mention'd his *Declaration* of *Indulgence*, and telling them he *wou'd ſtick to it*, gave another Occaſion to ſhew them how he ſtuck to his Royal Word: He aſſur'd them, The Forces he had rais'd were ſo far from *being deſign'd to controul Law and Property*, as was ſuggeſted, that *he wiſh'd he had more Forces, and muſt raiſe more, for which he deſir'd Supplies*, and promis'd *to preſerve the true reform'd Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberty and Property of every Man in his Kingdom.* Having referr'd himſelf to the Lord Chancellor for other Particulars, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* enlarg'd with great Bitterneſs upon the Cauſes of the War with the *Dutch*. But no Part of his Speech was more amazing than that where he ſaid *Delenda eſt Carthago.* It muſt be own'd, that the Chancellor gave into the Court Meaſures againſt his Sentiments and Principles, and was the firſt of the *Cabal* who grew weary of them, and oppos'd them. This Lord, in the Intervals of Parliament, had iſſued Writs for Elections of Members of the Lower Houſe, which the Commons complain'd of as an Infringement of their Privileges. The King left thoſe Elections to them, and they voted them all irregular, and expell'd the Members ſo choſen; upon which the Country Party got their Friends elected: The Penſioners cou'd not after that eaſily carry any thing, and there was a great Clamour againſt the Chancellor, wherein finding himſelf ill ſupported by the Court, he dexterouſly, tho' ſecretly, ſhifted Sides, and ſecur'd himſelf an Intereſt among thoſe that had been his Enemies. One of the moſt active Members of the Houſe of Commons, Sir *Robert Howard*, was for puſhing Matters to an *Impeachment.* The Lord Chancellor had good Intelligence of every Step taken againſt him, and knew well how to improve it. He was inform'd, that there was a great Club to be ſuch a Night at a certain Tavern near *Charing-Croſs*, where 70 or 80 Members of Parliament were to meet, and to come to a Determination on the Affair of the *Impeachment.* The Lord Chancellor employ'd a Friend of his to go to that Tavern and procure a Room next to that where the Meeting was to be. The Gentleman gave the Drawer a Guinea, and the Room was kept for him. At the Hour appointed the Earl went thither in a Hackney-Chair, and his Friend was there ready to ſhew him up into the Room he had taken. He then left him, and the Lord Chancellor heard Sir *Robert* talk to the Members of the intended Impeachment; and having ſatisfy'd himſelf of their Intention, he call'd for the Drawer, and bade him whiſper Sir *Robert Howard*, that a Gentleman wou'd ſpeak with him in the next Room; Sir *Robert* came immediately, and, to his great Surprize, found the Lord Chancellor, who receiv'd him with a very gay Countenance, and taking no Notice of what was concerting againſt him, told him, He was *ſo much his Friend that he cou'd not help bringing him good News*, which was, That the King had given him the Reverſion of the *Auditor* of the *Exchequer*'s Place by his *Recommendation, and if he cou'd ſerve him in any thing elſe then, or at any other Time, he ſhou'd always find him ready.* Sir *Robert* agreeably pleas'd and ſurpriz'd with this good Office, unſought for, after having paid the Earl his Complements upon it, ſaid, *I will very frankly own to you, my Lord, I have by no Means deſerv'd this Favour at your Hands; on the contrary, I am now the main Contriver and Actor in an Impeachment againſt you; but it is not too late to undo all that has been done*, and if *your Lordſhip will but have Patience to ſtay here but a quarter of an Hour, you ſhall hear how I will put an End to it.* The Lord Chancellor thank'd him very graciouſly, and Sir *Robert* returning to his Company, renew'd the Diſcourſe againſt the Lord Chancellor with greater Vehemence than before, entring into the Particulars of the Charge, and aggravating them, to the great Mortification of the Earl: But at laſt he in the Cloſe made ample Amends for all, telling the Aſſembly, *That truly the Crimes were of a high Nature and dangerous; but he did not ſee what Effect ſuch a Charge cou'd have without Proof; and he muſt own he had not heard any tolerable Proof for any one of the Articles; and for ſome of them not ſo much as common Fame.*

A.D.1673

Sir Robert Howard *bought off by Lord* Shaftsbury.

King's Speech for them.

A.D.1673 *That the Lord Chancellor was a Man of great Abilities and Intereſt, and as he wou'd ſoon diſcover the Weakneſs of the Charge againſt him, ſo he had Friends enough to have it rejected, and he did believe the Houſe of Commons wou'd never be brought to paſs it.* The Members finding how it was like to go, and that Sir *Robert* had left them, went away one after another, without ſaying a Word, and Sir *Robert Howard* enjoy'd many Years, the Reward of his Management, the Office of *Auditor*.

The Parliament fell immediately upon the *Declaration of Indulgence*, and preſented two Addreſſes againſt it, which very much perplex'd the King and his Miniſters. The *Compleat Hiſtorians* are honeſt enough in obſerving the illegal Proceedings, in diſpenſing with the Laws of the Land, by arbitrary Power, and no doubt the *Eaſe* it gave the *Diſſenters*, made them the more quick-ſighted in it; but that the Addreſs againſt the *Indulgence*, had no Regard to them in particular, is plain, from this good Vote, on the 14th of *February*.

Reſolv'd Nemine Contradicente.

A Bill to eaſe Diſſenters. *That a Bill be brought in for the Eaſe of his Majeſty's Subjects, who are Diſſenters in Matters of Religion, from the Church of* England.

The Subſtance of this Bill was,

1. "That Eaſe ſhall be given to his Majeſty's "Proteſtant Subjects, diſſenting in Matters of "Religion, who ſhall ſubſcribe the Articles of "the Doctrine of the *Church* of *England*, and "ſhall take the *Oaths* of Allegiance and Supremacy. 2. That the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects be "*eas'd* from all Pains and Penalties for not coming to Church. 3. That the Clauſe in the *Aſſent and Conſent taken away.* "late ACT OF UNIFORMITY, *for declaring* "the Aſſent and Conſent *be taken away by* "*this Bill.* 4. That the ſaid Proteſtant Subjects "be *eas'd* from all Pains and Penalties, for meeting together for Performance of any religious "Exerciſe. 5. That every Teacher ſhall give "Notice of the Place where he intends ſuch his "Meeting to the reſpective Quarter Seſſions, where "in open Court he ſhall firſt make ſuch Subſcription, and take ſuch Oaths as aforeſaid, and receive from thence a Certificate thereof, where "all ſuch Proceedings ſhall remain upon Record. "6. That any ſuch Teacher may exerciſe as aforeſaid, until the next reſpective Quarter Seſſion, "and no longer, in caſe he ſhall not firſt take "the Oaths, and make ſuch Subſcriptions before "two of the neighbouring Juſtices of the Peace, "and ſhall firſt give them Notice of the Place "of his intended Meeting, and take Certificate "thereof, under the ſaid Juſtices Hands, a Duplicate whereof they are to return into the next "Quarter Seſſions. 7. The Doors and Paſſages "of all Houſes and Places where the ſaid Diſſenters do meet, ſhall be always open and free "during the Time of ſuch Exerciſe. 8. That "if any Diſſenter refuſe to take *Church-Wardens* "Oaths, that then he ſhall find another fit Perſon, who is no Diſſenter, to execute that Office, "and ſhall pay for his Pains.

Dr. *Calamy* very juſtly obſerves, *The Motion of the lower Houſe in this Affair, was therefore the more remarkable, becauſe it was the ſame Houſe of Commons, who ten Years before, ſo warmly voted* the Contrary, and who made the *Law of the Land*, and the *Laws* of the Land, which the Archdeacon, and the *Compleat Hiſtorian* hang upon ſo much, and which now unmade them all, as far as they could unmake them. And becauſe I have more than once, ſaid what many think of the *Bartholomew Act*, I deſire the Reader to take Notice, that this very Houſe of Commons which paſs'd that Act, did now paſs an Act *to take away the Aſſent and Conſent of that* Act, and that it was the Senſe of the Nation, as well as the Senſe of thoſe that cou'd not comply with it, notwithſtanding *Echard* and others glory in it, as the Strength and Ornament of the Church. What do now ſignify the Earl of *Clarendon's*, *Turner* the Speaker's, and other Harangues on the Church Acts, as they call them? The Houſe of Commons have voted them all down, the ſame Houſe of Commons who voted them all up, and methinks thoſe who ſpoke ſo much for them, ſhould not be able to read their laſt Vote without bluſhing. A.D.1673 *Uniformity Act weaken'd.*

The Day after this Vote, Sir *Job Charlton*, the Speaker, was taken very ill, and on the 19th of *February*, Mr. *Edward Seymour* was choſen Speaker, by his Majeſty's Recommendation. Both Houſes of Parliament join'd in a very warm Addreſs, againſt the encouraging of Papiſts and Popery, and his Majeſty publiſh'd once more a Proclamation againſt *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits. We are all ſatisfy'd that his Majeſty was a Papiſt himſelf, and yet he ſays in his Proclamation, *His Majeſty had ſeriouſly conſider'd of the ſaid Petition, and with much Contentment and Satisfaction did accept, and approve of the great Care of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, for the Preſervation of the true Religion eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom; to which his Majeſty declares, as he hath always adher'd againſt all Temptations whatſoever,* eſpecially when he adjur'd it at *Fonterabia, ſo he will ſtill employ his utmoſt Care and Zeal in the Maintenance and Defence of it: And therefore ſtrictly charges and commands all Jeſuits and Romiſh Prieſts to depart the Kingdom, and the Laws to be put in due Execution, againſt all* Popiſh *Recuſants, or juſtly ſuſpected to be ſo,* &c. The King had ſaid he wou'd ſtick to his *Declaration* of Indulgence; but as his Majeſty has not diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by keeping his Word, ſo we expect this will have the Fate of the reſt. The Parliament were for giving the *Non-conformiſts* a *Legal* Toleration, in order to the preventing an illegal one for the Future, and the Act for their *Eaſe* wou'd have paſs'd the Houſe of Lords, had they ſate long enough, as Mr. *Locke* tells us. They were convinc'd that ſuch a *Toleration* was needful, tho' ten Years before, they wou'd not yield to it on any Terms. Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Speech about the *Occaſional Bill*, freely aſcribes the Mildneſs of the Houſe of Commons towards the *Diſſenters* at this Time, to their *Pleaſedneſs with their Carriage, in giving up the King's* Declaration, *which wrought ſo much on the Houſe, that was ſo zealous for the Church, that they order'd a Bill to be brought in for their Eaſe*; but the Court lik'd their Carriage ſo little, that 'twas doubtleſs one Reaſon of the King's giving up the *Declaration* alſo, and breaking the Seal which was affix'd to it, with his own Hand. Sir Edward Seymour *choſen Speaker.* *Proclamation againſt Papiſts.* *The King breaks the Seal affix'd to the Declaration of* Indulgence.

The Houſe was not content with this, ſo a Bill was brought in to diſable all Papiſts from holding any Employment or Place at Court, requiring all Perſons in publick Truſt, to receive the Sacrament in a Pariſh Church, and to carry an atteſted Certificate of that, with Witneſſes, to prove it, into Chancery, or the County Seſſions, and there to make a Declaration, renouncing *Tranſubſtantiation* in full and poſitive Words. Great Pains were taken by the Court to divert this: They propos'd that ſome Regard might be had to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and that their Meetings might be allow'd. Mr. *Love*, before-mention'd, mov'd that an *effectual Security might be found againſt Popery, and that nothing might interpoſe 'till that was done. When that was over,* *Teſt Act.*

A.D.1673 *the Diſſenters wou'd try to deſerve ſome Favour; but at preſent, they were willing to lie under the Severity of the Laws, rather than clog a more neceſſary Work with their Concerns.* Tho' he was himſelf a Diſſenter, yet he wou'd not accept of *Indulgence*, if it muſt be in Conjunction with the *Papiſts*. Nay, the Earl of *Briſtol* in the Houſe of Lords, ſpoke for the *Teſt Act*, tho' a Papiſt, ſaying, *I am a* Catholick *of the* Church *of* Rome, *but not a Catholick of the* Court *of* Rome. *The Commons who brought in the Bill, are the beſt Judges of the Temper of the Nation, and being ſenſible of what dangerous Effects a general Diſturbance of Mens Minds, in the Concernment of Religion, may produce, they have apply'd their Care to obviate by this Bill. A Bill in my Opinion, as full of Moderation towards* Catholicks, *as of Prudence and Security to the Religion of the State. I am none of thoſe Wherry-Men in Religion, who look one Way and row another: And tho' a* Catholick, *yet as a Member of a* Proteſtant *Parliament, my Advice cannot but go along with the Scope of the Bill, the preſent Circumſtances of Time and Affairs conſider'd.* The Houſe of Commons was reſolv'd to give no Money 'till that Bill was paſs'd. The King had rais'd an Army of 20,000 Men, for a Deſcent upon *Holland*. Mareſchal *Schomberg* was the General, but *Fitzgerald*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, Major General. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Berkley* advis'd the King to bring the Army to Town, and they wou'd take out of both Houſes, the Members that made the Oppoſition to the Court.

Earl of Briſtol, tho' a Papiſt, for the Teſt.

Dangerous Counſels.

Duke *Lauderdale* talk'd of bringing the Army from *Scotland*, 20,000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, and ſeizing upon *Newcaſtle*, *Clifford* told the King, *the People ſaw thro' all his Deſigns, and therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf Maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much Jealouſy and Contempt.* The Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* on the other Hand, preſs'd him to give the Parliament full Content, and undertook to procure him Money to carry on the War; which Opinion being ſupported by the Advice of *Colbert*, the *French* Ambaſſador, the King gave into it, paſs'd the *Teſt Act*, and the Parliament gave him 1,250,000 Pounds, but did not give it for carrying on the War, only to ſupply the King's Neceſſities. On the 29th of *March* the King paſs'd the Money Bill, the *Teſt Act*, and other Acts, and then the Parliament was prorogu'd to the 20th of *October*.

Duke of York weeps.

After the Seſſion was over, the Duke of *York* carry'd all his Commiſſions to the King, and wept as he deliver'd them up, but the King ſhew'd no Concern at all. Lord *Clifford* left the Treaſury, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Thomas Osborn*, at the Recommendation of *Buckingham* and *Clifford*.

Sir Thomas Osborn made Lord Treaſurer.

Biſhop *Burnet* writes of him, *He was a Gentleman of* Yorkſhire, *whoſe Eſtate was much ſunk: He was a very plauſible Speaker, but too copious, and cou'd not eaſily make an End of his Diſcourſe. He had been always among the high Cavaliers, and miſſing Preferment, had oppos'd the Court much. He gave himſelf great Liberties in Diſcourſe, and did not ſeem to have any Regard to Truth, or ſo much as the Appearance of it.* He put himſelf at the Head of the rigid Church-men, and labour'd to ſtretch the *Prerogative* beyond Law and Conſcience. He was made Earl of *Danby*, and continu'd in Favour longer than any Favourite of this Reign.

His Character.

Duke of York about a ſecond Marriage.

About this Time the Duke of *York* began to think of marrying. He firſt thought of Lady *Bellaſis*, Widow to the Lord *Bellaſis*'s Son, and went ſo far in it, as to give her a Promiſe under his Hand to marry her, and ſhe being a Proteſtant, he ſent *Coleman* to her, to draw her over to *Popery*, but ſhe was not to be mov'd. Some of her Friends reproaching her for admitting the Duke ſo freely to ſee her, ſhe cou'd not bear it, but ſaid, *I can ſhew that his Addreſſes to me are honourable.* When Lord *Bellaſis*, her Father in Law, who was a zealous Papiſt, heard this, he who knew how intractable the Lady was in thoſe Matters, gave the whole Deſign of bringing in *Popery* for loſt, if that was not quickly broken off; ſo he pretending Zeal for the King and the Duke's Honour, went and told the King all that he had heard. The King ſent for the Duke, and ſaid to him, *It is too much that you have play'd the Fool once, it is not to be born a ſecond Time, and at ſuch an Age.* The Lady was alſo ſo threaten'd, that ſhe gave up the Promiſe, but kept an atteſted Copy of it. Then a Marriage was propos'd between the Duke and an Archdutcheſs of *Inſpruch*, but the Empreſs happening to die at that Time, the Emperor himſelf marry'd her. After that a Match was propos'd to the Duke of *Modena*'s Daughter, but the Court of *Rome* wou'd not at firſt conſent to it, unleſs ſhe might have a publick Chappel, which the Court of *England* would not hearken to, and the Duke making, by *Lockhart*, a Propoſal to the Duke *de Crequi*'s Daughter in *France*; the Pope deſirous that he ſhould rather marry an *Italian* than a *French* Woman, yielded to the Marriage, without a Chappel, and the Duke was marry'd to *Mary d'Eſté* by Proxy. The Earl of *Peterborough* brought her to *England* thro' *France*. Her Portion, about 200,000 Pounds, was paid by the *French* King, who adopted her a Daughter of *France*; but when he over-ran *Italy*, in the Year 1701, he demanded the Money of her Brother, the Duke of *Modena*, who was not able to pay him. It is ſaid, ſhe upbraided her Husband at the Inſtant ſhe heard of the Prince of *Orange*'s Landing, thus; *It is well known I had* 400,000 *Pounds to my Fortune; if it were poſſible, I were ſingle again, and had my Money, I would not marry any Prince in* Chriſtendom. When the Houſe of Commons met next, tho' the Earl of *Peterborough* had brought the Lady as far as *Paris* in her Way to *England*, and tho' ſhe had been marry'd to the Duke by Proxy, they preſented an Addreſs to the King, to ſtop the Princeſs of *Modena*'s coming to *England*, 'till ſhe ſhou'd change her Religion. Upon this the Duke mov'd the King to prorogue the Parliament for a Week, and a Commiſſion was order'd for it. The Duke went to the Houſe that Day, to preſs the Calling up the Commons, before they cou'd have Time to go on to Buſineſs. Some Peers were to be brought in. The Duke preſs'd the Lord *Shaftsbury* to put that off, and prorogue the Parliament. He ſaid coldly, *There is no haſte*, but the Commons made more haſte, and quickly came to a Vote for ſtopping the Marriage, which was ſuch an Affront to the Duke, that he never forgave *Shaftſbury*, who might have prevented it by a Prorogation. The Parliament preſented two Addreſſes againſt the Marriage, but the King's Anſwer was, *His Honour was engag'd*, and a Month after, *November* the 21ſt, the Princeſs of *Modena* arriv'd at *Dover*, where the Duke receiv'd her, and conſummated the Marriage; and not long before this arriv'd Madam *de Querouaille*, a *French* Papiſt, to be the King's Miſtreſs. Thus were both King and Duke in the Arms of two intriguing Ladies, entirely in the *French* Intereſt.

A.D.1673

Duke of York marries Mary d'Eſté.

Parliament oppoſe it.

In the mean while the *Dutch* were reduc'd to the laſt Extremities by the *French* Conqueſts, and it was propos'd in an Aſſembly of the States, to remove as many as cou'd, with their Families and Effects, to the *Eaſt-Indies*. In this Diſtreſs there ſeem'd to be no Soul in any Breaſt in *Holland*, but

Prince of Orange animates the States.

A.D.1673 that of the Prince of *Orange*, who got the States to call an extraordinary Aſſembly, the moſt numerous that has been in this Age. He ſpoke to them near three Hours to the Amazement of all that heard him. He had got great Materials put into his Hands, of which he made very good Uſe. He firſt went thro' the *French* Propoſitions, and ſhew'd the Conſequence and the Effects that wou'd follow on them; that the accepting them wou'd be certain Ruin, and the very treating about them, wou'd diſtract and diſpirit their People: He therefore concluded, that the Entertaining a Thought of theſe, was the giving up their Country. If any cou'd hearken to ſuch a Motion, the Lovers of Religion and Liberty muſt go to the *Indies*, or to any other Country, where they might be free and ſafe. After he had gone thro' all this near an Hour, he in the next Place ſhew'd the Poſſibility of making a Stand, notwithſtanding the deſperate State to which their Affairs ſeem'd to be reduc'd. He ſet forth the Strength of their Allies, and told them *England* cou'd not hold out long without a Parliament, and they were well aſſur'd a Parliament wou'd draw the King to other Meaſures. He ſhew'd the Impoſſibility of the *French* holding out where they were, and that the *Germans* coming down to the lower *Rhine*, muſt make them leave thoſe Provinces as faſt as they came into them: In all which he ſhew'd he had a great Inſight into the *French* Affairs. He came at laſt to ſhew how it was poſſible to raiſe Taxes to anſwer ſuch a vaſt unavoidable Expence, and ſet before them a great Variety of Projects for raiſing Money. He concluded, that if they laid down this for a Foundation, That Religion and Liberty cou'd not be purchas'd at too dear a Rate; every Man among them, and every Miniſter in the Country ought to infuſe into all their People, that they muſt ſubmit to the preſent Extremity, and to very extraordinary Taxes: By this Means, as their People wou'd again take Heart, ſo their Enemies wou'd loſe theirs, who built their chief Hopes on that univerſal Dejection among them, which was but too viſible to all the World. Every one that was preſent ſeem'd amaz'd to hear ſo young a Man ſpeak to ſo many Things with ſo much Knowledge, and ſo true a Judgment: It rais'd his Character wonderfully, and contributed not a little to put new Life in a People almoſt dead with Fear, and diſpirited with ſo many Loſſes. They all reſolv'd to maintain their Liberty to the laſt, and if Things ſhou'd run to Extremities, then to carry what Wealth they cou'd with them to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The State of the Shipping capable of ſo long a Voyage was examin'd, and it was reckon'd they cou'd tranſport above 200,000 People thither.

French *King's ill Conduct.*

Yet all their Courage wou'd probably have ſerv'd them in little ſtead, if the *French* King cou'd have been prevail'd on to ſtay longer at *Utretcht*: But he made haſte to go back to *Paris*: Some ſaid it was the Effect of his Amours, and was haſten'd by ſome Quarrels among his Miſtreſſes; others thought he made haſte to receive the Flatteries which were preparing for him. He left a Garriſon in every Place he took, againſt *Turenne*'s Advice, who was for diſmantling them, and keeping his Army ſtill about him. That General marching with Part of his Army into the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Country, the other Part left with the King was ſo diminiſh'd, that he cou'd undertake no great Deſign, and though the Prince of *Orange* had not above 8000 Men about him, employ'd in keeping a Paſs near *Woerden*, yet no Attempt was made to force him from it. Another probable Reaſon of his returning back ſo ſoon, was a Suggeſtion of the deſperate Temper of the *Dutch*; and that they were capable of undertakng any Deſign, how black ſoever, rather than periſh. Some told him of *Vaults* under the Streets of *Utretcht*, where Gunpowder might be laid to blow him up as he went over them; and all theſe were obſerv'd to be avoided by him. He wou'd never lodge within the Town, and came but ſeldom to it. Upon one or other of theſe Motives he went back, and the Prince of *Conde* ſaid, *I ſee he has not the Soul of a Conqueror; his Miniſters are the beſt Commis*-Clerks, *but the pooreſt Miniſters in the World; who have not Souls made for great Things, or capable of them.* Had he left ſuch a Man as *Turenne* at *Utrecht*, it might have had ill Effects on the Reſolutions taken by the *Dutch*. But he left *Luxemburgh*, rather fit to command *Banditti* than Soldiers. *Luxemburgh* had no Regard to Articles, but made all People ſee what was to be expected when they ſhou'd come under ſuch a Yoke; which was then ſo intolerable a Burden, even while it ought to have been recommended to thoſe who were yet free, by a gentle Adminiſtration. This put the *Dutch* on thoſe obſtinate Reſolutions they had taken up: There is this Account of the *French* Barbarities in a modern Author: "Such were the Burnings and "Murders committed by the *French* in *Holland*; "where, as a Specimen of what the Cities might "expect, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* march'd to "*Bodegrave* and *Swammerdam*, putting Men, "Women, and Children to the Sword, and ma"king a Deluge of Blood in the Streets. In "the midſt of the lamentable Shrieks of thoſe "poor Wretches, *Luxemburgh* gave the Word of "Command, *Plunder*, *Raviſh*, *Maſſacre*, *Kill*; "which was executed without relenting. Theſe "Helliſh Outrages ſpread a Terror over the whole "Country, and in this Fright the Lords of *Am*"*ſterdam* aſſembling, deliberated whether they "ſhou'd or ſhou'd not ſend their Keys to the "*French* General." There were in the Aſſembly ſome ſo Cowardly as to argue for the *Affirmative*, till Monſieur *Tulip*, one of the Burgomaſters, a Man of an invincible Spirit, ran to the Window, and vow'd, if they did not lay aſide all Thoughts of ſubmitting to *France*, he wou'd call out to the People, who were crowding about the *Stadthouſe*, and have them torn to pieces; which put an End to the Diſpute. This Burgomaſter afterwards going the Night-round upon the Ramparts, a Centinel commanded him to *Stand*; he, to try the Vigilance and Fidelity of the Soldier, came forward in the Dark, without anſwering, upon which the Centinel fir'd, and ſhot him dead.

A.D.1673 *He is frighten'd.*

Conde's *Saying of him and his Miniſters.*

Burgomaſter Tulip's *Bravery and Death.*

The Emperor, *Spain*, and *Brandenburgh*, having enter'd into Alliance with the States of the United Provinces, the Prince of *Orange* got all his Forces together, and form'd the Siege of *Naerden*; but finding it was like to run to Length, and if he took the Place, it wou'd not clear the Country of the Enemy, ſo much as a Diverſion nearer *France*, he march'd away into *Germany*, join'd a Body of Imperialiſts, and laid down before *Bonne*, which the Elector of *Cologne* had put into the Hands of the *French*, to preſerve their Communication between *France* and *Holland*, and it open'd the Communication between *Holland* and *Germany*; which threw the *French* into almoſt as great a Conſternation as the *Dutch* were in before: But they recover'd out of it by the taking of *Maeſtricht*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* behav'd with ſo much Gallantry, that he was taken notice of, admir'd, and applauded; as was the Prince of *Orange*, ſometime after, for his Behaviour at the Battle of *Seneffe*, where he diſputed the Victory with the renown'd Prince of *Conde*; and had

Prince of Orange *makes a Diverſion in* Germany.

A.D.1673 *Souches*, the Imperial General, behav'd as well, the *French* Army had been cut to Pieces, and an End put to the ambitious Projects of *Lewis le Grand*; for ſo he now affected to be call'd.

Sea Fights. During theſe Tranſactions, the *Dutch* Fleet gave Battle to the *Engliſh* and *French*, the 28th of *May*, near the Sands of *Schonevelt*, on the Borders of *Zealand*. Prince *Rupert* commanded the *Engliſh* Fleet, conſiſting of about 140 Sail, and *De Ruyter*, the *Dutch*, of about 120 Sail. The Fight began at 12 o'Clock at Noon, between *Van Tromp* and Sir *Edward Sprague*, and laſted till Night. The *Dutch* had the Advantage, but it was not worth boaſting of; they loſt Vice-Admiral *Schram*, and Rear-Admiral *Vlugh*: And on the *Engliſh* Side were kill'd Captain *Fowles*, Captain *Werden*, and Captain *Finch*. On the 4th of *June* was another Battle, wherein the *Dutch* had again the Advantage; and the *Engliſh* loſt Captain *White*, Commander of the *Warſpight*, and Captain *Sadlington*, Commander of the *Crown*. On the 11th of *Auguſt* was a third Battle, near the Mouth of the *Texel*, the Admirals on both Sides ſtill the ſame, and the ſame the Succeſs; what little Advantage there was being on the *Dutch* Side, though they loſt two Flag-Officers, *De Liefde* and *Sweers*. Of the *Engliſh* there fell Sir *Edward Sprague*, who was drown'd as he was ſhifting Ships, Sir *William Reeves*, and Captain *Heywood*; as alſo Captain *Le Neve*, and Captain *Merryweather*, two Captains of Foot; for there were 6000 *Engliſh* Soldiers a-board, under Mareſchal *Schomberg*, who were to make a Deſcent upon *Holland*, if they cou'd; and their not doing it, ſhew'd they had not been Superior at Sea. In the laſt Fight the *French* Squadron, commanded by *D'Eſtrees*, made a Tack to the Eaſtward, under Pretence of getting the Weather-Gage of the *Dutch*, and *D'Eſtrees* remain'd Spectator of it to the End of the Engagement. Monſieur *Martel*, Captain of a *French* Man of War, fought bravely, and was thrown into the *Baſtile* for it when he came Home. Theſe three little Succeſſes of the *Dutch* ſtrangely animated them, and diſcourag'd the *Engliſh*, who began to clamour loudly againſt the War with *Holland*, and the League with *France*; which diſpos'd our Court to hearken to the Mediation offer'd by *Sweden*, for a Treaty to be holden at *Cologne*, whither the King ſent his Ambaſſadors, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, and Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*: The two latter very heavy Negotiators; the firſt, a Miniſter of as great Abilities as any of that Age. But this Treaty was of ſhort Continuance; for the Emperor having order'd the Prince of *Furſtenbergh*, Dean and Plenipotentiary of *Cologne*, to be ſeiz'd on as a Traitor to the *Empire*, the *French* wou'd not treat till he was ſet at Liberty.

The French quit the Towns in Holland. In the mean while the *French* evacuated all the Places they had on the *Rhine* and *Yſſel*, *Bon* cutting off the Supplies that were expected from that Side, and a few Months after all the three Provinces were evacuated by them; which made the Elector of *Cologne*, and Biſhop of *Munſter*, ſtrike up a Peace with the States; and the Prince of *Orange* having taken *Naerden*, and made *Amſterdam* eaſy, the States General made him Hereditary *Stadtholder*, which none of his Illuſtrious Anceſtors had ever been. *Colbert*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was recall'd, as being too much led by the Earl of *Arlington*; and Monſieur *de Ruvigny*, the Lord *Galway*'s Father, was ſent Ambaſſador to *London* in his Place; but though he was a Maſter of Intrigue, he cou'd not hinder the King's concluding a Peace with the *Dutch*, without which he cou'd have no Money.

Prince of Orange *made Hereditary* Stadtholder.

We have obſerv'd that the Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* ſtood in a very tottering Condition, and his Zeal for the *Teſt Act* was an unpardonable Crime; but what haſten'd his Fall, was a Speech he made in the Houſe of Lords laſt Seſſions of Parliament, on the following Occaſion. A.D.1673

Lord Shaftsbury too hard for Clifford Lord *Clifford*, when he was Treaſurer, had entertain'd a Project for a perpetual Fund, to render Parliaments uſeleſs, and had prepar'd a ſet Speech for introducing it. He read his Speech to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who deſir'd to hear it again, and upon the ſecond Reading, charg'd his Memory with the Subſtance of it. This gave him an Opportunity he had wiſh'd for, to be reveng'd of *Clifford* for ſtealing the *White Staff* from him by the *Exchequer* Buſineſs. *Clifford* made the intended Speech, the King and Duke of *York* being preſent in the Houſe to countenance the Deſign. The Country Lords, and thoſe who were not in the *Secret*, ſtar'd at one another; the whole Houſe at the End of the Speech remain'd in an aweful Silence, meditating the Fate of poor *England*; when my Lord *Shaftsbury* ſtood up, and anſwer'd his Speech from the Beginning to the End, ſhewing, "That his Propoſitions were extravagant, that what he aim'd at wou'd end in "Confuſion and the Ruin of the Government; "that it might, perhaps, ſend the Royal Family abroad again, to ſpend their Lives in Exile, "without Hopes of a Return;" which he ſpoke with ſo much Life and Spirit, that he confounded the Court-Counſels. While he was ſpeaking, the Duke, who was very angry with him, whiſper'd the King, *What a Rogue you have of a Lord Chancellor!* The King reply'd, *Gods-fiſh, What a Fool you have of a Lord Treaſurer!* The Debate ended in a Ruffle; *Clifford* narrowly eſcap'd being ſent to the *Tower*, and finding himſelf thus given up by the King, he declar'd, *He wou'd ſerve no Prince who had not Courage to avow his Principles, and ſupport his Miniſters in the Execution of his Demands.*

Shaftsbury *Shaftsbury* had made himſelf a new Enemy in the new Lord Treaſurer *Osborn*, who coming to take the Oaths as uſual in *Chancery*, the Lord Chancellor made a Speech to him, and among other Things ſaid, *Kings are like Gods, they can make Choice of whom they pleaſe, yet in this they are like Men, they can only make Choice, but not render him they have choſen adequate to the Employment: You ought to remember that* Parta tuere non minor eſt Virtus, *and I wiſh you may long enjoy the Honour of your Place, and the King the Satisfaction of his Choice.* The Lord Treaſurer thank'd the Lord Chancellor, but the next Day, when he had conſider'd the Terms in the Speech, he ſent to revoke his Thanks. *offends* Osborn.

Shaftsbury *plac'd.* In *Michaelmas* Term, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was ſent for on a *Sunday* Morning to Court, as was alſo Sir *Heneage Finch*, Attorney General, to whom the *Seal* was promis'd. When my Lord came, he went with the King into his Cloſet, while the *Popiſh* Faction waited in Triumph to ſee him return without the *Purſe*. My Lord *Shaftsbury* being alone with the King, ſaid, *Sir, I know you intend to give the Seals to the Attorney General, but I am ſure your Majeſty never deſign'd to diſmiſs me with Contempt. No, Godsfiſh, my Lord*, reply'd the King, *I will not do it with any ſuch Circumſtance as may look like an Affront. Then, Sir*, ſays the Earl, *I deſire your Majeſty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to Chapel, and ſend them afterwards from my own Houſe:* To which his Majeſty, who wanted not good Nature on certain Occaſions, agreed. The Earl entertain'd the King with *News*, and other

A.D.1673 other diverting Stories, till the very Minute he was to go to Church, on purpoſe to amuſe the *Courtiers*, and his *Succeſſor*, whom he knew to be on the *Rack*, for fear the Earl ſhou'd prevail on the King to change his Mind. His Majeſty and my Lord came out of the Cloſet talking together, and ſmiling, and went to *Church*, which extreamly ſurpriz'd them all, who cou'd have no Opportunity to inform themſelves what was to be expected. Some ran immediately to tell the Duke all their Meaſures were broken, and the Attorney General was inconſolable. After Sermon, my Lord went Home with the Seals, and ſending them from his Houſe, that Evening the King gave them to the Attorney, who was hardly yet recover'd out of the Fright the Cloſet-Converſation had put him into. But before the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was remov'd, the Court permitted him to open the Seſſion of Parliament on the 20th of *October* with a Speech, wherein he endeavour'd to explain away the Malignity of the Expreſſion, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, which he had us'd in a former Speech, by referring it to the *Louveſtein* Faction, whom he now terms the *Carthaginian Party* in *Holland*. But this, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *made him as ridiculous, as the other had made him odious.*

Sir Heneage Finch made Lord Keeper.

Lords adviſe to ſend away the Duke of York.

About this Time the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Arlington*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Secretary *Coventry*, offer'd Advice to the King to ſend the Duke of *York* for ſome time from the Court, as a good Expedient for himſelf and the Duke. The King hearken'd ſo far to it, that he ſent them to move it to his Brother, who was highly incens'd at it, ſaying, *I will obey all the King's Orders, but will look on thoſe as my Enemies who offer him ſuch Advices.* And he never forgave this to any of them, no not to *Coventry*, for all his good Opinion of him, and the good Services *Coventry* had done the Popiſh and *French* Faction. Colonel *Birch* reflected on him in the Houſe of Commons, for *being zealous, before he was Secretary, to grant the King a Supply to ſupport the* Triple League, *when at the ſame Time he knew the two Crowns*, England *and* Sweden, *had determin'd to diſſolve it.* There was juſt Reaſon to believe the Charge was true, and *Coventry* ſitting near the Bar, roſe up in a Flame, and with great Aſſeverations deny'd it, ſaying, *If an Angel that came from Heaven ſhou'd reproach him with it, he wou'd prevent his going back if 'twere in his Power.*

He will not ſtir.

Secretary Coventry's *Treachery.*

This Year Sir *Tobias Bridges* took the Iſland of *Tobago*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, from the *Dutch*, and the latter took the Iſland of St. *Helena* from the *Engliſh*, but it was re-taken by Capt. *Mundy*.

On the 31ſt of *October*, the Houſe of Commons being in a *Grand Committee*, RESOLV'D, " That conſidering the preſent Condition of the " Nation, this Houſe will not take into further " Debate the Conſideration of any *Aid* or *Supply*, " or Charge upon the Subject, before the Time " of Payment of the laſt Aſſeſſment be expir'd, " except it ſhall appear that the *Obſtinacy* of the " *Dutch* ſhall render it neceſſary; nor before this " Kingdom be effectually ſecur'd from Popery " and Popiſh Counſellors, and the other preſent " Grievances be redreſs'd." They alſo Voted the Standing Army to be a *Grievance*, and prepar'd an Addreſs to his Majeſty, ſhewing, *That the Standing Army was a Grievance and a Burthen to the Nation.* They intended to preſent this Addreſs on the 4th of *November*, when the King unexpectedly came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſent the Uſher of the Black Rod to the Commons to command the Attendance of the Speaker, and that Houſe; but it happen'd that the Speaker and the Uſher met both at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, and the Speaker being within the Houſe, ſome of the Members ſuddenly ſhut the Door, and cry'd out, *To the Chair, to the Chair*; others cry'd, *The Black Rod is at the Door*: The Speaker *Seymour* was immediately hurry'd to the Chair, and then it was mov'd, 1. *That our Alliance with* France *is a Grievance*; 2. *That the* Evil Counſellors *about the King are a Grievance*; 3. *That the Duke of* Lauderdale *is a Grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed in any Office or Place of Truſt.* Upon which there was a general Cry, *To the Queſtion, to the Queſtion*; but the *Black Rod* knocking earneſtly at the Door, *Seymour*, the Speaker, leap'd out of the Chair, and the Houſe roſe in great Confuſion. Being come to the Houſe of Peers, the King made a Speech to them, which ſhews that his Miniſters were as weak as his Enemies need wiſh: For the Nation now deteſted the *Dutch* War, and the Contrivers of it; yet he mentions it as if he had Hopes that they wou'd pay him for it, *A Support againſt our only Competitor at Sea*; and aſſures them that he (who is himſelf a Papiſt) *will not be wanting to let all his Subjects ſee that no Care can be greater than his own, in the effectual ſuppreſſing of Popery.* Then the Parliament was prorogu'd to the 7th of *January*.

A.D.1673

Parliament Vote againſt giving Money.

Some time in this Seſſion, a *Wooden Shoe*, with ſome *Beads*, was laid in the Parliament-Houſe, near the Speaker's Chair; 'twas ſuch as the Peaſants wear in *France*. On one End were drawn the *Fleurs de Lis*, and on the other the Arms of *England*; between the two Arms was written, *Utrum horum mavis accipe*. The Houſe of Commons intended to keep a Day of Humiliation on account of the *Growth of Popery*, and ſolemnly to celebrate the 5th of *November*, the Anniverſary of the Powder Plot, Dr. *Stillingfleet* being deſir'd to preach before them; but the King prorogu'd the Parliament the Day before, *Nov.* 4.

A Junto.

The *Cabal* being broken, a *Junto* ſucceeded, conſiſting of *Finch*, *Danby*, *Lauderdale*, *Arlington*, and *Coventry*, whoſe Abilities were by no means equal to thoſe of the *Cabal*. Biſhop *Burnet* gives this Character of the Lord Keeper *Finch*; *He had no ſort of Knowledge in Foreign Affairs, and yet he lov'd to talk of them perpetually, by which he expos'd himſelf to thoſe who underſtood them. He thought he was bound to juſtify the Court in all Debates in the Houſe of Lords, which he did with the Vehemency of a Pleader, rather than with the Solemnity of a Senator: He was long much admir'd for his Eloquence, but it was labour'd and affected, and he ſaw it as much deſpis'd before he dy'd. He was too eloquent on the Bench, in the Houſe of Lords, and in common Converſation*, &c. It is Biſhop *Burnet* ſays it, and it behoves me to produce Authorities for my Characters now I draw ſo near Home; for no body will bear to hear any thing ſaid of a Perſon that belongs to them, but what is to his Praiſe, in which, as well as in a few other Things, we differ from the Spirit and Manners of the old *Romans*. From this Keeper's Adminiſtration one may expect a ſtricter Hand over the *Nonconformiſts*, as far as his Counſel and Authority cou'd go. As to the *Chancery*, he was a very good Judge, and highly to be commended for his Probity and Reſolution. Finch.

His Majeſty ſent for the two Chief Juſtices, and the Chief Baron, and commanded them to conſider of the moſt effectual Means for putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Papiſts*; and an Order was made that no *Roman Catholick* ſhou'd preſume to come into his Preſence, or to his Palace, or to the Place where his Court ſhall be; which

A.D.1673 which extended not however to his Miſtreſſes, who were moſt of them ſtanch Papiſts, and zealous for that Religion; particularly the Dutcheſſes of *Cleveland* and *Portſmouth*. The former, whoſe Luſt was inſatiable, to pleaſe the King, or ſome other Gallant, turn'd *Papiſt*; and *William Pen* the Quaker having the firſt News of it, went to Dr. *Stillingfleet* with it, to mortify him, as he ſaid to me, with the Loſs of ſo conſiderable a Member of the Church: But when he had told his News to the Doctor, *Stillingfleet* retorted, *If the Church of* Rome *has got by her no more than the Church of* England *has loſt, the Matter is not much.* This Woman was ſo infamous in her Amours, that ſhe made no Scruple of owning her Lovers; among whom was *Goodman* the Player, who ſo narrowly eſcap'd the Gallows ſome Years after; and the Fellow was ſo inſolent upon it, that one Night, when the Queen was at the *Theatre*, and the Curtain, as uſual, was immediately order'd to be drawn up, *Goodman* cry'd, *Is my Dutcheſs come?* and being anſwer'd, *No*, he ſwore terribly the Curtain ſhou'd not be drawn till the Dutcheſs came, which was at the Inſtant, and ſav'd the Affront to the Queen.

Dr. Stillingfleet's Saying of the Dutcheſs of Cleveland.

1674. On the 7th of *January* the Parliament met, and the King and Keeper made Speeches as uſual. *Echard* aſſures us upon his Word and Judgment, that the new Lord Keeper's Speeches were not only long, but eloquent: What ſort of Eloquence it was Biſhop *Burnet* knew, and told us. He made ſome fulſom Complements on the King, upon his being punctual to his Word, which the Reader by this Time is very well appris'd of: On his making the Laws the Meaſure of his Power, *as by his diſpenſing with thoſe Laws:* On his ſtrenuous Proceedings againſt the Papiſts, and forbidding them to come within his Palace, *at the ſame time that his Lordſhip and all the World knew they were the moſt welcome there of any People.* The reſt being Eloquence ſo pure and ſimple, ſo free from affected Flowers and Graces, *ought not to be omitted*, as Mr. Archdeacon obſerves; "Theſe "are not ſingle and tranſient *Acts*, but ſuch as "flow from Habits: Theſe are not *Leaves* and "*Bloſſoms*, but true, ſolid, and laſting Fruits. "Long, long, may that Royal Tree live and "flouriſh upon which theſe Fruits do grow." *Habits* and *Fruits* being all one in Logick, we proceed, "And yet his Majeſty's Indulgence to you "reſts not here; he gives you Leave to ſtudy and "contrive your own Aſſurance. *The very Eſſence of Parliaments is the Preſervation of the Common-wealth; and the King gives them Leave to do what they neceſſarily muſt do as long as they are together; extreamly Gracious and Tender!* Again, "You have free Leave to make any reaſonable "Propoſition, and his gracious Promiſe that he "will receive it: This is a Satisfaction equal to "all your Wiſhes. Now if ever your Joys are "full, there wants no more to the Improvement "of this Happineſs, but the Wiſdom of the Par-"liament to uſe the Advantage with due Mode-"ration. If therefore, upon Enquiry, you ſhall "think it needful to apply any other Remedies, "it is extreamly to be wiſh'd that thoſe Reme-"dies may be few, and withal, that they be gen-"tle and eaſy too; for the Sick periſh as often "by too many Remedies, as by none at all." By which Sophiſtical Argument the Uſe of all Phyſick is damn'd, becauſe ſometimes too many Remedies are us'd, therefore uſe none at all. Thus are the Commons treated like a Company of Quacks, who are in danger of preſcribing without Judgment, and more likely to Kill than to Cure. Again, "But none fall ſo fatally and ſo "finally as they who, being enter'd into ſome De-"grees of Convaleſcence, reſolve to recover it in "an Inſtant; and had rather make ſome great "Effort, or try ſome bold *Experiment* upon them-"ſelves, than obſerve the Methods, or attend "thoſe *gradual Progreſſions* which are neceſſary "to perfect that Health, and compleat that Re-"covery." If one had been ſo happy as to have known what is meant by this Metaphorical Doctorſhip, ſome Account might have been given of it: The *Growth of Popery*, and the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, were the Things chiefly complain'd of: Both of them had thoſe Progreſſions which threaten'd Convulſion and Diſſolution; but according to this Preſcription, the Phyſick muſt be gentle, eaſy, and ſlow: There muſt be no new Law againſt *Papiſts*, nor Proceedings againſt Evil Counſellors, nor Breach of the Alliance with *France*; they are *bold Experiments*, &c. I ſhall meddle with no more of theſe Speeches, and only hint theſe Things, to ſhew what Sincerity, as well as Elegance there are in them. The King told the Parliament, *He had no Treaty with* France, *but what was and ſhou'd be made known. Madam*'s Journey to *Dover*, and Abbot *Primi*'s Memoirs of *Colbert*'s Negotiations, are, we ſuppoſe, the Proofs of it. Notwithſtanding this eloquent Harangue upon the King's Care of the Proteſtant Religion, the Houſe of Lords preſented an Addreſs, that Papiſts might be baniſh'd ten Miles from *London*, and a Proclamation was iſſu'd purſuant to it. Both Lords and Commons then join'd in an Addreſs for a *General Faſt*, wherein were very ſtrong Expreſſions againſt both the War and Popery. The King comply'd with this Addreſs, and the 4th of *February* was appointed for the Day of *Humiliation*. The Houſe of Commons Reſolv'd, "That they wou'd in the firſt Place "proceed to have their Grievances effectually re-"dreſs'd, the *Proteſtant Religion, their Liber-"ties and Properties effectually ſecur'd*, and to "ſuppreſs Popery, and remove all Perſons and "Counſellors popiſhly affected, or otherwiſe ob-"noxious or dangerous to the Government. They alſo order'd another Addreſs to his Majeſty, "That the *Militia* of *London* and *Middleſex* "may be in Readineſs at an Hour's Warning, and "the *Militia* of all other Counties of *England* at "a Day's Warning, for ſuppreſſing all tumultu-"ous Inſurrections which may be occaſion'd by "Papiſts, &c." The King's Anſwer was, *He wou'd take a ſpecial Care, as well for the Preſervation of their Perſons, as of their Liberties and Properties.* The King's extream Neceſſities obliging him to theſe Compliances with the Parliament, and his being too lukewarm in Matters of Religion, did about this Time very much diſguſt the *Papiſts*; and it is thought that *Coleman* now enter'd into the moſt criminal Part of his Correſpondence with the *French* Court; and from hence ſome date the Beginnings of the *Popiſh Plot*, though it is to be ſuppos'd that the Papiſts have not been without Plots ever ſince the Reformation.

A.D.1674

A Faſt.

Lord Keeper's Eloquence.

The Beginning of the Popiſh Plot.

The Houſe of Commons paſs'd a Vote, That the Princes of the Blood Royal ſhou'd all marry Proteſtants; they reſolv'd to fall on the Miniſtry, and began with the Duke of *Lauderdale*, againſt whom they voted an Addreſs to remove him from the King's Preſence and Council for ever. They went next upon the Duke of *Buckingham*; and it being mov'd, in his Name, that the Houſe wou'd hear him, he was admitted. The firſt Day of his being there, he fell into ſuch a Diſorder, that he pretended to be taken ill, and deſir'd to be admitted again, which was granted; and in his Speech next Day, he thank'd the Houſe *for the Honour they had twice done him, eſpecially expreſſing himſelf ſo ill Yeſterday.* He juſtify'd his own Deſigns, laying all the ill Counſels upon others,

Lauderdale addreſs'd againſt.

Duke of Buckingham's Speech to the Commons.

A.D.1674 others, chiefly on Lord *Arlington*; intimating plainly that the Root of all Errors was in the King and the Duke, and that there was a closer Intelligence between the Court of *England* and that of *France*, than King *Charles* had made known to his Parliament. *When we were to consider what to do, we were to advise with the* French *Ambassador*; *Who was it that was so often lock'd up with the* French *Ambassador*? *My Spirit moves me to tell you*, he said, *Hunting is a good Diversion, but if a Man will hunt with a Brace of Lobsters, he will have but ill Sport*; which he apply'd to Prince *Rupert* and Lord *Arlington*, in a Conversation with Bishop *Burnet*, but it was now understood to mean the King and his Brother. He was examin'd to several Interrogatories after his Speech; but he gave so little Satisfaction to the House, either in his Speech or his Answers, that they voted an Address to remove him from the King's Presence and Councils. Then they attack'd the Lord *Arlington*, who was also heard in the House, and spoke much better than was expected. He excus'd himself, without blackning the King; which had so good an Effect, that tho' he, as Secretary of State, was more expos'd than any other, by the many Warrants and Orders he sign'd, yet he was acquitted by a very small Majority. He had lately been very complaisant to the *Nonconformists*, and they in Gratitude did him what Service they cou'd in the Parliament, who were resolv'd to force the King to a Peace with the *Dutch*. He wou'd have done any thing, and parted with any Persons, if that wou'd have procur'd him Money for carrying on the War, but there was no Hope of it; so the Earl of *Arlington* press'd the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Marquis of *Fresnoy*, to procure an Order from his Court to their Ambassadors at the *Hague*, to excite the States and the Prince of *Orange* to get a Proposition of *Peace* set on Foot. And that it might have some Shew of a Peace both begg'd and bought, he propos'd that the States shou'd offer the King a Sum of Money, which shou'd be made over by him to the *Prince* for Payment of the Debt the King ow'd him. *Ruvigny* the *French* Ambassador press'd the King much to give this Parliament Satisfaction in Point of Religion. The King answer'd him, *If it was not for my Brother's Folly*, La Sottise de mon Frere, *I wou'd get out of all my Difficulties*.

Address'd against.

Arlington acquitted.

The King blames the Duke of York's Folly.

Sir *William Temple* was sent for to Court to negotiate the Peace with the *Dutch*. Lord *Arlington* told him, *He wou'd not pretend to the Merit of having nam'd him on this Occasion, or whether the King or the Lord Treasurer did it first, but that the whole Committee of Council join'd in it.* He concluded, Since a Peace was to *be made, no other Person was so fit to make it*; therefore the King, with many kind Expressions, gave Order to Sir *William* to prepare for his Journey to *Holland*, and the Secretary drew up his Instructions. However, he cou'd not make so much Haste, but the *Dutch* made more, and sent over Powers to *Fresnoy*, the *Spanish* Minister, to treat and conclude a Peace with the King; which Powers arriv'd three Days after the *Junto* had sent for Sir *William Temple*, who advis'd the putting off his Journey to *Holland*, and to begin the Treaty at *London*, as much more for his Majesty's Honour; to which the King agreed, adding, tho' Sir *William* does not *treat the Peace at the* Hague, *he shall at* London: And the whole Treaty was concluded at three Meetings between *Fresnoy* and *Temple*. The two Points of greatest Difficulty were the *Flag*, and the recalling the *English* Troops out of the *French* Service. The Flag had been given up in former Treaties, and the *Dutch* hesitating about it now, wou'd have had very ill Effects; so it was given up again, and it was stipulated, that the *English* Troops in the *French* Service shou'd wear out without any Recruits: Which Stipulation was so far from being observ'd by the King of *England*, that *English* Men were press'd to recruit them; and to these Troops does Sir *William Temple*, and the *Germans* too, ascribe the Glory of all the *French* Conquests in the Campaigns in which they serv'd; for those Troops, not only in *Turennes*'s Life, but at his Death too, sav'd the whole *French* Army. Read *Coke* on this Article, "If this be as Sir *William* says, the King here-"by, instead of being a Protector, becomes a "Murderer of his Subjects, in permitting them "to kill one another on both Sides; for it is im-"possible the War shou'd be just on both Sides; "nor do I believe the like Precedent can be "shew'd, unless by the King's Grandfather, "*James* I.

A.D.1674 *Bravery of the English in the French Service*

Sir William Temple employ'd to conclude a Peace with the Dutch.

This hasty Peace, huddl'd up in less than four Days, between the 5th, 6th and 9th of *February*, wou'd not admit of the Establishment of a *Marine* Treaty and Regulation of the *East-India* Trade between the *English* and *Dutch*. By this Treaty that of *Breda* was confirm'd. The *Dutch* were to pay 800,000 Patacoons, and had made over to them the Islands of *Amboyna* and *Pollerone*, which they had ravish'd from the *English*, and by which they not only supply *Europe*, but *India* and *Persia* with *Spice*. *Surinam* was also confirm'd to them. The Arrears of 30,000 Pounds a Year for the Fishery were discharg'd, as were the Damages sustain'd by their Pyratical Capture of Sir *Paul Pindar* and Sir *William Courton*'s Ships, the *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventure*, valu'd at 150,000 Pounds. The Peace was sign'd at Lord *Arlington*'s Office, and the King went immediately to the Withdrawing Room, where, seeing Monsieur *Ruvigny*, he took him aside and told him, *He had been doing a Thing which went more to his Heart than the losing his Right-Hand: He had sign'd a Peace with the* Dutch *upon a Project brought him by the* Spanish *Ambassador. He saw nothing cou'd content the House of Commons, or draw Money from them: And Lord* Arlington *had press'd him so hard, that he stood out till he was weary of his Life.* *Ruvigny* told him, "That what was "done cou'd not be help'd, but he wou'd let him "see how faithfully he wou'd serve him on this "Occasion. He doubted not his Master wou'd "submit all his Pretensions to him, and make "him the Arbiter and Mediator of the Peace." Which the King receiv'd with great Joy, and said it wou'd be the most acceptable Service that cou'd be done him. Upon all which Bishop *Burnet* reflects thus, "And so the King got out "of the War very little to his Honour, having "both engag'd in it upon unjust Grounds, and "manag'd it all along with ill Conduct and bad "Success;" as we read in *Acherley*, *The Time for the* French *King's making King* Charles *absolute Master of his Parliament was respited till a more seasonable Opportunity*.

Peace concluded on Terms dishonourable to the King.

The Dutch War unjust and ill manag'd.

The House of Commons continuing their Debates for keeping out *Popery*, order'd a severe Bill to be brought in with a new *Test*, renouncing *Transubstantiation*, &c. but they had not Time to pass it into a Law. The King had laid a Copy of the Project of Peace, brought by the *Spanish* Ambassador, before the Parliament; and the latter having thank'd him for it, they *humbly advis'd him to proceed in it*. On the Beginning of *February* they resolv'd, "That the Continu-"ance of any Standing Force in this Nation,

"other

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" other than the *Militia*, is a great Grievance " and Vexation to the People, and it is the " humble Petition and Addreſs of this Houſe to " his Majeſty, that he will immediately cauſe to " be disbanded that Part of them that were " rais'd ſince the 1ſt Day of *January*, 1663." They alſo addreſs'd againſt the Horſe-Guards, and gave ſeveral Reaſons for breaking them; among others was this, *That the* Life-Guard *is a Place of Refuge and Retreat for Papiſts, and Men Popiſhly affected, and a School and Nurſery for Men of debauch'd and arbitrary Principles, and Favourers of the* French *Government*, as it did *too plainly appear in the Caſe of Sir* John Coventry. On the 11th of *February* the King came to the Houſe, and made a Speech to both Houſes, wherein he acquainted them with his having made a Peace with the *Dutch*, a *Speedy, Honourable, and Laſting Peace*, and that he had given Orders for disbanding the Army, which they thank'd him for. But ſtill the Commons gave no Money, tho' the King again and again deſir'd ſome for building great Men of War; inſtead of which they appointed a *Committee* to inſpect the Laws lately made in *Scotland*, whereby an Army is authoriz'd to march into *England* or *Ireland*, and peruſe ſuch other Laws as do tend to the Breach of the Union of the two Nations. They likewiſe in a Grand Committee ſhortly after took into Conſideration the State and Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and *Reſolv'd*, " That a *Committee* be appointed to inſpect the " State and Condition of that Kingdom, and " more eſpecially to conſider of the State of Re- " ligion, and the Militia and the Forces of that " Kingdom, and examine the Matters of Fact " relating thereunto." Another Committee was appointed, " To inſpect the Laws, and to con- " ſider how the King may commit any Sub- " ject by his immediate Warrant, as the Law " now ſtands, and to report their Opinions. And " further, they were order'd to conſider how the " Law now ſtands touching the committing of " Perſons by the Council-Table, and to report " the ſame." Upon which Occaſion they brought in a particular Bill concerning Writs of *Habeas Corpus*; a Bill much for the Liberty of the Subject, which was read three Times, and paſs'd the Houſe of Commons. But theſe vigorous Proceedings allarm'd the *Junto*, and on the 24th of *February* the King coming to the Houſe of Peers, made ſtill new Proteſtations of his Care for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and then the Lord Keeper prorogu'd the Parliament to the 10th of *November*. *Echard* cloſes up theſe Tranſactions with a Reflection which lets us into the very Depths of his Politicks: " Here it is obſer- " vable, that in the laſt War, when the *Engliſh* " contended with all the Power of *Holland* and " *France*, they had greater Succeſs in their Bat- " tles than now, when they had join'd with the " Power of *France* againſt *Holland* alone." In the firſt War the *French* left the *Dutch* as they left the *Engliſh* in the ſecond; and both *Engliſh* and *Dutch* were rather the worſe than the better for ſuch falſe and unnatural Allies. A School-Boy cou'd have made a better Obſervation.

Reaſons againſt the King's Horſe-Guards.

Parliament upon Scotland *and* Ireland.

Habeas Corpus *Act.*

Sir William Temple *ſent to act as Plenipotentiary Mediator.*

We have mention'd *Ruvigny*'s Saying to King *Charles* concerning his *Mediation*, which ſoon after was offer'd in Form to the Powers engag'd in the War. Sir *William Temple* was ſent Ambaſſador to the *Hague* and *Bruſſels*, to make that Offer to the States and the Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. What Opinion *Spain* and *Holland* had of King *Charles*'s Sincerity with them, appears by a Paſſage in a Letter Sir *William Temple* wrote from *Bruſſels*, *The* Spaniards *interpret very ill the Offers of his Majeſty's Mediation I made at the* Hague, *and believe it upon Concert with* France, *and to the End of inducing* Holland *to a ſeparate Peace from them. I cannot but reflect upon the ſtrange Difference I found in the Conſideration I left of his Majeſty in thoſe Countries, and what I meet now, which is grounded upon a Belief of his being too much in with* France, which our Court took no great Pains to conceal; nay, one of the *Junto* being put to it how to anſwer ſome Objections made againſt their Conduct, with reſpect to the *Partial Mediation* for *France*, as againſt the Intereſt of *England*, was ſo weak and ſo impudent as to ſay, *Faut il que tout ſe faſſe par Politique rien par Amitie, Muſt every thing be done out of Policy, and nothing for Friendſhip.*

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The King not truſted abroad.

I ſhall not enter into the Detail of Sir *William Temple*'s private Diſcourſe with the King before he went on the Embaſſy of *Mediation*; 'tis a Repetition of the ill Steps taken in Favour of Popery, *France*, and Arbitrary Power, only the latter Part of it will give us another Inſtance of his Majeſty's keeping his Word. " I never knew " but one Foreigner, ſaid Sir *William*, who un- " derſtood *England* well, and that was Monſieur " *Gourville*, who, when he was at *Bruſſels* the " firſt *Dutch* War, and heard the Parliament " grew weary of it, ſaid, *The King has nothing* " *to do but to make Peace*; adding, *I have been* " *long enough in* England, *ſeen enough of the* " *Court, and People, and Parliament, to con-* " *clude, That a King of* England, *who will be* " *the MAN of his People, is the greateſt King* " *in the World; but if he will be ſomething more,* " *By - - - - - he is nothing at all.* The King " heard Sir *William* very attentively, but ſeem'd " a little impatient at firſt; yet at laſt he de- " clar'd, *Sir* William *had Reaſon, and ſo had* " Gourville; and then laying his Hand upon Sir " *William*'s, he added, *And I will be the* MAN " *of my People*; in which he came off, as when " he ſaid, *He wou'd alſo make the World afraid* " *of him in his Turn.*

Sir *William Temple* found but a cold Reception in *Holland*, and a colder in *Flanders*. Both the Prince of *Orange* and the *Spaniards* look'd on the King's Mediation as an Interruption to the Succeſs they expected by their Arms; and had there been a better Underſtanding amongſt the Confederate Generals, of whom *Zouche* the Imperial General left the Prince at the Siege of *Audenard*, that *Mediation* wou'd not have been ſo long in Being as it prov'd to be.

In *May*, this Year, came out a Proclamation of that Kind, which diſcovers the State of the Government; for when it is ſo bad that nothing good can be ſaid of it, 'tis convenient that nothing at all ſhou'd be ſaid. The Proclamation was chiefly to ſuppreſs a Report that the King intended to diſſolve the Parliament, whereas he only intended that they ſhou'd not ſit in a Twelve Month; then all Writing or Speaking any falſe News, or intermeddling with the Affairs of State or Government, or with the Perſons of any of his Majeſty's Counſellors or Miniſters, are prohibited in common and ordinary Diſcourſe. A Proclamation, with a Reward of Five Pounds, was publiſh'd for apprehending and tranſporting Prieſts and Jeſuits. The King din'd with Sir *Robert Vyner*, Lord Mayor, at *Guild-hall*, *October* the 29th, and accepted of the Freedom of the City out of the Chamberlain's Office, and a Copy of it was preſented to him by the Lord Mayor and Sir *Thomas Player* Chamberlain, on their Knees in the *Banquetting-Houſe*; which, according to my Author, *was an unparelled Favour and Honour*

A.D.1674 *nour done the City by his Majeſty, beyond the Example of all his Progenitors.* They made the ſame Preſent alſo to the Duke of *York*, and inſtead of a fine Deſcription of it, as in *Eckard*, Mr. *Marvel* celebrated it in a Poem, which alluding to the Apprentices taking out their Freedom, has this Stanza among others of the like Nature;

Marvel's *Verſes on the King's ill Conduct.*

He ne'er knew, not he, to ſerve or be free,
Tho' he has paſs'd thro' ſo many Adventures;
And e'er ſince he was Bound, that is, he was [*Crown'd,*
He has every Day broke his Indentures.

Monſieur *Ruvigny*, the *French* Ambaſſador, being a Proteſtant, the Duke of *York* and his Party look'd on him with an evil Eye, finding that their Deſigns were not the forwarder by the Preſence of ſuch a Miniſter: So they diſpatch'd Sir *William Throgmorton* ſecretly to *Paris* to have him recall'd; which was done, and Monſieur *Courtin* ſent to ſucceed him.

The Figure the King makes abroad.

This Miniſter was very induſtrious, and extended his Maſter's Liberality among the *Engliſh* Courtiers, while our late Confederates, to Day the *Dutch*, to Morrow the *French*, are cutting one anothers Throats, without our uſing any other Endeavours to part them, but crying out, *Pray Gentlemen be quiet.*

There is an Author which ſpeaks of King *Charles*'s breaking the *Triple Alliance* in a Manner which ſets that fraudful and fatal Tranſaction in its true Light. It is Biſhop *Parker*, who was at this time writing againſt the *Preſbyterians* in *England* as furiouſly as the *French* were fighting againſt them in *Holland*. He tells us,

What Bp. Parker *ſays of breaking the* Triple League.

" To that Breach is to be attributed all the
" Havock which ought at this Day to be lament-
" ed. That as ſoon as it was broken, the *French*
" King invaded every Place, attacking thoſe
" ſeparately whom he durſt not attack jointly;
" ſo that *Europe* was ſuddenly in a *Conflagration*;
" and firſt of all *Holland* was, as it were in an
" Inſtant, over-run as far as *Amſterdam* with a
" great Slaughter.

p. 173. " This Proceeding oblig'd all the People of
" *Europe*, from their ſeveral Habitations, far and
" wide, except *Britain*, to defend themſelves
" againſt this overgrown Warrior; whence there
" was ſo vaſt a Deluge of Chriſtian Blood, as
" never before happen'd in ſo ſhort a Time. The
214. " bloody Wars in the *North* wag'd by *Branden-*
215. " *burgh* and *Denmark* againſt *Sweden*, who be-
" ing incens'd at the *Baſeneſs* of the Violation
" of the *Triple League*, had enter'd into an Al-
" liance with *France*, were occaſion'd by that
259. " Breach. The Incurſion of the *Turks* and *Tar-*
260. " *tars* into *Poland*, the Rebellion of *Meſſina*
271. " againſt the *Spaniard*, and the Rebellion in
" *Hungary* againſt the Emperor, did all of them
" ariſe from the Breach of the *Triple Alliance*,
" and ſwept away prodigious Numbers with
282. " dreadful Slaughters. The Invaſion of the
291. " *Turks*, their Siege of *Vienna*, and their ſub-
" ſequent Wars in *Hungary*, proceeded from
" the ſame Fountain, the *Breach* of the *Triple*
301. " *Alliance*. The bloody Battles fought on the
The bloody Effects of King Charles's *breaking it.* " *Rhine* between *Turenne* and the Duke of *Lor-*
" *rain*, and *Turenne* and *Lorge* againſt the *Ger-*
" *man* General *Montecuculi*, and in *Flanders*
" between the Princes of *Orange* and *Conde*
" at *Seneffe*, beſides numerous and bloody
" Sieges, were Evils which the Breach of the
" *Triple Alliance* brought upon the *European*
" World.

The Charge is brought againſt King *Charles* II. by Dr. *Samuel Parker*, made Biſhop of *Oxford* by his Brother King *James* II. and it being ſo true in Fact and Conſequence, what can be ſaid to juſtify this Conduct? Indeed what *Marvel* adds in the ſame Poem is not more Satyrical than it is Juſt; A.D.1674

Tho' oft bound to the Peace, yet he never wou'd [*ceaſe*
To vex his poor Neighbours with Quarrels;
And when he was beat, he ſtill made his Re- [*treat*
To his Cleavelands, *his* Nells, *and his* Car- [wels.
Beyond Sea he began, where ſuch a Riot he ran,
That every one there did leave him:
And now he's come o'er ten times worſe than [*before,*
When none but ſuch Fools wou'd receive him.

I know very well that ſmall Criticks agree we ſhou'd never mingle Satyr with Hiſtory, and the Criticiſm is juſt, if it is againſt Hiſtorical Truth: But if it is preſerv'd in it, the beſt Judges allow one may, and ought to make uſe of them. *Menage*, who was a very great Critick, ſays, *Un Recueil des Vaudevilles eſt un piece de plus neceſſaire a un Hiſtorien qui veut ecrire ſincerement.* A Collection of Lampoons is very neceſſary for an Hiſtorian, who wou'd write ſincerely: But I ſhall forbear, and only recommend to the Reader the State Poems, particularly Mr. *Marvel*'s, and of his, particularly his *Hiſtorical Poem*, which begins thus;

Of a tall Stature, and of Sable Hue, p. 97.
Much like the Son of Kiſh.

Sir Anthony Dean, Shipwright, ſent to France.

Soon after Peace was made with the *Dutch*, Sir *Anthony Dean* the King's chief Ship-Builder, was ſent to *France* with the Model of a Man of War, which he carry'd by Water to *Roan*; from whence it was convey'd by Land to *Verſailles*, and the *French* King had it launch'd in his great Pond in thoſe Gardens, where he came on Board, and had much Conference with Sir *Anthony* upon it. Several Carpenters, and vaſt Quantities of Naval Stores were alſo ſent to his *Yards*; inſomuch that *Coke* tells us, King *Charles* emptied his own Magazines to fill the *French* King's, who in Return, not only exorbitantly enlarg'd his Impoſitions on the *Engliſh* in their Trade to *France*, but let looſe his Privateers upon them, as if there had been no Peace, who plunder'd and murder'd *Engliſh* Merchants and Mariners, and made Prize of their Effects, block'd up our Harbours, and took our Ships out of their very Ports. If Complaints were made, they were baffled, except ſome Ships that were redeem'd by Sir *Ellis Leighton*, Secretary to the Lord *Berkley*, then Ambaſſador at *Paris*, who made a ſecond Prize of them. Indeed the *French* Court treated that of *England*, as Men treat thoſe that hang upon them. Sir *William Lockhart*, when he was Ambaſſador for King *Charles*, complain'd that his Buſineſs met not with ſuch Diſpatch as he was us'd to meet with in *Cromwel*'s Time; but we may ſay as *Boreel* did, *Ah! c'eſt une autre Choſe, Ah! that's another Thing*; for certainly there was as much Difference between the two Genius's, as there is between *Glory* and *Pleaſure*. We will leave foreign Affairs this Year with Mr. *Acherley*'s Account of them, during the Campaigns of 1674, and 1675.

French King uſes King Charles ill.

" The *French* King, by his own ſingle Power,
" carried on the War againſt *Holland*, *Spain*, the
" *Empire*, &c. with great Succeſs, and ſhew'd
" he

A.D.1674 " he was an Over-match for them all. In which " the *Engliſh Forces*, which King *Charles* ſent to " aſſiſt him, perform'd extraordinary Services, " and turn'd King *Charles*'s Mediation at *Ni-* " *meguen* for a Peace, into a meer Amuſement, " whilſt the *French* King, with the under-hand " Aſſiſtance of King *Charles*, carried on his Mi- " litary Undertakings." *And* whilſt the Duke of *York*, and his Secretary *Coleman*, carried on a treaſonable Correſpondence with *Ferrier*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, to bring us under *Popery and Tyranny*, in which they went a good Way: Whilſt alſo *Sheldon* and his Brethren of the ſame Stamp, were labouring to cure the *Engliſh* Court of all Diſpoſitions to Moderation, and exciting them to renew the Perſecution againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, which they had more at Heart than Religion and Liberty, ſo jealous were they of every thing that touch'd their Dignities, Powers and Revenues, *Edward Coleman*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*, having put himſelf at the Head of Affairs in *England*, for the Advancement of Popery, made Application for his Support to the *French* King, by his Confeſſor, and the Pope's *Inter-nuncio* at *Paris*, to whom he wrote ſeveral Letters, particularly one dated the 29th of *June* this Year, wherein he ſaid, " The Duke of *York* was very " ſenſible of his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty*'s Friend- " ſhip, and has done him all the good Offices he " is capable of; that he is of his Majeſty's Opi- " nion about recalling the Parliament, and thinks " it not to be uſeful, but very dangerous; that " the Houſe of Commons had a Deſign to leſſen " the *Duke*, and root out the *Catholick Religion*, " as much as is in their Power; That the *Duke* " doubts not but it is abſolutely neceſſary for " the Intereſt of his Majeſty, and for his own, " to hinder the Meeting of the Parliament. He " then deſires his *moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty to write " freely to his *Britannick* Majeſty, and make him " ſome generous Offers of his Purſe, if he will " diſſolve the Parliament, in which he ſhall be " aſſiſted in *England*." In another Letter, dated in *September*, 'tis ſaid, " The Duke will govern " himſelf according to the Advices he receives " from *France*, and will treat of nothing concern- " ing the Catholick Religion, with Monſieur *Ru-* " *vigny*, nor with any other but the *French* " King's Confeſſor. His moſt Chriſtian Maje- " ſty has made a very generous Offer of his " Purſe to the Duke, and his Aſſiſtance is at " preſent neceſſary to *ſubdue entirely thoſe*, who " being exaſperated againſt him as much as " againſt the Duke, and are angry with the Duke, " only becauſe he is unalterably addicted to the " Intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, will ex- " erciſe their Malice, and their Rage, with more " Brutality than ever." Thus, after preſſing for more Money, to give the *Duke* Credit, with his Brother the King, the Traitor *Coleman* adds, *There will nothing more remain to be fear'd, by* his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, *but his* Royal Highneſs *will be able to diſſolve the Parliament with Eaſe, and afterwards in recompence of ſuch Aſſiſtance, will perform on his Part, all that his moſt* Chriſtian Majeſty *ſhall ask of him, and will proceed with Sincerity, upon the Word of a Prince, for the Intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.* The Reader cannot help obſerving, that here is the preſumptive Heir of the Crown in a horrid Conſpiracy with the moſt implacable, powerful and cruel Enemy of our Religion and Liberty, to deſtroy both; for he has promis'd to do whatever the *French* King ſhall bid him; yet when the beſt and wiſeſt Men of the Nation were for excluding him the Succeſſion four or five Years afterwards, how do the *Compleat Hiſtori-*

Duke of York *in League with the* French *King againſt* England.

Coleman's *Letters.*

Duke of York *gives himſelf up entirely to* France.

ans thunder out their *Anathemas* againſt them! In his Letter of the 4th of the ſame Month, *Coleman* ſays, If the Treaſure of the Church *is ever to be made uſe of, it ought to be now, for they can demand nothing which the Duke will not be capable to do, for the Pope's Friends, and without their Aid*, he will *run great Hazard of being loſt, both himſelf and his Aſſociates.* In a Letter of the 4th of *October*, to the Inter-nuncio, *Coleman* writes, *You agree with me, that Money is the only Means of bringing the King into the Duke's Intereſt, and of diſengaging him from the Parliament*; yet forſooth, this Traitor muſt not be hang'd when he is call'd to an Account for this Treaſon. If it had been prov'd upon his Maſter, then a Subject, and there had been Juſtice and Spirit enough in the Nation to have made him accountable, much Argument, much Trouble, much Treaſure, and much Blood had been ſav'd. The *Plot* we ſee plainly was to put an End to Parliaments for ever, to eſtabliſh Popery, and lay this Nation at the Mercy of *France*. Again, *You muſt alſo agree with me, that nothing can more promote the Intereſt of the* Catholick Party, *which is the principal Object of the* Duke's *Care and Affection, and of the Hatred of the Parliament, and which muſt hope or fear, according as the one or the other of them encreaſe in Power. ----- Nothing in the World is more certain, than that the King has a good Inclination towards the* Duke *and the* Catholicks. Pray mind how often his Majeſty gave the Parliament Aſſurances of his Zeal and Care for the Proteſtant Religion, *and wou'd join himſelf willingly and inſeparably to the Intereſts of his* Royal Highneſs *and the* Catholicks, *if he did not apprehend ſome Danger from ſuch an Union, which however he would not have Cauſe to fear, if he found their Intereſt, and conſequently their Power ſo far advanc'd above that of their Adverſaries, that they ſhould neither have the Power, nor the Boldneſs to conteſt any thing with them, which the King cou'd ſee in a very little Time.* Here the Mask is taken quite off; if the Pope and the *French* King will aſſiſt the Duke of *York* as he deſires, the Parliament ſhall neither have the Power, nor the Boldneſs to contend any longer for their Religion and Liberties. Again, *I am certain Money cou'd not fail of perſwading the King to it*, and then the Traitor ſpeaks but too truly of him, *For there is nothing it cannot make him do, tho' it were as much to his Prejudice* as this we endeavour *to perſwade him to, is to his Advantage.* Theſe, and other Genuine Letters of *Coleman*'s, are ſufficient Proofs of the *Popiſh* Plot in general, and the Objection that is made to it, on account of the King's being a Papiſt, is removed, if we conſider the Opinion the *Papiſts* had of him, that he wou'd do any thing for Money; that he car'd not what became of Religion, if he had Eaſe and Pleaſure; that every Parliament brought them into Peril of utter Ruin; if they wou'd open the Peoples Purſes, that the next Succeſſor was their own; and tho' his Morals were not very good, his Principles were Popiſh and Flaming. It is no wonder therefore that they conſented to take off one *Popiſh* Brother, from whoſe Indolence they expected nothing good to them, and to place another Popiſh Brother on the Throne, from whoſe Bigotry they expected every thing.

A.D.1674

The Duke's Plot againſt the Proteſtant Religion and Engliſh *Liberty.*

The King hearty for Popery.

Why the Papiſts plotted againſt him.

Echard tells us, that *John* Earl of *Mulgrave*, late Duke of *Buckingham*, was this Year made a Knight of the Garter, by the Favour of the Dutcheſs of *Cleaveland*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Peterborough* and *Strafford*, Privy Counſellors, the Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Secretary of State, and the

A.D.1674 Duke of *Monmouth*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, who ſome Years after burnt his Picture, as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Honour he had done them.

Propoſals of the Diſſenters for a Union.

During the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, the Earl of *Orrery* deſir'd Mr. *Baxter* to draw up ſhort Propoſals of the Terms and Means which he thought wou'd ſatisfy the Non-conformiſts, ſo far as to unite all Proteſtants againſt *Popery*, profeſſing he had met with many great Men, who were much for it, particularly Sir *Thomas Osborn*, the new Lord Treaſurer, and Dr. *Morley*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who *vehemently* preſs'd his Deſires of it. Dr. *Fulwood* and other Divines, had been with Mr. *Baxter*, to the like Purpoſe, teſtifying the Biſhop's Reſolution about it. Mr. *Baxter* told them all, that he wiſh'd they would tell *Morley*, *he had done ſo much to the Contrary, and never any thing this Way, ſince his Profeſſions of this Sort; that 'till his real Endeavours convinc'd Men, it wou'd not be believ'd he was ſerious.* However, *Baxter* drew up Propoſals as Lord *Orrery* deſir'd him, and that Lord return'd them with Biſhop *Morley's Strictures*, or Animadverſions; by which he made it appear fully, that all his Profeſſions for *Abatement* and *Concord* were, according to Mr. *Baxter*, *deceitful Snares, and that no ſuch Thing at all was intended by him.* The Reverend Miniſter laſt mention'd, anſwer'd his Animadverſions, as may be ſeen at large in his Life.

Biſhop Morley diſtruſted.

Part III. p. 100. & ſeq.

He oppoſes the Union.

The Biſhop began to ſhew how healing his Temper was by his firſt Stricture; that all Propoſals of *Abatement* was *overthrowing or undermining Church Government*; by which means he makes the Croſs in Baptiſm, Kneeling at the Sacrament, the Objections to the Office of Burial, *&c.* to concern Church Government. I do not repeat Mr. *Baxter's* Anſwers to the Biſhop's Animadverſions, for I do not think them worth the Pains he took about them. What the Biſhop ſays about God-Fathers and God-Mothers, muſt not be omitted, *The Church in Favour to Infants appoints others, in caſe the Parent ſhould die, or neglect their Duty, to have a Paternal Care of them, in order to their Education, for the Performance of their Baptiſmal Covenant*, and how well thoſe the Church appoints for that Duty perform it, is too well known to leave any Doubt of the Uſe, and even Neceſſity of ſuch Sureties. In another of his Strictures, he charges Mr. *Baxter* with aiming to ſet up *Auricular Confeſſion*, whereas he wou'd doubtleſs have as ſoon ſet up *Bell* and the *Dragon* in his Meeting-Houſe; but the Biſhop has no where ſhewn his Piety and Judgment, more than in his Eulogy on the *Church Catechiſm*, *What is your Name*, &c.

I know no need it hath of Mending, nor who are wiſe enough to mend it.

Mr. *Baxter's* Anſwer to this was ſhort and pithy, *I am ſorry for it, but cannot help it.* It wou'd bear no more. In a Debate about the *Five Mile Act* Oath next Year, the Lord *Shaftſbury* ſpeaking of the Catechiſm ſaid, *I really think it may be mended, and durſt declare to your Lordſhips, it is not well that there is not a better made.* Whoſe Judgment will the Reader take, Lord *Shaftsbury's*, or Biſhop *Morley's*? The Biſhop's will not be much recommended to him by his Definition of the *Proteſtant Religion* in that Debate. *It is comprehended in the* XXXIX *Articles*, the *Common-Prayer*, the *Catechiſm*, the *Homilies*, and the *Canons.* Is it reaſonable to expect one ſhou'd enter into Controverſy with ſuch *Argumentators*?

Des Maiz Col. p. 111.

Some time after this, a leading Man in the Houſe of Commons, drew up a Bill for Accommodation between *Conformiſts* and *Non-conformiſts*, to take off *Oaths*, *Subſcriptions* and *Declarations*, except the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and Subſcriptions to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, according to the 13th of *Elizabeth*; but ſhewing it to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, he ſo manag'd Matters, that he broke the Deſign, yet that he might not ſeem to be for nothing of what he ſo oft pretended towards a peaceable Diſpoſition, he further'd an Act only to take off *Aſſent* and *Conſent*, and the *Renunciation of the Covenant*; but when other Biſhops were againſt, even this ſhew of Abatement, he told them openly in the Houſe, *Had it been but to abate them a* Ceremony, *I wou'd not have ſpoken to it; but I knew they were bound to the ſame Things ſtill, by other Clauſes or Obligations, if theſe were repeal'd.* It is to be hop'd he went not out of the World in Impenitence, for ſuch double Dealing with God and Man, wou'd then make one tremble to think of its Reward.

A.D.1674

Morley *breaks another Pacifick Deſign.*

A double Dealer.

The King found the Diſſenters wou'd not play his Cards, and having it in his Power to be even with them, he ſummon'd the Biſhops to Court, to give him Advice what was to be done for ſecuring of Religion, and they after ſeveral Conſultations with the Lord Keeper, *Osborn* the Treaſurer, Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* the Secretary, and others of the *Junto*, adviſed him to recal his *Licences*, and put the Laws againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters in Execution; which was done by a *Declaration* and *Proclamation*, and many infamous Perſons were immediately ſet about the Work, ſome as Informers, ſome as Juſtices, *&c.* Yet *Morley*, and even *Ward* pretended ſtill to be ſenſible of the Danger of *Popery*, and very forward for *Accommodation* with the Non-conformiſts. They mov'd it to many, and at length Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Stillingfleet* deſir'd a Meeting with Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Pool*, and Mr. *Baxter*, in order to it, ſaying, they had Encouragement of ſeveral Lords, Spiritual and Temporal. Theſe Divines met, and at laſt agreed on a Draught to be preſented to the Biſhops; which was no ſooner done, then there was an end of the Treaty, and inſtead of Accommodation, they were fallen upon by the Pulpit, Preſs, by Perſecution, Violence and Oppreſſion. There was now a new Party ſtruck up, conſiſting of the perſecuting Clergy and the old Cavaliers. The Church was preſently ſaid to be in *Danger*, and the Nation running back to *Forty One*, for which in Truth, there was not Spirit left in it. *Forty One* was a *Bug-bear*, made uſe of to frighten the Oppreſs'd; whereas we remember that the Parliament who brought in the King, in a moſt ſolemn Manner, juſtify'd the Proceedings in *Forty One*, and had not the Hearts of the People been cow'd with Calamities of all Kinds, they might have thunder'd out Forty One with no more Succeſs than Boys fling Squibs to terrify old Women and Children.

The Biſhops and Osborn adviſe to renew the Perſecution againſt Diſſenters.

Riſe of the Tories.

Mr. *Locke*, ſpeaking of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, tells us, " The Biſhops continu'd their " Zeal againſt the *Papiſts*, and ſeem'd to carry " on, in joining with the Country Lords, many " excellent Votes in order to a Bill; but the Fa- " vour to *Diſſenting* Proteſtants was gone, and " they attempted a Bargain with the Country " Lords, with whom they then join'd, not to " promote any thing of that Nature. But the " whole *Clergy* were inſtructed to declare that " there was now no more Danger of the *Papiſts*. " The *Fanatick*, for ſo they call the Diſſenting " Proteſtant, is again become the only dange- " rous Enemy, and the Biſhops had found a " *Scotch* Lord, *Lauderdale*, and two new Mini- " ſters, or rather great Officers of *England*, " *Finch* and *Osborn*, who were deſperate and " raſh

Mr. Locke of Finch, Osborn *and* Lauderdale.

A.D.1674 " raſh enough to put their Maſter's Buſineſs upon ſo narrow and weak a Bottom: And that " old Covenanter *Lauderdale* is become the Patron of the Church, and has his Coach and " Table fill'd with Biſhops. The *Keeper* and " the *Treaſurer* are of a juſt Size to this Affair; " for it is a certain Rule with the *Churchmen* to " endure, as ſeldom as they can, in Buſineſs " Men abler than themſelves. But his Grace of " *Scotland* was leaſt to be excus'd of the three; " for having fallen from *Presbytery*, *Proteſtant* " Religion, and all Principles of publick Good " and private Friendſhip, he now betakes himſelf to a Set of Men, who never forgive any " Man the having been once in the Right; and " ſuch Men who wou'd do the worſt of Things " by the worſt of Means, enſlave their Country, " and betray them under the Mask of Religion, " which they have the publick Pay for, and the " Charge of, *ſo ſeething the Kid in the Mother's* " *Milk*. Our Stateſmen and Biſhops being now " as well agreed as in old *Laud*'s Time, on the " ſame Principles, with the ſame Paſſion to attain their End; they in the firſt place give " Order to the Judges in all their Circuits, to " quicken the Execution of the Laws againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters." *And they had got a Set of Judges fit for the Buſineſs they were pick'd out for*; as Sir *Francis North*, made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Sir *Richard Rainſford*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench; *William Montague*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir *William Scroggs*, Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Sir *Thomas Jones*, Juſtice of the King's-Bench, &c. *for propagating this holy Cauſe*, ſays *Coke*.

In what follows from Mr. *Locke* we ſhall ſee the Formation of the *Tory* Faction from the very Egg, and in what putrid Matter it was generated.

" A Commiſſion comes down, directed to the " principal Gentlemen of each County, to ſeize " the Eſtates of both *Papiſts* and *Fanaticks*, mention'd in a Liſt annex'd, wherein, by great " Misfortune or Skill, the Name of *Papiſts*, of " beſt Quality and Fortune, and ſo beſt known, " were miſtaken, and the Commiſſion render'd " ineffectual as to them. Beſides this, the great " Miniſters of State, *Osborn*, *Lauderdale*, &c. " did in their common Talk aſſure the Party, " that all the Places of Profit, Command and " Truſt ſhou'd only be given to the *Old Cavalier*. " No man that had ſerv'd or been of the contrary Party, ſhou'd be left in any of them. And " a Direction is iſſued to the great Miniſters before-mention'd, and ſix or ſeven of the Biſhops, " to meet at *Lambeth-houſe*, who were, like the " Lords of Articles in *Scotland*, to prepare their " *compleat Model* for the next Seſſion of Parliament." Of which we ſhall then hear enough; and in Expectation of dividing all the Places of Profit, Command and Truſt, the *Old Cavalier* and the Perſecuting Church-men ſtuck together againſt the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberty, till they fell into the Pit they had themſelves dug for others. Mr. *Marvel*, in his *Growth of Popery*, writes of it thus; *The old* Cavalier Party *were told all was at Stake*, Church and State; *that the Nation was running again into* Forty one; *that this was the Time to refreſh their antient Merit, and receive the Recompence double of all their Loyalty; and that henceforward the* Cavaliers *ſhou'd have the Lottery of all the great or ſmall Places in the Kingdom, and not ſo much as Sir* Joſeph Williamſon *have a Share in it.*

The Earl of *Arlington* finding the Keeper and Treaſurer were too many for him, and that he had no longer any Weight in the *Junto*, thought of ſupporting himſelf by a foreign Intereſt, and by gaining the Prince of *Orange* to recover the Ground he had loſt. He offer'd to go over to *Holland* with the Earl of *Oſſory*, who, as well as himſelf, had marry'd a Daughter of the Heer *Beverwaerdt*, one of the chief Nobles of the Province, who was in high Favour with the Prince, as theſe two Lords fancy'd, they ſhou'd be by *Beverwaerdt*'s Means: They both carry'd their Ladies with them. His Highneſs had always a particular Affection to Lord *Oſſory*, who was a very gallant Man, and no Slave to the Court. The Earl of *Arlington* ſaid *he wou'd go to the Bottom of every thing with the Prince*, and did not doubt but he wou'd bring him into an entire Dependance on the King, and particularly diſpoſe him to a general Peace, upon which his Majeſty was much ſet; but not ſo much for the Security of the *Netherlands* and the *United Provinces*, as to oblige *France*, whoſe Pride had involv'd her in a War of prodigious Expence; and tho' ſhe was herſelf ſucceſsful, yet her Ally *Sweden* was like to loſe all the Dominions ſhe had in *Germany*, and the *French* King had no Way to prevent it but by a *Peace*. It was believ'd the Earl of *Arlington* had Leave to give the Prince Hope of marrying that Princeſs whom he afterwards marry'd, tho' the Duke of *York* declar'd he knew nothing of the Matter, but had heard that the Lord *Arlington* talk'd as if the managing that Affair was his chief Errand. Upon which the Duke ask'd the King if there was any thing in it, and his Majeſty aſſur'd him he had a poſitive Order not *ſo much as to ſpeak of it*. Contrary to this we read in *Echard*, That it was the *Bent of the Lord* Arlington *to draw the Prince into Hopes, or Deſigns of a Match* with the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter, which his Highneſs took no more Notice of than to ſay, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife*. *Echard* adds, That only the Lord *Oſſory* mention'd the Duke's Daughter, whereas Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, That *whether he had a ſecret Order, or did it without Order, the Earl of* Arlington *certainly talk'd a great deal of it to the Prince as a Thing he might depend on, if he wou'd in all other Things be govern'd by the King*.

We have ſpoken of Sir *William Temple*'s being ſent Ambaſſador to *Holland* and the *Netherlands* upon Concluſion of the *Dutch* Peace, and of his being coldly receiv'd on Account of his Errand, which tended to a diſhonourable Peace with *France* on the Side of the Confederates, and if he cou'd not procure a general Peace, to bring the *Dutch* to a ſeparate one. The Prince wou'd not ſee him till the End of the Campaign, and he was not a little mortify'd at *Alington*'s coming over; for that Lord had thrown him off, when himſelf went into the *French* Intereſt: And, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, Temple *was too proud to bear Contempt, or forget ſuch an Injury. He was a vain Man, much blown up in his own Conceit, which he ſhew'd too indecently on all Occaſions.* But the ingenious Archdeacon cou'd not perceive any thing of that Kind, and has therefore copy'd him Word for Word; tho' it is very plain, that when Sir *William Temple* brings Lord *Arlington* into the Scene, 'tis to make him act an Under-Part, and be a Foil to his own Figure. The Prince certainly preferr'd *Temple*'s Judgment and Honeſty to *Arlington's* Diſſimulation and Inconſtancy, and had a very mean Opinion of the Earl's Negotiations; which being treated

Prince of Orange cold to Temple.

A.D. 1675 of at large in Sir *William Temple*'s Letters, I refer to them, where it appears, that the Prince of *Orange*, even while ſo young and ſo little practis'd in Affairs, had ſo clear and ſo juſt a View of them, that nothing cou'd miſguide him, and that the bad Proſpect he had from the ill Condition he was in, did not frighten him to accept of any mean Terms of Peace. His Fidelity to his Country and the publick Intereſt was ſo firm, that no private Conſiderations of his own cou'd biaſs him, or indeed be much conſider'd by him. *Holland* was in great Expectation, when they ſaw two ſuch Men as the Earls of *Oſſory* and *Arlington* come over together with Lord *Latimer*, the Treaſurer's eldeſt Son, who only made the Shew a little greater: But the Shew was all. When *Arlington* attempted to juſtify the Part the King had in the late War, his Highneſs anſwer'd him, as one who knew that Matter as well as himſelf, in a *dry, ſullen, and uneaſy Manner*. And as to the War he was then engag'd in, he ſaid all at once, *The King may bring me out of it with Honour, if he pleaſes, and with Safety to* Europe; *if not, it muſt go on till the Fortunes of the Parties changing make Way for other Thoughts.* Lord *Arlington* for ſome Days inſiſted vehemently on the Prince's diſmiſſing *Du Moulin*, who had diſcover'd the Secrets of his Office to him. The Prince at laſt comply'd in that, and ſent *Du Moulin* to the Plantations. As to all other Things, *Arlington* talk'd to his Highneſs in the Strain of a Governor, and ſeem'd to preſume too much on his Youth, and on his Want of Experience. But inſtead of gaining over the Prince, he loſt him ſo entirely, that all his Endeavours afterwards cou'd never beget any Confidence in him: So he came back, and reckoning this his laſt Eſſay, which ſucceeded ſo ill, he ever after that withdrew from all Buſineſs; but made himſelf eaſy to the King, who marry'd one of his natural Sons to his Daughter, and continu'd to be ſtill very kind to him. *Echard* tells us, That *Talbot*, afterwards Duke of *Tyrconnel*, interceeded with the King for him, which, if it was true, wou'd ſhew us at once what *Arlington* was, and what the King, *Tyrconnel* being the moſt bigotted and hated of all *Iriſh* Papiſts.

Prince of Orange's Generoſity.

Arlington's ill Succeſs in Holland.

Parliament.

The Way being pav'd by a new Proclamation againſt *Popiſh* Prieſts, Father *Huddleſton* excepted, who gave the *Conſecrated Wafer* and *Extream Unction* to his Majeſty a little before he dy'd, both Houſes of Parliament met the 13th of *April*. They ſhou'd have met the 10th of *November*; but, as *Coke* tells us, *The Inſtructions from* France *were not then ſufficiently ripen'd*. His Majeſty made a Speech, wherein he reflected on thoſe who had reported that this Parliament ſhou'd meet no more. He told them *He had done as much on his Part as was poſſible, to extinguiſh the Fears and Jealouſies of* Popery. He is all the while himſelf a Papiſt, *and will leave nothing undone, that may ſhew the World his* Zeal *to the* Proteſtant Religion *as it is eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* England, *from which he will never depart*, tho', as his Brother publiſh'd after his Death, he was ſo zealous a Papiſt, that he wrote a Pamphlet in Defence of Popery, wherein he endeavour'd to prove the *Neceſſity of a viſible Church and Guide*, which cou'd be *no other than the* Church *of* Rome. Do theſe Men think there is Death, and after Death Judgment? That they muſt account at the great Day before a God that will not, that cannot be mock'd? And that the Word *Church* will there ſignify nothing, if the Society of the Pious, Virtuous, Charitable, and Faithful is not meant by it? Such Thoughts as theſe wou'd ſurely ſtrike them dead with Confuſion and Shame! The King recommended the Fleet to them, the old Wooden Leg made uſe of to beg with in thoſe Days, and left the reſt to the Lord Keeper, who has an admirable Expreſſion in his Speech, if it had not been plac'd juſt after others, which made it a Contradiction. Having ſpoken of his Majeſty's tranſcendant Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, and at the ſame time of his reviving all the cruel Laws againſt Proteſtants diſſenting from the *National Church*, he tells the Parliament as true a Thing as ever was told them: *When we conſider Religion in Parliament, we are ſuppos'd to conſider it as a Parliament ſhou'd do, and as a Parliament in all Ages have done. For as it works upon the Conſcience, as it is an inward Principle of the Divine Life, by which good Men do govern all their Actions*, the State has nothing to do with it. *'Tis a Thing which belongs to another kind of Commiſſion than that by which we ſit here.* He had juſt told them what the State had to do with the Conſciences of Proteſtant Diſſenters; and he has a Bill by him ready drawn, which made the State have to do with the Conſciences of Men of all Denominations in Religion. Beſides the Fleet, I do not find any thing elſe very remarkable in this Speech, unleſs this *Quibble* may be ſo reckon'd, *You ſerve a Prince, in whoſe Stile* Dei Gratia *ſeems not to be written by a vulgar Pen, but by the Arm of Omnipotence it ſelf.* To write with an *Arm* is not very much in Propriety of Speech; yet this is what Mr. *Archdeacon* calls Eloquence, tho' *Dei Gratia* is on the Rim of the *French* King *Louis*'s, as well as on King *Charles*'s Guinea's, and was, doubtleſs, written alike by a mortal Penman. The Parliament having thank'd the King for what he ſaid concerning his extraordinary Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, as in the Church of *England*, proceeded to ſeveral vigorous Reſolves againſt *Romiſh* Prieſts; and then they fell again upon Duke *Lauderdale*, who had been acting the Tyrant with ſo much Infamy in *Scotland*, that many wonder'd at his getting into *England* again. Some of his Tyrannical Doings will be mention'd hereafter.

A.D. 1675

King Charles writes againſt the Church of England.

Lauderdale again addreſs'd againſt.

Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, then Preacher at the Rolls, and Lecturer of St. *Clements*, was examin'd by the Houſe of Commons in *Lauderdale*'s Caſe. The Doctor, afterwards Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, tells it thus in his Memoirs: "The Houſe of Commons fell upon Duke *Lauderdale*, and thoſe "who knew what had paſs'd between him and "me, mov'd that I ſhou'd be examin'd before a "Committee. I was brought before them; I told "them how I had been commanded out of Town: "But though that was Illegal, yet ſince it had "been let fall, it was not inſiſted upon. I was "next examin'd concerning the Deſign of Arming the *Iriſh* Papiſts. I ſaid, I, as well as others, "had heard him ſay, *He wiſh'd the* Presbyterians *in* Scotland *wou'd rebel, that he might* "*bring over the* IRISH *Papiſts to cut their* "*Throats.*" The Man who ſaid this dy'd in his Bed, and one can't well ſay a worſe Thing of this Reign: A Gibbet had been too good for him, and yet he's continu'd at the Council-Board. Dr. *Burnet* proceeds, "I was next examin'd con"cerning the Deſigns of bringing the *Scotiſh* Ar"my into *England*. I deſir'd to be excus'd as to "what had paſs'd in private Converſation, to "which I thought I was not bound to anſwer, un"leſs it were *High Treaſon*. They preſs'd me "long, and I wou'd give them no Anſwer, ſo "they all concluded that I knew great Matters, "and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Up"on that I was ſent for, and brought before the "Houſe.

Dr. Burnet examin'd by the Houſe of Commons.

Lauderdale for cutting the Presbyterians Throats

A.D.1675 " Houſe. I ſtood upon it, as I had done at the " Committee, *That nothing had paſs'd that was* " Treaſon, *and as to all other Things, I did not* " *think my ſelf bound to diſcover them.* I ſaid " farther, I knew Duke *Lauderdale* was apt to " ſay Things in a Heat, which he did not intend " to do; and ſince he had us'd myſelf ſo ill, I " thought myſelf the more oblig'd not to ſay any " thing which look'd like Revenge, for what I " had met with from him. I was brought four " times to the Bar; at laſt I was told the Houſe " thought they had a Right to examine into eve- " ry thing that concern'd the Safety of the Na- " tion, as well as into Matters of *Treaſon*, and " they look'd on me as bound to ſatisfy them; " otherwiſe they wou'd make me feel the Weight " of their heavy Diſpleaſure, as one that con- " ceal'd what they thought was neceſſary to be " known: Upon this I yielded, and gave an Ac- " count of the Diſcourſe between Duke *Lauder-* " *dale* and me." *That coming into* England *the firſt* Saturday *in* September, 1673, *I went to viſit the Duke of* Lauderdale *at his Lodgings in* Whitehall, *where the Duke and I diſcours'd of the Affairs of* England *and* Scotland, *and particularly of the Proceedings of Parliament, concerning the* Declaration *for ſuſpending Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical. And being afterwards ask'd, Whether, if* Scotland *being call'd to aſſiſt the King, they wou'd aſſiſt him or not?* I anſwer'd, *I think they will not*; but the Duke reply'd, *I believe they will.* Then asking me of the Affairs of *Scotland*, I anſwer'd, *The People in* Scotland, *that are at ſuch a Diſtance, cannot imagine what to think of the King's Speech and Declaration.* Whereunto the Duke reply'd, *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ, and all have forſaken the King, but Lord* Clifford *and my ſelf.* Upon this, and other Informations, the Parliament drew up a very warm Addreſs againſt *Lauderdale*; the King in his Anſwer pleaded the *General Pardon* for him: Upon which they reſolv'd upon another Addreſs againſt him, which prov'd abortive, as did their Proceedings againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, who coming into the Treaſury poor and inſolvent, cou'd not well avoid the Diſpleaſure of the Commons. They accus'd him for putting the Revenue *into Confuſion, and a waſteful Way of Expence: For laying aſide the* Chancellor *of the* Exchequer, *whereby all Comptrolls are avoided: For Arreſting a Gentleman by a Secretary's Warrant, to prevent his being an Evidence in a Law-Suit, and procuring the ſaid Gentleman to be examin'd before the King, which induc'd him to ſpeak Things contrary to his Knowledge and Conſcience, that the Treaſurer's Son might be marry'd to an Heireſs: For receiving far greater Sums than had ever been iſſu'd out for ſecret Service, without Account, the King's Debts remaining unpaid, the Stores unfurniſh'd, and the Navy unrepair'd: For aſſuming the Management of the* Iriſh *Affairs, which ſhou'd paſs in Council, thereby to enable himſelf to convert great Sums of Money out of* Ireland *to his own Uſe: For procuring Gifts and Grants from the Crown*, &c. The Corruption of this Treaſurer appear'd ſo fully afterwards, as leaves no room to doubt of this, though he had a Majority in the Houſe to clear him of theſe Articles when it was put to the Vote.

Osborn, Earl of Danby, his ill Practices as Treaſurer.

Addreſs to recall the Engliſh *in the* French *Service.*

Then the Parliament addreſs'd the King to recall his Subjects out of the *French* King's Service; but he anſwer'd, that he thought he cou'd not do it in Honour; however, he wou'd hinder any more going over to recruit the *Engliſh* Forces in the *French* Army. The Parliament not ſatisfy'd, prepar'd a ſecond Addreſs, with this Addition, *That the Officers of the ſeveral Ports do take Care for hindering any more going over for that Service for the future.* A.D.1675

The Grand Debate about the Teſt.

We have mention'd a *Conclave* to be held at *Lambeth*, of ſix or ſeven Biſhops, and the Chief Miniſters of State, who were to prepare fit *Bills* to paſs, for the ſtrengthning the new Party, to whom the King was reſolv'd to give himſelf, conſiſting of the *High Epiſcopal Men*, and *the Cavaliers.* And as the Fruit of their ſage and Chriſtian-like Counſels, an *Act* was preſented to the Houſe of Peers by the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain, entitled, *An Act to prevent the Damages which may ariſe from Perſons diſaffected to the preſent Government.* People that do ill are always afraid of every thing, and a bad Government can no more help Diſaffection, than Fire can help Heat. Thence it is that ill Powers, and ill Miniſters, are for chaining up Peoples Conſciences with *Oaths*, at the ſame time that they bind their Hands and Feet with *Iron:* Thence it is that Edicts fly about againſt Writing or Speaking of State Affairs, and the like. By this monſtrous Bill, all Perſons enjoying any beneficial Office or Employment, Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military, to which were added Privy-Counſellors and Members of Parliament, were under a Penalty to take this following Oath: *I* Gilbert Sheldon *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſion: And I do ſwear, that I will not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.* This execrable *Oath* had been in Part introduc'd in the *Corporation Act*, then in the *Militia Act*, and afterwards in full in the *Five Mile Act* againſt *Diſſenting Teachers*, ſays *Echard*, he will not call them *Miniſters:* But as his good Word is no Praiſe, his bad one is no Scandal. His Account of this Debate is taken from a Tract, entitled, *A Letter from a Perſon of Quality.* He did not know the Author of it, who was Mr. *Locke*, and therefore has treated it as a Pamphlet, which was at his Diſcretion. Let us ſee what the ingenious Monſieur *Des Maizeaux* ſays upon this: *Mr.* Echard, *in his* Hiſtory of England, *hath tranſcrib'd ſeveral Paragraphs out of this Letter, though he never cites it, and ends his Account of the Debate thus:* " The Debates " laſted ſixteen or ſeventeen Days, the Houſe, of- " ten ſitting till Nine at Night, and ſometimes " till Midnight, in the Concluſion of which the " Duke of *Buckingham*, as General of the Party, " and laſt in the Field, made a famous Speech, " conſiſting of eloquent, regular, and well plac'd " Nonſenſe, hoping that that might prevail when " nothing elſe would, and ſo brought Confuſion " into the Houſe; *where, beſides the Unaccuracy of bringing into his Narrative, and making his own the Expreſſion which the Author of the Letter has us'd by way of Compliment or Encomium, and thereby miſrepreſenting the Matter, he affirms, that the Debate was put to an End by the* Confuſion *which the Duke of* Buckingham's *Speech brought into the Houſe; whereas it appears by the Letter itſelf, that no* Confuſion *was brought into the Houſe; but on the contrary, that after a ſhort Reply of the Earl of* Winchelſea, *the Queſtion was put regularly to the Vote, and carry'd as the* Court *and* Biſhops *wou'd have it.*

Echard's Unaccuracy and want of Judgment.

I ſhall now make uſe of Mr. *Locke*'s admirable Letter, and be the larger upon it, becauſe the Argument between Liberty and Slavery is there fully ſtated; and all the Efforts of good *Engliſh-men* to defend their dear Liberties, both Spiritual and

A.D.1675 Temporal, againſt Perſecution and Tyranny, are juſtify'd and recommended. Mr. *Locke* begins with telling us what Preparations were made for introducing this *wicked Bill*; *and now comes this memorable Seſſion of* April 13, 1675, than which never any came with more Expectation of the *Court*, or Dread and Apprehenſion of the *Country*. The *Officers*, *Court Lords*, and *Biſhops* were clearly the *major* Vote in the Houſe of Lords; and they aſſur'd themſelves to have the Houſe of Commons as much at their Diſpoſal, when they reckon'd the Number of the *Courtiers*, *Officers*, *Penſioners*, encreas'd by the Addition of the *Church* and *Cavalier* Party; beſides the Addreſs they had made to Men of the beſt Quality there, by hopes of Honour, great Employment, and ſuch Things as wou'd take. In a Word, the *French* King's Miniſters, who are the great Chapmen of the World, did not outdo ours at this Time; and yet the over-ruling Hand of God has blown upon their Politicks, and the Nation is eſcap'd this Seſſion, *like a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler*.

Court-Biſhops for Tyranny,

Mr. *Locke* proceeds: In this Seſſion the Biſhops wholly laid aſide their Zeal againſt *Popery*; the Committee of the whole Houſe for *Religion*, which the Country Lords had caus'd to be ſet up again, by the Example of the former Seſſions, cou'd hardly get, at any Time, a Day appointed for their ſitting: And the main Thing deſign'd for a Bill voted in the former Seſſion, *the marrying our Princes to none but Proteſtants*, was rejected, and carry'd in the *Negative*, by the unanimous Votes of the Biſhops Bench. For, continues Mr. *Locke*, I muſt acquaint you that our great Prelates were ſo near an *Infallibility*, that they were always found in the Seſſion of one Mind in the Lords Houſe: Yet the Lay-Lords not underſtanding from how excellent a Principle this proceeded, commonly call'd them, for that Reaſon, the DEAD WEIGHT; and they really prov'd ſo in the following Buſineſs, *the Teſt*, we are about to treat of. It is but Juſtice to the Memory of that *Dead Weight*, to ſee and remember who they were that compos'd it.

call'd the Dead Weight.

Their Names.

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Iſaac Barrow*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*; Dr. *Humphry Lloyd*, Biſhop of *Bangor*; Dr. *Peter Mew*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; Dr. *Guy Carlton*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*; Dr. *Peter Gunning*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *Thomas Wood*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; Dr. *Benjamin Lany*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Anthony Sparrow*, Biſhop of *Exeter*; Dr. *John Prichard*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; Dr. *Herbert Croſts*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; Dr. *Francis Davies*, Biſhop of *Llandaff*; Dr. *William Fuller*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Humphry Henchman*, Biſhop of *London*; Dr. *Henry Compton*, Biſhop of *Oxford*; Dr. *John Dolben*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; Dr. *Seth Ward*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*; Dr. *George Morley*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; Dr. *Walter Blanford*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*; Dr. *Richard Sterne*, Archbiſhop of *York*; Dr. *Edward Rainbow*, Biſhop of *Carliſle*; Dr. *Nehemiah Crew*, Biſhop of *Durham*. I mention no more of the then Reigning Prelates, for the reſt were truly Right Reverend Fathers of the Proteſtant Church of *England*; Biſhop *Lucy*, Biſhop *Reynolds*, Biſhop *Pearſon*, Prelates equally celebrated for Piety and Learning, whoſe Names are too precious to be enroll'd in the Liſt of the *Dead Weight*, of which they were not deem'd a Part.

The *Teſt* Act receiv'd its firſt Reading, and was appointed for the Second without much Oppoſition: At the ſecond Reading, the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the Court Lords, recommended the Bill to the Houſe in ſet elaborate Speeches, the Keeper calling it, *A moderate Security to the Church and State*, and that no honeſt Man cou'd refuſe it; and whoſoever did, gave great Suſpicion of dangerous and Anti-monarchical Principles. The other Lords declaim'd very much upon the *Rebellion of the late Times*, the great Number of *Fanaticks*, the dangerous Principles of Rebellion ſtill remaining. The Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and ſome other Country Lords, earneſtly preſs'd that the Bill might be laid aſide, and that they might not be engag'd in the Debate of it; or elſe, that that Freedom they ſhou'd be forc'd to uſe in the neceſſary Defence of their Opinion, and the preſerving of their Laws, Rights, and Liberties, might not be miſconſtru'd. What they ſpoke, had ſo much Reaſon in it, that all the Lords who were at Liberty from Court Engagements, reſolv'd to oppoſe to the uttermoſt a Bill of ſo dangerous Conſequence. When it was carry'd by Numbers to go upon it, the following Lords enter'd their Proteſts againſt it, with their Reaſons for it. A.D.1675

Lords Proteſt againſt it.

" We whoſe Names are under-written, being " Peers of this Realm, do, according to our Rights, " and the antient Uſage of Parliaments, declare, " that the Queſtion having been put, Whether " the Bill, entitled, *An Act to prevent*, &c. doth " ſo far intrench upon the Privileges of this Houſe, " that it ought therefore to be caſt out, it being " reſolv'd in the *Negative*. We do humbly con- " ceive that any Bill which impoſeth an Oath " upon the Peers, with a Penalty, as this doth, " that upon Refuſal of that Oath, they ſhall be " made incapable of Sitting and Voting in this " Houſe. As it is a Thing unprecedented in for- " mer Times, ſo it is in our humble Opinion the " higheſt Invaſion of the Liberties and Privileges " of the Peerage that poſſibly may be, and moſt " deſtructive of the Freedom which they ought " to enjoy as Members of Parliament; becauſe " the Privileges of Sitting and Voting in a Par- " liament, is an Honour they have by Birth, and " a Right ſo inherent in them, and inſeparable " from them, as that nothing can take it away, " but what the Laws of the Land muſt withal " take away their Lives, and corrupt their Blood; " upon which Ground, we do here enter our *Diſ-* " *ſent* from that *Vote*, and our Proteſtation a- " gainſt it.

Buckingham, *Bridgwater*, *Wincheſter*, *Saliſbury*, *Bedford*, *Dorſet*, *Ailesbury*, *Briſtol*, *Denbeigh*, *Paget*, *Hollis*, *Petre*, *Howard* Earl of *Berks*, *Mohun*, *Stamford*, *Hallifax*, *De la Mer*, *Eure*, *Shaftsbury*, *Clarendon*, *Grey* Roll. *Say and Sele*, *Wharton*.

Notwithſtanding this, the great Officers and *Biſhops* call'd out for the Queſtion, of referring the Bill to a Committee, which the Country Lords oppos'd, in a Debate that laſted five Days, and then it was committed: Againſt which the following Proteſtation was enter'd.

Another.

The Queſtion being put, Whether the Bill, entitled, An Act to prevent the Dangers, &c. *ſhou'd be committed, it being carry'd in the Affirmative; and though after ſeveral Day's Debates, we are in no manner ſatisfy'd, but ſtill apprehending that this Bill doth not only ſubvert the Privilege and Birth-right of the Peers, by impoſing an Oath upon them, with the Penalty of loſing their Places in Parliament; but alſo, as we humbly conceive, ſtrike at the very Root of Government, it being neceſſary to Governments to have Freedom of Votes and Debates, in thoſe who have Power to alter and make Laws; and beſides, the expreſs Words of the* Bill *obliging every Man to abjure all Endeavours to alter the Government in the* Church, *without Regard to any thing that Rules of Prudence in the Government,*

A.D.1675 *Government, or Chriſtian Compaſſion to Proteſtant Diſſenters, as the Neceſſity of Affairs at any Time ſhall or may require; upon theſe Conſiderations, we humbly think it to be of dangerous Conſequence to have any Bill of this Nature ſo much as committed, and do enter our Diſſent to that Vote, and Proteſtation againſt it.*

Buckingham, Winton, Salisbury, Denbigh, Howard *of* Berks, Briſtol, Clarendon, Stamford, Shaftsbury, Wharton, Mohun, De la Mer.

The Court Lords and Biſhops fell furiouſly on the *Proteſters*, endeavouring not only to get ſevere Proceedings againſt their Perſons, but to take away the Liberty of *Proteſting*, with Reaſons, which *Denzil* Lord *Holles* defended with ſo great Ability and Learning, that all the oppoſite Party cou'd obtain by a Debate of ſeveral Hours, was a Vote, *That the Reaſons given in the ſaid Proteſtation, did reflect on the Honour of the Houſe, and were of dangerous Conſequence.* There happen'd ſomething in this Debate, ſo very much to the Honour of the Lord *Holles*, that I cannot paſs it by: For when it was at the Height, and the Proteſting Lords in danger of the *Tower*, he begg'd Leave of the Houſe to put his Name to that *Proteſt*, and take his Fortune with thoſe Lords; becauſe his Sickneſs had forc'd him out of the Houſe the Day before, and not being at the Queſtion, he cou'd not by the Rules of the Houſe ſign it. You ſee what Affection the Promoters of this *Teſt* had to their own and their Fellow-Subjects Liberties; what Spirit the Sticklers for the divine, indefeaſible, and unalienable Right of Princes, have always been animated by; how naturally ſuch Doctrines lead Men to every thing that is Slaviſh and Arbitrary: And had not the Fate of King *James* made it a Jeſt for *Church-men* to preach as they do, the ſame Sanction wou'd have been ſtill fix'd on them. One of the Biſhops then living, liv'd long enough not only to unſwear what was to be ſworn by this impious Oath, but actually to take Arms, not only againſt thoſe commiſſion'd by the King, but againſt the King himſelf. The Treaſurer *Danby* did not only unſwear what was by this impious Oath to be ſworn, but did actually take Arms againſt the King, againſt thoſe commiſſion'd by him, and give his Vote for *Abdicating* one King, and Crowning another, twelve or thirteen Years after he labour'd ſo much to have this *Teſt* impos'd upon the Nation. The Country Lords reſenting the Vote paſs'd againſt their *Proteſtation*, enter'd another in theſe Words:

Lord Holles's *publick Spirit.*

Danby's Inconſiſtency.

" Whereas it is the undoubted Privilege of " each Peer in Parliament, when a Queſtion is " paſs'd contrary to his Vote and Judgment, to " enter his Proteſtation againſt it; and that in " purſuance thereof, the Bill, entitled, *An Act* " *to prevent the Dangers*, &c. being conceiv'd " by ſome Lords to be of ſo dangerous Nature, " as that it was not fit to receive the Countenance " of a Commitment, thoſe Lords did *proteſt* a- " gainſt the Commitment of the ſaid Bill; and " the Houſe having taken Exception at ſome Ex- " preſſions in their *Proteſtation*, thoſe Lords who " were preſent at the Debate, did all of them ſe- " verally and voluntarily declare, that they had " no Intention to reflect upon any Member, much " leſs upon the whole Houſe, which is humbly " conceiv'd was more than in Strictneſs did con- " ſiſt with that abſolute Freedom of *proteſting*, " which is inſeparable from every Member of " this Houſe, and was done by them meerly out " of their great Reſpect to the Houſe, and their " earneſt Deſire to give all Satisfaction concern- " ing themſelves, and the Clearneſs of their In- " tentions: Yet the Houſe not ſatisfy'd with this A.D.1675 " their Declaration, but proceeding to a Vote, " *That the Reaſons given in the ſaid Proteſtation do reflect upon the Honour of the Houſe, and are of dangerous Conſequence.* We whoſe Names " are under-written, conceiving our ſelves, and " the whole Houſe of Peers extreamly concern'd, " that this great Wound ſhou'd be given (as we " humbly apprehend, to ſo eſſential a Privilege " of the whole Peerage of this Realm, as that " of *proteſting*) do now, according to our un- " queſtionable Right, make uſe of the ſame Li- " berty to enter this our *Diſſent* from, and *Pro- " teſtation* againſt the ſaid *Vote*.

Bucks, Winton, Bedford, Dorſet, Salisbury, Bridgwater, Denbigh, Berks, Clarendon, Aileſbury, Shaftsbury, Say and Sele, Hallifax, Audley, Fitzwalter, Eure, Wharton, Mohun, Holles, De la Mer, Grey Roll.

It is with Pleaſure we meet with ſo many Illuſtrious Names vigorouſly withſtanding a Bill contriv'd by the *Biſhops* againſt the Liberty of a Free People. It muſt give one a Horror of thoſe mad Proceedings in the Days of *Anarchy*, when an Aſſembly, full of ſo many noble Patriots as the Houſe of Peers, was voted *Uſeleſs* and *Dangerous*. The Uſe and Safety of them have eminently appear'd in later Times; and there is not a good *Engliſh-man*, who does not reflect with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude on the gallant Stand they have made, when more than once the Deſigns of ill Men had taken Effect without it, as in the Time of the laſt Treaſurer, the *Utrecht* Peace, &c. It cannot be ſaid, that theſe proteſting Lords were *Schiſmaticks* and *Fanaticks*, were the Lords *Dorſet*, *Berks*, *Clarendon*, *Ailsbury*, *Hallifax*, *Briſtol*, &c. charg'd with *Schiſmatical* or *Antimonarchical Principles*? Did they not carry the Prerogatives of the *Church* and Crown as high as the Higheſt? and only refus'd to ſacrifice their Underſtandings, and their Birth-rights to the Advancement of them. There ſeems to be no greater Complement to the Crown, than an *unlimited* Obedience; but that Complement is paid by thoſe who attack it in Eſſentials, and wou'd deprive it of its *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy*, which ſhews us for what Reaſon it was, that an abſolute Dominion was ſo furiouſly preach'd up in King *Charles*'s, King *James*, and the latter Part of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, when the Miniſters were as bad as in the Reigns of thoſe Kings. That Dominion was not to center in the Prince only, but to be divided by the *Prieſthood*. If the Power of the Crown was allow'd to be boundleſs, the *Church* was at the ſame time declar'd to be *Independant*, and the Obedience of theſe Men is conſequently of no more Extent than they think fit, they being themſelves their own Judges, and, as they pretend, the *State* having no Right to bring them to Judgment.

Houſe of Peers great Patriots in the worſt of Times.

The Lords againſt the Bill, after it was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, obtain'd two previous Votes which much enervated it, " That no Oath ſhould be impos'd by any " Bill upon the Peers, with the Penalty, in Caſe " of Refuſal, to loſe their Places or Votes in " Parliament, or Liberty to debate therein." In this Debate it was urg'd, that the Penalty ſhou'd be a *Præmunire*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* laugh'd that out of the Houſe, by a Speech, to this Effect: *He deſir'd their Lordſhips to conſider what a* Præmunire *was, which they were to be under, if they did not take the Oaths, tho' they were to keep their Seats in Parliament. By a* Præmunire *we are to be ſtripp'd of all we have, and as we go along the Streets, any body may take our*

Duke of Buckingham *laugh'd the* Præmunire *out of the Bill.*

A.D. 1675 E. of Clarendon.

our Cloaths from us, ſaying, You are in a Præmunire. *If any one in Compaſſion ſhould give a Lord a new Coat to cover his Nakedneſs, the next Man he meets, may take it away again, ſaying*, You are in a Præmunire, *and have right to nothing: However, the ſtripp'd Peer has his Seat in Parliament ſtill, and may ſit here without Waſtecoat or Breeches*; which ſet the Houſe a laughing, and was the Occaſion of dropping that Penalty.

The other previous Vote was, "That there "ſhould be nothing in this Bill which ſhould "extend to deprive either of the Houſes of Par- "liament, or any of their Members, of their juſt "and antient Freedom and Privileges, of Debating "any Matter or Buſineſs, which ſhall be pro- "pos'd or debated in either of the ſaid Houſes, "or at any Conference or Committee of both, or "either of the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, touch- "ing the *Repeal* or *Alteration* of any old, or "preparing any new Laws, or the Redreſſing any "publick Grievance; but that the ſaid Members "of either of the ſaid Houſes, and the Aſſiſtants "of the Houſe of Peers, and every of them ſhall "have the ſaid Freedom of Speech, and all other "Privileges whatſoever they had before the ma- "king of this Act."—However, upon the Report from the Committee, a Vote paſs'd, *That all Perſons who have, or ſhall have Right to ſit and vote, in either Houſe of Parliament, ſhall have the Oath impos'd upon them*; againſt which the following Lords *proteſted*.

Bucks, Bedford, Winton, Salisbury, Berks, Bridgwater, Stamford, Clarendon, Denbigh, Dorſet, Shaftsbury, Wharton, Eure, De la Mer, Paget, Mohun.

It was obſerv'd by the Earl of *Bolingbroke*, a Man of great Abilities, and learned in the Laws, that tho' there was *a Proviſo to preſerve the Freedom of Debates, yet the Oath remain'd notwithſtanding that Proviſo* upon all Men that ſhall take it as a Prohibition, either by Speech or Writing, to endeavour any *Alteration* in Religion, *Church* or *State*, even upon the Members of both Houſes, otherwiſe than as they Speak and Vote in open Parliaments or Committees. This was ſeconded by my Lord *De la Mer*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* preſently drew up ſome Words for preſerving the ſame Rights, Privileges and Freedoms which Men then enjoy'd by Law. It was now that the Court Lords and Biſhops ſhew'd with the greateſt Plainneſs what they aim'd at, inſomuch that the Duke of *Lauderdale*, tho' under the Load of two Addreſſes, told the Committee, as did alſo the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, *they intended to* PREVENT *Caballing againſt the Government*. A good Government fears no *Caballing*; nothing can be ſaid of it but what is good; and a bad one, ſuch as this was, cannot prevent it. He that's oppreſs'd will ſpeak, as he that's in Pain will moan. Several ſtrong Reaſons were urg'd againſt depriving People of their natural Right, the Uſe of their Tongue; the Laws had ſufficiently bound them already, they cou'd not ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the Government without Puniſhment, and now they cannot ſpeak it without Perjury. It is monſtrous to think that this Bill was carry'd thro' every Queſtion by *Biſhops*, without whom the Country Lords wou'd have been the Majority.

To prevent any more Proteſtations, the Houſe for the Future, reported not the Votes of the Committee, and Parts of the Bill as they paſs'd them, but took the ſame Order as is obſerv'd in other Bills, not to report to the Houſe, till they had gone thro' with it, and then to report all the Amendments together. The Bill being read, the

A.D. 1675 Lord Halifax's *Speech againſt Oaths.*

Lord *Halliſax* ſpoke admirably againſt *Oaths* of any Kind. "That as there really was no Se- "curity to any State by *Oaths*, ſo alſo no private "Perſons, much leſs States-Men, wou'd ever or- "der his Affairs, as relying on it. No Man "wou'd ever ſleep with open Doors, or unlock'd "up Treaſure, ſhou'd all the Town be ſworn "not to rob: So that the Uſe of Multiplying "Oaths had been moſt commonly to exclude or "diſturb ſome honeſt conſcientious Men, who "would not have prejudic'd the Government." *Cou'd not the* Biſhops *think of this, thoſe whoſe Function it was to direct Mens Conſciences right, cou'd they not forbear miſguiding or diſturbing them*? His Lordſhip inſiſted, "That the *Oath* "impos'd by the Bill, contain'd three Clauſes, the "two former Aſſertory, and the laſt Promiſſary, "and that it was worthy the Conſideration of the "*Biſhops*, whether Aſſertory Oaths, which were "properly appointed to give Teſtimony of Mat- "ter of Fact, of which a Man is capable of "being aſſur'd by the Evidence of his Senſe, be "lawfully to be made uſe of, to confirm or in- "validate Doctrinal Propoſitions; and whether "that Legiſlative Power which impoſes ſuch an "Oath, doth not neceſſarily aſſume to itſelf *In- "fallibility*? And as for Promiſſary Oaths, it was "deſir'd that thoſe learned Prelates wou'd conſi- "der the Opinion of *Grotius*, *de Jure Belli & "Pacis*, who ſeems to make it plain that thoſe "kind of *Oaths* are forbidden by our *Saviour*; "and whether it wou'd not become the Fathers "of our Church, when they have well weigh'd "the Place he notes out of the New Teſtament, "to be more tender in multiplying Oaths, than "hitherto the great Men of the Church have "been." But whatever this Lord, and others, cou'd ſay to the contrary, the Biſhops, ſays Mr. *Locke*, carry'd the Point, and an *Oath* was order'd by the major Vote.

The next Part of the Debate was about Members of Parliament, &c. and the previous Votes were urg'd in their Behalf; but the Lord Keeper, who mov'd to have them inſerted, ſaid, with equal Reſolution and Eloquence, the Houſe was Maſter of their own Orders, and the Interpretation of them.

Debate of taking Arms.

When theſe Words, *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King*, came to be conſider'd, the Lords againſt the Bill urg'd, that it might introduce a great Change of Government, to oblige all Men in great Truſt in *England*, to declare the exact Boundary and Extent of the *Oath* of *Allegiance*, and enforce ſome Things to be ſtated, that are much better involv'd in Generals. There is a Law of 25 *Edward* III. *That Arms ſhall not be taken up againſt the King*, and that it is *Treaſon* to do ſo, and it is a juſt and reaſonable Law, but it is an idle Queſtion at beſt, to ask whether Arms in any Caſe, can be taken up againſt a lawful Prince? becauſe it unneceſſarily brings in the Debate in every Man's Mind, how there can be a Diſtinction then left, between abſolute and bounded Monarchies, if Monarchs have only the Fear of God, and no Fear of *Humane Reſiſtance* to reſtrain them? The Arguments are of that Length, that I can only give the Reader a Hint of them; the Strength of them was ſuch, that the Court, and Court Lords took Care to have them burnt as ſoon as made publick.

The next Thing in the Debate was, that Part of the *Teſt*, from whence it took the Name of the *Oath of Abhorrence*. *I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority, againſt his Perſon*: To which it was objected, that the

A.D.1675 *Poſition*, as here laid down, is *Univerſal*, and yet in moſt Caſes, it is not to be *abhorr'd* by *honeſt* and wiſe Men. For there is but one Caſe, and that never likely to happen again, where this *Poſition* is like to be traiterous, and that is the Caſe of the *Long Parliament*, made *Perpetual* by the King's own Act, by which the Government was perfectly alter'd, and made inconſiſtent with it's ſelf. Then Inſtances were given, wherein this Poſition was ſo far from being *Traiterous*, that it was both neceſſary and a Duty: As in the two Caſes of *Henry* VI. of *England* and *Charles* VI. of *France*, who were both in the Hands of their Enemies, and not to have taken Arms againſt thoſe who aſſum'd their Authority, and had their Perſons for their Warrant, wou'd certainly have been a Breach of their Allegiance. In theſe and the like Caſes it was not pretended but that the ſtrict Letter of the Law might be otherwiſe conſtrued, and the old Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid, *That to take up Arms in ſuch Caſes is not againſt, but for the Perſon of the King*. In which his Lordſhip did not ſeem to be entirely of the ſame Mind with the Lord Keeper, who, to teſtify his own Abhorrency, had this Expreſſion in a Speech of his, *Away with that ill-meant Diſtinction between Natural and Political Capacities*. To which Mr. *Marvel* thus replys, " He is too well " read to be ignorant that without that Diſtin- " ction there wou'd be no *Law*, nor Reaſon of " Law left in *England*. To which End it was, " and to put all out of Doubt that this *Teſt* re- " quires to declare Men's *Abhorrency* as of a " *Traiterous Poſition*, to take Arms againſt thoſe " that are commiſſion'd by him in Purſuance of " ſuch Commiſſion, and yet neither the Tenor " nor Rule of any ſuch Commiſſion ſpecify'd, " nor the Qualifications of thoſe that ſhall be " arm'd with ſuch Commiſſion expreſs'd or li- " mited. Never was ſo much Senſe contain'd " in ſo few Words. No Conveyancer cou'd in " more compendious or binding Terms have " *drawn* a *Diſſettlement* of the whole Birth-right " of *England*." This naturally brings me to the third Part of the *Teſt*, or *againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by them*. Upon this it was obſerv'd, That if any King hereafter ſhould, contrary *to* the *Petition of Right*, demand or levy Money by *Privy-Seal* or otherwiſe, and cauſe Soldiers to enter and diſtrain for ſuch illegal Taxes; in ſuch a Caſe any Man might defend his Houſe againſt them, and yet this is contrary to the Words of the Declaration made in this *Teſt*. The Lord Keeper ſaid, theſe were *remote Inſtances*. But a Man of as much Senſe, and much more Wit than the Lord Keeper, ſays the quite contrary. *Theſe things*, to uſe *Marvel*'s Words, *are no Nicieties or remote Conſiderations*: And he was ſtill better told by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *They will not hereafter prove ſo, when this Declaration has made the Practice of them juſtifiable*. Here, according to Mr. *Locke*, the Mask was plainly pluck'd off, Arbitrary Government appear'd bare-fac'd, and a Standing Army was to be eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament. For it was ſaid by ſeveral of the Lords, *That if whatever is by the King's Commiſſion be not oppos'd by the King's Authority, then a Standing Army is Law, whenever the King pleaſes*; and yet the King's Commiſſion was never thought ſufficient to protect or juſtify any Man, where it is againſt his Authority, which is the Law. This allow'd, alters the whole Law of *England* in the moſt Eſſential and Fundamental Parts of it, and makes the whole Law of Property become Arbitrary and without Effect whenever the King pleaſes.

Againſt thoſe commiſſion'd by the King.

It is to be wiſh'd, that all good *Engliſh-men* A.D.1675 wou'd ſeriouſly conſider who were the Men, and what their Principles, that wou'd have reduc'd us to the Condition of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, to have depended on the *Will of the Prince*; and the worſt Princes are ever fond of ſuch Dependance upon them. One cannot have a better Notion of the fatal Conſequences which muſt have attended this *Teſt*, if it prevail'd, than by what *Andrew Marvel* writes of it; *For as to the Commiſſion, if it be to take away any Man's Eſtate or his Life by Force, yet it is the King's Commiſſion. Or if the Perſon commiſſion'd be under never ſo many Diſabilities by Act of Parliament, yet his* taking *this Oath removes all thoſe Incapacities, or his Commiſſion makes it not diſputable. But if a Man ſtood upon his Defence, a good Judge for the Purpoſe*, and good Judges, as we have ſeen, were provided, *finding that the Poſition was Traiterous, will declare that, by this* Law *he is to be executed for* Treaſon. As ſtrong as the Court Party and Biſhops were in the Houſe, ſuch was the Power of Truth, that they cou'd not carry this abominable Declaration, without adding *againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him according to Law in Time of Rebellion and War*.

We come now to what will fully evidence the Deſigns of the Clergy by ſuch unwarrantable Complacency to the Court. The *Church* Government muſt not on any Account be alter'd no more than the State. *I do ſwear, that I will not at any Time endeavour the Alteration of the Government in Church or State*. Againſt which the Objection lay moſt plain and ſtrongat the firſt Entrance of the Oath; that there was no Care taken of the *Doctrine*, but only of the *Diſcipline* of the Church, which points out to one as much as with a Finger, what the Biſhops had then chiefly in View. The *Papiſts* need not ſcruple the taking this *Oath*, for *Epiſcopacy* remain'd in it's full Luſtre, tho' the *Popiſh* Religion was introduc'd. But the King's *Supremacy* is joſtled aſide by this Oath, and makes better Room for an Eccleſiaſtical one; inſomuch that the Party were forc'd immediately to have it thus worded, *I will not endeavour to alter the* Proteſtant Religion, *or the Government of Church and State*. And they valu'd themſelves ſo much on their Condeſcenſion in the Matter, that they now call'd their Teſt *a Security for the* Proteſtant Religion. Mr. *Locke* expreſſes himſelf thus on this Occaſion, *But the Country Lords wonder'd at their Confidence in this, ſince they had never thought of it before, and had been* by pure Shame *compell'd to this Addition; for it was not unknown to them, that ſome of the Biſhops themſelves had told ſome* Roman Catholick Lords *of the Houſe, that Care had been taken that it might be ſuch an* Oath *as might not bear upon them*. There was a great Struggle againſt the Words *Endeavour to alter*. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* ſaid, *It is a far different Thing to believe, or to be fully perſuaded of the Truth of the Doctrine of our* Church, *and to ſwear* never to endeavour to alter, *which laſt muſt be utterly unlawful, unleſs you place an Infallibility in the* Church *or your ſelf; you being otherwiſe oblig'd to alter, whenever a clearer or better Light comes to you*. And he deſir'd Leave to ask, *Where are the Boundaries*? or, *Where ſhall we find how much is meant by the* Proteſtant Religion? The Lord Keeper thinking he had got an Advantage, deſires *it might not be told in* Gath, *nor publiſh'd in the Streets of* Askelon, *that a Lord of ſo great Parts and Eminence, and profeſſing himſelf for the* Church of England, *ſhou'd not know what is meant by the Proteſtant Religion*: And I muſt

No Care of Doctrine.

Biſhops favour the Papiſts.

Earl of Shaftsbury's Speech.

A.D. 1675

desire that it may be told in *Gath*, and publiſh'd in the Streets of *Askelon*, that whatever the Lord Keeper might do, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* did not know what is meant by the Proteſtant Religion, by his Definition of it, *the Thirty-nine Articles, the Liturgy, the Catechiſm, the Homilies, and the Canons*; there not being one Proteſtant Doctor of the Reform'd Church in all Chriſtendom, who wou'd have ſo interpreted it on the Continent. But the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, in his Reply, ſhew'd he knew more of the Matter than both the *Biſhop* and the *Keeper*.

Biſhop Morley's *rare Definition of the Proteſtant Religion.*

Earl of Shaftsbury's *Anſwer.*

" I beg ſo much Charity of you to believe that " I know the Proteſtant Religion ſo well, and " am ſo confirm'd in it, that I hope I ſhou'd *burn* " for the Witneſs of it, if Providence ſhou'd call " me to it. But I may perhaps think ſome Things " not *neceſſary* which you account *eſſential*: Nay, " I may think ſome Things not true, or agree- " able to Scripture, which you may call *Doctrines* " of the *Church*. Beſides, when I am to ſwear " never to endeavour *to alter*, it is certainly ne- " ceſſary to know how far the Extent of this " Oath is; but ſince you have told me that the " *Proteſtant Religion* is in thoſe *Five Tracts*, I " have ſtill Power to ask, Whether you mean " thoſe whole *Tracts* were the *Proteſtant Reli-* " *gion*, or only that the *Proteſtant Religion* is " contain'd in all theſe, but that every Part of " theſe are not the *Proteſtant Religion*? If you " mean the former of theſe, then I am extream- " ly in the Dark to find the Doctrine of *Predeſti-* " *nation* in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth Arti- " cles, to be own'd by ſo few great Doctors of " the *Church*, and to find the nineteenth Article to " define the *Church* directly as the *Independants* " do. Beſides, the twentieth *Article* ſtating the " Authority of the Church, is very dark, and " either contradicts itſelf, or ſays nothing, or what " is contrary to the known Laws of the Land.

Objections to ſeveral of the xxxix *Articles,*

" *Further*, Several other Things in the thirty- " nine Articles have been preach'd and written " againſt by Men of great Favour, Power, and " Preferment in the *Church*.

" I humbly conceive the *Liturgy* is not ſo Sa- " cred, being made by Men the other Day, and " thought to be more differing from the *Diſſent-* " *ing Proteſtants*, and leſs eaſy to be comply'd " with, upon the Advantage of a *Pretence* well " known to us all, of *making Abatements as might* " *the better invite them*, inſtead of which, there's " ſcarce one Alteration but widens the Breach, " and no Ordination allow'd by it here (as it now " ſtands laſt *Reform'd* by the Act of Uniformity) " but what is *Epiſcopal*. So that a *Popiſh* Prieſt, " when converted, is capable of any Church Pre- " ferment, without *Re-ordination*; but a *Prote-* " *ſtant* Miniſter, not *Epiſcopally* Ordain'd, is re- " quir'd to be *Re-ordain'd*. As much as in us lies, " *unchurching* all the Foreign *Proteſtants* that " *have not Biſhops*, though the contrary was both " allow'd and practis'd from the Beginning of the " *Reformation* to the Time of that *Act*, and ſe- " veral Biſhops made of ſuch as were never *or-* " *dain'd Prieſts* by *Biſhops*; and I think, to en- " deavour to alter and reſtore the *Liturgy* to what " it was in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Days, may con- " ſiſt with my being a very good *Proteſtant*. As " to the *Catechiſm*, I really think it may be amend- " ed, and dare declare to you, it is not well that " there is not a better made. For the *Homilies*, " I believe there may be a better Book made; " and *Homily* the *third*, of *Repairing and keep-* " *ing Clean Churches*, may be omitted. What is " yet ſtronger than all this, the *Canons* of our " *Church* are directly the old *Popiſh Canons*, " which are full in Force, and no other, as will " appear, if you turn to *Stat.* 25 Hen. VIII. *cap.* 10. " confirm'd and renew'd by 1 *Eliz.* where all " thoſe *Canons* are eſtabliſh'd, till an Alteration " ſhall be made by the King in purſuance of that " Act; which was attempted by *Edward* VI. " but not perfected, and let alone ever ſince, for " what Reaſon the Lords the Biſhops can beſt " tell; and it is very hard to be oblig'd by *Oath* " not to *endeavour to alter* either the *Engliſh Com-* " *mon-Prayer*, or the *Canon of the Maſs*.

to Ordination.

Foreign Proteſtants un- *church'd by us.*

A.D. 1675

The Reaſons of this Lord, and others, who ſpoke to the ſame Thing, were ſo cogent, that the Houſe ſeem'd convinc'd of the Neceſſity of an Expedient.

The Lord *Wharton* offer'd, as a Cure to the whole *Oath*, and what might make it paſs in all the Parts of it, to add theſe Words at the latter End, *As the ſame is, or ſhall be eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament*: But, ſays Mr. *Locke*, *this was not endur'd at all.* The Lord *Grey* of *Rolleſtone* offer'd another *Expedient*, which was the Addition of theſe Words, by *Force or Fraud*, and then it wou'd have run thus: *I do ſwear not to endeavour by Force or Fraud to alter*: This was alſo a Cure that wou'd have paſs'd the whole Oath, the Duke of *York* and Biſhop of *Rocheſter* both ſeconding it; but the Lord Treaſurer, who, ſays Mr. *Locke*, *had privately before conſented to it, ſpeaking againſt it, gave the Word and Sign to that Party*; *and it being put to the Queſtion, the major Vote anſwer'd all Arguments.* This Lord Treaſurer is the ſame who, when Sir *Thomas Osborn*, had been a main Inſtrument in rejecting this very *Teſt* at *Oxford*; but his *Staff* was ſo beneficial to his ſmall Fortunes, which ſtood in indiſpenſable Need of Recruits, that he abandon'd all his Sentiments of Liberty, and became the Tool of Arbitrary Power. The Conſpirators were ſo fluſh'd by their *Majority*, that without conſidering the Remainder of the *Teſt*, they wou'd have it put to the Queſtion entire; which was oppos'd by the Lord *Mohun*, and afterwards by as great Diſorder in the Houſe as ever had been ſeen there, *proceeding*, to uſe Mr. *Locke*'s Words, *from the Rage thoſe unreaſonable Practices had caus'd in the Country* Lords, *who ſtood up in a Body, and cry'd out*, ADJOURN, ADJOURN, *with ſo loud a continued Voice, that when Silence was obtain'd, Fear did what Reaſon cou'd not do, and put off the Queſtion for the whole Teſt.*

Danby's Deceit.

Now comes the Conſideration of the latter Part of the *Oath*. The Lords againſt the Bill objected, *That it was not agreeable to the King's Crown and Dignity, to have his Subjects ſworn to the Government of the Church equally as to himſelf*; that it ought to be well underſtood before ſuch an *Act* paſs'd, *what the Government of the Church was*, and what the Boundaries; whether it derives no Power, nor Authority, nor the Exerciſe of any Power, Authority, or Function, but from the *King, as Head of the Church*, and from God, as through him all his other Officers do; otherwiſe there wou'd be *Imperium in Imperio*, and two diſtinct ſupream Powers, inconſiſtent with each other, in the ſame Place, and over the ſame Perſons. Mr. *Locke* tells us, *The* Biſhops *alledg'd, that the Prieſthood, their Power and Authorities, were deriv'd immediately from God*; *but that the Licence of exerciſing that Authority and Power in any Country, is deriv'd from the Civil Magiſtrate.* To which it was reply'd, *That it was dangerous to ſecure by* Oath *and Act of Parliament thoſe in the Exerciſe of an Authority and Power in the King's Country, and over his Subjects, which being receiv'd from Chriſt himſelf, cannot be alter'd or limited by the King's Law*; *and that this was directly to ſet the* Mitre *above the* Crown.

Homilies objected againſt.

It

A.D. 1675 It was further offer'd, that this *Oath* was the greateſt Attempt that had been made againſt the King's *Supremacy* ſince the *Reformation*. For the King in Parliament may alter, diminiſh, or enlarge, or take away any Biſhoprick: He may take away any Part of a Dioceſs, or a whole Dioceſs, and put them under Deans or other Perſons; for if this be not lawful, but that *Epiſcopacy* ſhou'd be *Jure Divino*, the maintaining the Government as it is now is unlawful; ſo that, at beſt, the Government wants *Alteration* that is ſo imperfectly ſettled.

The Lord *Stafford*, whoſe Fate afterwards is ſo well known, as great a Bigot as he was to Popery, though he had till now been for the Bill, yet ſuch was the Strength of the Reaſons againſt it, with reſpect to this Part of the *Teſt*, that he freely declar'd, *There ought to be an Addition to it, for preſerving the Freedom of Debates in Parliament*; which was alſo ſtrongly ſupported by the Earls of *Bridgwater*, *Clarendon*, *Denbigh*, and *Ailesbury*; and the oppoſite Party was in the End oblig'd to agree that the *Oath* ſhou'd run thus: *I* A. B. *do ſwear, that I will not endeavour to alter the* Proteſtant Religion, *now by Law eſtabliſh'd in the Church of* England; *nor the Government of the Kingdom, in Church or State, as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd.* And a *Proviſo* for Freedom of Debates in Parliament was mention'd, which breaking the main Deſign of the Bill, it was from thence-forward manag'd with leſs Warmth by the Favourers of it. The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, before the finiſhing of the *Oath*, tender'd an additional one, which wou'd have been very ſerviceable to the Publick if it cou'd have paſs'd.

M. of Winton's Oath againſt Places and Penſions.

I A. B. *do ſwear, that I will never by Threats, Injunctions, Promiſes, Advantages, or Invitation, by or from any Perſon whatſoever, nor from the Hopes or Proſpect of any Gift, Place, Office, or Benefit whatſoever, give my Vote other than according to my Opinion and Conſcience, as I ſhall be truly and really perſuaded upon the Debate of any Buſineſs in Parliament.* So help me God. This was intended only to be taken by the Members of Both Houſes. To this the Lord Keeper ſeem'd very averſe, and declar'd it in a Speech that has ſo much Flattery in it, 'tis perfectly nauſeous. *It is an uſeleſs Oath; for all Gifts, Places, and Offices, are likelieſt to come from the King; and no Member of Parliament in either Houſe can do too much for the King, or be too much of his Side; and Men may lawfully and worthily have in their Proſpect ſuch Offices or Benefits from him.* When ſuch Doctrine as this was taught in ſo auguſt an Aſſembly, was it not wonderful that we preſerv'd our Liberties! But there was a noble Band of Peers who ſtood in the Breach, and defended their Birth-right with equal Reaſon and Courage. Theſe reply'd, "That Men had been, might, and "were likely to be, in either Houſe, too much "for the King, as they call'd it, and that who-"ever endeavour'd to give more Power to the "King than the Law and Conſtitution of the "Government had given, eſpecially if it tended "to the introducing an abſolute and arbitrary Go-"vernment, might juſtly be ſaid to do too much "for the King, and to be directed in his Judg-"ment by the Proſpect of Advantages and Re-"wards; though when it is conſider'd, that eve-"ry Deviation of the Crown towards abſolute "Power, leſſens the King in the Love and Af-"fection of his People, making him become leſs "in their Intereſt, a wiſe Prince will not think it a "Service done him." Which modeſt and juſt Reaſoning, ſhews what little need Truth has of any Authority but its own to ſupport it. The Debate having been ſpun on to this Length, the Court-Lords found it was in vain for them to contend with the Country-Lords, who had the Right and the Reaſon on their Side; ſo they reſolv'd to give up the Field of Argument, and rely on their major Vote, which the Duke of *Buckingham* endeavour'd to put off by a Speech made late at Night, conſiſting of eloquent and well-plac'd *Nonſenſe*. But the Earl of *Winchelſea* perceiving what he aim'd at, cry'd out, *The Queſtion, the Queſtion*; and, as Mr. *Locke* phraſes it, the *major Vote*, *Ultima Ratio Senatuum & Conciliorum*, carry'd it as the Court and Clergy wou'd have it. A.D. 1675

Lord Keeper's nauſeous Speech.

He is anſwer'd.

The Debate laſted ſeventeen whole Days, the Houſe during that Time ſat often till Midnight; but the Oppoſition this Bill met with, and a Diſpute about Privilege ariſing between the two Houſes, were the Occaſion that the Lords who were for the Bill took ſo little Care of it afterwards, that 'twas never reported from the Committee to the Houſe.

Never was there ſhewn, ſince the *Reſtoration*, ſuch a Spirit of Liberty as on this Occaſion: This Bill wou'd for ever have put an End to any in *England*. What is moſt inglorious to the Lords who call'd themſelves Proteſtants, and yet gave this Countenance to *Deſpotick* Power, is, that the very *Roman Catholicks* join'd heartily with the other Lords who ſo reſolutely defended their own and the People's Liberties. Beſides the Lord *Stafford* before-mention'd, the Lord *Petre* was warm againſt this Bill, and ſpoke often, as did the Lord *Audley*, and both are to be found among the *Proteſting Lords*; which occaſion'd this very juſt Obſervation of Mr. *Locke*, *But thus much I ſhall ſay of the* Roman Catholick Peers, *That if they were ſafe in their Eſtates, and yet kept out of Office, their Votes in that Houſe wou'd not be the moſt unſafe to* England *of any Sort of Men in it.* And I have the Honour to know a *Roman Catholick* Peer whom I have more than once heard ſpeak with Indignation of thoſe baſe Men, who wou'd ſacrifice the Intereſt and Glory of their Country to Party and Prejudice. I cannot cloſe this Matter, without remembring the Zeal of ſome other Lords, as indeed there was Reaſon for it, their *All* being at Stake. We find the Earls of *Bedford*, *Devonſhire*, *Burlington*, *Stamford*, the Lord *Say* and *Sele*, the Lord *Paget*, the Lord Viſcount *Hereford*, the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on this Occaſion. The Earl of *Carnarvon* came out of the Country on purpoſe to give his Vote againſt this Bill. The Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Sandys*, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, the Lord *North*, and the Lord *Crew*, ſent their Proxies. But to deliver all their Names to Poſterity in Records worthy their Merit, muſt be the Buſineſs of ſome immortal Pen; to which I ſhall be proud to be aſſiſting, by handing them to it as far as they have come to my Knowledge: For theſe that follow were not all, but their Weight and Number became ſo important a Cauſe.

Lords of the Country Party.

Duke of *Buckingham*, Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Earl of *Rutland*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, Earl of *Bridgwater*, Earl of *Bolingbroke*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Briſtol*, Earl of *Carnarvon*, Earl of *Ailesbury*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Stamford*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Earl of *Burlington*, Lord Viſcount *Hereford*, Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Sele*, Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*, Lord *Audley*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Eure*, Lord *Pagett*, Lord *Mohun*,

A.D.1675 *Mohun*, Lord *Sandys*, Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, Lord *Grey* of *Rolleſtone*, Lord *North*, Lord *Crew*, Lord *Petre*, Lord *Holles*, Lord *De la Mer*.

Fagg and Shirley's Caſe.

At the Cloſe of this famous Conteſt, there happen'd as warm a one between the two Houſes about Appeals, in the Caſe of *Fagg* and *Shirley*. The latter, Dr. *Shirley*, brought an Appeal in the Houſe of Lords from a Decree in *Chancery*, againſt Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, which that Houſe look'd upon as an open Infringement of their Privileges: Accordingly they order'd Dr. *Shirley* to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and the firſt Account they heard of him, was, that their Warrant for taking the Doctor into Cuſtody, was forcibly taken from the Serjeant's Deputy by the Lord *Mohun*. The Commons demanded Juſtice againſt the Lord *Mohun*; the Lords juſtify'd him. The Commons voted againſt any Commoner's pleading at the Lord's Bar againſt any Member of their Houſe, and committed Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Peck*, Sir *John Churchil*, and Mr. *Porter*, Council for *Shirley*, to the Cuſtody of their Serjeant, and Sir *John Fagg* to the *Tower*, for his Compliance with the Lords.

Shirley and Fagg's Caſe, the Church.

On this Occaſion the King ſummon'd both Houſes to attend him at *Whitehall*, and told them, he look'd on their Difference about Appeals, to be a *malicious* Deſign againſt the *Church*: For ever ſince the *New Faction* has been form'd, of the *High Epiſcopal Men* and the *Old Cavaliers*, they have taken upon them the Name of the *Church*. Whenever they have been in Danger, the Church has been in Danger; whenever they have flouriſh'd by *Bartholomew* Acts, *Five Mile* Acts, *Schiſm* Acts, *Occaſional* Acts, the *Church* has been flouriſhing. One wou'd think that *Shirley* and *Fagg*'s Caſe had no more to do with the Church of *England* than with the Church of *Geneva*; but it is ſolemnly ſaid from the Throne. Biſhop *Burnet* ſeems to think the Caſe of the Appeal was no Deſign againſt the *Church*, *but that it happen'd in Courſe, though it produc'd great Effects:* For both Houſes ſtanding on their Privileges, and no likelihood appearing of any Accommodation, the King, *June* the 9th, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 13th of *October*. The Commons had voted 300,000 Pounds for building of Ships, but at the ſame time had reſolv'd to appropriate *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, amounting to 400,000 Pounds a Year, to the Uſe of the Navy, as it was firſt deſign'd, which was not at all to the good liking of the Court; who had rather loſe the other 300,000 Pounds, than admit of a Fund to be appropriated to the Navy, which they had appropriated ſo long to more gallant Uſes. Beſides, 'twas viſible enough that the *Penſioners* in the Houſe wou'd not be able to ſupport the Treaſurer *Danby*, and that a great Party had agreed to give no Money while the preſent Lord Treaſurer continu'd in his Office.

Penſioner's baſe Ground.

Echard enlarges on Sir *William Temple*'s Negotiations concerning King *Charles*'s Mediation; *Nimeguen* was named by *Temple*, to be the Place of Treaty: But Mareſchal *de Turenne* being kill'd this Year by a Cannon-Ball in a Skirmiſh, *Triers* taken by the *Germans*, and ſome other Advantages happening on the Side of the Confederates, the King writes immediately to *Temple* to induce the Prince of *Orange* to a Peace by a new Argument, *the Greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, which no doubt was dictated by the *French* Court. The Prince anſwer'd that Chimerical Argument with good Senſe: *There is no Fear of that till they go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees; *whenever that ſhall happen, I ſhall be as good a* French-man *as I am now a* Spaniard. An excellent Saying, if

An excellent Saying of the Prince of Orange.

Wiſdom had had any Weight in our Counſels. *Temple* tells us of Diſcourſe he had with the King about the Affairs abroad, in which there does not appear much Depth of Policy; and he muſt take Sir *William* to know leſs than he did of Men and Things, to think to impoſe what he ſaid as good Reaſon on a Miniſter of his Capacity and Experience. *Some of the Leaders in both Houſes have a Mind to engage me in a War with* France, *which they ſhall not do for many Reaſons, and among the reſt, becauſe I am ſure if they did, they wou'd leave me in it, and make uſe of it to ruin my Miniſters.* He knew they wou'd not leave him in it, if he was in earneſt, and did not miſapply the Money they gave him for the War, on his Women and extravagant Pleaſures. And as to his Miniſters, if they had ſerv'd him, given him faithful Counſel, and manag'd his Revenues as they ought to have done, he wou'd have parted with them as freely as with his Parliament. The true Reaſon, of which he ſaid not a Word, was, that he had a Penſion from the *French* King, and lov'd his Religion and Government, which by the private League between them were to be eſtabliſh'd in *England*. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, *He had round Sums of Money ſent him*. The King deſir'd Sir *William Temple* to reconcile *Arlington* and *Danby*, which was no grateful Employment; for *Arlington* hated *Temple* as a Creature of *Danby*'s, and his Endeavours were ineffectual.

A.D.1675

The King a French *Penſioner.*

There is very little Buſineſs done now in *England*, but what relates to the Parliament, which the Court was afraid of loſing, after they had been at ſuch Expence to keep them *Staunch*. Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* took Occaſion, on a Debate about Grievances, to ſay, *That conſidering the Extent of Privilege, he look'd on a ſtanding Parliament as the greateſt Grievance of the Nation, ſo many Men being exempted from Juſtice, and from the Demands of their Creditors, for ſo long, and ſo indefinite a Time*. Though this Motion was let fall, it was not forgot, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Popiſh Plot.

We have made ſome mention of the *Popiſh Plot*, as it was carry'd on by *Coleman* in Generals, before the Particulars broke out; and by his Letter to the Pope's *Inter-nuntio* of the 30th of *Auguſt* this Year, we find it thrives amain. "The Duke hath almoſt ſurmounted all the Difficulties which have oppos'd his Eſtabliſhment; the Face of Affairs are well chang'd: For we now paſſionately wiſh to ſee the coming on of the Parliament, which we have ſo much fear'd before; and while it was held doubtful whether it ought to meet or no, we employ'd all our Power to bring it on; which Point we have gain'd but within theſe few Days: And for my Part, I no ways doubt but that we ſhall receive as much Good by it, as we apprehend Ill, provided that the Duke fail not in the Execution of the good Reſolutions he hath taken."

Coleman's Letter to the Pope's Inter-nuntio,

In a long Letter to *La Chaiſe*, the *French* King's Confeſſor, he ſays thus: "I take our Caſe to be much the ſame as it was the laſt Seſſions; if we can advance the Duke's Intereſt one Step forward, we ſhall put him out of the Reach of all Chances for ever, and all wou'd come over to him, as the only *ſteady Centre of our Government.*" It is from hence very plain that they look'd not on King *Charles* as a *ſteady Centre*; and being impatient to have a Prince on the Throne who was *ſteady* to them, 'tis not ſtrange that they reſolv'd to remove the *unſteady* One, to place him upon it, whoſe Steadineſs they were ſure of. He proceeds, "In order to this, we have two great Deſigns to attempt the next Seſſions: 1. That which we went about before, *viz. To put*

and to La Chaiſe.

Why the Papiſts againſt the King.

A.D.1675 " *put the Parliament upon making it their hum-*
" *ble Requeſt to the King, that the Fleet may be*
" *put to his Royal Highneſs's Care. 2. To get*
" *an Act for a general Liberty of Conſcience.* If
" we carry theſe two, or either of them, we ſhall
" in Effect do what we liſt afterwards.——There-
" fore if his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſty* wou'd ſtand
" by us a little in this Conjuncture, and help us
" to ſuch a Sum as 20,000 Pounds, which is no
" great Matter to venture upon ſuch an Under-
" taking as this, I wou'd be content to be ſacri-
" fic'd to the utmoſt Malice of my Enemies if I
" did not ſucceed. I have propos'd this ſeveral
" Times to Monſieur *Ruvigny*, who ſeems al-
" ways of my Opinion; but I know not, being
" a *Proteſtant*, whether he will be as zealous in
" this Point as a *Catholick* wou'd be; becauſe our
" prevailing in theſe things *will give the great-*
" *eſt Blow to the* Proteſtant Religion, that ever
" it receiv'd ſince its Birth.

Here *Echard*, after a Popiſh Author, aſſures us, there was not ſo much as a *Snip* of *Paper* diſcover'd againſt the Papiſts who ſuffer'd for the *Plot*. *Coleman* was one of them, and never did Traitor leave ſuch a *Snip* of Treaſon behind him. He writes for 20,000 Pounds, to enable him to deſtroy the Religion of his Country; and again, *Ruvigny*, perhaps, *wou'd not be very glad to ſee it deſtroy'd, eſpecially when he believes there is another way of doing his Maſter's Buſineſs without it, which is by a Diſſolution of the Parliament. But I think our Caſe extreamly alter'd from what it was a Year ago, in relation to a Diſſolution; for then the Body of our governing Miniſters, all but the Earl of* Arlington, *was entirely united to the Duke, and wou'd have govern'd his Way, if they had been free from all Fear and Comptrol, as they wou'd have been, if the Parliament had been diſſolv'd. But having ſince then been engag'd in quite different Counſels, and embark'd themſelves and Intereſts upon other Bottoms, having declar'd themſelves againſt Popery*, &c. *to diſſolve the Parliament ſimply, and without any other Step made, will leave them to govern what way they liſt.* Soon after, and a little before the Meeting of the Parliament, he ſent another Letter to the ſame Confeſſor, which when diſcover'd, made a mighty Impreſſion upon the Nation; and the more, becauſe he told him of writing after a Way inviſible to other People by the Juice of a Lemon. In which Letter he has theſe treaſonable Words; *We have here a mighty Work upon our Hands, no leſs than the* Converſion *of three Kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the ſubduing of a Peſtilent Hereſy. Not a Snip of Paper*, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, *which has domineer'd over a great Part of the* Northern *World a long Time. There were never ſuch Hopes of Succeſs ſince the Death of Queen* Mary, *as now in our Days; when God has given us a Prince who is become (may I ſay a Miracle) zealous of being the Author and Inſtrument of ſo glorious a Work; but the Oppoſition we are ſure to meet with, is alſo like to be great; ſo that it imports us to get all the Aid and Aſſiſtance we can; for the Harveſt is great, and the Labourers but few.* If the Duke of *York* had a Share in this *Treaſon*, equal to what his Secretary vouches for him, what fine Proteſtants were thoſe, who after the Diſcovery of it, treated the Bill of *Excluſion* as *Echard* treats it, a Work of Sedition and Rebellion? The Prince to be excluded is in a Conſpiracy againſt the Religion of the Country he is to reign over, and zealous for its Deſtruction: Yet the *Compleat Hiſtorians* cannot bear to have his Heirſhip interrupted, tho' there was no other Way of ſaving the *Church*, of which they were Members, if not Miniſters.

His Treaſon.

On the 18th of *October* the Parliament met, and the King made a Speech to them, wherein he deſir'd they wou'd lay aſide, or poſtpone the Conteſt in *Shirley* and *Fagg*'s Caſe, between the two Houſes: He recommended to them *the Security of the Proteſtant Religion*, himſelf ſtill a Papiſt, and the providing for the Anticipations of his Funds, and for Building of Ships, *promiſing for the future to be a better Husband than he finds he has been*, though we ſhall not find it in the future Accounts. There is ſo little Conſcience in the Length of the Keeper's Speech, that I ſhall leave it entire in *Echard*'s Chronicle, who boaſts that he has crowded it in all, without Abridgment or Mutilation. He forgets not the King's unwearied Zeal for the *Reform'd Religion*, nor the Anticipations, nor the Building of Ships; but ſince, as the Reverend Hiſtorian informs us, *Neither his Rhetorick, nor his Promiſes, avail'd much with the Houſe of Commons*: We will ſee what they did. A.D.1675

They began with re-aſſuming ſuch publick Bills as they cou'd not compleat laſt Seſſion; as the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the Act againſt ſending *Men Priſoners beyond Sea*; another *againſt raiſing Money without Conſent of Parliament*; a fourth *againſt Papiſts ſitting in either Houſe*; another *for ſpeedier convicting of* Papiſts; another *for recalling the King's Subjects out of the* French *Service*. And as to the Supply, they proceeded in the former Method of the two Bills, one for raiſing 300,000 Pounds, and the other for appropriating Tonnage and Poundage for the Uſe of the *Navy*. In the Lord's Houſe there was a good Diſpoſition towards Things of publick Intereſt. But, ſays Mr. *Marvel*, 300,000 Pounds *was ſo inſipid a Thing to thoſe that had been continually regal'd with Millions*; *and the Act of* Appropriation, *with ſome others, went ſo much againſt Stomach, that there wanted only an Opportunity to reject them, and that which was readieſt at Hand was the late Quarrel betwixt the Houſe of Lords and the Commons*; which was reviv'd and carry'd on with more Heat than ever in the laſt Seſſion. In the Houſe of Commons the Debates ran high about the Supply; the *Penſioners* were for giving more than was propos'd, knowing that nothing cou'd come to them out of that 'Twas ſaid the King had not enough in his Hands to maintain the Government, and ſecure the Nation, tho' our Neutrality at that Time made Trade flow in upon us, ſo that the Cuſtoms roſe higher than ever. On the other Side 'twas ſaid, If Anticipations were once admitted as a Reaſon for a Supply, the Court wou'd never want that Reaſon. It was therefore fitter to examine by whoſe Means, and on what Deſigns thoſe Anticipations were made. At laſt the Queſtion was put, and the Vote being then ſtated, the previous Queſtion was alſo put, whether the main Queſtion ſhou'd be then put or not? The Votes happening to be equal, Sir *Charles Harbord*, Chairman of the Committe, gave it for putting the main Queſtion. But ſome of the Country Party coming in between the two Queſtions, the main Queſtion was loſt by two or three Votes, which made the Court very indifferent as to their ſitting. Sir *Charles Harbord* was much blam'd for his Raſhneſs. His Excuſe was, that it was the Duty of the Chair always to ſet Matters forward, and ſo he ought to have given it for putting the main Queſtion; and if there had been the ſame Equality, he ſaid *He wou'd have given it for the Court.* He was rich and covetous, and had known ſome of the Extent of the King's Liberality. His Son, Mr. *William Harbord*, Privy-Counſellor to King *William*, was talk'd of for a ſmart Repartee he

Shirley *and* Fagg *again.*

A.D.1675 made to his Father in this Debate. Sir *Charles* had ſaid, *The right Way to gain the King is to lay your Hands on your Purſes and deal roundly with him.* His Son, Mr. *William Harbord*, ſaid, *I ſecond the Motion*; but *I mean, we ſhou'd lay our Hands on our Purſes as I my ſelf do*, holding his Pocket very faſt, and keeping it cloſe ſhut. The Earl of *Danby* was much diſappointed at this. The Court had try'd their whole Strength to keep off the *Petition of Appeal*, till they ſaw what might be expected from the Commons; and as ſoon as their grand Vote was loſt, the Lords went upon the *Petition*; and the Commons, as has been hinted, oppoſing them vigorouſly, it was viſible that the Parliament wou'd be quickly prorogu'd. Upon this it was propos'd in the Houſe of Lords to addreſs the King for Diſſolving the preſent Parliament. 'Twas evident the two Houſes cou'd no longer maintain the Correſpondence that was neceſſary; the Conteſt about the Appeal wou'd drop with this Parliament, but cou'd not while this laſted. It was ſaid a *Standing Parliament* chang'd the Conſtitution of *England*. The King did no more conſult with his People, nor know them. But he had now a *Cabal* of ſingle Perſons to deal with, *&c.* The Majority of the Temporal Lords were for it; *but the Bench of Biſhops*, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *was againſt it*, and ſo it was not carry'd, tho' the Duke of *York* voted for it, and we having before us

Mr. Harbord's *Repartee to his Father.*

A LIST *of the Lords who were preſent at the* Vote *for an* Addreſs *to the King for Diſſolving the Parliament*, November *the* 20*th*, we ſhall incert it.

For the ADDRESS.

Lords for and againſt the Diſſolving Addreſs.

His Royal Highneſs, Duke of *Buckingham*, Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Earl-Marſhal, Earl of *Norwich*, Earl of *Kent*, Earl of *Dorſet*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Bridgwater*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, Earl of *Bolingbroke*, Earl of *Cheſterfield*, Earl of *Stamford*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Earl of *Mancheſter*, Earl of *Berks*, Earl of *Mulgrave*, Earl of *Scarſdale*, Earl of *Sunderland*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Cardigan*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Earl of *Powis*, Lord Viſcount *Falconberg*, Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*, Lord Viſcount *Yarmouth*, Lord Viſcount *Newport*, Lord *Sandys*, Lord *Morley*, Lord *Stourton*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Petre*, Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Tenham*, Lord *Mohun*, Lord *Bellaſis*, Lord *Carington*, Lord *De la Mer*, Lord *Townſhend*, Lord *Grey* of *Rolleſton*.

Lords preſent 41. Gave Proxies 7.—Total 48.

Lords abſent and ſick that gave Proxies for this Queſtion.

Earl of *Denbigh*, Lord *Holles*.

Other Lords abſent that were for the Addreſs.

Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Huntingdon*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, Lord *Eure*.

Againſt the ADDRESS.

Lord Keeper *Finch*, Lord Treaſurer, Earl of *Danby*, Lord Privy-Seal, Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain, Earl of *Lindſey*, Earl of *Northampton*, Earl of *Briſtol*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Craven*, Earl of *Ailesbury*, Earl of *Guildford*, Duke of *Lauderdale*, Lord *Windſor*, Lord *Paulett*, Lord *Maynard*, Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, Lord *Biron*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Vaughan*, Earl of *Carbery*, Lord *Gerard*, Lord *Fretchville*, Lord *Butler*, Earl of *Oſſory*, Lord *Arundel* of *Trerice*, 21 Lay Lords, 13 Biſhops, who were all that were in the Houſe. A.D.1675

Lords preſent 34. Gave Proxies 16.—Total 50.

I cannot cloſe the Hiſtory of this Seſſion of Parliament without remembring Part of a Speech of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s, about the Appeal; and a whole Speech of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, about a *Toleration for Diſſenters*. The Reader will in both find Strength of Reaſon, and Beauty of Stile, uncorrupted with the Paint of Affectation, as in the Lord Keeper's Harangues.

The firſt is the Beginning of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Speech, the 20th of *October*.

My Lords,

" *Our All is at Stake*, and therefore you muſt give me Leave to ſpeak freely before we part with it. My Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury* is of Opinion, *That we ſhou'd rather appoint a Day to conſider what to do upon the Petition of Appeal, than to appoint a Day of Hearing*: And my Lord Keeper, for I may name them at a Committee of the whole Houſe, tells us in very *eloquent and ſtudy'd Language*, That *he will propoſe us a Way leſs liable to Exception, and much leſs offenſive and ruinous to our own Privileges than that of appointing a Day of Hearing.* And, *I beſeech your Lordſhips, did not you, after all theſe fine* Words, *expect ſome admirable Propoſal? But it ended in this, That your Lordſhips ſhou'd appoint a Day, nay a very long Day, to conſider what you wou'd do in it. And my Lord hath undertaken to convince you, that this is your only Courſe by ſeveral undeniable Reaſons; the firſt of which is, That 'tis againſt your Judicature to hear this Cauſe, which is not proper before us, nor ought to be reliev'd by us. To this, my Lords, give me Leave to anſwer, That I did not expect from a Man profeſſing the Law, that after no Anſwer by Order of the Court was put in, and a Day had been appointed for hearing, which by ſome Accident was ſet aſide, and the Plaintiff moving for a ſecond Day to be aſſign'd, that even without Council on both Sides, the Court did enter into the Merits of the Cauſe; and if your Lordſhips ſhou'd do it here in a Cauſe attended with the Circumſtances this is, it wou'd not only be an apparent Injuſtice, but a plain Subterfuge, to avoid a Point you durſt not maintain.* Earl of Shaftsbury's Speech.

The Speech is not too long to be inſerted without Mutilation; but this Year has already given too much Length to our Hiſtory. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s is the more worth repeating; for that it is full of thoſe Sentiments of Piety and Charity, which wou'd have been more natural in the Biſhops, but they did not drop a Hint of that Kind in all this long Parliament.

My Lords,

There is a thing call'd Property *(whatever ſome Men may think) that the People of* England *are fondeſt of. It is that they will never part with, and it is that his Majeſty in his Speech has promis'd to take particular Care of. This, my Lords, in my Opinion, can never be done without an* Indulgence *to all Proteſtant Diſſenters. It is certainly a very uneaſy kind of Life to any Man that has either* Chriſtian Charity, Good Nature, *or* Humanity, *to ſee his Fellow Subjects daily abus'd, diveſted of their* Liberty *and* Birth-rights, *and miſerably thrown out of their* Poſſeſſions *and* Free-holds, *only becauſe they cannot agree with others* Duke of Buckingham's Speech for Toleration.

A.D.1675 *others in the ſame Opinions and Niceties of* Religion, *which their Conſciences will not give them Leave to conſent to, and which even by the Conſent of thoſe who wou'd impoſe them, are no way neceſſary to Salvation.*

But, my Lords, beſides this, and all that may be ſaid upon it, in order to the Improvement of our Trade, *and the Encreaſe of the* Wealth, Strength *and* Greatneſs *of this Nation, which, with your Leave, I ſhall preſume to diſcourſe of at ſome other Time, there is, methinks, in this Notion of* Perſecution, *a very groſs Miſtake, both as to the Point of* Government *and* Religion.

There is ſo, as to the Point of Government, *becauſe it makes every Man's Safety depend upon the wrong Place, not upon the* Governor, *or a Man's living well towards the* Civil Government *eſtabliſh'd by* Law, *but upon his being tranſported with Zeal for every Opinion that is held by thoſe that have Power in the* Church *that is in Faſhion.*

And I perceive it's a Miſtake in Religion, *for that it is poſitively againſt the expreſs* Doctrine *and* Example *of* Jeſus Chriſt: *Nay,* my Lords, *as to our* Proteſtant Religion, *there is ſomething yet worſe; for we* Proteſtants *maintain, that none of theſe Opinions, which* Chriſtians *here differ about, are* Infallible; *therefore in us it is ſomewhat an unexcuſable Conception, that Men ought to be depriv'd of their Inheritance, and all their certain Conveniencies and Advantages of Life, becauſe they will not agree with us in our uncertain* Opinions *of* Religion.

My humble Motion to your Lordſhips therefore is, That you will give me Leave to bring in a Bill of Indulgence to all Proteſtant DISSENTERS. *I know very well, that every Peer of the* Realm *has a Right to bring into Parliament any Bill* which he conceives to be *uſeful to this Nation. But I thought it more reſpectful to your Lordſhips to ask your Leave for it before, and I cannot think that doing of it will be any Prejudice to the Bill, becauſe I am confident the* Reaſon, *the* Prudence, *and the* Charitableneſs *of it will be able to juſtify it to this Houſe and the whole* World.

Accordingly the Houſe gave the Duke of *Buckingham* Leave to bring in a Bill ſix Days before the Parliament was prorogu'd to the 15th of *February*, 1677, almoſt a Year and three Months.

As we have taken Notice of ſome leading Members of the Houſe of Peers, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the two laſt Seſſions of Parliament by their Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty, ſo ſhou'd we alſo remember ſome leading Members of the Houſe of Commons in the ſame Seſſions, as Sir *Harbottle Grimſton*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *William Coventry*, Col. *Birch*, Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Powle*, Mr. *Waller*, Mr. *Vaughan*, *&c.* who, by their good Senſe, Experience, Steadineſs and Courage, weather'd all the Tempeſts that were rais'd by the Intrigues of the Enemies to their Country, and ſate in that Houſe ſo long, that they at length became a Part of that Majority, which, before this Parliament was diſſolv'd, became as good *Patriots* as were in the ſucceeding Aſſemblies.

Members of the Houſe of Commons in the publick Intereſt.

About a Month after this Seſſions was over, the King having created Sir *Heneage Finch* Baron of *Daventry*, chang'd his Title of Lord Keeper into that of Lord High Chancellor of *England*. Some Time before this he appointed *John* Lord *Berkley*, Sir *William Temple*, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, to be his Ambaſſadors Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. In the *Chriſtmas* Holidays a Proclamation was publiſh'd againſt *Coffee-houſes*, as Places of Reſort for idle and diſaffected Perſons; but the Coffee-men giving 500 Pounds Bond not to ſuffer any *Libels*, that is, *News* to be read in their Houſes, they were permitted to ſell Coffee by Licence. The Miniſtry was not ſatisfy'd with this Care againſt *ſeditious Libels*, by which was underſtood every Pamphlet that did not flatter them; ſo a Proclamation was iſſu'd for the better Diſcovery of Libellers, with a Promiſe of 50 Pounds Reward for each Diſcovery. Mr. *Locke*'s Account of the Debates about the *Teſt* of Abhorrence was one of the State *Libels*, againſt whom theſe Proclamations were intended. We muſt not omit that this Year his Majeſty was viſited by the Prince of *Newburgh*, attended with a Train of fifty Perſons of Quality and Servants.

A.D.1675 *Proclamation againſt Coffee-houſes.*

We ſhall borrow the Promotions this Year from Mr. Archdeacon, where they appear more ornamented; *Giles Strangeways*, Eſq; *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*, and Dr. *Compton* were made Privy-Counſellors. *Thomas Povey*, Eſq; Maſter of Requeſts, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Beverley*, deceas'd. Sir *Richard Bulſtrode*, Reſident at *Bruſſels*. And this Year alſo, we read in the ſame Hiſtory, the two young Princeſſes, Lady *Mary* and Lady *Anne*, were confirm'd in the King's Chapel, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of all who had any Fears and Apprehenſions of *Popery*.

1676. In a Deſign of this Nature 'twas impoſſible to be ſo copious upon the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as the Gentlemen Natives of thoſe Kingdoms may expect. The Hiſtory of *England*, and of the Deſign form'd againſt the Religion, Rights and Liberties of *Engliſh-men* ſince the *Stuartine* Government, was the original Intention of this Work, and to take in what relates to *Scotland* and *Ireland* no farther than the Affairs there have Connection with thoſe in *England*, and with the Contrivances of the common Enemy to deſtroy the Conſtitution in Church and State, as eſtabliſh'd in the three Kingdoms.

Scotland. After the Executions for the Tumult at *Pentland-Hill*, in *Scotland*, were pretty well over, the King, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, was more gentle than the Biſhops. *Dalziel*, who commanded the King's Forces, threaten'd to ſpit Men, and roaſt them: *Some he kill'd in cold, or rather hot Blood*; for he was drunk when he order'd one to be hang'd, becauſe he wou'd not tell where his Father was. When he heard of any who did not go to Church, he did not as the new Laws enjoin'd, ſet a Fine upon them, but he ſet as many Soldiers on them as ſhou'd eat them up in a Night. By this means all People were ſtruck with ſuch a Terror, that they came regularly to Church; and my Lord of *Sarum* tells us, *The Clergy were ſo delighted with it, that they us'd to ſpeak of thoſe Times, as the Poets do of the* Golden Age. *They never interceeded for any Compaſſion to their People, nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They look'd on the Soldiery as their* Patrons; *they were ever in their Company, complying with their Exceſſes; and if they were not much wrong'd, they rather led them into them, than check'd them for them.* Dalziel *himſelf, and his Officers, were ſo diſguſted with them, that they encreas'd the Complaints, which had now more Credit from them, than from thoſe of the Country, who were look'd on as their Enemies. Things of ſo ſtrange a Pitch in Vice were told of them, that they ſeem'd ſcarce credible.* What a fine Change the *Scots* Biſhops made ſince the *Reſtoration* in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel!

Scots Prieſts ill Character.

Worſe than the Dragoons.

I mention

A.D.1676 I mention not the Treaty of Accommodation between the Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Parties in *Scotland*, in the Year 1669, becauſe it ſucceeded not; nor the Project of Union between the two Kingdoms, for the ſame Reaſon. The turning out of *Burnet*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, and putting the pious *Leighton* into his *See*, might have produc'd good Effects in that Part of *Scotland*, had the *Kirk-men* been ever ſo little diſpos'd to moderate Compliances; but they generally look'd upon themſelves as under the Obligation of the *Covenant*, from whence they cou'd not deviate without Sin; to which, whatever they had, 'tis plain their Opponents had no Regard; for ſuch a Crew was never thruſt into any Church or Temple, as the *Scots* Curates were, whom the *Scots* Biſhops brought along with them into that Proteſtant Church. But inſtead of the *Comprehenſion*, which holy *Leighton* deſir'd, there were ſtill ſeverer Acts paſs'd by the Government; and beſides the arbitrary Fines put on thoſe who did not come tohear thoſe vitious Curates, Converſions were made by Dragoons, in Imitation of the *French* King's military Miſſions. There was an Act paſs'd in the Year 1670, making all Field-Meetings Treaſon: Though half of the Parliament abhor'd the Act, yet ſo abject were they in their Submiſſions to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who manag'd all things, that only the young Earl of *Caſſilis* voted in the *Negative*. Some Miniſters took out Licences from the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, to preach under the before-mention'd Reſtrictions; one of which was ſo contrary to the Principles of Presbytery, that the moſt zealous and religious *Kirk-men* cou'd not comply; and they, and their Paſtors, met to worſhip God in the Fields. The Presbyterians were for a while cajol'd, in order to bring them to accept of the pretended *Indulgence* granted by a diſpenſing Power in *Scotland*, as in *England*, but few were drawn in by it. Thoſe that refus'd the Licences were now call'd *Whiggs*, ſome ſay, from a Drink compos'd of Water and ſoure Milk, us'd by the meaner Sort of People; and were repreſented to his Majeſty as a Party who were not to be ſuffer'd in any Government, but ought to be rooted off from the Face of the Earth. They were look'd on as Rebels, and if they wou'd meet to worſhip God, it muſt be in a Body, and in Arms, their Enemies being every where ready to cut them to pieces. Their *Field-Aſſemblies* were the *Field-Conventicles*, ſo much rail'd at by ſuch as knew nothing of them; nor that they were only Religious Aſſemblies, hateful to none but Men of no Religion, or a Religion worſe than none, which every Religion is, that renounces Charity and Mercy. The People who thus met in the Fields, were now term'd *Cameronians*, from one Mr. *Cameron*, whom my Author calls a *zealous Aſſertor of the Sovereignty of Conſcience over the Laws of Men*: Words which have as much Truth in them as Spirit. Let us ſee what the ſame Author adds, "If the Perſecution was cruel "and furious before, it was now raging and un- "ſufferable, carry'd on with ſuch Madneſs, and "with ſuch an unſatisfy'd Thirſt of Blood, that "I believe none of the *Heathen Perſecutions* in "the Primitive Times cou'd go beyond it in all "its Parts. It is true, they did not immediately "torment the Body by Fire, by Racks, and a "vaſt variety of inſtrumental Torments; though "they had Cruelty enough that Way too, as in "thoſe dreadful Engines of Barbarity, the *Boot* "and the *Thumbkins*, than which a more exqui- "ſite Torture cou'd not eaſily be devis'd. But "they had Torments beyond the Cruelty of "Death, which they forc'd the poor *perſecuted* "*Proteſtants* to ſuffer, driving them from their "Dwellings into Mountains and Hills, into Dens, "Holes, and Caves of the Earth, attended with "unſufferable, inſupportable Hunger and Cold, "in a Climate the moſt unhoſpitable, and Places "moſt barren and empty of Suſtenance or Re- "lief of any in theſe Parts of the World." The Horror is already too ſtrong, and I cannot go through the reſt of it; but when I conſider by what Hands this Helliſh Work was done, I am aſtoniſh'd, beyond Conception, that any Chriſtian Senate ſhou'd have put it into their Power, or indeed have ſuffer'd ſuch a mercileſs Blood-thirſty Generation to have had a Being or Countenance within their Juriſdiction. I ſhall cloſe this Account of the barbarous Perſecution, in the Words of the former Hiſtorian: "I have talk'd with many ſo- "ber and judicious Perſons, who then liv'd in "that Part of the Country, and were Eye-wit- "neſſes to much of it. I find they all agree in "this, that many Thouſands of people periſh'd "under the violent Hands of theſe, beſides thoſe "that were kill'd under Pretence of being in Re- "bellion. One Reverend Miniſter aſſur'd me, that "taking in the People who dy'd in Priſons, and "in Baniſhment, they had an Account of above "18,000 Perſons, whoſe Blood theſe Perſecutors "have to account for, *&c.*" By the before-mention'd Act, *All Perſons of what Quality, Age, or Sex whatſoever, were oblig'd to anſwer upon Oath, and depoſe all they knew of* Field *Meetings, and to anſwer the Queſtions that ſhou'd be ask'd them upon Oath*; which Queſtions, the Officers and Dragoons were authoriz'd to put to them, and to uſe them at Diſcretion, if they were not ſatisfy'd with the Anſwers that were given them; in Conſequence of which Power and Perſecution, all theſe Horrors were committed. As to the Conferences between *Leighton* on one Side, and *Hutchinſon* on the other, about Terms of Accommodation, mention'd at large by Biſhop *Burnet*, I do not enter into the Particulars of it, under Conviction, that tho' *Leighton*'s Deſign was doubtleſs very honeſt, yet there was no Thought of accommodating Matters in the other Biſhops, who had the King's and the Commiſſioners Ear much more than *Leighton*. As to the Commiſſioner *Lauderdale*, he was ſuch a Compoſition of Lewdneſs, Tyranny, Corruption, Diſſimulation, and all Vices, that 'tis a Diſgrace to Hiſtory to have to do with him. We have ſeen what an Act he has paſs'd in *Scotland*, and yet before he went to *Scotland*, he ſignify'd to Mr. *Baxter*, that there was a Purpoſe of taking off the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, and all Impoſitions of *Conformity* there, ſave only that it ſhou'd be neceſſary to ſit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Biſhops and Moderators. *Lauderdale* inform'd him, he had the King's Conſent to offer him what Place in *Scotland* he wou'd chooſe, either a Church or a Colledge in one of the Univerſities, or a Biſhoprick; but he excus'd himſelf on account of Indiſpoſition, and the Circumſtances of his Family. After *Lauderdale* was in *Scotland*, Sir *Robert Murray*, a Man of great Worth, Learning, and Honour, ſent Mr. *Baxter* the Frame of a Body of Church-Diſcipline for *Scotland*, and deſir'd his Animadverſions; which whoever will read in *Baxter*'s Life at large, will not think *Hutchinſon*, and the zealous Presbyterians ſo much to blame, as the Biſhop of *Salisbury* repreſents them, in refuſing *Leighton*'s Propoſitions, which are moſt of them conſider'd accidentally in thoſe Animadverſions. Some time after the paſſing of that Tyrannical Act againſt *Field Meetings*, *Lauderdale* return'd to *London*, where he ſtay'd till after the *French* Conqueſts in *Holland*; and when he came back to *Edinburgh*, he ſeem'd much lifted up with

A.D.1676

Mem. Ch. Scot.

18,000 Scots Diſſenters murder'd.

Dreadful Tyranny.

The Riſe of the Whiggs.

Perſecution *worſe than* Pagan.

Mr. Baxter *again offer'd a Biſhoprick.*

A.D.1676 with them, and talk'd of *De Wit's* Fate with ſo much Pleaſure, that it cou'd not be heard without Horror. He treated all People ſo ſcornfully, that his Behaviour was inſufferable. He carry'd his Dutcheſs in a ſort of Triumph about the Country with him, and he was every where receiv'd with as much Reſpect as if the King had been there in Perſon; which enrag'd the Nobility, and they made great Applications to Duke *Hamilton* to head a Party againſt him. His Wife behav'd as inſolently towards the Ladies and Gentlewomen, as he did towards the Lords and Gentlemen. He expected an Addreſs from the *Preſbyterians* for a *Toleration*, as it was in *England* in the Year 1672; but, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *The* Presbyterians *underſtanding they were only to be made uſe of in order to the introducing of Popery, reſolv'd to be paſſive and ſilent.* Upon this he broke out into Fury and Rage againſt them. The Biſhop adds, *I viſited ſome of them in Priſon, and ſaw in them the blind Madneſs of ill grounded Zeal*; which has as much Sophiſtry in it, as any of the Arguments us'd by *Gunning*, *Morley*, &c. If the Men were Mad, they were Mad, and conſequently blind with a Witneſs; if they were not Mad, but did really believe that the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which they had ſworn, oblig'd their Conſciences, and they cou'd not break it without Perjury, nor be perjur'd without endangering the Salvation of their Souls, there was no Blindneſs nor Madneſs in their Zeal, but a *Sincerity* and *Warmth* which may well enough paſs for Folly or Frenzy in Minds that gravitate eternally to the Centre of this World.

Biſhop Burnet anſwer'd.

Duke *Lauderdale* held a Parliament at *Edinburgh* in 1675, and Duke *Hamilton*, join'd by the Earls of *Rothes*, *Tweedale*, *Argyle*, and other Principal Lords, fell immediately upon *Grievances*, which ſtruck *Lauderdale* as one dead; and he declar'd in the Privy-Council, that he had Power, and was ready to redreſs all the Grievances complain'd of. In the mean time, he referr'd the Complaints to the Lords of the Articles, as the Words of an Act impower'd him to do. And thoſe Lords who were to prepare Things for the Parliament, being moſtly of the King's making, the Matter was kept in Suſpence by the Prerogative, though in Truth thoſe Lords were only a Committee of Parliament, to put Motions into the Form of Acts, the Parliament having ſtill an entire Authority to examine into the State of the Nation.

The Houſe of Commons in *England* fell upon *Lauderdale* for his evil Counſels, and enquir'd, as far as it concern'd the Safety of *England*, into his Conduct in *Scotland*. During theſe Enquiries, the King wrote to Duke *Hamilton* to come up to *London*; and when he and Lord *Tweedale* arriv'd at Court, they were ſo well receiv'd, that they hop'd to carry their Point againſt *Lauderdale*: But the King's Deſign in it was to make the Houſe of Commons believe he wou'd part with *Lauderdale*, if they wou'd give him Money, and employ thoſe other two Lords; in which they and the *Scots* Nation being diſappointed, it enrag'd a violent Party ſo much, that Propoſitions were offer'd for deſtroying *Lauderdale* and his Adherents, but it was rejected with Abhorrence. The Duke of *Lauderdale* ſtood his Ground at Court, notwithſtanding the Houſe of Commons addreſs'd againſt him. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that he ſet up himſelf as a Champion for the Church of *England*, though, as the Duke of *York* ſaid of him, *He wou'd do any thing to ſave himſelf.* He brought *Sharp* with him to *London*, who went about aſſuring all People, *That the Party ſet up in* Scotland *againſt* Lauderdale, *was likewiſe ſet againſt the* Church. *Which*, to uſe my Lord of *Sarum*'s Words, *was notoriouſly falſe*; and I obſerve whenever that ſame *Sharp* is mention'd in his Lordſhip's Hiſtory, there is almoſt always ſomething coming very falſe and very wicked.

Sharp makes Lauderdale the Church.

A.D.1676 *His Falſhood and Wickedneſs.*

Lord *Kincardin* coming to Court, wou'd have given the King ſome further Light into *Lauderdale*'s ill Government, but it was a String his Majeſty wou'd not ſuffer to be touch'd: That Flatterer having not only ſaid at the Council-Board, *That his Edicts were Laws*, but told the King, *There was a Spirit of* Rebellion *that ran through all* Sorts *of People, and it muſt be ſubdu'd by Acts of Power, tho' neither legal nor juſt.* The Man who ſaid it dy'd in his Bed. *Lauderdale* demanded of the King, that *Kincardin* ſhou'd be ſent Home: His Majeſty reply'd, *He ſaw no Reaſon for it, and wou'd not do it.* Upon which he goes to his Apartment, and fell into a Fit of Diſtraction, gather'd up all his Commiſſions and Papers, and was about carrying 'em to the King. But the Marqueſs of *Athol* went to his Majeſty, and told him, *He had ſent Duke* Lauderdale *Home half mad*, and begg'd his Majeſty to take Pity upon him: So the Earl of *Kincardin* was order'd down to *Scotland*. What a Genius for Government had this Monarch, who uſes a good Subject ill to humour a Sycophant loaden with the Curſes of all honeſt Men in the three Kingdoms?

Ireland.

Affairs in *Ireland* went not better than in *England* and *Scotland*: When the Source is corrupted, let the Stream divide itſelf into ever ſo many Branches, they will all participate of the original Corruption. That buſy Agent for the *Iriſh* Rebels, *Richard Talbot*, in 1671, deliver'd a Petition to the King for a Re-hearing of the former Judgments againſt the *Papiſts*, many of whom had been diſpoſſeſs'd of their Lands by the *Act of Settlement*; at which the Houſe of Commons in *England* taking Offence, *Talbot*'s Agency and boaſted Intereſt prov'd very inſignificant.

We have mention'd the Earl of *Eſſex*'s being appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, of whom we read thus in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Memoirs. He cou'd never underſtand how he came to be rais'd to that Poſt, for he had never pretended to it; and he was a violent Enemy to *Popery*, *not ſo much from any fix'd Principle in Religion, in which*, ſays the Biſhop, *he was too looſe, as becauſe he look'd on it as an Invaſion made on the Freedom of humane Nature.* In his Government of *Ireland* he exceeded all that had gone before him, and is ſtill conſider'd as a Pattern to all that came after him. He ſtudy'd to underſtand exactly well the Conſtitution and Intereſt of the Nation: He read over all their Council-Books, and made large Abſtracts out of them to guide him, ſo as to advance every thing that had been at any time ſet on Foot for the Good of the Kingdom. He made ſeveral Volumes of Tables of the Eſtates and Perſons that were in every County and Town, and got true Characters of all that were capable to ſerve the Publick. He prefer'd Men always for their Merit, without any Application from themſelves; and watch'd over all about him, that there ſhou'd be no Bribes going among his Servants.

Earl of Eſſex's good Government.

The Revenue of *Ireland* was then in the Earl of *Ranelagh*'s Management, one of the ableſt Men that Iſland had bred, capable of all Affairs, even in the midſt of a looſe Run of Pleaſure. He had undertaken to furniſh the King with Money for the building of *Windſor*, out of the Revenue of *Ireland*; and it was believ'd the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* had a great yearly Penſion out of his Office. By this Means Payments in *Ireland* were not regularly made, of which the Earl of *Eſſex* complain'd. The King wou'd not own however, how much he had of Lord *Ranelagh*, but preſs'd Lord *Eſſex* to paſs his Ac-

Earl of Ranelagh's Character.

A.D. 1676 compts. My Lord *Eſſex* reply'd, *I cannot paſs 'em as Accompts; but if the King will forgive Lord* Ranelagh, *I will paſs a Diſcharge, but not an ill Accompt.* His Majeſty was not pleas'd with this, nor with his Exactneſs in that Government, it reproach'd his own too much. It was not an uncommon Thing for this King to cheat himſelf, that is, take a ſmall Sum for his Privy-Purſe to defraud the *Exchequer*; for what was carry'd thither was not ſo eaſily to be manag'd as what he had in his Pocket. A Courtier being apply'd to by the *Eaſt-India* Company only to have a Word or two alter'd in their Charter, begg'd it of the King, repreſenting it as a ſmall Buſineſs, that he might get ſomething by it. His Majeſty ask'd him what he was to have for it. The Courtier reply'd, *Ten thouſand Pounds. God's-fiſh*, cry'd the King, *'tis too little; 'tis worth Twenty thouſand Pounds, Half mine, Half thine.* The Buſineſs was done, and the Money divided accordingly. The Earl of *Eſſex* telling Biſhop *Burnet* a Story like it relating to *Ireland*, put me in Mind of this, which I had from a Perſon concern'd in it. Secretary *Coventry* told the Earl of *Eſſex*, that there was once a *Plantation* Cauſe at the Council-Board, which the King eſpous'd ſo openly, he was troubled to ſee it, and told him ſecretly, *'Twas a very bad Cauſe which he was ſupporting.* The King anſwer'd him, *But I have good Money for doing it.*

King cheats himſelf.

Sir J. B.

About this Time 1675, there was a Propoſition made for farming the Revenue of *Ireland*. The Lord *Danby* ſeem'd ſometime to favour one Set of Men, who offer'd to farm it, but on a ſudden, he turn'd to another. The Secret of this broke out, and that he was to have great Advantages by the ſecond Propoſition. The Matter was brought to the Council Table, and ſome were examin'd upon Oath. Lord *Widdrington* confeſs'd he had made an Offer of a round Sum to Lord *Danby*, which was not accepted. Lord *Halifax* obſerv'd, that the Lord Treaſurer had rejected that Offer very mildly, but not ſo as to diſcourage a ſecond Attempt, adding, *It would be ſomewhat ſtrange if a Man ſhou'd ask the Uſe of another Man's Wife, and if the other ſhou'd indeed refuſe it, but with great Civility.* So far we have copy'd Biſhop *Burnet*'s Memoirs. But in others we find that the Perſon employ'd in this Farm was one *Thomas Sheridan*, who having been bred in *Trinity* College in *Dublin*, and being in Deacon's Orders, left very fair Hopes of riſing in the Church to be Collector of *Cork* in *Ireland*. A Poſt procur'd him, as it was ſuppos'd, by a *Popiſh* Intereſt, as being a proper Station for him to receive Intelligence from abroad, which he cou'd eaſily hand about to the *Iriſh* Papiſts at home. The Farmers were then *London* Brewers, and being wealthy, moderate Citizens, were call'd the *Fanatick* Farmers, whoſe Time of Farm being expir'd, the *Papiſts* put in for it, by Lord *Widdrington* firſt, and afterwards by this *Sheridan*, who coming from *Ireland* juſt before the *London* Brewers Farm was out, fell in with *Coleman*, and by his Means with the Duke of *York*, and was ever after an active Tool for his Faction: However, he was not ſuffer'd to throw off the Mask at once. He continu'd in Appearance ſo good a *Proteſtant*, that he was thought a *Presbyterian*, and being not well enough known in *London*, *Muſchamp*, one of the old Farmers, and Sir *J. S.* another of them, and a greater Projector, had the Conduct of the Affair. Theſe apply'd to Sir *William Petty*, a Man of a large Eſtate in *Ireland*, and ſo willing to encreaſe it, that he was not over-nice in the Methods of doing it. Sir *W. P.* engaging in it, *Sheridan* acquainted the Duke and *Coleman* with it; and one *Ryder*, a young Man who had 20,000 Pounds of his own and his Siſter's Fortune, was drawn in to embrace it; ſo there was Money and Sir *W. Petty*'s Credit ready for them to ſet the Project on Foot. The Earl of *Eſſex* had Intelligence from Court, and ſome Spies of the *Popiſh* Clergy in *Ireland*, that the Project of the Farm was only Part of the Deſign to get him remov'd; ſo he obtain'd Leave to come to Court, and left the Lord Primate and the Lord *Granard* Juſtices in his Abſence, and tho' the new Farmers carry'd their Scheme, yet he got ſo far into the good Graces of the Duke of *York*, to whom he made aſſiduous Court, that he was permitted to return Lord Lieutenant to *Ireland*, and very happily prevented the Machinations of the *Iriſh* taking Effect ſo ſoon as was intended. Theſe were ſome Incidents whoſe Springs appear not in the *common Hiſtory*, as *Echard* calls all Hiſtories but his own, which is, I muſt confeſs, the moſt uncommon one that ever was written by Hiſtoriographer; but in his and other ſuch Pieces one may find the Addreſs of the Parliament of *England* concerning the Grievances in *Ireland* about a Year after the Earl of *Eſſex* went over Lord Lieutenant; and it is not to be doubted but his Lordſhip, by his Friends in *England*, furniſh'd ſome of the Materials for it, which ſufficiently ſet forth the Contrivances of the Papiſts to introduce Tyranny and Popery in *Ireland*. It ſpecifies the great Calamities which had befallen the Proteſtants in that Kingdom from the *Papiſts*, profeſs'd Enemies to their Religion and the *Engliſh* Intereſt; how they abuſe his Majeſty's Clemency, and are become more inſolent and preſumptuous than formerly, to the apparent Danger of that Kingdom, and his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects there; the Conſequence of which may prove very fatal to *England*, if not timely prevented. In order to which the Parliament in all Humility preſent his Majeſty with theſe Petitions; "That "for eſtabliſhing and quieting the Poſſeſſions of "his Majeſty's Subjects in that Kingdom, his "Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd to maintain the *Act* "*of Settlement*, and *Explanatory Act* thereupon, "and to recal the *Commiſſion of Enquiry into* Iriſh "Affairs, bearing Date the 17th Day of *January*, "1671-2, as containing many new and extraordi-"nary Powers, not only to the Prejudice of par-"ticular Perſons, whoſe Eſtates and Titles are "thereby made liable to be queſtion'd, but in a "Manner to the Overthrow of the *Act of Settle-*"*ment*; and if purſu'd, may be the Occaſion of "great Charge and Attendance to many of your "Subjects in *Ireland*, and ſhake the Peace and "Security of the whole. 2. That your Majeſty will "give Order that no *Papiſt* be either continu'd, or "be hereafter admitted to be Judges, Juſtices of "the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, or Mayors, Sove-"reigns or Portreeves in the Kingdom. 3. That "the Titular Popiſh Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Vi-"cars General, Abbots, and all other exerciſing "Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction by the Pope's Autho-"rity, and in particular *Peter Talbot*, pretended "Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, for his notorious Diſloy-"alty to your Majeſty, and Diſobedience and "Contempt of your Laws, may be commanded "by Proclamation forthwith to depart out of *Ire-*"*land*, and all other your Majeſty's Dominions, "or otherwiſe to be proſecuted according to "Law. And that all Convents, Seminaries, and "publick *Popiſh* Schools may be diſſolv'd and "ſuppreſs'd, and the regular Prieſts command-"ed to depart under the like Penalties. 4. That "no *Iriſh* Papiſt be admitted to inhabit in any "Corporation in that Kingdom, unleſs duly li-"cens'd according to the aforeſaid *Act of Settle-*"*ment*; and that your Majeſty wou'd be pleas'd

A.D. 1678

"to

A.D.1676 " to recall your Letters of the 26th of *February*, " 1671-2, and your Proclamation thereupon, " whereby general *Licence* is given ſuch *Papiſts* " as inhabit in Corporations there. 5. That your " Majeſty's Letters of the 28th of *September*, " 1672, and the Order of Council thereupon, " whereby your Subjects are requir'd *not to pro-* " *ſecute any Actions againſt the* IRISH, *for any* " *Wrongs or Injuries committed during the late* " *Rebellion*, may likewiſe be recall'd. 6. That " Col. *Richard Talbot*, who hath notoriouſly aſ- " ſum'd to himſelf the Title of *Agent for the* " Roman *Catholicks in* Ireland, be immediately " diſmiſs'd out of all Command, either Civil or " Military, and forbid any Acceſs to your Ma- " jeſty's Court. 7. That your Majeſty wou'd be " pleas'd from Time to Time, out of your Prince- " ly Wiſdom, to give ſuch further Orders and " Directions to the Lord Lieutenant, as may " beſt conduce to the Encouragement of the " *Engliſh* Planters, and *Proteſtant* Intereſt, and " the Suppreſſion of the Inſolencies and Diſor- " ders of the *Iriſh* Papiſts there —— *Theſe our* " *humble Deſires we preſent to your Majeſty, as* " *the beſt Means to preſerve the Peace and Safety* " *of that your Kingdom, which hath been ſo much* " *of late in Danger from the Practices of the ſaid* " Iriſh Papiſts, *and particularly of the ſaid* Ri- " chard *and* Peter Talbot." All the Anſwer to this very reaſonable Addreſs was, *That he wou'd before the next Meeting of Parliament take ſuch effectual Care, that no Man ſhou'd have Reaſon to complain:* Which was leaving Matters juſt as they were; and ſo we ſhall certainly find them, when we viſit that Kingdom again; and beſides all this, there was an Order ſent to the Lord Lieutenant in 1672, to diſpenſe with the *Papiſts* wearing Arms.

Such are the Happineſſes of the glorious Reign we are writing of; they are diſpens'd with ſo equal a Hand over the three Kingdoms, that it is indeed difficult to determine which was moſt happy.

In *England* very little is to be done by the Miniſtry this Year, and not much more abroad by her Ambaſſadors, Mediators at *Nimeguen*, where the Plenipotentiaries had Leiſure enough to amuſe themſelves with all Kinds of Diverſions; for none of the Parties ſeem'd very forward to treat. The Confederates were in Hopes to draw in the King of *England*, and thereby procure at leaſt better Terms of *France*; and the King of *England* was all the while in full Penſion from the *French* King, which he cou'd not live without as long as he liv'd without a Parliament, and both the Monarchs knew well enough how the *Engliſh* Nation were enclin'd. The Penſion was 1,200,000 Crowns a Year, of which 600,000 Crowns were paid down, and 600,000 Crowns by way of Donative; and in caſe of Rebellion, it was to be augmented to 12 Millions of Livres a Year; and 25 Millions of Livres were bid by the Court of *France* for the Princeſs *Mary*, the Duke's eldeſt Daughter. There was a Fund of 20 Millions aſſign'd by the *French* King for theſe three Kingdoms, out of which ſometimes the King, ſometimes the Duke, ſometimes the Miniſters, and ſometimes the Leaders of Parties, had Donatives, according as the *French* Ambaſſador and *French* Emiſaries repreſented the State of Affairs. Four, ſix and eight Millions of Livres have been yearly remitted from *France* to *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The *French* were fortunate, and cou'd the better afford to pay. *Lewis* XIV. began the Campaign in Perſon with the Siege of *Conde*, and finiſh'd it with that of *Bouchain* about the latter End of *May*. Thoſe two ſmall Towns having crown'd him with freſh Laurels, he haſten'd back to *Paris*, leaving the Command of his Army in the *Netherlands* to Mareſchal *Schomberg*, who took *Aire*, and march'd to the Relief of *Maeſtrich*, beſieg'd by the Prince of *Orange*, who not being join'd as he expected by the Forces of *Munſter* and *Lunenburgh*, and having a ſick Army before the Place, thought fit not to engage the Enemy at ſuch a Diſadvantage, and rais'd the Siege. About the Beginning of this Year the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* arriv'd in *England* from *Savoy*, where ſhe had liv'd two or three Years with her Siſter, Wife of the Conſtable *de Colonna*, who had left her Husband, as the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* had left hers. They were both Neeces to Cardinal *Mazarine*, Daughters of his Siſter *Hieromina Mazarini Mancini*, who was Aunt to *Mary d'Eſté*, Dutcheſs of *York*. King *Charles* wou'd feign have marry'd *Hortenſia Mazarini Mancini*, now Dutcheſs of *Mazarine*, when he was in Exile; but the Cardinal wou'd not hear of it, in ſuch Fear was he of *Cromwel* and the Common-wealth. The Marqueſs of *Ormond* made the Propoſal to the Cardinal while the King was turning Papiſt at *Fonterabia*; but *Mazarine* rejected it: Yet after the *Reſtoration* he wou'd have ſet a Marriage-Treaty on Foot, and prevail'd with the Queen-Mother of *England* to undertake it, under Pretence of congratulating her Son upon his being reſtor'd. She had a Commiſſion to offer him twenty Millions of Livres Portion with *Hortenſia Mancini*; but he was a King of three Kingdoms, and had Ladies enough at his Devotion. Monſieur St. *Evremond* mentions this Treaty in the Funeral Oration for *Madame de Mazarine*. When the latter arriv'd in *England*, ſhe was in the Zenith of her Charms, and the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* grown ſickly; by which Means *Mazarine* began to gain very much upon the King; but ſhe was far from being a prudent, or faithful Miſtreſs. The Prince of *Monaco* coming to the Court of *England* in the Bloom and Vigour of Youth, ſhe caſt her Eye upon him as much as he did upon her. Monſieur St. *Evremond* ſaw it immediately, and fearing ſhe might not only loſe the King, but the 4000 Pounds a Year Penſion he allow'd her, us'd all the Force of his Reaſon and Eloquence to diſſuade her from any Gallantry with the Prince of *Monaco*; which it ſeems was quite contrary to the Deſign of thoſe who were Inſtruments of bringing her into *England*, as we read in the Life of Monſieur *de* St. *Evremond*. The Duke of *Buckingham* put the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* upon King *Charles* II. to out the Dutcheſs of *Cleaveland*; and the preſent Miniſtry got over the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* to out the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*. Let us ſee how the *French* Author runs in *Engliſh*: " I have already ſpoken of the " Power the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* had over " King *Charles*, whoſe natural Indolence, and his " Love of Women, deliver'd him up to his Mi- " ſtreſſes, and Madam *de Portſmouth* was the Fa- " vourite Miſtreſs; ſhe govern'd him as ſhe was " inſtructed by the Court of *France*. *It is a* French- man *who writes thus, and who makes a better Judgment of this King and his Government, than all our* Compleat Hiſtorians, *who are ſo dazled with his Majeſty's Zeal for the Church, that they have no Eyes for his Vices and Weakneſſes.* " The " King of *England* forgetting the true Intereſt of " his Kingdom, and even his own Intereſt, be- " came ſhamefully a *Penſioner* of *Lewis* XIV. " The Friends to Liberty were turn'd out of all " Employments, and excluded the Management " of Affairs, which put them upon ſeveral Con- " trivances to deliver their Country from ſuch an " infamous Bargain and Sale: All which not ſuc- " ceeding, they at laſt conſider'd that the only

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Dutcheſs of Mazarine *comes to* England.

The King wou'd have marry'd her.

p. 171.

King Charles *govern'd as* France *wou'd have him.*

A.D.1676 " Way wou'd be to diſgrace the Dutcheſs of " *Portſmouth*, and to put in her Place another " Woman, in whom they might confide. They " caſt their Eyes on the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine*, " who was ſuperior to *Portſmouth* both in Beau- " ty and Wit." It is to be ſuppos'd, that Monſieur St. *Evremond* had a Hand in the Contrivance, and that he was on that Account the more ſollicitous for her keeping her Ground at Court; but her Fondneſs for *Monaco* diſguſted the King, who took away her Penſion, which however was reſtor'd to her not long after, and her Houſe near St. *James*'s was the Rendezvous of all the Men of Letters and Pleaſure to the Day of her Death. She brought over with her the celebrated Abbot de St. *Real*, whoſe Works are in ſuch Eſteem with the Ingenious.

This Digreſſion is the leſs Impertinent, for that it gives one a very good Idea of the Happineſs of our *Church* to have ſuch a *Head*, and of our *Kingdom* to have ſuch a *King*.

Sir William Temple *complies with a* French *intereſt.*

One may perceive, that as well verſs'd as Sir *William Temple* was in Negotiations, and as well as he was diſpos'd to the publick Intereſt, yet he gave up ſometimes his own Judgment to his Maſter's, or rather to his Maſter's Pleaſure, and was as forward in promoting a ſeparate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, as King *Charles* cou'd deſire. He went ſo far, as to tell the Prince of *Orange*, he knew not a Man in *Holland*, who was not of his Mind; *Yes*, reply'd his Highneſs, *I am ſure I know One*, and that is my *Self*, *and I'll hinder it as long as I can, but if any thing ſhould happen to me, I know it would be done in two Days.* Sir *William Temple*, who was as polite as able, maintain'd his Maſter's Character, and the Ceremonial, with great Punctilio and Elegance; but his Mediation was little heeded by the Confederates, who were too wiſe not to obſerve that King *Charles* waited for Opportunities, rather to do them ill Offices than good, or indeed equal Offices. Sir *William* urging the Neceſſity of a ſeparate Peace from the dilatory Proceedings of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, the Prince of *Orange* ſaid, *The Appearances are very ill for the next* Campaign, *but* Campaigns *do not always end as they begin, that Accidents may happen, which no Man can foreſee, and if we come to one fair Battel, none can anſwer for the Event.* The Hero ſtill, and how unlike his Uncle does he talk? *The King of* England *may make a Peace when he pleaſes, before it begins, but if he is ſo indifferent as to let that Seaſon paſs, for my Part, I am oblig'd to go on and take my Fortune. I this very Morning ſaw a poor old Man tugging alone in his little Boat, with his Oar againſt the Eddy of a Stream, upon a Canal, and when with the laſt Effort, he was juſt got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carry'd him quite back again, and thus three or four Times, while I ſaw him. This old Man's Buſineſs and mine are too like one another; however, we ought to do juſt as the old Man did, without knowing what will ſucceed, any more than what did in the poor Man's Caſe.*

The Buſineſs of the *Stuartine* Princes, was generally done by Proclamations, which were minded or not minded, according as the Court were enclin'd: Two were at this Time publiſh'd, one againſt *Engliſh* Officers and Seamen entring into Foreign Services; another againſt the committing Acts of Hoſtility, under the Protection of the *Engliſh* Coaſts and Ports, in which the *French* were not only inſolent againſt the *Dutch*, with whom they were in War, but againſt the *Engliſh* themſelves, with whom they pretended to be in Peace, and it is ſuppoſed they endamag'd the *Engliſh* Merchants much more by their Captures, than the Amount of King *Charles*'s Penſion came to, which was little conſider'd by him or his Miniſters, 'till at laſt a loud and general Clamour reach'd their Ears, and they were forc'd to do ſomething towards ſatisfying the injur'd People. A.D.1678

French rob the Engliſh *at Sea.*

The Merchants of *London* preſented a Petition to the King and Council, in *May* this Year, concerning the Ships taken by *French Privateers*, wherein they complain'd, 1. *That the Delay and Charge of proſecuting the Law in* France, *does commonly make the Owners become Loſers of half the Value, whenever they are moſt ſucceſsful.* 2. *That there's no Reparation ever gotten from Privateers for what they plunder and imbezzle, which makes them freely ſeize upon all they meet, and perpetually moleſt the* Engliſh *Navigation.*

Upon Complaint of this Grievance in the *French* Court, the Method of Redreſs prov'd a new Oppreſſion; for Sir *Ellis Leighton*, Secretary to the Lord *Berkley*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in the Court of *France*, being appointed to ſollicite there the Reſtitution of the *Engliſh* Ships, was as great a *Villain* as his Brother the Archbiſhop was a *Saint*, and behav'd ſo corruptly in his Negotiation, by receiving Bribes, and making Bargains for Reſtitutions, that the *Engliſh* Merchants were diſcourag'd in their Applications for Reparation of Damages. Being convicted of this Villainy, he was ſent for home and examin'd; 'twas intended to proſecute him, but he kept out of the Way, and the Search for him was not over diligent. When he was under Examination, he was ſo impudent as to ſay, *He wonder'd how theſe Merchants dar'd to ſpeak any thing againſt the greateſt King in* Europe, *as the King of* France *was!* The Council heard him with Indignation, and he was order'd to be committed when caught. The Merchants Petition being referr'd to the Lords Committee of Trade, they gave it as their Opinion, *That his Majeſty had juſt Occaſion from the Injuries paſs'd, and thoſe which are now depending*, and which do every Day encreaſe, *to make a very ſerious Repreſentation of all unto his moſt* Chriſtian Majeſty, *and not only preſs for ſome better Method of repairing the Grievances mention'd, but earneſtly to inſiſt on the Calling in of all Privateers, or elſe your Majeſty muſt do Right, and give Defence to your Subjects from all the Inſolencies which they ſo frequently meet.* Sign'd by *Finch*, *Angleſey*, *Bridgwater*, *Bath*, *Craven*, *H. Coventry*, *G. Carteret*, *J. Ernle.*

The Ships and Cargoes were ſaid to be worth near a Million Sterling. I have a Liſt of the Ships and their Owners, as the *St. John*, *John St. John* Maſter, belonging to the Earl of *Bolingbroke*, the *Sherrard* of *Boſton*, to the Lord *Sherrard*, the *Lady of Virginia*, to Sir *Arthur Ingram*, the *Oak* to Sir *John Frederick*, &c. ſome of which were taken with this inſolent Circumſtance, *Go tell your King of it.*

Secretary *Coventry* was upon this order'd to tranſmit a Copy of the Report of the Lords Committees of Trade to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *France*, and to attend the *French* Ambaſſador in *England* with it likewiſe, that the Evils complain'd of may be redreſs'd. Inſtead of which, *Marvel* tells us, the *French* Picaroons continu'd to murther, plunder and confiſcate *Engliſh* Merchants, their Ships and Cargoes, 'till the Time of the Parliaments ſitting, inſomuch that it was doubted whether the Miniſters were not *Complices in the Matter:* " And yet all this while, that " they made theſe intolerable and barbarous Pi- " racies and Depredations upon his Majeſty's " Subjects, they were from *England* more dili- " gently than ever ſupply'd with Recruits, and " thoſe that wou'd go voluntarily into the *French* " Service

A.D.1676 " Service were encourag'd, others that would not, " preſs'd, impriſon'd, and carry'd over by main " Force, and conſtrain'd; even as the Parliament " here was ready to ſit down, notwithſtanding all " their former frequent Applications to the Con- " trary; and his Majeſty's Magazines were daily " empty'd to furniſh the *French* with all Sorts of " Ammunition, *&c.*" while the King was, by his Miniſters, acting the Part of Mediator between *France* and the Confederates.

Echard and the *Compleat Hiſtorians* remember how the King was allarm'd at the *Growth of Popery*, and order'd the Secretaries of State to let foreign Ambaſſadors know, that he will not have Maſs ſaid, nor Sermons preach'd in *Engliſh* in their Houſes or Chappels; which Farce was as often play'd, as there was a Game to play, but was the Subject of Ridicule to all ſober thinking People of whatever Denomination.

I muſt, for my Part, own, that every Thing in this Adminiſtration appears to me ſo baſe and diſhonourable, that I cannot with Pleaſure dwell on the Decorations of it, by Promotions and Preferments, but the *Compleat Hiſtorian* and *Echard* ſpeak of them, as if they had been the Reward of Merit and Virtue, in virtuous and worthy Times.

Dr. *Blandford* dying, Dr. *James Fleetwood* is made Biſhop of *Worceſter*. I will repeat the *Compleat Hiſtorian*'s Words, that the Reader may ſee what Materials he picks up for his important Hiſtory.

" On *Sunday* the 29th of *Auguſt*, his *Lord-* " *ſhip* elect was conſecrated in St. *Peter*'s Church " in *Broadſtreet*, *London*, by the *Right Reverend* " *Father in God*, John, *Lord Biſhop of* Rocheſter, " *his* Grace of *Canterbury*'s Commiſſioner for that " Purpoſe, being aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Ely*, " *Chicheſter* and *Lincoln*. And after the Perform- " ance and Solemnity, their Lordſhips, with ma- " ny of the Nobility, and other Perſons of Qua- " lity, were entertain'd at *Drapers-Hall*." Where will you meet with ſuch Paſſages in *Thucydides*, or *Livy*, and what a Fund of Curioſity muſt a Man have to be entertain'd with them?

On the Death of Dr. *Henchman*, Dr. *Compton* was made Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Fell*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, and the two Sheriffs of *London*, *John Peak* and *Thomas Stamp* were Knighted. The King and Queen, the Duke and Dutcheſs of *York*, the Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Ann*, din'd at *Guild-Hall* on the Lord Mayor's Day; and Sir *Edward Walker* being dead, Sir *Thomas Doleman* was made Clerk of the Council, and the Biſhop of *Durham*, a Privy-Counſellor. I own my ſelf indebted for theſe Events, to Mr. Archdeacon and the *Compleat Hiſtorian*: To the latter, I owe what follows of the *Caſe of the Diſſenters* this Year, which for its Ingenuity and Truth deſerves Remembrance. " The Diſſenters had now ſome Advan- " tage of improving in popular Reputation, by " being generally averſe to the Meaſures con- " ducing to Popery, and the Grandeur of *France*, " and by falling in with thoſe Patriots in both " Houſes of Parliament, who ſeem'd moſt zea- " lous in the Love and Service of their Country." So far has the Truth prevail'd, and a Confeſſion of their Deſerts is extorted, but then comes, *And yet their own Hiſtory has little to boaſt of, but the Proſecution of ſome of their Teachers, and a Story of Judgments upon ſome of the Informers.* Never were two Monoſyllables guilty of ſo much Nonſenſe as his *And yet*. The *Diſſenters* boaſted not of their Love to their Country, to the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty, and yet they boaſted of being beggar'd and jail'd, which indeed was the very Boaſt of their Enemies, who jail'd them and beggar'd them, *and yet here* is intended, for ſome of that awkard Raillery which we meet with in Fable: 'Tis a Pretence to Mirth without Wit, and Hiſtory without Fact. He tells us then a Story of thirteen Biſhops, and Sir *Nathaniel Hern*, Sheriff of *London*, which he took from *Baxter*, where he might have learn'd better, if he had thought it poſſible for any one to teach him. He had ſeen in *Baxter*'s Life, what a Crew of Raſcals and Scoundrels, Juſtices and Informers were ſet to work to ruin diſſenting Miniſters and People; ſuch Juſtices as *Roſs* of *Brentford*, *Phillips*, Archbiſhop *Sheldon*'s Man, *Starling*, *Sheldon*, *Davis* of *London*, *Parry*, one of the Ruffians who ſlit Sir *John Coventry*'s Noſe, made a Juſtice for this Drudgery, *Grey*, Sir *Philip Matthews*, &c. ſuch Informers as *Keling*, *Marſhal* and *Strowd*, Fellows poſſeſs'd with ſo many Devils, the Horrors of their Conſciences, that the Fate of the Swine would have been a Bleſſing to them; yet how tenderly does the *Compleat Hiſtorian* ſpeak of them?

A.D.1676

On the 15th of *February* the Parliament met, and great were the Expectations of the People of all Religions and Parties. There had been a warm Argument without Doors, concerning the Validity of the intended Seſſion; ſome arguing that by the antient Laws of *England*, the Parliament was diſſolv'd by ſo long a Prorogation, as fifteen Months: This was argu'd within Doors, as ſoon as the Seſſion was open'd, which I ſhall give an Account of in Mr. *Marvel*'s Words. 1677.

Debates about the Being of the Parliament.

" His Majeſty demanded of the Parliament, " in his Speech, a *Supply for building of Ships*, " *and the further Continuance of the additional* " *Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, which was to expire* " *the 24th of* June, 1677, *and recommended ear-* " *neſtly a good Correſpondence between the two* " *Houſes, repreſenting their laſt Differences, as* " *the Reaſon of ſo long a Prorogation, to allay* " *them.*" After this, *The Lord Chancellor*, ſays Echard, *made a long and eloquent Speech, the greateſt Part of which ſeems neceſſary to be remember'd*; and knowing what a good Judge he is of ſuch Eloquence, and ſuch Neceſſity, I lay him and the Chancellor's Speech aſide, to ſee what *Marvel* writes of them both. " The *Lord* " *Chancellor*, as is uſual with him, ſpoil'd all " which the King had ſaid ſo well, with ſtrain- " ing to do it better; for indeed the Miſchances " of all the Seſſions, ſince he had the Seals, may " in great Part be aſcrib'd to his *indiſcreet* and " *unlucky* Eloquence, and had not the Lord " *Treaſurer* a far more effectual Way of Perſwa- " ſion with the Commons, who were in *Pen-* " *ſion*, there had been the ſame Danger of the ill " Succeſs of this Meeting, as of thoſe formerly." Each Houſe being now ſeated, the Caſe of this *long Prorogation* had taken Place ſo far without Doors, and was of that Conſequence to the Conſtitution of all Parliaments, and the Validity of all Proceedings in this Seſſion, that even the Commons, tho' much againſt their Wills, cou'd not paſs it by, but they handled it ſo tenderly, as if they were afraid to touch it.

Lord Chancellor Finch's Eloquence unlucky and indiſcreet.

The firſt Day, inſtead of the *Queſtion* whether the Parliament were by this unprecedented *Prorogation* indeed *diſſolv'd*, it was propos'd, *ſomething ridiculouſly*, ſays Marvel, *whether this* Prorogation *were not an* Adjournment? and this Debate too they *adjourn'd* till next Day, and from thence till a longer time, when thoſe who had propos'd it, before they would enter upon the Debate, ask'd, *whether they might have Liberty*? As if that had not been more than imply'd before, by *adjourning* the Debate, and as if Freedom of Speech was not a Conceſſion of Right, which the King grants at the firſt Opening of all Parliaments; but by this Faintneſs, they taught the Houſe to deny

A.D.1677 them it, and the Matter was wrapp'd up in a cleanly Queſtion, *Whether their Grand Committees ſhou'd ſit*? Which involving the Legitimacy of the Houſes ſitting, was carry'd in the *Affirmative*. But it went otherwiſe in the Lords Houſe, where the Duke of *Buckingham* argu'd by all the Laws of Parliament, and with great Strength of Reaſon, that this *Prorogation* was Null, and this Parliament conſequently *diſſolv'd*; offering to maintain it to all the Judges, and deſiring, as had been uſual in ſuch Caſes, but wou'd not here be admitted, that even *They* might give their Opinions. My Lord *Fretchville* cry'd out, *To the Bar*, the only Argument he was capable of expreſſing, which was oppos'd by the Earl of *Salisbury*, with the Height of *Cecilian* Courage and Reaſon, and the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Propoſal aſſerted. Then Lord *Arundel* of *Trerice* cry'd out, *To the Bar*, but that was not minded; and the Courtiers of the Houſe of Commons brought up Advice every Moment, that the Matter was yet in Agitation among them; by which means the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had Opportunity to appear with ſuch extraordinary Vigour, both in what concern'd the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Perſon, and his Propoſal, that as the Duke of *Buckingham* might have ſtood ſingle in any rational Conteſt, ſo the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was more properly another Principal. The Lord Chancellor, in anſwer, undertook to make the *Prorogation* look very *formal*, laying, ſays *Marvel*, the *beſt Colours upon it, after his manner when Advocate, that the Cauſe wou'd bear*. So that upon the Queſtion, it was carry'd for the Prorogation; and the Court-Lords being thus fluſh'd, but not ſatisfy'd with their Victory, fell upon their Adverſaries in cool Blood, queſtioning ſuch as they thought fit that ſame Night, and the next Morning ſentencing them; the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, to be committed to the *Tower* during his Majeſty's and the Houſe's Pleaſure. The Duke of *Buckingham* finding how 'twas likely to go with them, ſlipp'd out of the Houſe while the Earl of *Angleſey* was arguing againſt committing them. The Houſe underſtanding he had withdrawn himſelf, were in a Rage, and intended to addreſs the King for a Proclamation againſt him; but the Duke knowing it was only a *Tower* Buſineſs for a Week or two, wou'd not give them ſo much Trouble, and the next Day appear'd in his Place. The Court-Lords immediately cry'd out, *To the Bar*. The Duke, who had the happieſt Way in the World to turn any thing ſerious into a Jeſt, and extricate himſelf out of Difficulties, roſe up, and ſaid, *I beg your Lordſhips Pardon for retiring the Night before: You very well know the exact Oeconomy I keep in my Family, and perceiving your Lordſhips intended I ſhou'd be ſome time in another Place, I only went Home to ſet my Houſe in Order, and am now come to ſubmit myſelf to your Lordſhip's Pleaſure*; which was to ſend him to the *Tower* after the other three Lords. I have been told that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was jealous of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s ſetting himſelf up for the Head of his Party, us'd to ſpeak ſlightly of him, as a Man that was inconſtant, giddy, and had his Head full of Whimſies, ſuitable to the Character of him in *Abſolom* and *Achitophel*; which the Duke was inform'd of, and reſented. It happen'd that the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Wharton*, and himſelf, were diſcharg'd on their Submiſſion, and only the Earl of *Shaftsbury* remain'd in the *Tower*. The Earl look'd out of Window as the Duke of *Buckingham* was taking Coach, and cry'd, *What, my Lord, are you going to leave us? Ay, my Lord*, ſays he, *ſuch giddy-headed Fellows as I can never ſtay long in a Place*.

Duke of Buckingham *ſpeaks for the Diſſolution,*

and Lord Shaftsbury.

The Duke of Bucks, *the Earl of* Saliſbury, *the Earl of* Shaftsbury, *and the Lord* Wharton *ſent to the* Tower.

Duke of Buckingham's *Repartee to* Shaftsbury.

A.D.1677

The ſending theſe Lords to the *Tower* was reckon'd a very raſh and unjuſtifiable Action. Lord *Halliſax* ſaid, *If an idle Motion was made, and check'd at firſt, he that made it might be cenſur'd for it, tho' it was ſeldom, if ever, to be practis'd in a Free Council, where every Man was not bound to be wiſe, not to make an impertinent Motion. But when the Motion was entertain'd, and the Debate follow'd, and a Queſtion was put upon it, it was deſtructive to the Freedom of Publick Councils to call any one to account for it: They might with the ſame Juſtice call them to account for their Debates and Votes; ſo that no Man was ſafe, unleſs he cou'd know where the Majority wou'd be. Here wou'd be a Precedent to tip down ſo many Lords at a time, and garble the Houſe. as often as any Party ſhou'd have a Majority*. Upon this the Houſe firſt order'd them to ask Pardon as Delinquents, which they refus'd. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was the firſt who was call'd on, probably by the Management of the Lord Chancellor, who had ſucceeded him in the Chancery, with very unequal Merit, which naturally leads to Envy, and that to Injuſtice. King *Charles* himſelf had ſaid of Lord *Shaftsbury*, when he had the Seals, *That he had a Chancellor who knew as much* LAW *as any of his* Judges, *and as much* Divinity *as any of his* Biſhops; which was not the Lord Chancellor *Finch*'s Character. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* deſir'd he might have his Servants to wait on him in the *Tower*, and the firſt he nam'd was his *Cook*, as had been concerted with the Duke of *Bucks*; but Lord *Wharton* was too grave for ſo ludicrous a thing, which the King highly reſented. Theſe Lords were much viſited in the *Tower*, and to put a Stop to it, they were made cloſe Priſoners, not to be viſited without Leave from the King, or the Houſe; and particular Obſervations were made of all who ask'd Leave, which was much cry'd out againſt. The three Lords that were diſcharg'd lay there ſome Months, and got out by petitioning the King. Lord *Shaftsbury* wou'd not petition, but mov'd for a Diſcharge in the King's-Bench. The Miniſtry was not ſo weak as not to know who were fit Tools for the Work they had to do, and every Bench of Judges, Biſhops, &c. were well ſupply'd with Perſons who were ready to do whatever the Court requir'd of them. *Scroggs* the Chief Juſtice, and his Brethren, ſaid, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was committed by an Order of the Houſe of Lords, which was a ſuperior Court to them, and they cou'd not take Cognizance of the Matter. The Lord Treaſurer *Danby* cenſur'd this Motion highly, as done in Contempt of the Houſe of Lords, who were then under Prorogation: He threaten'd to make uſe of it againſt the Lord *Shaftsbury* next Seſſion of Parliament, yet he himſelf was afterwards forc'd to make the ſame Motion at the King's-Bench Bar, and complain'd of the Injuſtice of that Court, for refuſing to bail or diſcharge him; tho' in that they follow'd the Precedent, which at this Time was directed by himſelf.

Lord Halifax *vindicates theſe Lords.*

King Charles's *Saying in Praiſe of Lord* Shaftsbury.

The Debate about the *Diſſolution* had the Effect in the Houſe of Commons which was foreſeen, for that Houſe was much enflam'd againſt Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Party; which being compos'd of moderate Church-men and Diſſenters, has very much reconcil'd the *Compleat Hiſtorian* to this Seſſion. The Commons voted 600,000 Pounds for building thirty Ships; however, a Clauſe was put in the Bill by the Country-Party, with Intent to loſe it, which was, that the Money ſhou'd be accounted for to them, in hopes the Lords wou'd alter that Clauſe, and make it accountable to both Houſes; which was done by

A.D.1677 the Peers, and Conferences held upon it. The Lords thought that ſince they paid a Share of the Tax, it was not reaſonable to exclude them from the Accompts. The Commons adher'd to their Clauſe, and the Bill was in great Danger of being loſt; but ſome of the Tools juſt mention'd, being ſet to work to prevail with the Majority of the Peers, they receded. The Parliament continu'd the additional Exciſe three Years longer, but things did not go ſo ſwimmingly to the End of the Seſſion; for the Progreſs of the *French* King's Arms in the *Netherlands* made ſuch an Impreſſion on the Parliament, that they wou'd not be contented without ſome Meaſures were taken by our Court to give a Check to them. *Valenciennes* being taken, and *St. Omer* in Danger, the Prince of *Orange* march'd thither, and too raſhly ventur'd a Battel with the Duke of *Orleans*. Some Regiments of Marines, on whom the Prince depended much, baſely ran away; yet the other Bodies fought ſo well, that he loſt not much, beſides the Honour of the Day. But *St. Omer* immediately capitulated, and *Cambray* ſoon after. Upon which Sir *William Coventry* open'd the Buſineſs in the Houſe of Commons, and ſhew'd the Danger of all the *Spaniſh Netherlands* falling under the Power of *France*, which muſt end in the Ruin of the *United Provinces*, if a timely Stop was not put to the *French* Conqueſts. He demonſtrated that the Intereſt of *England* made it neceſſary for the King to withdraw his *Mediation*, and enter into the Alliance againſt *France*. The whole Houſe went into this: Great Complaints were made of the Regiments the King kept in the *French* Army, and of the great Service that was done by them. 'Tis true, the King ſuffer'd the *Dutch* to make Levies, but there was another ſort of Encouragement given to the Levies for *France*, particularly in *Scotland*, where it look'd more like a *Preſs* than a *Levy*. They had not only the publick Goals given them to keep their Men in, but when the Goals were full, they had the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* aſſign'd them. Some of the *Presbyterians* taken at *Meetings* were deliver'd to the *French* Officers. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador complain'd of it, but the infamous *Lauderdale* kept up thoſe Levies, notwithſtanding a Proclamation to the contrary. The *Presbyterians*, and other Recruits, were haſten'd a-board before the Proclamation came down to *Scotland*; yet they were not ſail'd then, and the Proclamation was conceal'd till they were ſail'd: *So apparently*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *was the Kingdom in a* French *Management*.

Sir William Coventry's Speech for a War with France.

Scots Presbyterians ſent into the French *Service.*

The Houſe of Commons preſs'd the King, by repeated Addreſſes, to fall into the Intereſt of *Europe*, as well as into his own, which made him uneaſy; and he ſent them ſeveral angry Anſwers. For one muſt do this Juſtice to the *Stuartine* Princes, to obſerve, that though they were afraid to give any Foreigners an angry Word, they never wanted Courage to inſult their Parliaments. His Majeſty ſaid, *Peace and War were undoubtedly Matters within his Prerogative, in which they ought not to meddle.* Which is every whit as whimſical, as if when a Houſe is on Fire, and a Neighbour ſhou'd come to aſſiſt the Owner in putting of it out, he ſhou'd bid him *Hold his Tongue and his Hand, the Houſe is his, and what has he to do with it?* tho' his Neighbour is ſure to have the ſame Fate with his own. To talk of *Prerogative*, when the Enemy is at the Gates, argues as much want of Senſe as Decency: *'Tis my* Prerogative *to ruin my ſelf, if I think fit, and you too.* And if the one cou'd have been done without the other, the Parliament wou'd have been in the wrong to have expos'd themſelves to ſuch ill Treatment for doing their Duty only. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, "The King in common Diſcourſe remember'd A.D.1677 "often the Parliament's engaging his Father and "Grand-father in the Affairs of *Germany*, and "to break the Match with *Spain*, which prov'd "fatal to them; and he reſolv'd not to be ſerv'd "in ſuch a manner." We hear very much of this King's Wit, but the Proofs of it are ever in Jeſts and Repartees. Cou'd he think to palm ſuch Reaſoning on Men who knew Fact and Argument? The Parliament wou'd have engag'd his Grandfather in War with the Emperor, if they had found him ſincere in it, and had not ſquander'd away the Money they gave him for it on Minions and Flatterers. The Match with *Spain* was broken off only to make a worſe Match with *France*, and that was the Ruin of his Father. He durſt not tell the People that he was in *Penſion*, that he took the *French* King's Money, and if he fell out with him ſhou'd have no more. 'Tis honeſtly, though not very elegantly ſaid by a modern Author: "I cannot, *my Lord*, without ſome Relu- S. J.
"ctancy, think that a King, who for near twenty Years had had the greateſt Opportunity of "any of his Predeceſſors to make himſelf great "both at Home and Abroad, ſhou'd fall to ſo "abject a State, as to become a *French Penſioner*; which, without the Addition of any other "Crime, is more than enough eternally to blaſt "the Memory of an *Engliſh* Monarch.

The King demanded 600,000 Pounds more than the Commons had given him, to enable him to enter into Alliances, which they had all the Reaſon in the World to think he did not intend, but to ſpend that Money, as he had ſpent the immenſe Sums already given him. His Phraſe was, *To enable him to ſpeak more effectually*; but the Parliament very juſtly *diſtruſted* him, and the thing being unparliamentary, to give Money to maintain *Alliances* and *Wars*, before thoſe *Alliances* or *Wars* are made, the other 600,000 Pounds was deny'd; upon which he diſmiſs'd them for five Weeks. On the 22d of *May* the Parliament met again, and great Debates aroſe about the Averſion of the Miniſters to enter into Alliances againſt *France*; upon which the Parliament reſolv'd on a vigorous Addreſs, wherein they repreſented *the Purſe and Power of* France *to be too great to be contended with by this Nation ſingly; neither cou'd the* Dutch *withſtand them, but both together might; and the Charges and Inconveniencies that wou'd fall on the Kingdom, if the* Dutch, *for want of timely Encouragement and Aſſiſtance ſhou'd make a ſeparate Peace, wou'd be inſupportable*: And therefore they adviſ'd, and humbly pray'd his Majeſty, *to enter into a League* Offenſive *and* Defenſive *with the* Dutch, *and with others, againſt* France, *for ſaving the* Spaniſh Netherlands, *as the only Means to defend* Britain: Aſſuring him, *That the Sequel of ſuch Alliance wou'd end in Safety, in regard his People were unanimous in the Cauſe; and they promis'd to ſupport thoſe Alliances with all their Power.*

A warm Addreſs againſt France.

But Biſhop *Parker* informs us, the *Popiſh* Ca- p. 409, 410.
bal cou'd ſee *Safety* and not Danger from the *Growth of the* French *Power*; and purſuant to the Advice of the Cabal, the King in a Speech to the Commons told them, in a Stile that wou'd have better become the *Plantagenets*, *Their Addreſs contain'd Things unfit for them to* meddle *with, for they entrenched on his undoubted* Prerogative *of making* Peace *and* War; *which had never*, when the Sword was not drawn, *been ſo dangerouſly invaded.* The Word *dangerouſly* is extreamly proper, becauſe the Tenor of the Addreſs was to bring him and his People out of *Danger*. *They did not content themſelves with deſiring him to enter into* Leagues, *but tell him what ſort of* Leagues *they muſt be, and with whom*; and he

was

A.D.1677 was very much hurt by it. A Traveller out of his Way, amid Darkneſs and Precipices, meets with a Perſon, who not only tells him he is out of his Way, but puts him into the right Path, and the Traveller ſays, *Theſe are things unfit for you to meddle with; if I go out of the Way, and tumble down the Precipice, it is my* Prerogative: *Beſides, you might have told me I'm wrong, and deſir'd me to take care not to tumble, but what had you to do to ſet me right?* Common Senſe is ſufficient to avoid ſuch falſe Reaſoning, and what follows only aggravates it. *If I ſhou'd ſuffer that Fundamental Power* of making War *and* Peace, *to be ſo invaded, as to have the Manner and Circumſtances of Leagues preſcrib'd, no Prince or Potentate wou'd longer believe the* Sovereignty *of* England *reſts in the Crown; wherefore no Condition ſhall make me depart from ſo eſſential a Part of the* Monarchy. *Sovereignty*, *Crown*, and *Monarchy*, make up the Reaſon of this Sentence: The Intereſt and Safety of *England*, and all *Europe*, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberty of Nations, have no Weight in this Reaſoning. Let us read what the Learned *Acherley* writes upon it: "By the Fundamental Conſtitution of Parliament, and by the expreſs Words of the original Summons to it, they had a Right to enquire into the *State* of the Nation, and to adviſe the King what to do, what *Wars* to make, and what *Alliances* to enter into, in caſe thoſe Wars, and thoſe Alliances were neceſſary for the *Defence* of the Nation: For who cou'd be more proper to give Advice about that *Defence*, than thoſe who were to bear the Charges, and to ſuffer moſt for want of that *Defence*? And if this were not reaſonable, the Conſtitution and the Form of this Government were egregiouſly infirm and defective. *Many* Precedents might be produc'd to ſupport this Argument, *As to the Sentiments of neighbouring Princes and Potentates*, it was argu'd, *That* Reputation *was the Life of* Government, and *Diſreputation* the Bane of it; and that every Prince in *Europe* was well appriz'd, that the Acts of the King's Sovereignty, whether thoſe Acts were *War* or *Peace*, without the good-liking or Conſent of his Parliament, were half-form'd Things, without Sinews or Strength to *defend* this Nation's Friends, or *offend* it's Enemies." When we follow a learned Lawyer, we tread on ſure Ground; and the Court Sophiſtry, which like an *Ignis Fatuus* miſguides the *Compleat Hiſtorians*, appears naked and ſhameleſs. The Parliament was adjourn'd to the 16th of *July*, to give the *French* King a full Swing of Devaſtation and Ruin in *Flanders*. We ſhall prove in the Sequel, that King *Charles* was at this very Juncture chaffering, by his Miniſters in *France*, for more Money; and that one Reaſon given for it, was, *That he had been abſolutely the Occaſion of the* French *King's Conqueſts in* Flanders. There were two or three good Acts paſs'd before the Adjournment; as 1. *The* Act *for preventing Frauds and Perjuries.* 2. *An Act for taking away the Writ* de Heretico Comburendo, *&c.* And the Adjournment itſelf was a very extraordinary one; for upon his Majeſty's ſignifying his Pleaſure that it ſhou'd be ſo, Mr. *Edward Seymour*, afterwards Sir *Edward*, the Speaker, without the Conſent of the Houſe, or ſo much as putting the Queſtion, adjourn'd them; tho' Sir *John Finch*, the Chancellor's Uncle, was for the ſame thing impeach'd of High Treaſon in Parliament, 1640. So that if the Parliament was not *diſſolv'd* by the laſt Prorogation, it made it a Queſtion now, whether it was not diſſolv'd by their Separation, without Prorogation or legal Adjournment?

De Salinas, the *Spaniſh* Envoy in *England*, having heard that King *Charles* had call'd the Parliament a *Company of Rogues*, he took care to let ſome of the Members know it, it being on Account of the Addreſs they had preſented for an Alliance againſt *France*, which that Miniſter came to forward; and the King reſented his telling it ſo much, that he was order'd to depart the Kingdom. *A Company of Rogues* is not very courtly Language for the Repreſentatives of the Nation. I abhor Ribaldry as much as any Man, and I have never been provok'd to hard Names, but when I am ſpeaking of Criminals that deſerve Puniſhment rather by the Hangman than the Hiſtorian. A.D.1677 Echard.

At this Time Sir *William Temple* was ſent for into *England*, under the Notion of preferring him to be Secretary of State; but it was on Condition he laid down 10,000 Pounds for it, after ſo many Services, and after he had ſpent much of his own Fortune in his Embaſſies. The King diſcours'd him frequently about the general Peace, and the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Journey into *England*, the latter of which his Majeſty did not at all deſire. He ſaid, *The Parliament wou'd never be quiet or eaſy with him while the War laſted abroad; that they had got it into their Heads to draw him into it whether he wou'd or no; that they pretended* Publick Ends, *and Dangers from* France, *and there might be both meant by a great many honeſt Men amongſt them, but the Heats had been rais'd by ſome Factious Leaders, who thought more of themſelves than any thing elſe, and had a Mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their Terms in removing and filling up Places, and he was very unwilling to be ſo much at their Mercy. That beſides, he ſaw the longer it continu'd, the worſe it wou'd be for the Confederates; and therefore he wou'd fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they wou'd not do it for themſelves; and if he and the Prince cou'd fall into the Terms of it, he was ſure it might be done.* Sir *William Temple* repreſented the Inflexibility of the Prince in the Point of the Treaty, without the joint Concurrence and Satisfaction of all the Confederates; and if his Majeſty wou'd try another Hand in the Negotiation, Mr. *Hyde* was a very proper Perſon to be employ'd: To which the King conſented, and Mr. *Hyde* was diſpatch'd to his Highneſs, whom he found at the Camp, firm and reſolute againſt the Peace, on any other Conditions than in Concert with the Allies. *Mr.* Hyde *ſent to* Holland.

The Prince's Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, was ſo great a Bleſſing to theſe three Kingdoms, that 'tis no Wonder ſo many claim a Share of the Merit of it; which ſeems to be owing moſtly to the Earl of *Danby*, who had run himſelf ſo much into the ill Will of the People, that he ſaw his Ruin wou'd be inevitable, if he did not make his Peace by ſome very popular Action; and there were two Steps to be taken which cou'd not fail of appeaſing them; the one was a good Peace between *France* and the Confederates, the other the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, the Duke's eldeſt Daughter, to the Prince of *Orange*. Sir *William Temple* was in great Confidence with *Danby*, and the latter gave *Temple* full Aſſurance that he might ſpeak of it to the Prince, without Fear of giving Offence either to the King or Duke. Great Offers were made to the latter, to draw him into the Alliance; and that of commanding the Confederate Army ſtagger'd him ſo much, that the *French* Emiſſaries were allarm'd: However, cautious Men were ſtill jealous of the Lord Treaſurer in theſe Matters. Some thought the Talk of an Alliance with *Holland*, in caſe *France* did not conclude a Peace before the next Campaign, *Prince of* Orange's *Marriage with the Princeſs* Mary.

A.D. 1677 was only an Artifice to draw Money from the Parliament for raiſing an Army; which when it was rais'd, might be ſold again to *France* for a greater Sum of Money, or made uſe of to maſter Parliaments, and the whole Nation. 'Twas whiſper'd that was the *Scheme* by which he maintain'd himſelf in the King and the Duke's Confidence, even when he declar'd himſelf an open Enemy to that which they were ſtill ſupporting; which he did with ſo little Decency, that at Archbiſhop *Sancroft*'s Conſecration-Dinner, *Sheldon* being lately dead, he drank *Confuſion to all who were not for a War with* France; which not only lets us into the falſe Character of that Miniſter, but into the Cuſtom of Conſecration-Dinners in thoſe Days, ſo much boaſted of by the *Compleat Hiſtorian*. It was the Earl of *Danby* who got the Prince of *Orange* to ſend *Bentinck* to *England*, to ask the King Leave to come over at the End of the Campaign; with which the Court of *France* was not pleas'd, ſuſpecting a Deſign for the Marriage. But the King aſſur'd *Barillon*, who was ſent Ambaſſador from *France* chiefly on that Account, that there was not a Thought of it; and that the Prince of *Orange* had only a Mind to talk with him: As alſo, that he hop'd he ſhou'd bring him into ſuch Meaſures as wou'd produce a ſpeedy Peace.

Earl of Danby's *great Share in it.*

The Campaign ended unſucceſsfully to the Prince, who ſate down before *Charleroy*, but was forc'd to raiſe the Siege. When that was over, he came to *England*, and ſtay'd ſome Time here talking to his two Uncles about a Peace; but they cou'd not bring him to their Terms. He was a Man of Honour and Reſolution. He knew Men and Buſineſs; and there was no Likelihood of his two Uncles working on ſuch a Prince as he, who was more than a Match for both of them in Politicks, notwithſtanding they were almoſt as old again as their Nephew. After a fruitleſs Stay of ſome Weeks, he intended to go back without propoſing Marriage. He had no Mind to be deny'd; and he ſaw no Hope of ſucceeding, unleſs he wou'd enter more entirely into his Uncle's Meaſures. The King, who judg'd of the Prince by himſelf, thought his Nephew's Head and Heart wou'd have been ſet upon the young *Lady*, whom tho' his Highneſs lov'd and eſteem'd, yet he preferr'd his Honour to his Paſſion, a Sentiment which his Majeſty cou'd not be ſenſible of, and therefore treated with the Prince as with a young Man who wanted a Wife as much as he did a Miſtreſs, and wou'd be brought to any thing for a fair Bed-fellow. But the Prince's wiſe Conduct taught him another Leſſon. The Earl of *Danby* finding his Highneſs wou'd not be put off, and fearing to loſe the Merit of this Marriage, preſs'd him to ſtay two or three Days longer, and leave the Management of that Matter to him. So next *Monday* Morning, after he had taken Care by all his Creatures about the King to put him in a very good Humour, he came to his Majeſty and told him he had receiv'd Letters from all the beſt Friends he had in *England*, and ſhew'd a Bundle of them, in which he was pretty ſure the King wou'd not trouble himſelf to look, and they all agreed in the ſame Advice, that the Duke's Daughter be marry'd to the Prince of *Orange*, for they all believe he came over on that Account; and if he went away without her, no body wou'd doubt but that he had propos'd a Marriage, and had been deny'd; upon which the Parliament wou'd certainly make Addreſſes to the King for it; and if the Marriage was made upon that, his Majeſty wou'd loſe the Grace and Thanks of it: But if it was ſtill deny'd, even after the Addreſſes of both Houſes, it wou'd raiſe Jealouſies which might have very ill Conſequences; whereas, if the King did it of his own Motion, he wou'd have the Honour of it, and by ſo doing bring the Prince into a greater Dependance upon himſelf, and beget in the Nation ſuch a good Opinion of him, as wou'd lay a Foundation for a mutual Confidence. This he enforc'd with all the Topicks he cou'd think of. His Majeſty ſaid, *The Prince has not ſo much as propos'd it.* The Lord *Danby* reply'd, *He has ſpoke of it only to me, becauſe he apprehended he ſhou'd not ſucceed in it. My Brother*, reply'd his Majeſty, *will never conſent to it. May be not*, ſays Lord *Danby*, *unleſs you take upon you to command it, and I think it is the Duke's Intereſt to have it done more than your Majeſty's. All People are now poſſeſs'd of his being a* Papiſt, *and are very apprehenſive of it; but if they ſee his Daughter given to one who is at the Head of the Proteſtant Party, it will very much ſoften thoſe Apprehenſions, when it appears that his Religion is only a perſonal Thing, not to be deriv'd to his Children after him.* By which Diſcourſe the King was convinc'd, and ſent for the Duke, the Earl of *Danby* ſtaying ſtill with him. When the Duke came, the King ſaid, *I have ſent for you to deſire you would conſent to a Thing, which I am ſure is as much for your Intereſt as for my Quiet and Satisfaction.* The Duke, without asking what it was, reply'd, *I will be always ready to comply with the King's Pleaſure in every thing.* Upon which the King left it to the Lord Treaſurer to ſay over all he had ſaid on that Head to himſelf; at which the Duke ſeem'd much concern'd. But his Majeſty ſaying, *I deſire it of you for my ſake as well as for your own*, his Royal Highneſs conſented to it; ſo Lord *Danby* ſent immediately for the Prince, and in the King's Name order'd a Council to be ſummon'd. As ſoon as the Prince came, the King in a very obliging Manner ſaid to him, *Nephew, It is not good for Man to be alone, I will give you a Help-meet for you*, telling him he wou'd beſtow his Neece on him. And the Duke in as obliging a Manner, and with ſeeming Heartineſs, gave his Conſent. The King adding, *Nephew, Remember Love and War do not agree very well together.* This happy Agreement was made the 23d of *October*; and the News of the intended Marriage was ſoon ſpread in Court and City; all, except the *French* and Popiſh Faction, rejoyc'd mightily at it. *Barillon* was amaz'd: He flew to the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and got her to ſend all her Creatures to deſire to ſpeak with the King. She wrote him ſeveral Billets to the ſame Purpoſe. But the Earl of *Danby* having taken Care to have a Council ſummon'd, took Care alſo that neither the King nor the Duke ſhou'd be ſpoke to till the Matter was declar'd at that Board. And when that was done the King preſented the Prince to the young Lady as the Perſon he deſign'd ſhou'd be her Husband. When *Barillon* ſaw it was gone ſo far, he ſent a Courier to the Court of *France* with the News; upon whoſe Arrival Mr. *Montagu*, afterwards Duke of *Montagu*, King *Charles*'s Ambaſſador, was ſent for. When he came to *Verſailles* he ſaw the King the moſt mov'd that he had ever obſerv'd him to be. He ask'd him when the Marriage was to be made? Mr. *Montagu* underſtood not what he meant. Upon which the moſt Chriſtian King explain'd all to him. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the whole Matter. The King ſaid, *I always believ'd the Journey wou'd end in that.* And he ſeem'd to think the Court of *England* had now forſaken him, which made him the

A.D. 1677 *Lord* Danby's *Diſcourſe with the King about the Marriage.*

King and Duke give their Conſent.

How the French *King received the News.*

A.D.1677 more generous in his Money Negotiations to prevent it. He ſpoke of the King's Part in it with Decency, but expoſtulated ſeverely on the Duke's Part, who had now given his Daughter to the greateſt Enemy he had in the World. Mr. *Montagu* had no Anſwer to make; but next Night he had a Courier with Letters from the King, the Duke, and the Prince, to the *French* King. The Prince wou'd have avoided this Piece of Courtſhip, but his Uncle oblig'd him to it, as a Civility due to Kindred and Blood. The King aſſur'd his Brother of *France*, he had made the Match with a Deſign to engage the Prince to be more tractable in the Treaty which was now going on at *Nimeguen*. The *French* King receiv'd theſe Letters civilly, but did not ſeem much ſatisfy'd with them. Mr. *Montagu* was call'd over ſoon after this to get new Inſtructions; and the Lord Treaſurer ask'd him how the *French* King receiv'd the News of the Marriage. He anſwer'd, *As he wou'd have done the Loſs of an Army. He ſpoke very hardly of the Duke for conſenting to it, and not at leaſt acquainting him with it.* The Earl of *Danby* reply'd, *He wrong'd him, for the Duke did not know it an Hour before it was publiſh'd, and the King himſelf not above two Hours.*

Lord Danby's *Account of it different from Sir* William Temple's.

This Account entirely differs from Sir *William Temple*'s, who makes himſelf to be the ſole Agent in the Succeſs of this momentous Affair; whereas, according to this Account, which the Duke of *Montagu* told Biſhop *Burnet*, Sir *William Temple* was not preſent when the King was perſuaded to conſent to it, when the Duke was ſent for by the King, when the Prince came to them, and the Lord Treaſurer, and when the Princeſs was given to him. Lord *Montagu* was known to be no Friend of Lord *Danby*'s; yet he does this Juſtice to him; and the Lord *Danby*, when Duke of *Leeds*, ſaid, *He wou'd not ſuffer that Part of his Service to be buried in Oblivion.* Had it not been for the perſonal Virtues and Graces of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, and for the Intereſt the Marriage gave the Prince of *Orange* in the Parliament and People of *England*, and the ſtrengthening of the Proteſtant Intereſt in Chriſtendom, the Princeſs's Portion cou'd not have tempted the *Prince*, it being but 40,000 Pounds, and the Jointure of the Dowager of *Orange* was 12 or 14,000 Pounds a Year. A Day or two after the Marriage was agreed on, the King and Queen, the Duke (the Dutcheſs lay in at that Time of the Duke of *Cambridge*) and the two Princeſſes his Daughters, ſaw the Lord Mayor's Shew, and afterwards din'd with him, then Sir *Francis Chaplin*, at *Guild-hall*. 'Twas about this Time, if not at this very Feaſt, that

Sir Nicholas Butler *the Quack Privy-Counſellor.*

Sir *Nicholas Butler* a Quack, who had renounc'd *Baptiſm* in *Oliver*'s Time, and was now a Court Spy, afterwards a Privy-Counſellor, came to the King and told him he had juſt diſcover'd a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, and that the *Fanaticks*, himſelf a *Baptiſt*, had reſolv'd to execute it on the *Lord Mayor's Day*, that they had prepar'd a Croſs-Bow for that Purpoſe, which had the Force

Sir J. T. *his falſe Tale of a Plot.*

of a Gun, and with it they intended to ſhoot him from *Bow* Steeple, as he ſtood in the Balcony at the *Angel* in *Cheapſide* to ſee the *Pageants*. Upon this Sir *Robert Southwel*, then one of the Clerks of the Council, was ſent to *Bow* Church early in the Morning to obſerve the Conſpirators, that on a Signal given they might be ſeiz'd. Sir *Robert* got up into the Church at the Place aſſign'd by *Butler*, and there attended till the *Pageants* were come into *Cheapſide*, when he perceiv'd a luſty, rugged Fellow preſs forward to look into the Street, with a Great-Coat on, and ſomething ſtrutting out under it. Sir *Robert Southwel* preſently concluded that was the Perſon he wanted; ſo he got near him, and with as little Suſpicion as might be endeavour'd to feel for the *Croſs-Bow*. The Man finding him fumbling about his Cloaths, ſtar'd at him; and if Sir *Robert*'s Aſpect and Dreſs had not ſhewn him to be a Perſon of Quality, he fancy'd the Fellow wou'd have ſecur'd him for a *Pick-Pocket*. But at laſt *Southwel* ſpy'd the fatal Engine under his Coat. It ſeems the Man was a Carpenter, and had a great Rule ſtuck into his Girdle. It was about this Time alſo that the Court began to hearken to Whiſpers of *dark Deſigns* of the Diſſenters, as *Echard* calls them, tho', God knows, they had no other Deſign than to procure, if they cou'd, Friends enough in Parliament to repeal thoſe cruel and unnatural Laws that depriv'd them of their Liberty Spiritual and Temporal, the Birth-right of every good *Engliſh-man* and *Proteſtant*. We ſhall ſee hereafter what Tragedies thoſe Whiſpers produc'd. A.D.1677

The Prince of Orange *marries the Princeſs* Mary.

The Prince of *Orange*'s Marriage with the Princeſs *Mary* was conſummated the 4th of *November*; and a few Days after the King, the Duke, the Prince, the Lord Treaſurer, and Sir *William Temple*, enter'd in Earneſt on the Debate of the Peace, the Terms of which were at laſt agreed upon, "That *France* ſhou'd reſtore to "the Emperor all that had been taken from him; "the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to the Duke; and all on "both Sides between *France* and *Holland*; and "to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Audenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, "St. *Guiſlain* and *Binch*." Theſe Conditions were ſent to *France* by the Lord *Duras*, afterwards Earl of *Feverſham*; and the King aſſur'd his Highneſs, *He wou'd never part from the leaſt Point of the Scheme*, tho' even *Echard* is forc'd to own, *That the Buſineſs* came to be drawn out into ſo *many Meſſages from* England, *and Returns from* France, *that it diminiſh'd into nothing.* The Reader cannot forget that his Majeſty immediately after his breaking his Word with the *Presbyterians*, valu'd himſelf to his Parliament on his Sincerity, and that the Chancellor *Hyde* ſpoke very much of his being a King of his Word. Mr. *Acherley* aſſures us the Matter of the Scheme was ſpun out into dilatory Expoſtulations by Concert with *Duras* himſelf, who carry'd it over. Their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* embark'd for *Holland* as ſoon as the Terms of the Peace were adjuſted.

When the Parliament met on the 16th of *July*, Secretary *Coventry* ſignify'd they ſhou'd be adjourn'd to the 3d of *December*, which Mr. Speaker *Seymour* did again by his own Authority: But before that the King iſſu'd out his Proclamation, that he expected not the Members Attendance. When the Houſe met the 3d of *December*, the Secretary deliver'd a Meſſage from the King, that they ſhou'd adjourn to the 15th of *January*, which Speaker *Seymour* did a third Time. The King thought himſelf pretty ſure of the Parliament's meeting him in a good Humour, upon the Marriage of his Neece to a Proteſtant Prince; and to be ſtill ſurer of it, he ſent Mr. *Thynne* to *Holland* with a Draught of a Je-

Mr. Thynne *ſent to* Holland.

june Alliance to be made with the States General, in order to compel *France* and *Spain* to fall in with the Scheme agreed upon, which he knew *France* wou'd never conſent to, nor did he ever intend to compel her, but was even continuing his Demands of Money from the *French* King for the Services he had done, and was to do him,

A.D.1678 as will be prov'd hereafter. *Hyde* was come from *Nimeguen*, where he was added to the Number of the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries Mediators, to wait on the Princeſs of *Orange*; and the Treaty *Thynne* brought over, was ſign'd the 16th of *January*.

An Alliance with the States.

1678. Having at the Cloſe of the laſt Year omitted the Promotions and Preferments, which are the darling Ornaments of our Compleat Hiſtories, I ſhall adorn mine out of *Echard* in the Beginning of this. His Grace *Henry* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and Earl *Danby* Lord Treaſurer, were made Knights of the Garter in the Room of two Knights deceas'd, *William* Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and *George* Earl of *Briſtol*. The Duke of *Ormond* was again made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the Room of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who, as the Archdeacon tells us with ſingular Satisfaction, *began now to decline in the King's Favour*, who had been long declining in that of the Publick. In the Beginning of *January* his Majeſty was pleas'd to make *George Wharton*, Eſq; a Baronet, and ſome Weeks before to confer the Honour of Knighthood on *William Royſton* and *Thomas Beckford*, Citizens of *London*. I muſt confeſs I do affect a Negligence of Chronology in ſuch Memoirs as theſe, which are to have no more Room than we can ſpare, and to take it where it happens.

Honours that are the Reward of illuſtrious Actions and exalted Worth, deſerve Immortality, if our Hiſtories were to be immortal, and wou'd eternally be read with Pleaſure: But in ſuch Times as theſe, the Streams muſt participate of the *Source*, and to let them, like ſome Rivers, loſe themſelves in the Sands of Oblivion, wou'd have been our Choice, had we not been miſled by the Compleat Hiſtorians.

Parliament. The Parliament met on the 15th of *January*, and by the King's Directions adjourn'd for thirteen Days, within which Time his Majeſty ſhou'd, as he intimated, have Matters of great Importance to impart to them. And when they met, he acquainted them with ordinary Matters touching the Prince's Marriage, and with the *Alliance* he had made with *Holland* againſt *France*. *The Money-Treaty was then actually on Foot at* Paris. He demanded Supplies *to raiſe* 30,000 *Men, and for a Fleet of* 90 *Men of War*, in order to declare and *carry on a War vigorouſly againſt* France. Sir *William Coventry* ſhew'd the great Inconvenience of raiſing a *Land-Army*, the Danger that might follow on it, the little Uſe cou'd be made of it, and the great Charge it muſt put the Nation to. He was for hiring Troops from the *German* Princes, and for aſſiſting the *Dutch* with Money. He mov'd to recall our Forces out of the *French* Service, and put them into the *Dutch*. He thought it did more properly belong to *England* to ſet out a great Fleet, and to cut off the *French* Trade every where, than to keep up a Land-Army; for the *French* were then very high in Manufactures and Commerce; their People were ingenious as well as induſtrious; they wrought hard, and liv'd low, ſo they ſold cheaper than others cou'd do; and it was found that we ſent very near a Million in *Specie* every Year for the Balance of our Trade with them. This is the Reign ſo much cry'd up for the Flouriſhing Trade! This is the Monarch ſo extoll'd for his Care of the *Church* and Commerce! But, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, "The King had promis'd "ſo many Commiſſions to Men of Quality in "both Houſes, that it was carry'd for a Land-"Force.

Sir William Coventry's Speech about the French Trade.

The Commons believing now the King to be in Earneſt, addreſs'd him not to admit of any *Treaty of Peace*, whereby the *French* King ſhou'd be left in Poſſeſſion of any greater Dominion or Power than was left him by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and to ſtop all Commerce with *France*. The latter he conſented to by a ſevere *Act*, prohibiting the Importation of *French* Manufactures or Growth for three Years, and to the next Seſſion of Parliament after that. This *Prohibition* was well look'd to for a Year; but the Court was too much *French* (to uſe Biſhop *Burnet*'s Words) not to connive at the Breach of it afterwards. The Addreſs about the Terms of the Treaty try'd the *Popiſh* Cabal to the Quick, and the King, by a Meſſage in Writing ſent the 4th of *February*, reviv'd his Quarrels with the Commons about their meddling with Matters which were not fit for them, ſuch as the Security of their Religion, Liberties and Properties, and invading his Prerogative, to deſtroy them by a War or a Peace, as he thought fit, without taking their Advice in the Matter: *He told them they had taken no Notice of his Speech when he adjourn'd them in* May, *but had added to their former ill Conduct new Invaſions of his* Prerogatives, adding, *That the Rights of making and managing* War *and* Peace *were his; and if they thought he wou'd depart from any Part of thoſe Rights, they were miſtaken.* A Thread-bare Topick too much worn to deſerve further Obſervation. Whoever queſtion'd the *Prerogative* of making and managing Peace and War? And whoever doubted the Right of the Parliament to addreſs and adviſe in both Caſes as the Neceſſity of Affairs requir'd? *Ackerly*, after Biſhop *Parker*, informs us, *The King threaten'd the Commons, if they would not grant the Money demanded, he would immediately relinquiſh the War.* Upon which they paſs'd the *Poll-Bill to raiſe one Million*; but at the ſame Time, on the 14th of *March*, they prepar'd an Addreſs, *to proclaim* War *againſt* France *inſtantly, and to diſmiſs the* French *Ambaſſador*. Which Addreſs they ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence. But before the Addreſs cou'd be perfected in the Lord's Houſe, *the* Popiſh *Cabal*, ſays *Ackerly*, *haſten'd the King to anticipate it*, and to ſecure againſt all Events the *Money-Bill*, which he did by paſſing it on the 20th of *March*, and on that Day diſmiſs'd their Sitting for a Month. *In this Manner*, according to Biſhop *Parker*, *the King at length, with much Ado*, extorted *from the Commons that Supply, which he had*, without Effect, *deſir'd for a whole Year together.*

A.D.1678

Trade with France prohibited.

p. 593.

In the Preamble of the before-mention'd *Act* of *Prohibition*, it was ſet forth that we were in actual War with *France*, which was accepted to as not true in Fact. But the Miniſtry, not very ſcrupulous as to the Truth of their Facts, affirm'd we were already engag'd ſo far with the Allies, that it was really a War, and that our Troops were recall'd from *France*. Secretary *Coventry*, one of the Miniſters, ſaid in ſome Heat, *The King was engag'd, and he wou'd rather be guilty of the Murder of forty Men, than do any thing to retard the Progreſs of the War.* An odd Expreſſion, which was often objected to him afterwards. It muſt not be forgot, that *Echard* tells us, the King prepar'd for this Seſſion of Parliament, by doing ſome terrible Things as well as popular, to ſhew his Authority as well as Clemency in ſuppreſſing Libels and ſeditious Diſcourſes, particularly Mr. *Andrew Marvel's Growth of Popery*, which is as full of Truth as the Addreſſes publiſh'd in his Majeſty's *Gazette* ſome Time after were

full

A.D.1678 full of Falſhood. Another Thing omitted by me at the Opening of this Seſſion, was a Vote upon a Motion of the Lord *Obrian*, who had marry'd the Earl of *Danby*'s Daughter, *for* 70,000 *Pounds for a ſolemn Funeral of his late Majeſty King* Charles I. *whoſe Corpſe, by the Way, they never cou'd find, and to erect a Monument for the ſaid Prince of Glorious Memory: The ſaid Sum to be rais'd by a Two Month's Tax, to begin at the Expiration of the preſent Tax for erecting Men of War.* The Archdeacon ſays, the Nation *had ſtood oblig'd to do this for many Years*; and the Bond is not yet cancell'd, for the Thing is not yet done.

Lord Obrian *moves for a Monument for King* Charles I.

A *Poll* being granted, the additional Cuſtoms continu'd, and 600,000 Pounds given for Land-Forces, an Army of 20,000 effective Men was rais'd and cloath'd in ſix Weeks Time. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſollicited to have a Body of them ſent immediately into *Flanders*, and offer'd to put *Oſtend* and *Newport* into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. But our Court were ever dilatory in all Engagements with the Confederates.

An Army of 20,000 *Men rais'd in* 6 *Weeks.*

At this Time the *French* King made a Step, which ſtruck Terror into the *Dutch* and *Louvois*, who was the Contriver of it, gain'd the Credit with him, which he maintain'd ſo long afterwards. He propos'd to him the taking of *Ghent*, which being ſo near the *Dutch* wou'd, he thought, immediately diſpoſe them to a ſeparate Peace; but how to accompliſh it did not appear very eaſy, without being obſerv'd, which wou'd have certainly oblig'd the King of *England* to have ſent Troops to re-inforce that Garriſon. Wherefore *Louvois* laid ſuch a Scheme of Marches and Counter-marches, as did amuſe all the Allies. Sometimes the Deſign ſeem'd to be on the *Rhine*, ſometimes on *Luxemburgh*. And while the Confederate Forces were ſent to defend thoſe Places where they apprehended the Deſign was laid, and none of the *French* Generals themſelves did apprehend what the true Deſign was, the *French* Army on a ſudden inveſts *Ghent*, which Town and Cittadel were quickly taken. This was *Louvois*'s Maſter-piece. It had the Effect intended, and brought the *Dutch* to reſolve on a Peace. The *French* King might have taken *Bruges*, *Oſtend* and *Newport*; but he only took *Ypres*, for he had no Mind to provoke the *Engliſh*. He was ſure of his Point by the Fright this put the *Hollanders* into. The *Engliſh* were equally frighten'd, and the Duke of *Monmouth* was diſpatch'd away with ſome of the Guards to join their Army, while a large Detachment was preparing to follow them.

A fine Scheme of Louvois.

Engliſh *Troops ſent to* Flanders.

Echard tells us what Care was taken to prevent the Publiſhing of Pamphlets in Favour of the Reform'd Religion, and the Rights, Properties and Liberties of *Engliſh* Men, but he did not tell us that the moſt execrable Libeller, who ever ſold Lies and Scandal, *Roger L'Eſtrange*, was licens'd to break open Houſes and Cloſets on Suſpicion only of any ſuch good Pamphlet, and that the King's terrifying Speech about his Prerogative, was publiſh'd in the next News-Book that came out after the Parliament was adjourn'd, ſuch an equal Hand was carry'd in this juſt Adminiſtration.

On the 11th of *April* the Parliament met again, and adjourn'd to the *Monday* following; at which time, by the King's particular Appointment, they choſe a new Speaker in the Houſe of Commons. Sir *Robert Sawyer*, of whom *Echard* ſays the very Beſt he can, *that he was one of the King's Council, learned, and a great Practicer in the Exchequer*, but being troubled with the Stone, Mr. *Edward Seymour* was again re-inſtated in the Chair; and theſe Times, as we may perceive, being very godly, he informs us there was a *ſtrict Faſt* kept all over *England*. The Archdeacon ſeems to have found out the Lord Chancellor at laſt; for he brings his long Speech, as he calls it, into five or ſix Lines: The chief Thing in it was an Intimation of a Peace between the *French* King and the States; upon which the Commons voted, *May* the 4th, *to give their humble Advice to his Majeſty, that he would forthwith enter into the preſent Alliance with the Confederates, and an actual War with* France, and again, by a Majority of ſixteen Voices, *that the late Leagues made with the* States General *of the* United Provinces, *are not purſuant to the Addreſſes of this Houſe, nor conſiſtent with the Good and Safety of the Kingdom.* Rare Management! *The King being diſoblig'd, cries* Echard, return'd them this Anſwer, *That having been acquainted with the Votes of the 4th Inſtant*, his Majeſty is very much ſurpriz'd, both *with the Matter and Manner of them, but if he had had Exceptions to neither, yet his Majeſty having ask'd the Advice of both the Houſes, doth not think fit to give any Anſwer to any thing of that Nature, 'till he hath the concurrent Advice of both Houſes.* Mr. Archdeacon goes ſweetly on with ſuch Meſſages and Anſwers, as if there was no Harm ſaid or done, and he did, or perhaps cou'd not ſee, that if the *Advice was good*, the Anſwer ſhould have been ſo too, and that the King knew better than any Man, that the Lords would not have fail'd to have given their Concurrence. A.D.1678

The next Addreſs, *May* 11th, ſhew'd that the Penſioners in this Houſe, either wanted their Pay, or were weary, and aſham'd of voting always againſt their Conſciences, as the King was often told in a joking Way, and would laugh at what does not ſeem very laughable. *The Commons humbly thank'd his Majeſty for demanding their Advice, which accordingly they had given, and beſought him to communicate to them his Reſolutions thereupon*; and whereas *they conceive that the Inconveniencies and Dangers which the Kingdom now lies under, might totally, or in a great Meaſure have been prevented, in caſe his Majeſty had accepted of the Advice by them given in their Addreſſes, that therefore he would be pleas'd to remove thoſe Counſellors who adviſ'd him to give thoſe Anſwers which he did to the ſaid Addreſſes,* and in fine, *that he would be pleas'd to remove the Duke of* Lauderdale *from his Preſence and Councils.* Bravely ſaid! like *Britons!* like Proteſtants! and now at laſt, after eighteen Years inceſſant Apprehenſion, Anxiety, Perplexity, Perſecution, Danger, and almoſt Deſpair, we have an *Engliſh Parliament*, nay that very Parliament who paſs'd the *Bartholomew* Act, the *Militia* Act, the *Corporation* Act, the *Five Mile* Act, and that repeal'd the *Triennial* Act; that very Parliament is at laſt become *Engliſh*, and as long as they have ſate, the Nation were willing to keep them longer. The King's Anſwer was, *En Maiſtre*, I am ſurpriz'd at the Extravagancy of your *Addreſs, and unwilling at preſent to give it ſuch a due Anſwer as it deſerves.* Well ſaid, Mr. Archdeacon will ſay, if he ſays any thing, but he may very well apply to himſelf, with Reſpect to this Government, what a fine Wit ſaid of the *Diſpenſary*.

A bold Addreſs.

The Parliament at laſt Engliſh.

I view thee always with a Lover's Eye,
Thou haſt no Fault, or I no Fault can ſpy;
Thou art all Beauty, or all Blindneſs I.

It is not ſo with me, I never look'd upon it with the Eye of a Lover, I never ſaw any Charms, but eternally meet with Blemiſhes.

A.D.1678 His Majeſty, after his laſt excellent Speech, on the 13th of *May*, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 23d of *May*. We are told that what the King reſented moſt, was a Vote, at the Motion of Sir *Thomas Clarges*, *Monk*'s Wife's Brother, *that no Money ſhould be given, 'till Satisfaction was given in Matters of Religion*. *Echard*, who does not know when Sir *William Temple* is good, and when he is not, copies him, and calls this an *unlucky peeviſh Vote*; whereas, both Sir *William* and he too, might have call'd it a *crooked lean Vote*. They had truſted the King ſo long, that they could truſt him no longer, without putting every thing that was dear to them to the Hazard. To deſire a little Security, is to be *peeviſh* to make a ſenſible Motion, and to carry it, is to be *unlucky*; what follows after *Temple*, is not more important. The King reproach'd Sir *William* with his *popular Notions* of War, and ask'd him, *how he thought he cou'd truſt a Houſe of Commons to carry him through the War, if he ſhould engage*; if Sir *William* cou'd not have thought how, he cou'd not think at all. He might have truſted them as Men are to be truſted to do a Thing; on the doing of which depend whatever is valuable to them in this Life, or whatever they believe of another. I repeat no more of his Copy after *Temple*, it being only equal to that Author, in the worſt Parts of his Writings, where they are affected and ſuperficial.

Sir Thomas Clarges's Motion againſt giving Money.

The Vote for the laſt Addreſs was ſo diſtaſteful, and indeed diſgraceful to the Court, that the Earl of *Danby* muſter'd his whole Army of *Penſioners*, to form a Majority on their Side; but he cou'd not accompliſh it, tho' in an Opinion that he had, he got the King to ſend a Meſſage, deſiring an additional Revenue of 300,000 Pounds a Year, during Life. This ſet the Houſe in a Flame. It was ſaid, *Here's no Demand for a War*, but *for a Revenue, which would furniſh the King ſo well, that there would be no more need of Parliaments. The Court Party thought ſuch a Gift as this wou'd make them uſeleſs*, ſo the Matter was rejected without a Diviſion. The Lord Treaſurer was much cenſur'd for this raſh Attempt, which too bare-facedly diſcover'd the Deſigns of the Court.

Raſh Counſel of Danby.

Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that he at the ſame time order'd Mr. *Montagu* to treat with the Court of *France* for a Peace, in caſe they wou'd engage to pay the King 300,000 Pounds a Year for three Years; which when it came afterwards to be known, was generally believ'd to be a Deſign to keep up and model the Army now rais'd. The King reckon'd there wou'd be Money enough to pay them, till the Nation ſhou'd be brought under a military Government; which was the Intention of the Court, and fully proves the Conſpiracy of the *Stuartine* Princes againſt the *Britiſh* Conſtitution. It is confeſs'd by *Jonathan Swift*, D. D. who among ten thouſand Scandals publiſh'd by him in his *Tales of Tubs*, *Gullivers*, *Profundities*, &c. has given the World one Piece of Secret Hiſtory, for which they are much oblig'd to him; for it will teach them as much in Politicks, as his *Tale of a Tub* will corrupt them in Conſcience. It is quoted by *Echard* himſelf: " *Swift* acquaints us that *France*, in order to " break the Force of the Confederates, and elude " all juſt Conditions of a general Peace, reſolv'd " by any means to enter into ſeparate Meaſures " with *Holland*; to which End it was abſolutely " neceſſary to engage the good Offices of the King " of *England*, who was look'd upon as the *Maſter of the Peace* whenever he pleas'd (*and ſo any Monarch of a Princely Genius wou'd have been in his Circumſtances*) " The Bargain was A.D.1678 " ſtruck for three or four hundred thouſand " Pounds, *What a Royal Houſe we had!* But " when all was agreed, Monſieur *Barillon*, the " *French* Ambaſſador, told the King, that he had " Orders from his Maſter, before Payment, to add " a private Article, by which his Majeſty ſhou'd " be engag'd *never to keep above* 8000 *Men of* " *ſtanding Troops in his three Kingdoms*. This " unexpected Propoſal put the King in a Rage, " and made him ſay, *Gods-fiſh, Does my Brother* " of France *think to ſerve me thus? Are all his* " *Promiſes to make me abſolute Maſter of my* " *Parliaments come to this? Or does he think* that " *a Thing to be done with* 8000 *Men?*" There's the Proof; *Jonathan Swift*, Dean of St. *Patrick's*, gives Evidence, that King *Charles* II. was in a *Secret League* with King *Lewis* XIV. to enſlave the three *Free* Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

His Deſign againſt the Conſtitution, prov'd by Jonathan Swift.

Sir *William Temple*, to whom *Swift* was Chaplain, tells us, that the Prince of *Orange* having ſent *Van Lewen* over to *England*, to ſift into the Intentions of our Court, by which the States wou'd be determin'd as to Peace or War. The *Hollander* told him, that notwithſtanding the general Diſpoſition to Peace in *Holland*, yet if the King wou'd *immediately declare the War*, he *believ'd the* States *wou'd purſue it*, *and put a ſtop to the Treaty of Peace*. Sir *William Temple* told the King of it, but the Opportunity was loſt. He ſhou'd have taken hold of it on the Return of the Lord *Duras* from *France*, before the Parliament had conceiv'd ſuch a Jealouſy of his Conduct. His Majeſty ſaw his Time was ſlip'd; but the Turn he gave it, was, *Since the* Dutch *will have a Peace upon the* French *Terms*, *and* France *offers Money for my Conſent to what I can't help, I don't know why I ſhou'd not get the Money*. Sir *William Temple*, and Archdeacon *Echard*, thinks this a *witty* Turn. I don't ſee any Appearance of Wit, but a Certainty of ſomething elſe, for which I have a Name if I durſt ſpeak it. He cou'd help the Peace if he wou'd, *Van Lewen* declar'd, *The* States *wou'd ſtill go on with the War, if he wou'd immediately enter into it*; that wou'd have help'd it. Indeed, there's generally thought to be a great deal of Wit in getting Money, and in that Senſe the Turn was extreamly witty. But when the Matter was blown, as it was not long after, the Lord Treaſurer became the moſt hated Miniſter that had ever been about the King. All People ſaid now, they ſaw the Secret of that high Favour he had been in, and the black Deſign he was contriving. At this Time Expreſſes went very frequently between *England* and *France*, and the State of Foreign Affairs vary'd every Poſt; ſo that it was viſible we were in a Secret Negotiation. Mr. *Montagu*, who was a Man of Pleaſure, had an Intrigue with the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, who was quite caſt off by the King, and was then at *Paris*. His Majeſty had order'd him to find out an *Aſtrologer*, of whom he had a good Opinion, for he had long before his Reſtoration foretold he ſhou'd enter *London* on the 29th of *May*: He was yet living, and Mr. *Montagu* found him out. He ſaw he was capable of being corrupted, ſo he reſolv'd to prompt him to ſend the King ſuch Hints as wou'd ſerve his own Ends; but he was ſo bewitch'd with the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, that he truſted her with the Secret; and ſhe growing jealous of a new Amour, took all the Ways ſhe cou'd think of to ruin him, reſerving this of the Aſtrologer for her laſt Shift, by which ſhe compaſs'd her Ends: For Mr. *Montagu* was entirely loſt upon it with the King, and coming over without

A mean Saying of the King's.

Mr. Montagu's Intrigue with the Dutcheſs of Cleveland in France.

A.D.1678 out being recall'd, the Earl of *Sunderland* was ſent Ambaſſador in his room.

All this while the Treaty went on at *Nimeguen*, Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* being the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries there, and Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Godolphin* manag'd at the *Hague*. The States were reſolv'd to have a Peace, which the Prince of *Orange* did all he cou'd to hinder. *De Wit*'s Party began to get Strength again, and infus'd a Jealouſy in all People, that the Prince intended to keep up the War for his own Ends. A Peace might be now had, by reſtoring all that belong'd to the States, and by a tolerable Barrier in *Flanders*. 'Tis true, the great Difficulty was concerning their Allies, the King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had fallen on the *Swede*, and beaten him out of *Germany*, upon that King's declaring for *France*. No Peace cou'd be had unleſs the *Swede* was reſtor'd: The Princes, who had been quite exhauſted by that War, wou'd not conſent to this; but preſs'd the States to ſtick by them, who had ſtuck ſo faſt by the States in their Extremity. This was the Prince of *Orange*'s conſtant Topick, *How cou'd they expect any of their Allies wou'd adhere to them, if they now forſook ſuch faithful Friends*? But nothing cou'd prevent it. It was given out in *Holland*, that no Dependance cou'd be made on *England*, that Court being ſo entirely in a *French* Intereſt, that they expected they wou'd, as they had once done, ſell them again to *France*. Which Report was believ'd to be ſpread by the *French* Miniſters themſelves, who, to come at their Ends, were apt enough to give up even thoſe that ſacrific'd every thing to them. It was ſaid the Court of *France* wou'd conſider both *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, and repay the Charge of the War againſt *Sweden*; which was thought to be a Deſign to force thoſe Princes into a Dependance upon *France*, who wou'd not continue thoſe Payments ſo much for paſt, as for future Services.

Prince of Orange *beats* Luxemburg *at* Mons.

In the mean time the *French* had block'd up *Mons*, and the Prince of *Orange* march'd thither to drive them from their Poſts. *Luxemburgh* commanded the *French* Army, and ſeem'd to be in full Expectation of a Peace when the Prince came and attack'd him on the 14th of *Auguſt*; and notwithſtanding the Advantage of his Situation, it appear'd how much the *Dutch* Army was now ſuperior to the *French*, for they beat them out of ſeveral Entrenchments. The Prince had no Order to ſtop, but knew however that the Peace was juſt upon a Concluſion, though it had not been yet formally intimated to him; which made it lawful for him to take all Advantages, and he was not apprehenſive of a new Embroilment, but rather wiſh'd it. The *French* Treaſure was ſo exhauſted, and their King ſo weary of the War, that no Notice was taken of the Buſineſs of *Mons*, where the Duke of *Monmouth*, who commanded a Body of 10,000 *Engliſh*, ſignaliz'd himſelf ſo much, that he acquir'd a great Character as a General and a Soldier. The Treaty of *Nimeguen* was concluded about the 20th of *Auguſt*, and ratify'd the 20th of *September*; but our Ambaſſadors Mediators had no better Part in it than that of Form and Title. The Miniſters of the Confederates took no more Notice of them than they were forc'd to: New Difficulties aroſe after the Concluſion of the Treaty, upon the *French* King's refuſing to evacuate *Ghent*, *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, and *Limburgh*, the ſix Cities which were to be reſtor'd to *Spain*, till Reſtitution was made to *Sweden* of all that had been taken from her. Upon this the *Engliſh* ſtruck in again, and even the Duke of *York* declar'd in the Foreign Committee,

Duke of Monmouth *ſignalizes himſelf.*

That it was plain by this Step, that France *was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the* Univerſal Monarchy, *and none but the King cou'd hinder them from it, in the Poſture that Chriſtendom then ſtood.* In this Diſpoſition Sir *William Temple*, who had been ſometime in *England*, was ſent to *Holland* with *Van Lewen*, and an Alliance was enter'd into with the *Dutch*, by a Treaty form'd in five or ſix Days; upon which the *French* evacuated the ſix Towns, and got *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* into their Dependance, under Pretence of repaying the Charge of the War. A general Peace quickly follow'd, and there was no more Occaſion for our Troops beyond Seas. The *French* was ſo apprehenſive of them, that young *Ruvigny*, afterwards Earl of *Galway*, was ſent over to *England* to get the Army disbanded: And the Force of Money was ſo ſtrong, that he had Orders to offer ſix Millions of Livres, in caſe the Army was disbanded in *Auguſt*. Monſieur *Ruvigny* had ſuch an ill Opinion of the Deſigns of our Court, if the Army was kept up, that he inſiſted on fixing a Day for *disbanding* it; at which the Duke of *York* was very uneaſy, and the Army not being disbanded at the Time prefix'd, the *French* King ſav'd his Money. The Troops were brought into *England*, and kept up under Colour of wanting Money to pay them.

Dutch *Miniſters brib'd.*

The *French* King's Money did not only paſs in *England* about the Time of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, it was current in *Holland* alſo; and tho' the Prince of *Orange* told Sir *William Temple*, *He wou'd hinder the Peace as long as he cou'd*, yet the *Louveſtein* Party, and many of their principal Men, puſh'd hard for it, and the Clamour ran high againſt prolonging the War; for which Mr. *Montagu*, then the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *France*, gives us this Reaſon: *The King of* France *is in very good Humour, upon the Aſſurances, I believe, he has of having ſuch a Peace from the* Dutch *as he deſires; which has been manag'd under-hand by great Preſents to thoſe that are not Well-wiſhers to the Prince of* Orange. The Penſioner *Fagel* ſurpriz'd an original Letter from Mr. *Louvois* to Mr. *D'Eſtrades*, in which he bids him tell thoſe of his Correſpondents in *Holland*, from whence the late Advices came, *That in caſe they gave him no better, he wou'd certainly ſtop their Penſions*; and he had daily good Advices thence. His Emiſſaries inſinuated to the People of the United Provinces, that ſince the Prince of *Orange*'s Marriage, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince to the Intereſt of *France*; and that there was a private Underſtanding between them, to the Danger of the Liberties of *Holland*, which at length had the Effect they deſir'd. It made the *Dutch* jealous of the Prince, deſtroy'd the Confidence in him which he deſerv'd, and prepar'd the Way for the *Dutch* to comply with the hard Terms impos'd upon them and their Confederates in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. The Prince did all he cou'd, without making a Breach in the Conſtitution, to oppoſe that Peace; but as a very good Author informs us, *The Conduct of King* Charles *had ſpread ſuch a Humour and Diffidence in the States, that it was not to be avoided. Their Allies loudly exclaim'd at the arbitrary Terms to which they were, as it were, commanded to ſubmit by* LEWIS XIV. *as a Conqueror. They cry'd out they were abandon'd and betray'd into ſo fatal a Conjuncture.* Their Complaints avail'd no more than the Parliament's Addreſſes; the Peace was concluded, and *France* gain'd her Ends. *Thus,* continues the ſame Author, *in ſix Months time it coſt the Kingdom a Million to procure ſuch a Peace*

Sir W. T.

The ill Effects of the King's War with Holland.

A.D.1678 *as the* French *deſir'd; and ſuch was the End of the fatal War begun by* England *and* France, *againſt the* Dutch *and their Confederates, in* 1672, *by which the* FRENCH *King diſſolv'd the Confederacy againſt him, extended his Dominions, ſeiz'd on great Tracts of Land, had Time given him to refreſh his Troops, and maintain great Part of them by his Conqueſts, to make a very conſiderable Addition to his Fleet, to ſettle a better Oeconomy in his Finances, and repleniſh it with Treaſure; the deplorable Effects of all which we have groan'd under ever ſince.*

All *Europe* ſaw plainly that the King of *England* acted only as he was directed by the Counſels of *France*, and his Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* were look'd on rather as Ambaſſadors from an Ally. Sir *William Temple* was honeſt, and wou'd gladly have ſerv'd the Confederates if he cou'd. Sir *Lionel Jenkins* every one knew to be a Court Tool, of mean Parts, with much Pedantry, and good *Staunch* Principles of Religion and Government. There was an Acount of the Treaty of *Nimeguen* written in *French*, by Monſieur *d'Avaux*'s Secretary, in which the two *Britiſh* Miniſters are thus ſpoken of: Sir *William Temple*, ſays the *French-man*, *was too much a Friend to the Allies, and too little a Friend to us; nay, he cou'd not be brought to conſent to ſome things in our Favour, which the King his Maſter had allow'd him to do; but Sir* Lionel Jenkins *was a good Mediator.*

Popiſh Plot.

Having diſpatch'd Foreign Affairs, we muſt review thoſe of *England*, where we are on the Brink of a Diſcovery which ſtruck the three Kingdoms with Terror and Amazement. The Papiſts had been all this while branching out *Coleman*'s general Conſpiracy, and ſeveral Agents had receiv'd Inſtructions as to ſeveral Parts of it; but before any Particulars were known, they buzz'd about, that the Diſſenters were plotting againſt the Government, and the *Presbyterians*, who brought in the King, were going to turn him out again. *John Claypole*, Eſq; of *Northamptonſhire*, a Gentleman of a moſt mild, peaceable Diſpoſition, was pitch'd upon to be the Head of this Plot. He was accordingly apprehended, and hurry'd away to the *Tower* in *June*. His great Crime, in Appearance, being his having marry'd one of *Oliver*'s Daughters, and the King, as we have remember'd, wou'd very gladly have marry'd another, if he cou'd have recover'd his Crown by it. Mr. *Claypole* had an *Habeas Corpus* to the King's-Bench, and was brought up in order to be bail'd, and produc'd Perſons of Worth to bail him; but *Scroggs*, lately made Chief Juſtice for that and other ſuch Jobs, ſet the Penalty of the Bail ſo high, that thoſe Perſons excus'd themſelves, and Mr. *Claypole* was remanded to the *Tower*. But the Term after, when the Conſpiracy againſt the Government appear'd to be the Deſign of the *Papiſts*, he was let go, and no further Enquiry was made on whoſe, or on what Evidence he was committed.

Sham Plot againſt the Presbyterians.

Mr. Claypole *impriſon'd.*

Suddenly diſcharg'd.

I am far from being viſionary, or over credulous: I cou'd as ſoon believe the Story of *Mahomet* and his *Pigeon*, as *Echard*'s Tale of *Oliver Cromwel* and the *Devil*. I do not think we are juſtify'd in imputing to the Firſt Cauſe, what Second Cauſes may very naturally produce, which makes me very cautious in interpreting common Incidents as Judgments. I am not over fond of conjecturing as to the Springs and Wheels that move the State-Machine, and all Political Events, but I don't think 'tis wild gueſſing to ſuſpect that this Fanatical Plot was inventing, in order to throw the *Popiſh* Plot upon the *Fanaticks*, if it had been put in Execution. For in the *Gunpowder* Plot, there was ſuch a deviliſh Deſign, and another *Northamptonſhire* Gentleman, Mr. *Pickering*, a noted *Puritan*, was pitch'd upon to be the Head of, as is elſewhere mention'd. A.D.167?

In the mean time the Parliament met, on the 23d of *May*, and his Majeſty, in a ſhort Speech, deſir'd them to raiſe Money for maintaining or disbanding the Army, and gave them a Caution *againſt tacking together ſeveral Matters in one Bill*. *Echard* tells us, that the Lord Chancellor made a *long Speech* again; and truly a long one it was, and it had been well if that had been its only Fault: The Flattery is ſo fulſom, that there is nothing like it in the Harangues of the *French* Academicans on their *Grand Monarch*, who, however, had the Superficies of a *Hero*, and that's enough for Flatterers. The *Engliſh* Nation were now in the loweſt Degree of Reputation and Intereſt Abroad; the People at Home, unleſs we except the perſecuting Prelates, their Juſtices and Informers, were in the greateſt Anxiety, through their Fears of a *French* Government and Religion. Yet does the Lord Chancellor call upon the three Kingdoms, with all the Pomp of puffy Eloquence, *to ſhew a Time, if they can, ſince the World began, and theſe Iſlands were firſt inhabited* (The Phraſe is, *Since this Nation was firſt inhabited*, which bordering upon Nonſenſe, I made bold to correct; to *inhabit a Nation*, being in my humble Conception not ſo good as to inhabit an Iſland) *Let them ſhew the Time*, ſays his Lordſhip, *when there were fewer Grievances, or leſs Cauſe of Complaint, than at this preſent Time: Nay, let them ſearch all Ages and Places, and tell us when and where there was ever found a happier People than we are at this Day*, having the Purſe and Seal in our Poſſeſſion. He added ſomething about the Money, and againſt the Tack; he then bids them *Embelliſh the Hiſtory of this Parliament*, which had ſeveral Embelliſhments in his Predeceſſor *Clarendon*'s Time. *Lord Chancellor's ſulſom Speech.*

The Peace was not then concluded at *Nimeguen*, and the Commons reſolv'd to ſupport the King, if he wou'd enter into a War with *France*; if not, to provide for the ſpeedy disbanding of the Army, which they voted the next Day, and on the 4th of *June* paſs'd a Vote for 200,000 Pounds, *for disbanding the Army by the End of this preſent* June, and 200,000 *Pounds* for the Expence of the Fleet. They continu'd the Time of Diſbanding till the latter End of *July*, and the King in a ſecond Speech, *June* the 18th, having told them that if *they deſir'd he ſhou'd live in Quiet*, they muſt add 300,000 Pounds a Year for Life to his Revenue, they gave a total Denial to it. Upon a Motion to give the King a Compenſation for what Cuſtoms he loſt by the Act of Prohibition, it paſs'd alſo in the *Negative*. *Yeas* 145, *Noes* 202. On the 15th of *July*, his Majeſty coming to the Houſe, paſs'd the Supply Bill, amounting to 619,000 Pounds, for disbanding the Army, for the Fleet, and *Algiers*, with which Government the King had been almoſt in continual War, theſe Pyrates having loſt the Terror they had of the *Engliſh* Maritime Power in the Time of *Blake*; and ſeveral other Bills, particularly the *Act for burying in Woollen*. Then the Lord Chancellor prorogu'd the Parliament to the *firſt of Auguſt*, but they met not till the 21ſt of *October*.

It was happy for *England* that the *Papiſts* were under Infatuation, blinded by Bigotry and Rage, which ſtirr'd them up to commit a moſt horrid Murder on the Perſon of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, Brother and Uncle to Meſſieurs *Godfrey*, late Merchants in *London*, and a zealous Juſtice of Peace againſt *Papiſts*, within the Liberties of *Weſtminſter*; *Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey *murder'd.*

A.D. 1678 *Weſtminſter*; for this bloody Attempt of theirs breaking out about the Time of the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, very much confirm'd People in the Belief of that *damnable Conſpiracy*. *Echard*, who has carefully ſtudy'd the moſt lying Libeller that ever wrote, *Roger L'Eſtrange*, endeavours in ſeveral Places of his Hiſtory to ridicule, though very aukardly, not only the *Popiſh* Plot, but the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, whom he calls that *melancholly Gentleman*, to intimate, that in his *Melancholly* he ſtabb'd himſelf. I will take the Liberty with *L'Eſtrange* which his Character juſtifies; There's no Decency towards a *Villain*, that had a hundred times deſerv'd the Gallows, which he was condemn'd to thirty Years before. The Lord *L* - - - - in a Speech in the Houſe of Peers, gives a lively Picture of this *Scribler*; who, without the leaſt Knoweldge of the Strength, Purity, and Elegance of Stile, was cry'd up, at our two famous Univerſities, as a Maſter of the *Engliſh* Tongue. He publiſh'd a Heap of Libels and Lampoons to rail away the *Popiſh Plot*, and Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s Murder, in Language which wou'd be a *Shame* to our Markets; and his Lordſhip takes this Notice of him.

Lord L - - *Speech againſt* L'Eſtrange.

I wou'd not have ſo much as a Popiſh Man *nor a* Popiſh Woman *to remain here, not ſo much as a* Popiſh Dog *nor a* Popiſh Bitch, *nor ſo much as a* Popiſh Cat *that ſhou'd pur or mew about the King. We are in a Labyrinth of Evils, and muſt carefully endeavour to get out of them; and the greateſt Dangers of all amongſt us, are concerning* Proteſtants; *who notwithſtanding the many Evidences of the Plot, have been induſtrious to revile the King's Witneſſes; and ſuch a one is* ROGER L'ESTRANGE, *who now diſappears, being one of the greateſt* VILLAINS *upon Earth, a* ROGUE *beyond my Skill to delineate; who has been the* Bugbear *of the Proteſtant Religion, and traduc'd the King and Kingdom's Evidences by his notorious* Scribling *Writings, and has endeavour'd, as much as in him lay, to eclipſe the Glory of the* Engliſh *Nation. He is a dangerous rank* Papiſt, *prov'd by good and ſubſtantial Evidence; for which, ſince he has walk'd under another Diſguiſe, he deſerves of all Men to be* HANG'D, *and I believe I ſhall live to ſee that be his Fate. He has ſcandaliz'd ſeveral of the Nobility, and detracted from the Rights of his Majeſty's great Council, the Parliament: He is now fled from Juſtice, by which he confeſſes the Charge againſt him, and that ſhews him to be guilty.* This wretched Fellow was made a Juſtice of Peace, to perſecute Proteſtant Diſſenters with his Power as well as with his Pen. He was afterwards dubb'd, and one of King *James*'s Houſe of Commons, whom *Echard* ſo highly honours for their great Fortunes and Virtues. From his Invectives does that Hiſtorian take his Ribaldry againſt the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*, as will be obſerv'd in the Sequel.

Calls him Villain *and* Rogue.

Dr Tongue *the firſt Evidence of the Plot.*

Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that Dr. *Tongue*, a Clergy-man of the Church of *England*, brought the firſt Information of the Plot to him, on the 26th of *September*, and that he had always *look'd upon him as a ſincere Man.* Now let us ſee how he is characteris'd by *Echard*, to diſcredit the Conſpiracy he was about to diſcover. *He had a Prolifick Brain, was of a reſtleſs humourous Temper, full of Variety of Projects, and ſcarce ever without a Pen in his Hand, and a Plot in his Head.* The Wickedneſs of the Inſinuation is thus continu'd: *He ſeem'd to entertain* Titus Oates *out of Charity, who then went by the Name of* Ambroſe; *and complaining that he knew not where to get Bread, the Doctor took him to his Houſe, gave him Cloaths, Lodging, and Diet, and told him he wou'd put him in a Way.* Thus does he very honeſtly introduce his Diſcovery of the Plot, as if it was a Contrivance of Dr. *Tongue*'s, who put *Oates* upon forming one out of his Converſation with Papiſts at *St. Omers*, and in *London*. For *Oates*, who had had his Education in the ſame Univerſity with Archdeacon *Echard*, and got a Living in *Suſſex*, turn'd *Papiſt*, and was initiated into the *Romiſh* Idolatrous Myſteries at *Salamanca* in *Spain*, and *St. Omer* in *Flanders*; but his Father having been an *Anabaptiſt* Teacher, afterwards Parſon of *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, was the chief Reaſon that ſome did not give Credit to his Son's Evidence. I knew *Oates*, he was dull enough, and as impudent as dull, no more capable of forming the *Plot*, even as *Echard* has copied it, than of writing *Paradiſe Loſt*. The Deſign in general was by Fire and Sword, when all other Means fail'd, to ſubvert the eſtabliſh'd Government and Religion of theſe Kingdoms, and introduce Popery. The Pope, in a Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, conſiſting of above three hundred Perſons, held about *December*, 1677, declar'd the King of *England*'s Dominions to be Part of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, as forfeited to the Holy See for Hereſy, and ſo to be diſpos'd of as he ſhou'd think fit. Cardinal *Howard*, nominal Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was accordingly appointed *Legate* of *England*, to take Poſſeſſion of it in the Pope's Name; he was alſo to have 40,000 Crowns a Year Augmentation, for the Maintenance of his *Legatine* Authority.

A.D. 1678

Oates's Birth and Education.

Perrot was made Archbiſhop of *York*; *Corker*, Biſhop of *London*; *Whitebread*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; *Strange*, Biſhop of *Durham*; *Godden*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*; *Napper*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; Lord *Powis*, Lord Treaſurer; Sir *William Godolphin*, Lord Privy-Seal; *Edward Coleman*, Eſq; Secretary of State; Lord *Bellaſis*, General of the Army; *John Lambert*, Eſq; Adjutant-General; *Richard Langhorn*, Eſq; Advocate General.

Popiſh Biſhops in England

The Lay-Officers had all Commiſſions ſent them ready ſeal'd by *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, Father-General of the Jeſuit's Society reſiding at *Rome*, who was to give Directions to the Provincial of the Jeſuits at *London*, how to proceed in this Affair. *Pedro de Jeronimo de Corduba*, Provincial of the Jeſuits in *Spain*, was to aſſiſt with Counſel and Money, and miſrepreſent the Actions of his *Britannick* Majeſty to the *Spaniſh* Court; which likewiſe was to be done by a Jeſuit, Confeſſor to the Emperor, in relation to *England* and that Court. The Correſpondence for *France* was carry'd on between *Coleman* and Father *Terriers* firſt, and afterwards Father *La Chaiſe*, Confeſſor to the *French* King. And that the Duke of *York* approv'd of, and even authoris'd that Correſpondence for deſtroying our Religion and Liberties, appears by his own Letter to *La Chaiſe*, beginning thus. *The 2d of* June *laſt paſt*, 1674, *his moſt* Chriſtian *Majeſty offer'd me moſt generouſly his Friendſhip, and the uſe of his Purſe, againſt the Deſigns of my Enemies and his, and proteſted to me that his Intereſt and mine were ſo cloſely link'd together, that thoſe that oppos'd the one ſhou'd be look'd upon as Enemies to the other; and told me, it was his Opinion that that* Parliament *was neither in his Intereſt nor mine*, &c. He referr'd himſelf for further Explanations to Sir *William Throgmorton*, who was ſent to *France* on purpoſe, and to *Coleman*.

Popiſh Lords and Gentlemen in the Plot.

The Duke of York *in it.*

The Conſpirators having their ſeveral Parts allotted them, *Grove* and *Pickering* were to ſhoot the King; *Coniers* and *Anderton*, two Monks, and four *Iriſh* Ruffians, to ſtab him; Sir *George Wakeman*,

Grove and Pickering to ſhoot the King.

A.D. 1678 *Wakeman*, the Queen's Phyſician, to poiſon him; for it does not appear that the general Riſing was to be till after they had made away with the King, who, tho' a Papiſt, and their own, yet he had too little Religion to hazard his Crown, or even his Pleaſures, by haſtening on their Work, as they wou'd have had him. 5000 Pounds were enter'd in their Books as paid to *Wakeman* in part of 15,000 Pounds which he was to have for poiſoning the King. They were to make uſe of the Duke's Name and Intereſt, if he wou'd comply with theſe Conditions. " 1. To accept of the " three Kingdoms as a Gift from the *Pope*, and " hold them in Fee of him, and confirm their " Settlement of the Church and State. Next, " if he wou'd exterminate all Proteſtants, if he " wou'd pardon the Murderers of his Brother, the " Murderers of his People, and thoſe who ſhou'd " fire the remaining Part of the City and Suburbs. " 2. For that was the ſecond Particular of their " Work, to fire *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the " adjacent Places, as alſo other the chief Cities " and Towns of *England* immediately on the " Killing of his Majeſty, and then lay the whole " Load both of the Murder and Firing on the " *Presbyterians* and *Fanaticks*, thereby provoking " the Epiſcopal Men to join with them and cut " them off, that ſo Proteſtants being weaken'd " by their own Feuds, they might have the bet- " ter Opportunity and eaſier Task to ſubdue them " all. 3. By a general Maſſacre; to which Pur- " poſe they are ſaid to have form'd an Army, " conſiſting of 50,000 Men, to be rais'd about " *London*, the Officers all reſolute *Papiſts*, and " for the moſt part *French* and *Iriſh*. Theſe " they gave out *were enough* to cut the Throats " of 100,000 Proteſtants, eſpecially being taken " upon a Surprize, when the *Militia* of *London* " were unprovided and undiſciplin'd, and the " Country generally diſarm'd. The Conſpirators " were beſides to have 10,000 *French* Soldiers " from *Flanders*, and 30,000 Pilgrims and Lay- " Brothers from *Spain*, to aſſiſt them. 4. In *Ire-* " *land* the Pope had made *Talbot*, the Titular " Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, his Legate, to take " Poſſeſſion for him of that Kingdom, whoſe " Brother was to be General of all the Forces " there, conſiſting of 70,000 *Papiſts*, beſides the " *French* Auxiliaries. There it was to be carry'd " on by a general Rebellion and Maſſacre of the " Proteſtants, as in 1641, which they call'd *De-* " *monſtrating of their Zeal for the Catholick Faith.* " Four Jeſuits undertook to aſſaſſinate the Duke " of *Ormond*, and the better to carry on the whole, " the Pope was to contribute 800,000 Crowns; " and the *French* had privately ſent over ſome " Supplies of Men and Arms, and were to fur- " niſh them with more as ſoon as they ſhou'd be " in Action, *La Chaiſe* having a great Influence " in promoting all theſe Tranſactions. *Such*, ſays *Echard*, *was the Sum and Subſtance of this formidable Plot, of which all theſe, with many other Particulars, were formally and ſolemnly given in upon Oath, not at once, or all together, but at ſeveral Times, and by ſeveral Parcels, who ſeem'd to ſtart up exactly as the Stories met with Credit and Encouragement, and by their Oaths and Narratives for a while bore down all Oppoſition.* Now comes the wiſe Reflections of this Wiſe One, ſpoken with an Air, as if it had been his own, and not borrow'd from *L'Eſtrange*, or the ſcandalous Writer of the *Compendium*. And *yet after all the ſtricteſt and cooleſt Examinations, and after a full Length of Time, the Government could find very little Foundation to ſupport ſo vaſt a Fabrick, beſides downright Swearing and Aſſurance.* Now he imitates their wretched Railery,

Wakeman to poiſon him.

The Plot.

Echard *ridicules it.*

and hooks in the *Gunpowder Plot*, to take its Share of his vile Mirth; *not a Gun, not a Sword, not a Dagger, not a Flaſh of Powder*, or a Dark-Lanthorn, *to effect the ſtrange Villainy, and, exceping* Coleman's *Writing, not one Snip of an original Letter or Commiſſion.* A.D. 1678

The King, who knew what a good Friend he had been to *Popery*, was not eaſily brought to take any Notice of this *Popiſh* Plot. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, Dr. *Tongue* came to him the 26th of *September*, and told him of ſtrange Deſigns againſt the King's Perſon; which he acquainted Dr. *Lloyd*, afterwards Biſhop *Lloyd* with. The latter going to the Secretary's Office, found *Tongue* had been there making Diſcoveries; and on the 27th of *September*, *Titus Oates* was brought before the Council, having firſt ſworn to his Narrative of the *Plot* before Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. *Kirby*, a *Chymiſt* in the King's Laboratory, had been long acquainted with *Tongue*, as *Tongue* had been with *Oates*, and by *Kirby*'s Means *Tongue* had Audience of the King himſelf, to whom he repeated moſt of the Paſſages above-mention'd. His Majeſty ſaid, he knew not what to make of it. However, he referr'd him to the Earl of *Danby*, who, according to my Lord of *Sarum*, handled the Matter *too remiſsly*. And the King himſelf, when all the Town was in a terrible Alarm at the Rumour of a *Popiſh* Plot, heeded it ſo little, that he went to the Horſe-Races at *Newmarket*. *Oates* deliver'd his Narrative to the Council, moſt of whom believ'd his Evidence ſo far, as to iſſue Warrants for apprehending ſeveral Plotters nam'd by him, as Sir *George Wakeman*, the Queen's Phyſician; Mr. *Edward Coleman*, Secretary to the Duke of *York*; Mr *Langhorn*, of the *Inner-Temple*; *Thomas Whitebread*, Provincial of the Jeſuits in *England*; *John Gaven*, *William Ireland*, *Anthony Turner*, *William Marſhall*, *William Rumſey*, *James Corker*, *Thomas Pickering*. I know not upon what Humour it was, that Biſhop *Burnet* makes Slight of this *Plot*; but I can never think he had any Reaſon for it, by *Oates*'s calling Father *La Chaiſe Father le Shee*, in his Teſtimony concerning *Coleman*'s treaſonable Correſpondence with the *French* King's Confeſſor, the Miſtake being very eaſy. *Oates* was a paſſionate, raſh, half-witted Fellow, and his want of Judgment might run him a little too far into Particulars: But that there was a treaſonable Plot in general, *&c.* that the Perſons he accus'd were particularly engag'd in it, there is no Room to queſtion. *Oates*, at the Opening of the Plot, referr'd himſelf to *Coleman*'s Letters, which ſufficiently prov'd that he knew there were ſuch Letters, and Treaſon in them. The Court cou'd not help enquiring into this, but proceeded ſo ſlowly in it, that *Coleman* had Time enough to convey away all his Papers relating to the laſt two Years, when the Conſpiracy was branching and ripening. But his Servant *Boatman* being examin'd, depos'd, That he ſaw *Coleman*'s Book of Entries for the two laſt Years but two Days before he was made Priſoner, and that he had uſually Letters every Poſt from beyond Sea. However, the Letters that were found, the Contents of which are in the preceding Pages, are ſufficient to prove him a Traitor, and to confirm one in an entire Belief of the Plot; and my Lord of *Sarum* obſerves, *they gain'd Univerſal Credit*. At the ſame Time a Packet of dangerous Letters were directed to Father *Bedingfield*, the Duke's Confeſſor at *Windſor*, which fully corroborated the traiterous Deſigns diſcover'd by *Oates*; but they were ſuſpected not to have been genuine by *Bedingfield*'s ſhewing them himſelf, and declaring he knew not what they meant, nor whom they came from.

Oates comes in for an Evidence.

A.D.1678 *Titus Oates* going to Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* to make Oath to his Narrative before he gave it to the Council, was a Diffidence of them, that they wou'd not proſecute it, and Sir *Edmund* was chid for meddling in the Matter, which ſo irritated the Papiſts and Conſpirators, that they reſolv'd to deſtroy him. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *'Tis certain* Godfrey *grew apprehenſive; for meeting me in the Street after ſome Diſcourſe of the preſent State of Affairs, he ſaid,* I believe my ſelf ſhall be knock'd on the Head: *Yet he took no Care of himſelf, and went about according to his own Maxim ſtill without a Servant; for he us'd to ſay, the Servants in* London *are corrupted by the Idleneſs and ill Company they fall into while they attend on their Maſters. Saturday* the 12th of *October*, Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* went abroad in the Morning, and was ſeen about One o'Clock near St. *Clement*'s Church in the *Strand*, but was never ſeen any more. The execrable *L'Eſtrange* has endeavour'd to render the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* a Self-Murder, and collected ſome Lies injurious to that Gentleman's Character. One cou'd not expect better from a mercenary Scribler. But it is not excuſable in the Archdeacon to tell us, that Sir *Edmund* was a Favourer of the *Papiſts*; whereas Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, *He was a* zealous Proteſtant, *and had kind Thoughts of the* Diſſenters. He was a punctual Man in all his Ways, and therefore it was the more taken Notice of when he was miſſing. The Council ſate upon it, and were going to order a Search of all the Houſes about Town, but were diverted from it by many Stories that were brought them by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Sometimes it was ſaid he was indecently marry'd, and the Scene of the Places where it was reported to be, was often ſhifted, and the laſt Place he was ſeen at, being near *Arundel-Houſe*, it brought the *Duke* under Suſpicion; At length, on *Thurſday* the 17th of *October* 'twas given out that his Body was found in a Ditch near *Pancras* Church, with his Sword thruſt through it; but no Blood was on his Cloaths, or about him. His Shoes were clean, his Money was in his Pocket, but nothing was about his Neck, and a Mark an Inch broad was all round it, which ſhew'd he was ſtrangled. His Breaſt alſo was mark'd all over with Bruiſes, and his Neck broken. A *Melancholy Man*, as *Echard* calls him, cou'd not do all this to himſelf. Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. *Burnet*, late Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, ſaw the Body, and what follows of their Evidence gives one more than Suſpicion that Prieſts were concern'd in the Murder. *There were many Drops of White Wax Lights on his Breeches, which he never us'd in his Houſe; and ſince only Perſons of Quality or Prieſts uſe thoſe Lights, this made all People conclude in whoſe Hands he muſt have been. 'Twas viſible he was firſt ſtrangled, then carry'd to that Place.* The King was eaſily made believe that he was Hypocondriacal, and had ſtab'd himſelf; upon which Dr. *Lloyd* went and told him what he had ſeen. Nothing in the World cou'd have happen'd to give ſo much Credit to the *Popiſh Plot* as this horrid Murder of a worthy Magiſtrate, juſt as it was diſcover'd. *Coke* gives a pretty good Account of Sir *Edmundbury*'s Aſſaſſination.

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey *murder'd by* Papiſts.

Duke of Norfolk *ſuſpected.*

The Body found.

Some Time before it *Le Faire*, *Pritchard*, and two or three Prieſts more, treated with one *Bedloe* to be aſſiſting in the taking him off. *Bedloe* promis'd to do it for a Sum of Money; but relenting, afterwards fail'd them, and came not at the Time appointed. Two Days after, *October* the 4th, he met *Le Faire* in *Red-Lion-Court*, and he charg'd him with being worſe than his Word. *Bedloe* made ſome Excuſes, and *Le Faire* ſeem'd to be ſatisfy'd, *Bedloe* promiſing to meet *Le Faire* at *Somerſet-Houſe* at 9 o'Clock that Night, where the Prieſt told him Sir *Edmund* was kill'd, and if he wou'd help carry him off, he ſhou'd ſtill have a good Part of the Sum agreed upon. *Bedloe* demanded to ſee the Body, which he did, and then they conſulted how to diſpoſe of it. *Bedloe* adviſ'd the ſinking it in the River with Weights; and while they were talking about it *Prance* comes in. He was a Silver-Smith, who work'd for the Prieſts in *Somerſet-Houſe*, and aſſiſted at the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. His Neighbours obſerving he had abſented himſelf from his Houſe about the Time of the Aſſaſſination, repreſented it to ſome Members of Parliament as Matter of Suſpicion, upon which he was order'd to be ſeiz'd, and brought before the Houſe of Commons, who order'd Sir *Richard Everard* and Sir *Charles Harbord* to examine him. A.D.1678

In the mean while *Bedloe* goes to *Briſtol*, in order to ſhip himſelf for *Ireland*; but whether he was really troubled in Conſcience for concealing the Murder, or was ſet upon it in Hopes of a Reward for the Diſcovery, he ſurrender'd himſelf as an Evidence to the Mayor of *Briſtol*, *John Lloyd*, Eſq; who ſent him to *London*, where he was carry'd before a Committee of the Houſe of Lords to be examin'd. He there found *Prance* in the *Lobby*, whom he had never ſeen before, but at *Somerſet-Houſe*, and that by Candle-Light, and in a Wig, yet he knew him at Sight, and diſcover'd him, and upon Search the Wig was found about him; ſo *Prance* made a full Diſcovery of the Murder: And as *Prance* and *Bedloe* did not act in Concert, or indeed know one another, the Evidence is as clear as plain Truth can make it, tho' *L'Eſtrange* and *Echard* have very impotently endeavour'd to diſguiſe it with Grimace and Ridicule. The Murderers were *Le Faire*, *Pritchard*, *Kelly* and *Fitzgerald*, Popiſh Prieſts, *Berry* the Porter at *Somerſet-Houſe*, *Green*, Cuſhion-Man to the Queen's Chappel, *Lawrence Hill*, Servant to Dr. *Godden*, Treaſurer of the Chappel, Father *Lewſon*, *Vernattis*, &c. Notwithſtanding that, by the Evidence of two Biſhops it is prov'd, that Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was ſtrangled, and that *Bedloe*'s Evidence is the ſtrongeſt Confirmation of *Prance*'s, how awkard and ſhocking is the Archdeacon's poor Pretences to Wit, which is however borrow'd from other Pretenders! *It was found exceeding uſeful to tack the Murder to the Plot, and make one a Part, or rather a Support of the other. They pitch'd upon* Somerſet-Houſe, *and adher'd at laſt to that as a* Popiſh *Palace, tho' two Miles from that where the Body was found.* Suppoſe it had been ten Miles, when they had got the Body out of Town, they might drop it where they pleas'd, and think it ſafer two Miles off than two Quarters of a Mile. His whole Repreſentation is one continu'd Falſhood, larded with dull Jeſts not his own, for they wou'd then have been duller ſtill. I do not ſee the leaſt Reaſon in the World to doubt his being murder'd, and by Prieſts, or Perſons who trade in Wax-Lights; or that the Murderers were not the ſame whom *Bedloe* and *Prance* charg'd with it.

In the midſt of this Affright and Indignation the Parliament met the 21ſt of *October*. The King was hard put to it to tell what he had to ſay. He believ'd not a Word of the *Plot*, and the Generality of both Houſes believ'd every Word of it. He own'd he had *been inform'd of a Deſign againſt his Perſon by Jeſuits, of which he ſhou'd forbear any Opinion, leſt he might ſeem to ſay too much or too little.* But it was hazarding too much to tell them, as he did after, the *French* had impos'd ſuch a ſcandalous Peace

A.D.1678 on the Confederates with his Conniavnce, for which he had Money from *France*: *That the Part he had in the Preſervation of his Neighbours, and the well ſecuring* Flanders, *was ſufficiently known.* The Lord Chancellor made another long Speech, and mention'd the *Plot*, but not in the Stile of the Houſe of Commons, as we ſhall ſee preſently. Mr. Archdeacon, as well as the common Writers, informs us, that the King wou'd not have had the Plot brought into Parliament, but the Lord *Danby* wou'd do it, and no doubt it was to ingratiate himſelf with the People, who had a kind of Abhorrence for him, that he laid *Oates*'s Informations before the Houſe of Peers the firſt Day of their Meeting. The King told him, *Tho' you do not believe it, you ſhall find you have given the Parliament a Handle to ruin your ſelf, as well as to diſturb all my Affairs, and that you will live to repent it.* The Politicks of which are to me incomprehenſible. He gave them no Handle to ruin him by laying the *Popiſh* Plot before them; the Handle was his chaffering with *France* for Money, to engage the King to abandon the Confederates. He might indeed repent afterwards of what he had done to make the Papiſts his Enemies, when he found that he cou'd not make the Proteſtants his Friends. *Echard* takes a great deal of Pains to prove that the King did not believe the *Plot*. I am apt to believe he *durſt not believe it*, and that the Papiſts knew too much of him for him to quarrel with them. But I have better Authority to be confirm'd in the Belief of it, than the King had to be confirm'd in the Disbelief, upon a Tavern Conteſt between *Oates* and *Tongue* about the Merit of the Diſcovery. My Authority is that of Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, who had it from *Langhorn*'s Wife, as zealous a Proteſtant as her Husband was a *Papiſt*, that before *Oates* had ſpoken a Word of Commiſſions, or had accus'd her Husband, ſhe engag'd her Son, a hot, indiſcreet Papiſt in Diſcourſe, on the Deſigns of the Catholicks; he ſaid, they were ſo well laid, it was impoſſible they cou'd miſcarry, and that his Father wou'd be one of the greateſt Men in *England*, for he had ſeen a Commiſſion from the Pope conſtituting him *Advocate General*: The very Commiſſion mention'd for *Langhorn* in *Oates*'s Narrative. However, there are ſtill two other Evidences in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Memoirs, two *Snips* of Paper, though the Archdeacon proteſts there was not one to corroborate *Oates*'s Teſtimony. "Amongſt the Papers of the *Jeſuits* that were "ſeiz'd on when they were clapp'd up, two "Letters were found, which ſeem'd to confirm "all; one from *Rome*, which mention'd the "ſending over the Patents, of which 'twas ſaid "in the Letter, that they gueſs'd the Contents, "tho' their Patrons there carry'd their Matters "ſo ſecretly, that nothing was known but as "they thought fit. Another Letter was writ-"ten to a Jeſuit in the Country, citing him "to come to *London* by the 24th of *April*, "which was the Day on which *Oates* ſwore "they held their Conſult, and that fifty of "them had ſign'd the Reſolution of killing "the King, which was to be executed by "*Grove* and *Pickering*. In the End of that "Letter it was added, *I need not enjoin Secrecy*, "*for the Nature of the Thing requires it.*

Danby *brings the Plot into Parliament.*

Mrs. Langhorn's *Diſcovery to Archbiſhop* Tillotſon.

Staley *ſeiz'd.*

Before any of the Conſpirators for the Plot came to Trial, one *Staley*, a Goldſmith in *Covent-Garden*, was taken on an Information given againſt him by *Cartairs* a *Scots-man*, who came to *London* to accuſe Duke *Lauderdale* of Maleadminiſtration in *Scotland*. *Staley* being at a Publick-Houſe in his Neighbourhood, and *Cartairs* in another Room of the ſame Houſe, he made Oath that he heard *Staley* ſay in *French*, *The King is a* Rogue, *and perſecutes the People of God, and he himſelf would ſtab him if no body elſe would*: Which Information happening about the Time of *Bedloe*'s coming in with his Evidence, continu'd the Ferment the Nation was in againſt the *Papiſts*. *Tongue*, *Oates* and *Bedloe* were lodg'd and liberally maintain'd at the publick Charge, and Guards order'd to attend them for the Security of their Perſons. Both Houſes petition'd the King *for a Day of General Faſt and Humiliation, to implore the Mercy and Protection of Almighty God to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, and in him to all his Loyal Subjects*; and it was appointed by Proclamation, and celebrated the 13th of *November*. The next Addreſs was for ordering all Papiſts to depart the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and Parts adjacent; another to forbid ſuſpicious Perſons the Court, and to ſet Guards of the Train'd-Bands in *London*, *Weſtminſter* and *Southwark*.

A.D.1678

His Treaſon.

On the 24th of *October Oates*'s Examination was taken in the Houſe of Peers by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, who there ſeal'd twenty ſix Warrants againſt ſeveral Lords and others mention'd in that Examination. Upon which the Lord *Powis*, the Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Petre*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, and Sir *Henry Tichburne* were taken into Cuſtody, and ſhortly after committed to the *Tower*, as were ſeveral others to *Newgate*; but the 31ſt of *October* the Houſe of Commons

Popiſh Lords Plotters.

Reſolv'd, *Nemine contradicente*,

That there is, and hath been a Damnable and Helliſh PLOT *contriv'd and carry'd on by* Popiſh *Recuſants, for Aſſaſſinating and Murdering the King, for ſubverting the Government, and Rooting out and Deſtroying the* Proteſtant *Religion.*

Votes.

To which Vote the Lords readily agreed, *Nemine contradicente*; but *Echard*, wiſer than the Lords and Commons of *England*, cou'd, after his moſt ſerious Conſideration, ſee no Foundation for it. The Lords deſir'd the Commons to ſit *de Die in Diem*, Forenoon and Afternoon, as their Lordſhips had reſolv'd to do, to *conſider what is neceſſary for preventing imminent Dangers*: And on the ſame Day the People were ſtrangely affected with the Sight of the Funeral of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. The Solemnity procceded from *Bridewel* to St. *Martin's in the Fields*. Seventy two *London* Divines went in Proceſſion before the Corpſe, and above a Thouſand Perſons of Quality and principal Citizens follow'd after it. Dr. *Lloyd*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, preach'd the Funeral Sermon. It went very much againſt the Grain; but the general Diſpoſition of the People oblig'd the King to iſſue out a Proclamation againſt the Papiſts, wherein he ſays, *The Lords and Commons having taken into their ſerious Conſideration the* bloody *and* traiterous *Deſigns of* Popiſh Recuſants *againſt his Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government, therefore he commanded them to depart*, &c.

Walter Herbert, Eſq; Secretary to Prince *Rupert*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, mov'd in this, or the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for an Act to repeal the Statute *de Heretico comburendo*. The Houſe immediately order'd ſuch a Bill to be brought in, and wonder'd that it had not been done before. It paſs'd

Nemine

A.D.1678 *Nemine contradicente*, and *Herbert* had the Thanks of the Houſe: But it met with Oppoſition from the Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords, not one of them voting for it, except the very learned and reverend Dr. *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

The Lord *Shaftsbury* having upon his Submiſſion got out of the *Tower*, was very active in the Proſecution of the *Plot*, ſo were the Dukes of *Monmouth* and *Buckingham*, the Lord *Halliſax*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the leading Members of both Houſes. Many hard Things were ſaid againſt the Duke of *York*. The Danger of his Succeſſion was in every one's Mouth; but the Thought of *Excluſion* was not yet mature: The Commons debated an Addreſs to ſend him away from Court; but it was not determin'd.

While Examinations were going on, and Preparations were making for the Trial of the Priſoners, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, requiring all Members of either Houſe, and all ſuch as might come into the King's Court or Preſence, to take a *Teſt* againſt Popery; in which not only *Tranſubſtantiation* was renounc'd, but the Worſhip of the Virgin *Mary* and *the Saints*, as it was practis'd in the Church of *Rome*, was declar'd to be Idolatrous. This paſs'd in the Houſe of *Commons* without any Difficulty. But we are come now to a new Diſcovery, which is, that the perſecuting Prelates, who pretended to be ſuch good Churchmen, were really *Romaniſts*; for *Gunning*, Biſhop of *Ely*, maintain'd, *That the Church of* Rome *was not* Idolatrous. Dr. *Barlow*, the very learned and reverend Biſhop of *Lincoln*, anſwer'd him; and it has been the great Happineſs of the Church of *England*, that ſhe has never wanted learned and pious Biſhops to aſſert the Reformation, when the *Bancrofts*, the *Lauds*, the *Sheldons*, the *Morleys*, the *Wards*, the *Gunnings*, the *Mews*, the *Kens* wou'd have run her back to Popery. This is the *Gunning* who pretended to diſpute with Mr. Baxter; but inſtead of Reaſon and Argument, made uſe of Inſolence and Paſſion. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays the Lords *did not much mind him*; and *Echard* aſſures us, that the Charge againſt him of favouring Popery was falſe and malicious. My Lord of *Sarum* adds, *Gunning* declar'd he cou'd not take *the Teſt with a good Conſcience*; *yet as ſoon as the Bill paſs'd he took it in the Crowd.* *Echard* aſſures us he was a Man of *exemplary Piety, and diffuſive Charity*, and a great deal more in the ſame Strain, which is as much his own Picture as *Gunning*'s. The Duke got a *Proviſo* to be put in the Bill for excepting himſelf: He ſpoke upon that Occaſion with great Earneſtneſs and Tears in his Eyes, ſaying, *I am now to caſt my ſelf on your Favour in the greateſt Concern I can have in this World, and I ſolemnly proteſt, that whatever my Religion may be, it ſhall only be a private Thing between God and my own Soul, and that no Effect of it ſhou'd ever appear in the Government.* This too is a Prince of his Word; and to make it good as ſoon as 'twas in his Power, he made *Popiſh* Privy-Counſellors, Generals and Admirals, Judges, Heads and Fellows of Colleges, and put the Government into the Hands of *Papiſts*. He ſpoke much of his Duty to the King, and of his Zeal for the Nation, which he ſhew'd ſufficiently in his Secret League with *France*. The *Proviſo* was carry'd for him by a few Voices only. This Bill being ſent back to the Houſe of Commons with Alterations, they paſs'd them, but not without great Difficulty; for Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* and Mr. *Aſh* being violently heated in the Debate, opprobrious Words paſs'd between them, which provok'd the Knight ſo much, that he gave Mr. *Aſh* a Box on the Ear, which *Aſh* return'd with a Slap over the Face, and both put their Hands to their Swords. Upon which the Houſe ſent *Trelawny* to the *Tower*, and the Speaker, by their Order, reprimanded *Aſh*. There was another Proviſo to except nine Ladies about the Queen; and ſhe ſaid ſhe wou'd have all the Ladies of that Religion caſt Lots who ſhou'd be comprehended: Only ſhe nam'd the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* as one whom ſhe wou'd not expoſe to the Uncertainty of a Lot, which was not thought very decent in her. A.D.1678

Biſhop Gunning *for Popery.*

On the 9th of *November* the King came to Parliament, and made a Speech to both Houſes, wherein he aſſur'd them he wou'd concur in any Bills for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, which did not alter the Succeſſion; for which the Houſe of Commons thank'd him, and he thank'd them for their Thanks.

After this *Echard* tells us, the *Credit of the Plot began to ſink*, and then he brings *Bedloe* on the Stage, himſelf ſpeaking a Prologue for him to open his Character, *A Fellow who went by a falſe Name, a Son of a Whore, a poor Foot-Boy* (one of Lord *Bellaſis*'s Livery-Men) *a Jail-Bird for his Villainy, a Letter-Carrier, skilful in all the Arts of Cheating, to get Watches, Coats, Horſes, to bilk Vintners, a Liar, a Romancer, a wild Arab, who liv'd upon Prey, a notorious Impoſtor; in Sum, an admirable Second to help out* Oates. The Stupidity of this Writer is equal to his Aſſurance: He cou'd not ſee that *L'Eſtrange* and the Papiſts had ſcrap'd together as much Scandal as their lewd Inventions cou'd produce, to beſpatter the King's Evidences, and turn their Plot into a Sham, ſo he carefully diſperſes the Filth they had heap'd up, and drudges in the ſame Dunghil his Predeceſſor *Roger L'Eſtrange* had labour'd in before. Did theſe Men ever hear of Perſons of Honour and Wiſdom, who engag'd in Conſpiracies to cut Throats, and deſtroy Religion and Goverment? How can you come at Villainy but by Villains? and in the moſt wicked Conſpiracies there are Degrees of Guilt in the Conſpirators. *Oates* and *Bedloe* might be at firſt taken in, by accompanying themſelves with the other Conſpirators, and the Hopes of ſharing their Fortunes; but being wicked Perſons, and having not ſo much Zeal for Popery as the reſt had upon finding themſelves neglected, the Hopes of Reward and Revenge did very naturally lead them to make the moſt of what they knew; and as they cou'd not counterfeit *Coleman*'s Letters, nor the Jeſuits Letters before-mention'd, nor Mrs. *Langhorn*'s Information, and all thoſe Letters agreeing with their Evidence, beſides a hundred other corroborating Circumſtances in their ſeveral Trials, there is enough to ſatisfy any reaſonable Man, that there was a *Popiſh Plot*, and that thoſe Men who ſuffer'd for it, were engag'd in it ſo far as to deſerve the Puniſhment they met with. Nothing is more fooliſh than the Objection theſe Libellers make to *Oates*'s and *Bedloe*'s Evidence, on account of their adding to it from Time to Time, as if in a hundred Conſultations. In a hundred ſeveral Places many Paſſages might be forgotten, which they might upon Recollection recover, eſpecially when the Memory is awaken'd by pertinent Interrogatories: But in ſhort, it was the King's Intereſt, and the Intereſt of all Papiſts and their Abettors, to have this *Plot* disbeliev'd; for if full Credit was given to it, and it had been fully trac'd to

Echard's Character of Bedloe.

A.D.1678 it's Original, the *Aſſaſſination* Part had probably been faſten'd on Particulars; but the general Deſign to alter our Religion and Government by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* King, wou'd, it is to be fear'd, have been found out very near the Throne, which confirm'd the Saying of a witty Courtier, *That the King knew more of the Plot than any of his Evidences.*

The King knew of it.

Upon *Bedloe*'s Examination before the Houſe of Lords, Warrants were iſſu'd for apprehending *Coniers*, a *Benedictine* Monk, *Le Faire*, *Simmonds*, *Walſh*, *Pritchard*, and others, as Perſons *guilty of the* DAMNABLE and HELLISH PLOT, the Terms made uſe of ſeriouſly by the Parliament, but by *Echard* with a Fleer, as if any thing cou'd be more *Helliſh* and *Damnable* than Application to the *French* King for Money to enable the Conſpirators to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and deſtroy our Religion and Liberties; which, if the Duke of *York*'s Letter to *La Chaiſe* does not fully prove, *Coleman*'s Letter to that Jeſuit does. *Bedloe* was exact in that Part of the Evidence relating to an Army from *Spain* under the Notion of Pilgrims, and the Parliament addreſs'd the King to recall Sir *William Godolphin*, his Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, who was accus'd of *High-Treaſon*, and that a Commiſſion might be iſſu'd to render the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to all the King's and the Duke's Servants, and all Perſons of the Inns of Court. The Houſe of Commons had addreſs'd his Majeſty for baniſhing Papiſts ten Miles from *London*; but the Proclamation coming out without any ſuch Reſtriction, they preſented another Addreſs, wherein they ſay, *That ſo great a Neglect would be a great Diſcouragement to this Kingdom, and Papiſts would from thence take Occaſion to ſay*, That all our Fears were groundleſs. *It is too great a Countenance to the dangerous Factions, which are already come to that Height, that it renders all Manner of Diſcouragement on that Side neceſſary: It is againſt the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, which, as they are preſerv'd and maintain'd by your Majeſty's Authority, ſo we aſſure our ſelves, you will not ſuffer them to be thus violated by your Family and Royal Preſence, upon the account of* Popiſh Recuſants. A few Days after, *November* the 18th, the Houſe was inform'd, that there were ſeveral Commiſſions granted to *Papiſts*, and Warrants that they ſhou'd be muſter'd, notwithſtanding they had not taken the Oaths, and ſubſcrib'd the *Declaration*, as the Statute enjoins. Here's diſpenſing Power and Popery with a Witneſs! Theſe Commiſſions were counterſign'd by Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, Secretary of State, whom, as a Member of their Houſe, they ſent to the *Tower*. But the King ſent for them to the *Banquetting-Houſe*, where he told them, *Tho' you have committed my Servant without acquainting me, yet I intend to deal more freely with you, and acquaint you with my Intentions to releaſe my Secretary*; which he did ſo haſtily, that he was releas'd before the Commons cou'd get an Addreſs againſt it drawn up and preſented, and then the Anſwer was, *It came too late.*

Commons Addreſs againſt Papiſts.

Diſpenſing Power and Popery.

Sir Joſeph Williamſon *ſent to the* Tower.

On the 25th of *November* the King made another Speech to the Parliament, to deſire a ſecond Supply for Disbanding the Army, he having, as he ſaid, ſpent the firſt in keeping it up for the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation, which had not been enough conſider'd in this Reign to be a Topick to beg Money upon. The Parliament immediately addreſs'd his Majeſty to recall his Troops from *Flanders*, and to disband all Forces rais'd ſince *Michaelmas*, 1677. A.D.1678

The Nation was now ſo much alarm'd, that all People furniſh'd themſelves with Arms, which heightned the Jealouſy of the Court. A Bill paſs'd in both Houſes, for raiſing all the *Militia*, and for keeping it together for ſix Weeks, a third Part being to ſerve a Fortnight, and ſo round. This Bill the King totally rejected, alledging, *that it was to put the* Militia *out of his Power, which thing he wou'd not do*, no not for an Hour; *but if the Commons wou'd aſſiſt him with Money for that, he wou'd take Care to raiſe ſuch a Part of the* Militia *as ſhould ſecure the Peace of the Government, and his own Perſon.* If *Echard* cou'd have found out a worſe Libeller than *L'Eſtrange* to diſcredit this Plot, he wou'd have made uſe of him, as he does of the Jeſuit *Orleans*, after whom he tells us, much *Injuſtice was committed* in the Proſecution of it. He then comes to the Trial of *William Staley* the Goldſmith, before ſpoken of, who was try'd before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, the 21ſt of *November*; and *Echard*'s own Account of it proves, that that Traitor had much Juſtice done him. The Witneſſes, *William Carſtairs* and *Alexander Sutherland*, poſitively ſwore the Words as ſpoken in this Manner. *Staley* was at an Eating-Houſe in *Convent-Garden*, with one *Fromante* a *French-man*, who ſaid in *French*, *The King of* England *is a great Tormenter of the People of God.* A Diſcourſe very natural, when ſo many good Catholicks were in Jail for *Treaſon*, *Murder*, &c. *Staley* anſwer'd, *The King of* England, furiouſly repeating the Words, *is a grand Heretick, and the greateſt Rogue in the World*; *here's the Heart*, ſtriking his Hand upon his Breaſt, and *here's the Hand that will kill him myſelf.* There was a third Witneſs, who ſwore he heard *Staley* ſpeak ſomething with great Earneſtneſs, and Captain *Carſtairs* told him at the Inſtant, that in *Engliſh* it was, *He would kill the King.* As ſlight as *L'Eſtrange*, *Echard*, and other Writers make of this Crime of *Staley*'s, 'tis with me of the laſt Importance, for we ſhall find by the Blunders in *Staley*'s Defence, that a *King* and *Killing* was talk'd of, and if ſo there, in a *Cook*'s Shop, it was doubtleſs much more deliberated, and concerted in their Cabals, and dark Meetings. *Staley* own'd *he was then there with* Fromante, *but deny'd he ſpoke the Words, affirming, they only ſpoke of the* French *King*, and the Words ſworn by the Witneſſes in *French*, muſt ſignify, *I will kill myſelf, rather than I will kill him myſelf.* But to this the Court obſerv'd, "Firſt, that "the Witneſſes ſwore directly that it was the "King of *England* he ſpoke of, and nam'd "him twice, nor did he count the *French* King "a Heretick; and as to the Second, they ob- "ſerv'd that after he had given the King ſuch "ſcurrilous Names, it could not be Senſe to "ſay, *He would kill himſelf.*" The Priſoner having little more to ſay, the Jury found him *Guilty*, without going from the Bar, and he was condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. Dr. *Lloyd* viſited him after his Condemnation, and he was offer'd a Pardon, if he wou'd make Diſcoveries, which probably he cou'd not do in *Particulars*, and as for *Generals*, there was more than enough already diſcover'd. I wonder Biſhop *Burnet* took ſo much Pains as he ſaid he did, to ſave *Staley*, for if the two *Scots-men* were profligate Fellows, 'twas not likely the *Engliſh-man* would be drawn in by them to forſwear himſelf, and *Staley* confeſſing that *King* was ſpoken of, and *Killing* alſo, is ſuch a

A general Alarm.

William Staley *try'd.*

He is condemn'd

A.D.1678 and executed. Corroboration of their Evidence, that there's no room left to doubt it. *Staley* was executed at *Tyburn* the 26th of *November*; he carry'd himſelf ſeriouſly and diſcreetly. His Majeſty gave his Quarters to his Friends, who bury'd them in *Convent-Garden* Church, after having caus'd Maſſes to be ſaid, and other Popiſh Ceremonies to be perform'd over the Quarters, which a great Number of Papiſts attended at the Funeral, and Information of it being given to the State, the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, Sir *Richard How* and Sir *John Chapman*, were order'd to cauſe them to be taken up, and put on the City Gates.

Coleman try'd. The next Trial was that of *Coleman*, who was brought to the King's-Bench Bar the 27th of *November*. The Charge againſt him was, *for conſpiring the Death of the King, and endeavouring to ſubvert the Government of* England, *and the* Proteſtant Religion. To blacken the Proſecution, *Echard* opens the Evidence with Reflections on Dr. *Oates* and Capt. *Bedloe*, who both ſwore, that they had carry'd treaſonable Letters from *Coleman* to *La Chaiſe*. Such Letters were found upon the Priſoner, and given in Evidence alſo; they are mention'd in the preceding Pages. The Contents were to give the *greateſt Blow to the* Proteſtant Religion *it ever had receiv'd*, that *they had a mighty Work, the Converſion of three Kingdoms upon their Hands, and the utter ſubduing a* Peſtilent Hereſy; *that the Oppoſition they ſhall meet with, requires them to get all Aid and Aſſiſtance.* I think we need go no farther, tho' *Echard*, as weakly, and as wrongfully as one might expect from ſuch a Champion, for ſuch a Cauſe, endeavours to extenuate *Coleman*'s Guilt, by ſaying, there was no mention in the Letters of making uſe of any Foreign Power *beſides Money*, the very Sinews of War, and that in one Letter, he demanded of the *French* King but 300,000 Pounds; he acknowledges he made other Demands in other Letters. Suppoſing that the Evidence of his Conſpiring the Death of the King, was not ſo clear as was pretended, that which was prov'd upon him, his Endeavour to deſtroy the Government and Religion of his Country, had as much Proof as a Man's own Inditing and Writing a Thing can give it. *Echard* hangs ſtill upon *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Raſhneſs in their Swearing, and after *Coleman* has own'd his Letters, would bring him off, by paſſing the Expreſſions in them, as extravagant only; but it was an Extravagance that would have brought Popery and Slavery upon us; and according to Dr. *Welwood*, Coleman's *Letters alone, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than ſufficient to put the Matter out of Doubt*, and the Jury, Men of ſo good a Character, that *Coleman* did not pretend to except againſt one of the whole Pannel, was ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Teſtimony that was given, that they brought him in Guilty, after a ſhort Deliberation. *Echard* catches the laſt Sayings of the *Popiſh* Traitors, as ſo many Reflections on the Juſtice of the Nation, in proſecuting this Plot, tho' he cou'd not but have heard that the Popiſh Prieſts have a Power to abſolve their Penitents from the Guilt of all Falſhood, and even Perjury, which is for the Good of their Church, and I wiſh no other Prieſts may not carry the Doctrine of Abſolution too far. Three of them, *Cook*, *Snat* and *Collier*, did ſo in King *William*'s Reign, and abſolv'd an Aſſaſſin at the Gallows, who was in a Plot to murder that Prince. *Echard* tells us, that one of the laſt Things *Coleman* ſaid to the Lord Chief Juſtice, who ask'd if he had not laid aſide any Book or Paper? *No, by the living God*, reply'd *Coleman*; whereas his Man *Boatman* had ſworn, that his Book of Entries for the two laſt Years, was remov'd a Day or two before he was apprehended. After Sentence, many were ſent to *Coleman* from both Houſes, offering to interpoſe for his Pardon, if he would confeſs, but he ſtill proteſted his Innocence, and took great Care to vindicate his Maſter the Duke. He own'd he had himſelf receiv'd 2500 Guineas of the *French* Ambaſſador, to gain ſome Perſons to the Duke's Intereſt, but had kept them himſelf. Sir *Thomas Littleton*, and other Members of Parliament, were with him, not long before his Execution. He ſeem'd willing to be queſtion'd about the King, but Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *they did not think fit to do it, nor to report what he ſaid concerning it*, which is a Hint that will occaſion great Speculation among ſpeculative Readers. It was then given out, that *Coleman* was kept from making Confeſſions, by Hopes the Duke of *York* ſent him of a Pardon; and that when he ſaw there was none like to come, he ſhou'd ſay, *There is no Faith in Man*; which I doubt not would have been true enough, if he had ſaid it: For as he kept Correſpondence with *La Chaiſe*, by Command of the Duke, and as the Duke refers *La Chaiſe* to him in his own Letter, one can make no Queſtion, but he was authoriz'd to ſay what he did, and whether the Duke of *York* would engage in ſuch a dangerous Correſpondence, without being ſure of his Brother's Approbation, let the Reader determine. He was executed at *Tyburn* the 3d of *December*, and ſuffer'd with great Devotion and Compoſedneſs. The King gave back his Eſtate to his Wife and Children, and his Quarters to be bury'd. I ſhall not enlarge upon *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Accuſation of the Queen, for I do not much give into it, having Occaſion to know more of that Princeſs than the *common Writers*, as the Archdeacon has it. For ſome of the laſt Words ſhe ſaid before her Death, at *Lisbon*, were, to an *Engliſh* Phyſician, from whom I had it, The Queen ſitting up in her Bed, call'd to him to hold her while ſhe ſaid ſoftly to this Effect, *That when ſhe was in* England, *ſhe had been wrongfully charg'd with endeavouring to bring in Popery; that ſhe never had deſir'd any more Favour for thoſe of her own Religion, than was granted them by her Marriage Articles; that ſhe had never been a Promoter of the* French *Intereſt; on the Contrary, that it was one of her greateſt Griefs, at her going out of the World, to think that when ſhe was gone, the* French *Faction, in her Brother's Court, might do the Confederates ill Offices, for it was ſhe that had kept him firm to them.*

A.D.1678

Coleman executed.

Dr. Cr.

Queen Dowager againſt the French *Intereſt.*

Condemned.

Abſolution abus'd.

The Converſation between King *Charles* and Dr. *Burnet* at this Juncture, is worth repeating entire. " I waited often on him all the Month " of *December*, he came to me to *Chiffinchs*'s, " a Page of the Back-Stairs, and kept the " Time he had aſſign'd me to a Minute. He " was alone, and talk'd much, and very free " with me. He ſuſpected ſome had ſet on " *Oates*, and inſtructed him, naming the Earl " of *Shafts bury*: I was of another Mind, " thinking the many groſs Things in his *Nar-* " *rative* ſhew'd there was no abler Head " than *Oates* or *Tonge* in the framing it. *Oates* " in his firſt Story had cover'd the Duke and " Miniſters ſo much, that from thence it ſeem'd " clear, that Lord *Shafts bury* had no Hand in it.

Biſhop Burnet's Diſcourſe with the King.

The

A.D.1678 The King muſt not be a very good Judge of *Deſign* and *Expreſſion*, to think *Oates*'s Narrative had a Word in it from the Pen of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that Rhapſody had its Growth among the Dregs of the People, as appears by the baſe Thoughts, and baſer Language, and there's a Rage in it, which borders pretty near upon Frenzy, the Effect of *Oates* and *Tonge*'s Want of both Senſe and Judgment, but I'm apt to think they two had Helps in the Contrivance and Formation of the *Narrative*, which had they had more Judgment and Senſe, they would not have let paſs as it is. I may go ſo far as to believe a great Part of it is Invention, without giving any one Cauſe to ſuſpect the Whole; for as ſome Parts were prov'd by *Coleman*, and the Jeſuits Letters, ſo others which might have been prov'd further by the Letters and Papers that were ſunk, ſhould not be wholly condemn'd. Dr. *Burnet*'s Converſation with his Majeſty continu'd thus.

" The King fancied there was a Deſign of " a *Rebellion* on Foot, I aſſur'd him I ſaw no " Appearances of it; I told him there was a " Report breaking out that he intended to le- " gitimate the Duke of *Monmouth*. He an- " ſwer'd quick, *As well as I love him, I had* " *rather ſee him hang'd*; yet he apprehended " a *Rebellion* not ſo much that he ſeem'd ill " pleas'd, that the Party who was ſo zealous " about the Plot, ſhould flatter themſelves with " great Imaginations, hoping that wou'd keep " them quiet, in a Dependance upon himſelf; " and he ſuffer'd the Duke of *Monmouth* to " uſe all Methods to make himſelf popular, " reckoning that he cou'd keep him in his " own Management. He was ſurpriz'd when I " told him *Coleman* had inſinuated, that he knew " of all their Foreign Negotiations, or at leaſt, " he ſeem'd ſo to me. I preſs'd him much to " oblige the Duke to enter into Conferences " with ſome of our Divines, and to be preſent " at them himſelf, which wou'd very much " clear him of Jealouſy, and might have a good " Effect on his Brother; at leaſt it would give " the World ſome Hopes, like what *Henry* IV. " of *France*, his Grand-father did, which kept " a Party firm to him for ſome time before he *King Charles's mean Opinion of the Duke of York's Underſtanding.* " chang'd; the King anſwer'd, *My Brother* " has neither *Henry* IV's *Underſtanding, nor* " *his Conſcience*; for he believ'd that King " was always indifferent as to thoſe Matters. " The King ſpoke much to me concerning " *Oates*'s accuſing the Queen, and acquainted me " with the whole Progreſs of it. He ſaid ſhe " was a weak Woman, and had ſome diſagree- " able Humours, but was not capable of a wick- " ed Thing, and conſidering his Faultineſs to- " wards her in other Things, he thought it a " horrid Thing to abandon her. I told him " there was no Poſſibility of laying the Heat " that was now rais'd, but by changing his *Danby univerſally odious.* " Miniſtry; that the Earl of *Danby* was uni- " verſally odious, and there was a Deſign againſt " him, but I knew not the Particulars; he ſaid, " *that lies at the Bottom.*

An Addreſs againſt the Queen. On the ſame Day that *Coleman* was try'd, came out a Proclamation, purſuant to an Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords, declaring in theſe Words, " That if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall " before the 25th Day of *December* next, make " any further Diſcovery of the late horrid De- " ſign, *&c.* he ſhall for every ſuch Diſcovery, " receive the Reward of 200 Pounds;" and the Commons gave ſuch Credit to *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Accuſation of the Queen, that they addreſs'd his Majeſty to remove her, and all her Family, and all reputed Papiſts from *Whitehall*, A.D.1678 which was follow'd with another Addreſs, to have all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts, in all Parts of *England*, apprehended and ſecur'd. The King reſenting *Oates*'s accuſing the Queen, order'd a ſtricter Guard upon him than ever, which occaſion'd the Commons to order another Addreſs, *That* Oates *might be freed from his Reſtraint, attended by his own Servants, and a competent Allowance be appointed for his Maintenance*, and on the 5th of *December*, they reſolv'd to impeach the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, *Popiſh Lords impeach'd.* the Lord *Powis*, the Lord *Petre*, Lord *Bellaſis*, Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, ſeverally of High-Treaſon; which ſeveral Impeachments were carry'd up to the Lords by ſeveral Members of the Houſe of Commons. Theſe Lords had two Days before been found guilty by ſpecial Indictments, to the ſame Purpoſe, by the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, before ſpecial Commiſſioners ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, and had they been arraign'd and try'd, *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Evidence would have charg'd every one of them with *Treaſon*; but now for ſome Reaſons, thoſe Proceedings were wav'd, and it was thought more effectual to proceed by way of Impeachment before the Houſe of Lords.

On the 17th of *December*, *William Ireland* Ireland, and *Thomas Pickering*, both Prieſts, and *John* Pickering *Grove*, a Lay-Brother, were arraign'd at the *and* Grove *Old-Bailey*, together with *Thomas Whitebread* *try'd.* and *John Fenwick*, two Jeſuits: The three firſt were charg'd particularly with *conſpiring the King*'s Death. *Oates* ſwore that the Murder of the King was reſolv'd on at the great Meeting, on the 24th of *April*, mention'd alſo in the Jeſuits Letter. This Meeting was at the *White-Horſe* in the *Strand*, *Ireland* was preſent at it; *Pickering* was to have 30,000 Maſſes, and *Grove* 1500 Pounds, to which Agreement *Ireland* conſented, and ſign'd it in *Oates*'s Preſence, as did alſo *Pickering* and *Grove*. *Oates* depos'd further, that in Purſuance of this Reſolve, he ſaw *Pickering* and *Grove* walk ſeveral Times in the Park together, with ſcrew'd Piſtols, longer than ordinary ones, and ſhorter than Carabines; that they had Silver Bullets to ſhoot with, and *Grove* wou'd have had them champ'd, to render the Wound incurable. This *Aſſaſſination* Plot was prov'd with other Circumſtances by *Bedloe*'s Evidence alſo, who ſwore that one *Knight* was to have kill'd the Earl of *Great Lords to be murder'd.* *Shaftsbury*, *Pritchard* the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Oneal* the Earl of *Oſſory*, *Obrian* the Duke of *Ormond*, &c. The three Aſſaſſins deny'd every Part of the Evidence againſt them, or that they had ſo much as any Knowledge of the King's Witneſſes. *Ireland* offer'd to prove by twenty Witneſſes, that he was in *Staffordſhire* and *Cheſhire* the whole Month of *Auguſt* and *September*, when it was ſworn he was in *London*; but *Sarah Payne*, formerly a Servant to *Grove*, ſwore that ſhe ſaw Mr. *Ireland* at a *Scrivener*'s Door in *Fetter-Lane*, about the 12th or 13th of *Auguſt*; and whatever has been, or may be ſaid againſt *Oates* and *Bedloe*'s Evidence, at the Trial of *Ireland*, *Pickering* and *Grove*, it is certain, the Witneſſes for the Priſoners had ſo little to ſay for them, that 'twas of no Service to them. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*, *Lord Chief Juſtice* Scroggs's *Speech againſt the Plotters.* in ſuming up the Evidence to the Jury, had theſe remarkable Expreſſions. *If they had not murder'd Kings, I would not ſay they would have done otrs, but when it hath been their Practice ſo to do, when they have debauch'd Mens* Underſtandings, *overturn'd all* Morals, *and deſtroy'd all* Divinity, *what ſhall I ſay of them?*

A.D.1678 *them? When their Humility is such, that they tread upon the Necks of Emperors, their Charity such as to kill Princes, and their Vows of Poverty, such as to covet Kingdoms, what shall I judge of them? When they have* Licences *to* lye, *and* Indulgences *for* Falshood; *nay, when they can make him a Saint, that dies in One, and then pray to it, as the* Carpenter *first makes an Image, and then worships it; and can they think to bring in that* Wooden Religion *of theirs amongst us in this Nation, what shall I think of them? What shall I say to them? What shall I do with them? They* eat *their* God, *they* kill *their* King *and* Saint *the* Murtherer; *they* indulge *all sorts of Sins, and no humane Bonds can hold them. Jefferies,* Recorder of *London*, the greatest Butcher afterwards that ever was stain'd with Blood, made a long Speech when he pass'd Sentence upon them, and said in it, among other Flourishes of his, *You must e'er long appear before the great Tribunal, where your Masses will not signify so many Groats to you, no not one Farthing. I must say, for the Sake of those silly People, whom you have impos'd upon with such Fallacies, that the Masses can no more save you from a future* Damnation, *than they do from a present Condemnation.* In another Place he advis'd them not to relie upon *their Masses, Tricks and Trumperies*; and afterwards proceeded thus, *I am sorry with all my Soul to hear a Lay-man should with so much Malice declare,* That a Bullet, if round and smooth, was not safe enough to execute his Villainies by. *But he must be sure not only to set his poysonous Invention on work about it, but he must add thereto his poysonous Teeth, for Fear, if the Bullet were smooth, it might light in some Part where the Wound might be cur'd. But such is the Height of some Mens Malice, that they will put all the Venom and Malice they can into their Actions. I am sure this was so horrid a Design, that nothing but a* Conclave *of* Devils *in Hell, or a* College *of such* Jesuits *as yours on Earth, could have thought upon it.* In Conclusion, he sentenc'd them to be drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd: However, he deferr'd issuing a Warrant for Execution so long, that the House of Commons sent for him to give an Account why it was not done. He said he had as yet receiv'd no Order from the King, and no Order came till the 15th of *January*, when *Ireland* and *Grove* were hang'd at *Tyburn*; but *Pickering* was not executed till the 9th of *May*. They all deny'd the Fact to the last. We have spoken already, and shall still speak of the Validity of such Denials from Persons who depend more on the Priest's *Absolution* and the Prayers of the Church, than on Repentance, or Innocence, or the Merits of our Saviour. While the *Popish Plot* was under Prosecution, a great Design was laid to ruin the Earl of *Danby*, Lord Treasurer, who, to prevent it, laid another Design to ruin Mr. *Montagu*, late Ambassador in *France*, who was too cunning and too quick for him. *Echard* assures us, the *French* Ambassador and the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* join'd with the Lord *Russel*, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earls of *Shafsbury* and *Essex*, in the Design against *Danby*, which is as likely as many other Events of his. The Lord *Russel* caballing with the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, *Barillon* the *French* Ambassador, with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the late Earl of *Galway* with both *Russel* and *Portsmouth*. Let us see how it is represented by Bishop *Burnet*.

Jefferies's *Speech against them.*

Danby being conscious of his criminal Correspondence with *Montagu*, then Ambassador in *France*, and fearing the Letter he had written him might be produc'd in Evidence against him, resolv'd to be before-hand, and accuse *Montagu*, but first to secure his own Letters. In order to this, the Court Tool, *Jenkins*, who was the Shadow of an Ambassador at *Nimeguen*, was directed to write over, that he understood Mr. *Montagu* had been engag'd in dangerous Practices with *Con*, the Pope's Nuntio at *Paris*, who was indeed the Pope's Agent there, a crafty covetous Fellow, who sold *Montagu* some Secrets which were worth his Money. Upon the Receipt of *Jenkins*'s Letters, Orders were given for seizing Mr. *Montagu*'s Papers; but as he had got himself chosen a Member of the House of Commons for the Borough of *Northampton*, to strengthen his Interest against the Treasurer, so he had foreseen the other's Design against him, and remov'd his most valuable Papers; among which were several Letters of *Danby*'s about the Money Affair, the most scandalous that a King was ever concern'd in; and a King who wou'd sell his Subjects for a little *French* Gold, might very well make no Conscience of persecuting and oppressing them for Conscience sake, at the Instigation of *Sheldon* and such Bishops, who had a Party in the House of *Commons* that was ready to give him any thing, if he wou'd give them Laws against Protestant Dissenters. *Montagu*, says Bishop *Burnet*, *understood the Arts of a Court too well to be caught by* Danby, *and had put the Box, with the Treasurer's Letters in them, in a safe Place.* As soon as Orders were issu'd for seizing *Montagu*'s Papers, his Majesty sent a Message to the House of Commons concerning *Jenkins*'s Information against him, and that he had order'd his Papers to be seiz'd. The House did not much approve of those Orders, and desir'd to know, *Whether the Information was upon Oath, and of what Nature the Offence was?* Upon which Mr. *Montagu* sat silent, and a Debate ensu'd that lasted very long: At the End of it Mr. *Montagu* stood up, and said, *He had a Box in which were some Papers of very great Importance; if the House thought fit, he wou'd send for them.* Three of the Members were immediately appointed to fetch them; when it was come, he open'd it, and took out two Letters of the Lord *Danby*'s, that contain'd Instructions to him to treat with the King of *France* for 300,000 Pounds a Year, for three Years, if a Peace succeeded, since it wou'd not be convenient for the King to meet a Parliament in all that Time; and he was charg'd to mention no Part of this to the Secretary of State. What ado did *Echard* make with the Kingdom's Happiness in having such a King, when he was passing the good *Staunch Acts* before-mention'd? And how did the two Chancellors, *Hyde* and *Finch*, cry up the Blessings he brought in with him to the *English* Nation? The Measure of them is now compleat, and our Parliaments fit or not fit, according as the Money comes from *France*. It was easy to foresee he wou'd prove such a King as this, from his Religion and Morals, and the People of *England* ow'd it all to trusting him at his *Restoration*. The first Letter which *Montagu* produc'd, was dated the 17th of *January*, 1677, and contains as follows. *Yesterday young* Ruvigny *came to me, with Monsieur* Barillon (*having given me his Father's Letters the Day before*) *and discours'd much upon the Confidence the* French *King hath of the Firmness of Ours to him* (This was at the very Instant when King *Charles* was earnestly pressing his Parliament to give him Money to act vigorously against him) *and*

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Mr. Montagu *produces his Letters about Money from* France.

A.D.1678 *and of the good Opinion his Maſter has of me; of his King's Reſolution to condeſcend to any thing that is not infamous to him, for the Satisfaction of our King. How certainly our King may depend upon all* Aſſiſtance *and* Supplies *from his Maſter, in caſe the Friendſhip be preſerv'd—— The main of their Drift was, to engage me to prevail with the Prince of* Orange, *as to the Town of* Tournay. *The King muſt come to ſome Declaration of his Mind to the Parliament when it meets. That which makes the Hopes of Peace leſs probable, is, that the Duke grows every Day leſs enclin'd to it, and has created a greater Indifferency in the King than I cou'd have imagin'd; which being added to the* French *King's Reſolutions not to part with* Tournay, *does, I confeſs, make me deſpair of any Accommodation. Nevertheleſs, I am aſſur'd that one principal Cauſe of this Adjournment for Thirteen Days, hath been to ſee if any Expedient for the Peace cou'd have been found in that Time; and the Effect of the Adjournment hath hitherto been, that no body will believe other than that the* Peace *is already concluded.* The ſecond Letter produc'd by Mr. *Montagu*, was dated *March* 25, 1678, and it is worth noting, that this Letter was written four or five Days after the Parliament paſs'd the *Poll Bill*, to raiſe a *Naval* and *Land Force* for an actual War with the *French* King. In it were theſe Expreſſions; *In caſe the Conditions of Peace ſhall be accepted, the King expects to have* Six Millions *of Livres a Year for three Years, from the Time that this Agreement ſhall be ſign'd betwixt his Majeſty and the King of* France, *becauſe it will probably be two or three Years before the Parliament will be in Humour to give him any Supplies after the making any Peace with* France. For my Part, it is aſtoniſhing to think to what a Degree of ----- the Word is too foul to be nam'd, a King and Miniſtry muſt be come to, that cou'd look a Parliament in the Face, after ſuch a Diſcovery. A Secret League with a profeſs'd Enemy to their Religion and Liberties, which both King and Miniſters were ſworn to defend. How baſe, how deſpicable muſt it appear to brave, generous Minds! A *Plantagenet* wou'd ſooner have robb'd a Shrine, than have taken a Bribe of a Foreign Enemy againſt his own People. *The* French *Ambaſſador here has always agreed to that Sum, but not for ſo long a Time. If you find the Peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the Money at all; and all poſſible Care muſt be taken to have this whole Negotiation as private as is poſſible, for fear of giving Offence at Home.* Honeſt Men are not afraid of giving Offence by their Actions, nor aſham'd of ſhewing them to the Sun: Poor *England!* That ever it ſhou'd have been thy Misfortune to fall into ſuch Hands. At the Bottom of this Letter are theſe Words, THIS LETTER WAS WRIT BY MY ORDER,

C. R.

Theſe Letters being read in the Houſe of Commons, Sir *Francis Winnington*, then Sollicitor General, fell ſeverely upon them. He ſaid, *Here was a Miniſter, who going out of the Affairs of his own Province, was directing the King's Ambaſſadors, and excluding the Secretary of State, whoſe Office it was, from the Knowledge of it*: For that alſo was in the laſt Letter, *You muſt not ſay a Syllable to the Secretary. Here was the Faith of* England, added *Winnington, to our Allies, and our Intereſt likewiſe ſet to Sale for* French *Money, and that to keep off a Seſſion of Parliament. This was a Deſign to ſell the Nation, and ſubvert the Government, and is* HIGH TREASON. It being my original Deſign to prove this upon the *Stuartine* Race, I have reaſon to deſire that the Teſtimony of King *Charles*'s own Sollicitor here may be taken Notice of. A.D.1678

We'll ſee what the learned Lawyer writes on this Occaſion: It was argu'd in the Houſe of Commons, *That now it was evident that there was a* Secret League *with* France; *that King* Charles *was to have Aſſiſtance and Supplies from thence againſt* Some-body; *which cou'd not be againſt* Holland *or* Spain, *and therefore it muſt be againſt his* own People. *And yet this Aſſiſtance or Supplies were not to be had but upon Condition,* If the Friendſhip ſhou'd be preſerv'd. *King* Charles *muſt either comply with whatſoever* France *impos'd, or break the Friendſhip.* Again, *Theſe Letters ſhew'd the* Secret League *ſubſiſted and was carrying on at the very Time when the* Parliament *was, on the* 15*th of* January, 1677, *directed to adjourn for thirteen Days, to be then acquainted with a Matter of great Importance: The meaning of which was,* That the *Expedient* for the Peace was the ſettling the *Price* for it; for the Matter of great Importance, when it came out, was no more, but that his Majeſty had, on the 16th of *January*, 1677, made an Alliance with the *Dutch* againſt *France.* It was therefore agreed, *That it was plain the Army of* 20,000 *Men, lately rais'd, was rais'd for ſome* Purpoſe, *but not to make War againſt* France. That from theſe Letters might be collected, that there was ſome DARK Meaning in the King's deſiring a Continuance of theſe new rais'd Forces; and above all it was plain, that the Reaſons why his Majeſty refus'd to make Alliances and War againſt *France*, were to preſerve his Friendſhip with *Lewis* XIV. in hopes of Aſſiſtance and Supplies againſt *Somebody.* And upon the whole, the Alliance with the *Dutch*, and the late Speeches and Meſſages to the Parliament, touching the Defence of the Nation, cou'd proceed from no other Cauſe but Inſincerity; which proves, that the *Britiſh* State was under the Influence of *Thoſe* who were engag'd in an Intereſt againſt it. Acherley p. 597. *A Secret League with the* French *King.*

The Queſtion being put, after a Debate, Whether the Earl of *Danby* ſhou'd be Impeach'd of *High Treaſon*, it was carry'd by a Majority of above Seventy Voices, and the Impeachment was the next Day carry'd up to the Lords by Sir *Henry Capel*, Brother to the Earl of *Eſſex*, with a Deſire that the ſaid *Thomas* Earl of *Danby* might be ſequeſtred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Cuſtody. But the Majority of the Lords were againſt committing him, till the Articles were exhibited, and Proof of them produc'd. Upon this it was viſible the *Commons* wou'd have complain'd that the Lords deny'd them Juſtice, ſo there was no making up the Matter; and on *Monday* the 30th of *December*, the King came to the Houſe and prorogu'd the Parliament till the 4th of *February*, but they never ſat more. Their Continuance from firſt to laſt, was ſeventeen Years, ſeven Months, and twenty-two Days. *Earl of* Danby *impeach'd of High Treaſon.* *Parliament prorogu'd.*

To imitate the *Compleat Hiſtorians*, I ſhou'd cloſe the Year with Honours and Preferments; but I ſhall abridge their Account for Reaſons before hinted.

Privy-Counſellors made this Year, *George* Lord *Berkeley*, *James* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*. *James* Earl of *Arran*, Duke *Hamilton*'s Son was ſworn Gentleman of the Bed-chamber. *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland* bought *Preferments.*

A.D. 1678 the Secretary's Place of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*; it had been promis'd to Sir *William Temple*, but he did not care to buy it. The Earl of *Danby* loſt the Treaſurer's Staff, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, *Lawrence Hyde*, Eſq; Sir *John Ernle*, Sir *Edward Deering*, and *Sydney Godolphin*, Eſq; were made Lords of the Treaſury.

Mr. Foulkes *the Miniſter hang'd.*

The Penitent Death of Mr. *Robert Foulkes*, a *Shropſhire* Miniſter, who was hang'd for murdering a Baſtard Child, ought always to be remember'd, as well as the Manner of it.

1679. When the Archdeacon comes to the Trials of the Murderers of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, his Account is one continu'd falſe Repreſentation in Favour of *Prance*, and the other Murderers. 'Tis no Matter that he has copy'd *L'Eſtrange*, or any ſuch villainous Libeller; he takes their Guilt upon himſelf, and is accountable for it to the Truth. He tells us, he deny'd the firſt Evidence he had given of Sir *Edmundbury*'s Murder by *Green*, *Berry*, *Hill*, &c. before the King; and being oblig'd to tell us, that he afterwards recanted that Denial, he imputes it to the *barbarous Uſage* of him in *Newgate*, which he repreſents as a ſort of Torture, to force a new Confeſſion from him. *He ſtood firm in his Denial, againſt all Terrors and Temptations, for about twelve Days*, ſays Mr. Archdeacon. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *As ſoon as he was carry'd back to Priſon, he ſent the Keeper of* Newgate *to the King, to tell him, that all he had ſworn was true, but that the Horror and Confuſion he was in put him on denying it.* He aſſures us, *Prance's* Story was a *ſtrange one*: Biſhop *Burnet*, *That it was a conſiſting Story, ſupported by collateral Proofs*, as it will appear to be in a Paragraph or two; and the former's treating that Conſiſtency, as an extravagant incredible Piece of Forgery, calling the Aſſaſſins, the *reputed Murtherers*, deſerves other ſort of Correction than the Laſh of a Pen, as being a flagrant Affront on the Juſtice of the Nation, in the Puniſhment of thoſe Criminals, for whom he pleads as earneſtly, as if he had been fee'd for it. The following Account is taken from my Lord of *Sarum*.

Green, Berry, *and* Hill *try'd for the Murder of Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey.

On the 10th of *February* came on the Trial of *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, for the Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; thus related by *Prance*, a *Goldſmith*, that wrought for the Queen's Chappel. This *Prance* having abſented himſelf from his Houſe two or three Days, about the Time when the Murder was committed, a Lodger in his Houſe calling it to mind, upon *Bedloe*'s ſwearing he ſaw the Body in *Somerſet-Houſe*, fancy'd that it was the very Time in which he was from Home, and that he might be concern'd in it, though it appear'd afterwards that his Abſence was a Week before. On this Information he was ſeiz'd, and carry'd to *Weſtminſter*. *Bedloe* accidentally paſſing by, not knowing any thing concerning him, or whether he was a *Papiſt* or a *Proteſtant*, at firſt Sight charg'd ſome-body to ſeize on him, for he was not appriz'd that he was already in Cuſtody, atteſting that he was one of thoſe he ſaw about *Godfrey*'s Body. Yet for ſome Days he deny'd every thing; however, at length he confeſs'd all as follows. *Girald* and *Kelly*, two Prieſts, drew him and three others into it: *Green*, who belong'd to the Queen's Chappel, *Hill*, who had ſerv'd *Godden*, the moſt celebrated Writer among the *Papiſts*, and *Berry* the Porter of *Somerſet-Houſe*. Theſe all, except *Berry*, had ſeveral Meetings, in which the Prieſts perſuaded them it was no Sin, but a meritorious Action, to diſpatch *Godfrey*, who had been a buſy Man in taking Depoſitions againſt them; and that the taking him off wou'd terrify others. *Prance* nam'd an Ale-houſe where they us'd to meet, and the People of that Houſe did confirm this of their meeting there. After they had reſolv'd on it, they follow'd Sir *Edmund* for ſeveral Days. The Morning before they kill'd him, *Hill* went to his Houſe, to ſee if he was yet gone out, and ſpoke to his Maid; but finding he was not at Home, they ſtay'd for his coming. This was confirm'd by the Maid, who, upon *Hill*'s being taken up, went to *Newgate*, and in a Crowd of Priſoners diſtinguiſh'd him, crying, *He's the Perſon who ask'd for my Maſter, the Morning before he was loſt.* *Prance* gives in Evidence, that the Murderers met at ſuch an Ale-houſe, 'tis confirm'd by the Ale-houſe-keepers. *Prance* ſwears, that *Hill* enquir'd for Sir *Edmundbury* the Morning before he went out; 'tis confirm'd by the Maid, who knew not *Hill* but by his coming to enquire for her Maſter. Here is no Concert, and no Proof can be better circumſtantiated and confirm'd. *Prance* goes on, they dogg'd him into a Place near St. *Clement*'s Church, where he was kept till Night; when *Prance* was appointed to wait at *Somerſet-Houſe*, and as *Godfrey* went by the Water-Gate, two of them pretended to be hot in a Quarrel, one run out to call a Magiſtrate, who preſs'd Sir *Edmundbury* to go in and part them, which he was not very ready to do, yet at laſt they prevail'd with him; then *Green* got behind him, and pull'd a Cravat about his Neck, drew him down to the Ground, and ſtrangled him. Upon that *Girald* wou'd have run him through, but the reſt diverted him from it, repreſenting the Danger of a Diſcovery by the Blood's being ſeen there. Upon which they carry'd his Body up to *Godden*'s Room, who was then in *France*, and *Hill* kept the Key. Two Days after they remov'd it to a Room croſs the upper Court, and that not being found a convenient Place, they carry'd it back to *Godden*'s Lodgings; from whence they reſolv'd to remove it by Night, in a Sedan, to the remote Parts of the Town, and fling it into ſome Ditch. On *Wedneſday* a Sedan was provided; and one of the Centinels ſwore he ſaw a *Sedan* brought in. *Prance* ſaid he was carry'd out, and *Green* having got a Horſe ready, he was laid upon his Back as ſoon as they got clear of the Town; and from thence convey'd, as he believ'd, to the Place where he was found. *Prance* added another Particular, that ſome Days after the Fact, thoſe who had been concern'd in it, and two others who were in the Secret, appointed to meet at *Bow*, where they talk'd much of this Matter; which was confirm'd by a Servant at that Houſe, who was coming in and out to them, and heard them often mention *Godfrey*'s Name, upon which he ſtood at the Door out of Curioſity to hearken; but one of them came out, and threaten'd him for it. This full Evidence is what *Echard* makes Grimaces at, though it is hardly poſſible to get more Light in ſo dark and deviliſh a Buſineſs. He confeſs'd all this before he deny'd his Confeſſion to the King; he deny'd his Denial: He afterwards again deny'd his Confeſſion, and again deny'd his Denial to Dr. *Lloyd*, late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to whom he confeſs'd this whole Matter again, and ſtood to his Confeſſion at the Trial of the Murderers; and he did it in ſuch a manner, that Biſhop *Lloyd* ſaid, *It was not poſſible for him to doubt of* Prance's *Sincerity*. And now let the Reader turn to that good Proteſtant, *Echard*'s, Account of him.

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I ſhall

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I ſhall not repeat *Bedloe*'s Evidence, there being no occaſion for it after *Prance*'s, That and the others was more than ſufficient to convict the Aſſaſſins, who were ſentenc'd to be hang'd by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs*. There's an Expreſſion of his to the Jury upon their bringing them in guilty, which deſerves remembrance: *Gentlemen, you have found the ſame Verdict that I would have found, if I had been one with you; and, if it were the laſt Word I were to ſpeak in this world, I ſhould have pronounced them guilty*, At which Words the whole Aſſembly in *Weſtminſter-Hall* gave a great Shout of Applauſe. *Hill* and *Green* were hang'd at *Tyburn* on the 21ſt of *February*, and *Berry* a Week after. They all died hard, as the Cant is, and deny'd the Fact to the laſt, which *Echard* lays great Streſs upon. So ſhould I too, if their wicked Practices had not prov'd, that as they could do, ſo they could ſay any thing; and *Berry*'s being an Apoſtate to Popery, and ſaying he was ſtill a Proteſtant in his Heart, does not at all mend the Matter. It behov'd the Papiſts and their Abettors, I mean the perſecuting Church-men, to do all that in them lay to prevent the belief of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*'s Murther, there being nothing in the world which ſo much ſupported the belief of the *Popiſh Plot*; and there were many lying Libels publiſh'd by *L'Eſtrange*, and others, to ridicule and vilify the Proſecution of the *Plotters* and the *Murtherers*: But the Characters of thoſe Scriblers are ſo profligate, that no Man of common Senſe, and common Honeſty, ever made uſe of them. My Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in his Memoirs, argues very juſtly on the little Dependance that is to be made upon the Denials of *Popiſh* Malefactors, even with their laſt Breath, when Facts have been prov'd upon them. "The "viſible Evidences that appear'd, made all Peo- "ple conclude there was great plotting among "them. And it was generally believ'd, that the "Bulk of what was ſworn by the Witneſſes was "true, tho' they had by all appearance dreſs'd "it up with incredible Circumſtances. What "the Men of Learning knew concerning their "Principles, both of depoſing of Kings, and of "the Lawfulneſs of murthering them, when ſo "depos'd, made them eaſily conclude, that ſince "they ſaw the Duke was ſo entirely theirs, and "that the King was ſo little to be depended "upon, they might think the preſent Conjunc- "ture was not to be loſt: And ſince the Duke's "eldeſt Daughter was already out of their hands, "they might make the more haſte to ſet the "Duke on the Throne. The Tempers, as well "as the Morals of the Jeſuits, made it reaſon- "able to believe, that they were not apt to ne- "glect ſuch Advantages, nor to ſtick at any ſort "of Falſhood, in order to their own Defence. "The Doctrine of Probability, beſides many "other Maxims that are current amongſt them, "made many give little Credit to their Witneſ- "ſes, or to their moſt ſolemn Denials, even at "their Execution. Many things were brought "to ſhew, that by the caſuiſtical Divinity taught "amongſt them, and publiſh'd by them to the "World, there was no Practice ſo bad, but that "the Doctrines of Probability, and of ordering "the Intention, might juſtify it." Inſtead of this juſt Reaſoning, their Advocate *Echard* tells us, One of the Murderers ſaid, *he was as innocent as the Child new-born*, and all of them *continually deny'd they had any knowledge of it*. He ends his own *Narrative* with tacking *Oates*'s and *Bedloe*'s Bill of Charges to it and this Jeſt, *Many Perſons have ſince thought* that *their Bills and their* Narratives *were equally credible:* and he grounds this dull Raillery upon *Oates*'s Sum total *l.*678: 12: 6.

L. C. J. Scroggs *his Speech to the Jury.*

Denials of Papiſts *at their Death not to be minded.*

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which is ſo far from being incredible, that I myſelf, in one Cauſe only, was forc'd to expend near a Third of that Sum on account of the Publick, where there was not a third Part of the Number of Witneſſes, but the like Difficulty in getting them to ſpeak what they knew; and all the World knows what a hard Matter it is to get People, who are not willing to give Evidence, to ſwear to even the moſt notorious Truth. *Echard* takes particular notice of *Oates*'s Perjury, in ſwearing *Ireland* to have been in *London*, when forty Witneſſes teſtify'd he was in *Staffordſhire* He would not tell us that *Jenniſon*, a Gentleman of good Family and Eſtate, obſerving that *Ireland* had defended himſelf againſt *Oates* chiefly by this, that he was in *Staffordſhire* from the beginning of *Auguſt*, till the 12th of *September*, and died, affirming this to be true, ſeem'd much ſurpriſed at it, and, as Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, turn'd *Proteſtant* upon it. For he ſaid, *he ſaw him in* London *on the 19th of* Auguſt; on which Day he fix'd upon this account, *that he ſaw him the Day before he went* down in the Stage-Coach to *York*, which was prov'd by the Entry-Books of the Coach to be the 20th of *Auguſt*. He affirm'd he was come to Town from *Windſor*; and going to ſee him, found him drawing off his Boots. *Ireland* ask'd him, *What News?* and in particular, *How the King was attended at* Windſor? *Jenniſon* anſwering, *He walks about very careleſsly, with few* about him. Then ſaid *Ireland*, *It would be eaſy to take him off.* To which *Jenniſon* reply'd, *God forbid*; and *Ireland* ſaid, *I do not mean it can lawfully be done. Jenniſon* produc'd one *Smith*, a Prieſt, who had alſo turn'd *Proteſtant*, and depos'd, *He was told at* Rome, *that there was a Deſign to kill the King.*

Jenniſon's *Evidence confirms* Oates's.

Beſides *Jenniſon*, came in one *Dugdale*, who had been the Lord *Aſton*'s Bailiff, and liv'd in fair Reputation in the Country, and diſcover'd a Correſpondence that *Evers*, the Lord *Aſton*'s Jeſuit, held with the Jeſuits in *London*, who had writ to *Evers* of the Deſign of killing the King, and deſir'd him to find out Men proper to execute it, whether they were Gentlemen or not. This he ſwore was writ plain in a Letter from *Whitebread* the Provincial, directed to himſelf, but he knew it was meant for *Evers*. *Evers*, and *Gavan*, another Jeſuit, preſs'd *Dugdale* to undertake it, promiſing he ſhould be canonized for it. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays he was a *Man* of Senſe and Temper, and behav'd himſelf decently, having ſomewhat in his Air and Deportment which diſpos'd People to believe him, Inſomuch that the King himſelf began to believe there was ſomething more than he knew of in the Plot, tho' *Tom Killigrew* ſaid, *Your Majeſty knows more of it than any one elſe*, and *your Diſcovery of it will quickly ſatisfy your People.* There was one Circumſtance which confirm'd *Dugdale*'s Evidence: He had talk'd of a Juſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, that was kill'd on the *Tueſday* after *Godfrey* was miſs'd; ſo that the News of this muſt have been writ from *London* on the *Saturday-Night*'s Poſt. He did not think it a Secret, but talk'd of it as News in an Ale-houſe, and ſeveral Perſons ſwore they heard him tell it. He depos'd, he ſaw this in a Letter writ by *Harcourt* the Jeſuit to *Evers*, in which *Godfrey* was nam'd. He added, that the Duke of *York* ſent to *Coleman*, when he was in *Newgate*, to perſuade him to diſcover nothing, and deſired to know whether he had made any diſcovery of their Deſigns to any other Perſon; and *Coleman* ſending back anſwer, he had ſpoke of them to *Godfrey*, the Duke gave order to kill him. The Earl of *Eſſex* declar'd that *Dugdale* ſwore this at his firſt Examination; but ſince it was only hear-

Dugdale *does the ſame.*

Tom Killigrew's *ſaying of the King's Knowledge of the Plot.*

Duke of York *knew of* Godfrey's *Death.*

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hear-ſay from *Evers*, and nothing in Law, it was not made a part of it, becauſe it would heighten the Fury againſt the Duke, and the King charg'd *Dugdale* not to ſpeak of it. This *Dugdale*, doubtleſs, was a Kinſman, as well as Country-man of the *Herald Dugdale*, whoſe *View of the Troubles*, tho' now waſte Paper, was thought by one of our Univerſities a valuable Preſent for the Queen.

The Fury of the People was ſo fierce againſt the Duke, that the King himſelf thought his abſence was the ſureſt way to allay it. The Duke did not care to ſtir. The Earl of *Danby* perſuaded the King to ſend him beyond Sea, that there might be no colour for ſuſpecting the Counſels were influenc'd by him. He urg'd to the Duke, that if the King, and the new Parliament that was to be, came to an Agreement, he might depend on the Promiſe his Majeſty would make to recall him immediately; and if they did not agree, no part of the Blame would be caſt on him. No matter for that, he ſtuck cloſe ſtill, and would not go, till the King told him poſitively, *It is for both our ſervice, and muſt be done.*

The Duke ſent abroad.

Before he went away, his Majeſty gave him all poſſible Satisfaction with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was become very popular, and his Creatures gave out, he was the King's lawful Son. Upon which, his Majeſty made a ſolemn Declaration in Council, and both ſign'd and ſwore it, that he was never marry'd, nor contracted to that Duke's Mother, nor to any other Woman, except to his preſent Queen.

King denies his Marriage with the Duke of Monmouth's *Mother.*

The Duke of *York* went firſt to *Holland*, and then to *Bruſſels*, where he was not very welcome, as appear'd by the Coldneſs of their Carriage towards him.

New Parliament call'd.

Upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, which was done by Proclamation the 24th of *January*, Writs were iſſued for calling a new one to meet the 6th of *March* following; and three or four Days after the Parliament was diſſolv'd, *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, Mr. *Daniel Arthur* of *London*, Merchant, and —— *Sheldon* Eſq; who had been taken up for the *Popiſh-Plot*, were diſcharg'd upon Bail. Papiſts flock'd to *London* from all parts of the Kingdom, and behav'd ſo inſolently, that the Government was obliged to command them to depart by another Proclamation; and by another, a Reward of 200 *l.* was promis'd to every new Diſcoverer of the *Popiſh-Plot*: the King and his Miniſters being reſolv'd to value themſelves to the new Parliament on their Zeal for ſuch Diſcoveries.

The *Compleat Hiſtorian* tells us, *The* Diſſenters *knew how to make ſome Advantages of the Popiſh-Plot*; that is, they fell in with thoſe that were for a vigorous Proſecution of it, and what was the Advantage they could make of it, more than they had a natural Right to, Liberty of Conſcience, and to be freed from thoſe ſtinging Laws, which *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and other ſuch Prelates procur'd againſt them? 'Tis a ſhame not only to Chriſtianity, but to Humanity, that ſuch Laws were ever made, and a ſhame it is to find Writers ſpeaking of them without Horror and Deteſtation. The *Diſſenters* did their utmoſt to get a good *Proteſtant* Parliament; and moderate Church-men joining in with them, ſuch a Parliament was choſen, as would have made *England* happy in any other Reign. They met the 6th of *March*, and the King told them what great Things he had already done, for preventing the Progreſs of the *Popiſh-Plot*; as the Excluſion of the *Popiſh* Lords from their Seats in Parliament, and the Execution of ſeveral Men upon the ſcore of the *Plot*, as well as the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; but above all, that he had commanded his Brother from him, becauſe he would not leave malicious Men room to ſay, he had not remov'd all Cauſes which could be pretended to influence him toward *Popiſh* Counſels; and as he had not been ſlack in putting the preſent Laws in execution againſt *Papiſts*, ſo he was ready to join in making ſuch further Laws, as might be neceſſary for the ſecuring the Kingdom. He then demanded a Supply, and concluded with a Deſire to have this a *Healing Parliament*. The Lord Chancellor's Speech was long, and, if we could take *Echard*'s Word for it, *eloquent*; but he thinks Length is Eloquence, tho' it muſt be confeſs'd, that this Speech of the Chancellor's, is the beſt he ever made, and the only one that cannot juſtly be called too long. I ſhall inſert part of it as a full Anſwer to all *Echard*'s Inſinuations of the Forgery of the Plot: "We had need look about us, "for his Majeſty's Royal Perſon hath been in "danger, by a Conſpiracy againſt his ſacred Life, "maliciouſly contriv'd, and induſtriouſly carry'd "on by thoſe Seminary Prieſts and Jeſuits, and "their Adherents, who think themſelves under "ſome Obligations of Conſcience to effect it; "and having vow'd the Subverſion of the True "Religion amongſt us, find no way ſo likely to "compaſs it, as to wound us in the *Head*, and to "kill the *Defender of the Faith*. His Majeſty "wanted no ſufficient Evidence of his Zeal for "our Religion, (*we muſt remember he was all "the while a Papiſt*,) without this Teſtimony from his Enemies, who were about "to ſacrifice him for it: But it hath ever "been the Practice of thoſe *Votaries*, firſt to "murther the *Fame* of Princes, and then their "*Perſons*; firſt to ſlander them to their People, "as if they favour'd *Papiſts*, and then to aſſaſſinate them for being *too zealous Proteſtants*." His Majeſty is not only a *zealous*, but a *too zealous* Proteſtant. "And thus, by all the Ways "and Means which our Law calls *Treaſon*, and "their *Divinity* calls *Merit* and *Martyrdom*, "they are trying to ſet up the Dominion and the "Supremacy of the *Pope*; as if the Dignity of "the Triple Crown could never be ſufficiently "advanc'd, unleſs theſe three Kingdoms were "added unto him, and all brought back again "under that Yoke, *which neither we nor our "Forefathers were able to bear.*"

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The Commons being to chuſe a Speaker, Col. *Birch* nam'd Mr. *Seymour*, who in the laſt Parliament had ſtruck in with ſuch Heat againſt *Popery*, that he was become popular. The Court named Sir *Thomas Meers*, but Mr. *Seymour* carry'd it by a great Majority. When he was next day preſented to the King, his Majeſty refus'd to confirm the Election. He ſaid, *He had other Occaſions for him, which could not be diſpens'd with.* Upon this, a long and warm Debate enſu'd, and ſeveral Members ſpoke: as,

Mr. Seymour choſen Speaker, rejected by the King.

Mr. Sacheverell.

It was never known that a Perſon ſhould be excepted againſt, and no Reaſon at all given. It is done on purpoſe to gratify ſome particular Perſon, for Mr. Seymour *is a Man who perform'd the Service formerly without Complaint; and as he would not conſent to the Prejudice of one Hair of the Crown, or Prerogative, ſo he will not infringe the Liberty of the People, in parting with the leaſt of their juſt Rights.*

Mr. Sacheverell's Speech upon it.

Mr. Williams.

This ſeems to be a Queſtion of Right; for above a hundred Years paſt, it has not been known that any Speaker preſented to the Kings or Queens of England, *were ever excepted againſt, without ſome Reaſon given, or for ſome great Cauſe;*

Mr. Williams's.

A. D. 1679.

Cauſe; and the Thing in itſelf of preſenting him to the King, is, I humbly conceive, but a bare Compliment. If we ſuffer this, we ſhall be put upon daily. Let us adjourn for the preſent.

Sir Thomas Clarges.

Sir Thomas Clarges's.

There were Parliaments long before there were Speakers choſen; and afterwards, for the Eaſe of the Houſe, among themſelves, they pitch'd upon a Speaker. Beſides, I can prove, not long ſince, that Parliaments have adjourn'd themſelves de Die in Diem, *for fourteen Days together, without any Speaker among them, and the Clerk of the Houſe always put the Word for Adjournment.* Gentlemen, *all our Lives and Liberties are to be preſerv'd by this Houſe, and therefore we are to preſerve the Liberties of it.*

Mr. Garraway.

Mr. Garraway's.

If you admit this, you would admit any thing. If Mr. Seymour *be rejected from being Speaker, and no Reaſon given, pray who muſt chuſe the Speaker, the* King or us? *It's plain, not us. I remember, when* Popham *was Speaker, he was rejected; but the Reaſon was given, becauſe he had been wounded, and was ſickly; and another, for not being able to endure, by reaſon of Diſability of Body: but nothing of this can be objected againſt Mr.* Seymour, *he being an approv'd Perſon by his Majeſty the laſt Parliament.*

Sir Thomas Lee.

Sir Thomas Lee's.

I cannot forget how we addreſs'd ourſelves to his Majeſty laſt Parliament, as fearing his Perſon to be in danger, by reaſon of the Plot; *but we receiv'd no Anſwer at all in a whole Week, from* Monday *to* Monday, *when we were immediately prorogu'd unexpectedly, and immediately after diſſolv'd as unexpectedly; and, I ſuppoſe, the ſame Perſons that gave that Advice, gave this alſo. To except againſt a Speaker, without giving a Reaſon, is to do any thing that may ſet us together by the Ears, and then they have their deſign'd Ends; but I ſhall not conſent to part with the leaſt Right that belongs to my Country, for whom I am choſen a* Repreſentative.

Col. Birch.

Col. Birch's

He that adviſ'd this, will readily adviſe more, I'll warrant you. This is only a Bone caſt amongſt us. I thought we could not have obliged his Majeſty more, than to pitch upon a Privy Counſellor, and one in ſo great Favour with his Majeſty, and in ſeveral great Places and Imployments under him: Beſides, yeſterday he was at Whitehall, *after we had choſen him* Speaker, *to acquaint his Majeſty with it, and then his Majeſty was very well pleas'd with the Choice, and for the Truth of this I appeal to Mr.* Seymour *himſelf; but this ill Advice is given ſince by ſome, I fear, too near the King. I ſhall not touch upon* Prerogative; *but let's think of Adjournment at preſent*

Mr. Powle.

M. Powle's

This is an ominous Thing to ſtumble at the Threſhold, before we are in the Houſe: but this Advice muſt proceed from ſome who are too near the King, and fearful we ſhould agree; but I hope there is no Man here, a Repreſentative of his Country, that is fearful of ſpeaking his Mind freely, in favour of thoſe whom he repreſents, nor yet afraid of being diſſolv'd, if it be to-morrow, for maintaining the Right of thoſe who chuſe them to ſit here for them. I will not invade Prerogative, neither will I conſent to the Infringement of the leaſt Liberty of my Country; but let us do nothing haſtily, but conſider Precedents, and adjourn ourſelves till to-morrow Nine a-clock. To which the whole Houſe agreed. A Temper was found at laſt; *Seymour*'s Election was let fall, but the Point was ſettled, that the Right of Electing was in the Houſe, and that the Confirmation was a thing of courſe; after which, *William Gregory* Eſq; Sergeant at Law, was recommended to the Houſe by the Lord *Ruſſel*, and choſen Speaker. This Parliament began where the laſt left off, and appointed a *Committee of Secrecy* to take Informations, prepare Evidence, and draw up Articles againſt the impeach'd Lords in the *Tower*. They alſo ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Peers, to put them in mind of the Impeachment of *High Treaſon* exhibited again *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, and to deſire that he may be committed to ſafe Cuſtody: *Reſolving* again, "That it "be referr'd to the *Committee of Secrecy* to "draw up further Articles againſt him." However, the Letters produc'd againſt the Earl, being written by the King's particular Command, and ſome private Papers being neceſſary for his Defence, which his Majeſty would not ſuffer to be made publick, he at laſt reſolved to adhere to the Benefit of the Pardon the King had granted him, and to keep himſelf out of the way as long as he could. His Conduct is much condemn'd by Biſhop *Burnet*, both as to Diſcretion and Probity. "When he was leaving the Trea- "ſury, he made great Advantage by ſeveral "Payments, which he got the King to order, "that were due upon ſuch ſlight Pretences, "that it was believ'd he had a large Share of "them to himſelf. He adviſ'd his Majeſty to "reject *Seymour* the Speaker; for which the "Houſe fell upon him immediately, and he "ſharpen'd them againſt him by it. Thoſe "who intended to ſerve him, ſaid, The Heat "that Diſpute had rais'd, which was wholly im- "puted to him, on account of a private Quarrel "he had with *Seymour*, had put it out of their "power to do it. He took out a Pardon under "the Great Seal. The Lord Chancellor durſt "not venture to paſs it; ſo the King order'd "the Seal to be put to the Pardon in his own "preſence. And thus, according to the Lord "*Finch*'s Figure, when he was afterwards que- "ſtion'd about it, *It did not paſs thro' the or- "dinary Methods of Production, but was an im- "mediate Effect of his Majeſty's Power of "creating.*" He alſo took out a Warrant to be Marquis of *Carmarthen*, which Title he took afterwards by Patent from King *William*. The King told the Parliament, the Earl of *Danby had done nothing but by his Order, and therefore he had pardon'd him; and if there was any Defect in his Pardon, he would paſs it over and over again, till it ſhould be quite legal.* But this was not a Parliament to be talk'd to at that rate; nor was he a Monarch of that high Character, as to give himſelf thoſe Airs.

A. D. 1679.

Earl of Danby's Impeachment.

His ill Conduct.

The King talks imperiouſly to the Parliament for him.

The Houſe of Commons had debated the *Impeachment* with great Warmth; and Mr. *Powle* particularly ſaid,

Mr. Speaker,

M. Powle's Speech againſt him.

I ſhould have been pleas'd to have heard ſomewhat omitted, needful to have been ſpoken unto from ſome other Member of this Houſe, rather than my ſelf; it is concerning the Earl of Danby, *who ſtands impeach'd by the Commons of* England *of High Treaſon.*

The Perſon to whom we owe the Dangers and Fears of the French *King againſt us.*

The Perſon to whom we owe the Threats and ſevere Anſwers to thoſe humble Addreſſes we made the laſt Seſſions of Parliament.

The Perſon to whom we owe the Ruin of this Nation, and exhauſting the King's Revenue.

The Perſon to whom we owe the Expence of 200000 *Pounds and upwards, within a Year, unaccounted for.*

The

A. D. 1679.

The King designs to enslave England.

The Person to whom we owe the raising of a standing Army, to be kept up by the Receipt of six Millions of Livres yearly, for three Years together, to enslave us and our Religion.

The Person to whom we owe the late Bone that was thrown in the Sitting of the last Parliament, to hinder the good Issue that might have come by their Proceedings who is now laying down his Staff, and making up his Accounts in the Treasury as he pleases, to enrich himself out of the Spoils of the People, and so depart.

My humble Motion is, that a Message be sent immediately to the Lords from the Commons of England, *to desire their Lordships, that* Thomas *Earl of* Danby *be immediately committed to safe Custody, he being impeach'd by the Commons of* England *of High Treason.* And the Lords voting he should be committed, he withdrew, and a Bill of Banishment past the House of Peers, and was sent down to the House of Commons, where Sir *Francis Winnington* fell upon it furiously; he said, "It was an Act to let all Mini-"sters see the worst Thing that could happen "to them, after they had been engag'd in the "blackest Designs, and had got great Rewards "of Wealth and Honour. All they could suf-"fer was, to be oblig'd to live beyond Sea." This set the House in a flame, and the Court, to quench it, offer'd a Bill to degrade the Earl of *Danby* from his Peerage, as well as to banish him, and to declare, that, for the future, no Pardon should be pleaded in Bar of an *Impeachment*: But the House was so exasperated against him, that nothing less than a Prosecution for High Treason would content them. They threw out the Bill of Banishment, and instead of it, order'd a Bill of *Attainder* to be brought in. The Earl of *Essex* had been made first Commissioner of the Treasury, and he and the Earl of *Sunderland* join'd with the Duke of *Monmouth*, to press the King to change his Counsels, and turn to another Method of Government. Who his Counsellors were, will be seen by the following Order.

Bill to banish him.

At the *Court* at *White-hall*,
January 17th, 1678-9.
Present,
The King's most Excellent Majesty.

The King's Privy Council.

Prince *Rupert*.
Lord Chancellor *Finch*.
Lord Treasurer *Danby*.
Lord Privy Seal *Anglesey*.
Duke of *Monmouth*.
Lord Chamberlain *Arlington*.
Earl of *Oxford*.
Earl of *Salisbury*.
Earl of *Bridgewater*.
Earl of *Peterborough*.
Earl of *Sunderland*.
Earl of *Clarendon*.
Earl of *Bath*.
Earl of *Craven*.
Earl of *Ailesbury*.
Earl of *Carbery*.
Lord Viscount *Falconberg*.
Lord Bishop of *London*.
Lord Bishop of *Durham*.
Lord *Berkley*.
Lord *Maynard*.
Mr. Secretary *Coventry*.
Mr. Secretary *Williamson*.
Sir *John Ernle*, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Master of the *Ordnance*.
Mr. *Edward Seymour*.

There having been lately presented by the Justices of the Peace six Queries to his Majesty in Council; viz.

A. D. 1679.

I. "Whether Foreigners, *Popish* Recusants, "that are, and have long been here settled "House-keepers, and are Tradesmen; *viz.* "Chirurgeons, Taylors, Perriwig-Makers, or "ordinary Shop-keepers, following Employments "for their own Advantage, but not otherwise "Merchants; but are certify'd to be Merchant "Strangers, shall be excus'd from taking the "Oaths, or finding Sureties, or either of them?"

II. "Whether such Foreigners, being certi-"fy'd by Ambassadors, or other Foreign Mi-"nisters to be their Servants, at this Time "shall be excus'd?

III. "Whether Foreigners, Popish Recusants, "settled here House-keepers, but neither are "Tradesmen, Travellers, or Foreign Ministers "Servants shall be excus'd?

IV. Whether native Subjects of our Sovereign "Lord, that are menial Servants of Foreign "Ministers shall be excus'd?

V. "Whether marry'd Women being Popish "Recusants, but their Husbands Protestants, "shall be excused?

VI. "Whether Popish Recusants that have "taken the Oaths, found Sureties, have ap-"pear'd, and are convict, shall find new Sureties, "or be continu'd over.

His Majesty receiv'd Answer from the Judges in Writing, in the following Words,

May it please your Majesty,

"We have met and consider'd of the Questions "propos'd to us, and do hereby humbly return "our Opinions.

Judges Opinion about Papists taking the Oaths.

To the First we are of Opinion,

I. "That Foreigners, being Popish Recusants, "and exercising ordinary Trades, but no Mer-"chants, are not excus'd from taking the Oaths, "or finding Sureties.

II. To the Second, "That Foreigners, tho' "certified by Ambassadors to be their Servants, "except they are their menial Servants, are not "excus'd.

III. To the Third, "That Foreigners, tho' "settled House-keepers, being no Travellers or "Foreign Ministers Servants, are not excus'd.

IV. To the Fourth, "That the King's native "Subjects are not excused from taking the "Oaths, being menial Servants to Foreign Mi-"nisters.

V. To the Fifth, "We find no Law that ex-"cuses a *Feme Covert*, being a Papist, from ta-"king the Oaths, tho' her Husband be a Pro-"testant."

VI. To the Sixth, "That a Popish Recusant "having taken the Oaths, is not bound to find "new Sureties, unless upon a new Tender of the "Oaths he shall refuse to take them.

All which, with great Humility, we submit to your Majesty's Judgment.

Will. Scroggs.	*Robert Atkins.*
Fra. North.	*V. Bertie.*
W. Montague.	*Fra. Bramstone.*
W. Wylde.	*Thomas Jones.*
Tim. Littleton.	*W. Dolben.*
Hugh Wyndham.	

This Report of the Judges was sent to the *Custos* of every County, to be communicated to the Justices of the Peace. Sir *Robert Southwel*, the Clerk of the Council, was accus'd by one Mr. *Cherwins* of being negligent in the Matter of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. One *John Nalson*, a Law Doctor, and History Writer, was taken into Custody by the Sergeant at Arms attending the House of Commons for writing a Libel against Mr. *Montagu*. Col. *Edward Sackville* was expell'd the

Nalson the Libeller apprehended.

A. D. 1679. the Houſe of Commons, for ſaying, *They were Sons of Whores that ſaid there was a Plot, and he was a lying Rogue that ſaid it:* You have a Sketch of the good Senſe and good Manners of the *Popiſh* Faction in *Sackville*'s Ribaldry. *Bedloe* gave Evidence againſt *Danby*, that he took him one day into his Cloſet, and ask'd him, *Whether the Duke of* Buckingham, *or Lord* Shaftesbury, *or any of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, had deſir'd him to ſay any thing againſt him, and to tell him who they were, and he would reward him, and to know if he would deſiſt from giving Evidence againſt the——— and the Lords in the Tower.* To which *Bedloe* anſwer'd, *That he had been an ill Man, and deſir'd to be ſo no more.* The Earl reply'd, *You may have a great Sum of Money, and live in another Country,* as Geneva, Sweden, *or* New England; *and ſhould have what Money he would ask to maintain him there*: But *Bedloe* refuſing, *Danby* began to threaten him, ſaying, *There's a Boat and a Yatch ready to carry you far enough for telling of Tales.* After this the Guards were as Spies upon him, and he was very ill us'd till he was remedy'd by the Parliament's Addreſs to the King in his behalf, both as to Safety and Reward. *Oates* alſo declar'd, that being one day in the *Privy Garden*, the Earl of *Danby* paſſing by, reflected upon him, ſaying, *There goes one of the* Saviours *of* England, *but I hope to ſee him hang'd within a month*; for it was a very courtly Buſineſs to ridicule the *Plot*: and probably, had the Truth been fully diſcover'd, the Courtiers would have been found among the Plotters, who were indefatigable in their Endeavours to cry down, and bribe off the Witneſſes. One *Reading* a Lawyer, Sollicitor for the *Popiſh* Lords in the Tower, inſinuated himſelf into *Bedloe*'s Confidence, and was much in his Company, always preſſing him before others to tell all he knew: He lent him Money very freely, which *Bedloe* often wanted to ſupport his Extravagancies; and he ſeem'd at firſt to deſign only to find out ſomewhat that ſhould deſtroy the Credit of his Teſtimony: But he ventur'd on other Practices, and offer'd him much Money, if he wou'd turn his Evidence againſt the *Popiſh* Lords into Hearſay, ſo that it ſhould not come home againſt them. *Bedloe* acquainted both Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Eſſex* with the whole Negociation, and plac'd two Witneſſes ſecretly in his Chamber, when *Reading* was to come to him; at which time, he drew him into Diſcourſes, which diſcover'd the whole Practice of that Corruption. *Reading* had got a Paper ready drawn, containing Inſtructions how he ſhould ſoften his Depoſitions, ſo as not to affect the Lords: With theſe Witneſſes, and this Paper, *Bedloe* charg'd *Reading*. The Witneſſes were *Wiggins* his Man, and one *S*—— a worthleſs Branch of a very worthy Family, who was ſome Years ago employ'd in a Villainous Affair againſt the Writer of this Hiſtory, and by a greater Villain than *Bedloe*. The whole Matter concerning *Reading*'s Subornation was prov'd beyond Contradiction; and as this rais'd *Bedloe*'s Credit, ſo it laid a heavy Load on the *Popiſh* Lords, of whom the Lord *Stafford* only offer'd 300 Pounds for this Service. The Proofs were plain againſt *Reading*, and he was put in the Pillory, where the Multitude ſufficiently pelted him.

Danby *tampers with* Bedloe.

And inſults Oates.

Reading *tampers with* Bedloe.

The Conſpirators took another Way to deſtroy *Oates*'s Evidence; one of the Earl of *Danby*'s Servants ſwore that *Oates* made an abominable Attempt upon him, too foul for the Purity of Hiſtory. Another of them depos'd, that *Oates*'s Servants told them many odious things of the King, which look'd like one that intended rather to ruin than to ſave him. *Oates*'s Servants deny'd every Word of it, but faſten'd what was ſaid upon thoſe who had been with him, as a Practice of their's; for which they were pillory'd and pelted, as *Reading* had been: *And to put things of a Sort together*, as my Lord of *Sarum* does, tho' they happen'd not all at once, one *Taſborough*, who belong'd to the Duke of *York*, enter'd into a Correſpondence with *Dugdale*, who was courting a Kinſwoman of his. 'Twas propos'd that *Dugdale* ſhould ſign a Paper, retracting all he had formerly ſworn, and ſhould upon that go beyond Sea; for which he was promis'd in the Duke's Name a conſiderable Reward: He had written the Paper, as was deſir'd, but he was too cunning for *Taſborough*, and he prov'd his Practices upon him; for which *Taſborough* was fin'd, and put in the Pillory. Theſe Contrivances to corrupt the Witneſſes, carry'd on by the Duke of *York*'s, and the Lord Treaſurer's Servants, and by the *Popiſh* impeach'd Lords Sollicitor, is ſufficient to convince any reaſonable Man, that they were all conſcious of the Validity of the Evidence, and endeavour'd to have it ſtifled by Subornation and Perjury.

A. D. 1679.

Dugdale *tamper'd with by* Taſborough.

Danby's *Servants tamper with* Oates's.

The Bill to attaint the Earl of *Danby* having eaſily paſt the Houſe of Commons, was the Firſt of *April* ſent up to the Lords by Sir *Robert Peyton*, but had not ſo eaſy a Paſſage in that Houſe; there were no leſs than three Conferences upon it: The firſt and third manag'd for the Lords by the Earl of *Angleſey*, and other Lords; the ſecond by the Earl of *Huntington*, and other Peers; upon whoſe Report, their Lordſhips thought fit to paſs the Bill, and the Earl ſurrender'd himſelf: Upon which he was committed to the Tower, there being a Clauſe in the Bill, which allow'd him a Trial, if he ſurrender'd himſelf by a Time therein mention'd. The Earl, by Advice of the celebrated Lawyer Mr. *Pollexfen*, inſiſted upon his Pardon; for a Trial muſt have brought the *French* Money-Letters on the Stage, and what a Figure his Majeſty would then have made there, is eaſy to imagine.

Danby *attainted.*

Committed to the Tower.

Mention has been made of the King's Intention to change his Counſels, and Counſellors; which was chiefly owing to the Advice of Sir *William Temple*, as he repreſents it; but the Biſhop of *Salisbury* gives the Merit of it to the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Earl of *Sunderland*. Lord *Halliſax* told the Biſhop, the King would be very willing to have Lord *Shaftesbury* brought in; for he thought he was only angry in revenge, becauſe he was not employ'd: Sir *William Temple* tells us, he oppos'd it even with Paſſion; but his Majeſty would not only have him of the Council, but that he ſhould be Preſident of it. The old Council was all made up of *Danby*'s Creatures; the new, of the chief Men of both Houſes of Parliament. This was carry'd with ſuch Secrecy, that it was not ſo much as ſuſpected, till the Day before it was done. The King was weary of the Vexation he had been long in, and deſir'd to be at eaſe: He would have done any thing at that time, as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, to put an end to the *Plot*, which loſt him what little Credit he had both at home and abroad: He was forc'd at home to diſſemble an extraordinary Zeal in the Proſecution of it, at the ſame time that he could not help ridiculing it upon all Occaſions; and his Friends abroad, who knew him to be as much a Papiſt, as a Man ſo much a Libertine in Principle and Practice could be, muſt be ſhock'd at his giving up ſo many good Catholicks, as were executed for that Conſpiracy.

On the 20th of *April*, the Privy Council were extraordinarily aſſembled, and the Lord Chan-

A. D. 1679. cellor having read the King's Declaration of his Intention to govern for the future with the Advice of a new Privy-Council, form'd after a new manner, Half of Officers of the Crown. and Half of the principal Members of the two Houſes of Parliament, the King diſſolv'd that Council then aſſembled, and the next Day ſummon'd his new Privy Council; *viz.*

A new Privy-Council.

Prince *Rupert*.
William Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.
Heneage, Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor.
Anthony Earl of *Shaftesbury*, Lord Preſident.
Arthur Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy Seal.
Chriſtopher Duke of *Albemarle*.
James Duke of *Monmouth*, Maſter of the Horſe.
Henry Duke of *Newcaſtle*.
John Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*.
James Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold.
Charles Lord Marquis of *Wincheſter*.
Henry Lord Marquis of *Worceſter*.
Henry Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
James Earl of *Salisbury*.
John Earl of *Bridgewater*.
Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State.
Arthur Earl of *Eſſex*, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.
John Earl of *Bath*, Groom of the Stole.
Thomas Lord Viſcount *Falconberg*.
George Lord Viſcount *Hallifax*.
Henry Lord Biſhop of *London*.
John Lord *Roberts*.
Denzil Lord *Hollis*.
William Lord *Ruſſel*.
William Lord *Cavendiſh*.
Henry Coventry Eſq; Secretary of State.
Sir *Francis North*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.
Sir *Henry Capel*, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.
Sir *John Ernle*, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir *Thomas Chichele*, Maſter of the Ordnance.
Sir *William Temple*.
Edward Seymour Eſq;
Henry Powle Eſq;

A Popular Step. This being one of the moſt popular Steps the King ever took, he went immediately to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, told them what he had done, which was not receiv'd with ſuch general Satisfaction, as might have been expected, becauſe they had no Confidence in the Doer. The Duke's Creatures were ſo excluded out of all Commiſſions, as well as out of the Council, that they gave both him and themſelves for loſt: Yet the King's Inflexibility in the Point of the *Succeſſion*, ſhews he was ſtill govern'd by his Brother's Maxims; to whoſe Counſels, it was not long before he gave himſelf up entirely. Many wiſe Men ſuſpected all that was doing; they ſaid the King was what he was before, no Change appear'd in him; and all this was only an Artifice to lay the Heat the Nation was in, to gain ſo many Members over to him, and draw Money from the Commons; in which, however, he had not the Succeſs he hop'd for. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "no Part of the Change "that was then made, was more acceptable than "that of the Judges; the Lord *Danby* had "brought in ſome ſad Creatures to thoſe impor-"tant Poſts, as *Scroggs*, *North*, *Bertie*, *Wynd-*"*ham*, *Bramſtone*, *&c.*" but they were not all remov'd. "Sir *William Jones* had the new "modelling of the Bench; and he put in very "worthy Men in the room of thoſe ignorant "Judges that were now diſmiſs'd."

Suſpected.

Bad Judges.

We have mention'd the Change in the Admiralty: That Commiſſion was given to Sir *Henry Capel*, Sir *Humphry Winch*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, *Daniel Finch*, *Edward Vaughan*, and *Edward Hales*, Eſqs; *A. D.* 1679. *Lords of the Admiralty.*

On the 1ſt of *May*, the Commons reviv'd a Committee to conſider what Part of the Money given for disbanding the Army is yet undiſpos'd of, and remaining in the Exchequer; and a Week after, an Act paſt the Royal Aſſent, to raiſe 206462 *l.* for disbanding the Forces rais'd ſince the 29th of *September* 1677. and the Commiſſioners appointed to disband them were Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Col. *Birch*, and Col. *Whitley*.

On the 5th of *May* the Houſe of Commons *reſolv'd*, "That the Pardon pleaded by the Earl "of *Danby*, was illegal and void, and ought not "to be allow'd, in bar of the Impeachment of "the Commons of *England*;" which one would think a ſmall Portion of Underſtanding and Honeſty might have led People into; for then ſuch Impeachments, which are the greateſt Security they have for their Rights and Liberties, would be of no more Force than the Court pleas'd, and ill Miniſters might as eaſily procure a Pardon for the Crimes they committed, as they had procur'd the Power to commit them. The ſame Day the Speaker, with the Houſe, went up to the Lords Bar, and demanded Judgment againſt the Earl, who ſtood to his Plea of Pardon; and the Lords *Petre*, *Bellaſis*, *Stafford*, *Arundel*, and *Powis*, having given in their Anſwers to the Commons Impeachment, a Difference aroſe between the two Houſes, about the Biſhops being preſent at the Trials of theſe Lords. The Biſhops had ſtuck cloſe to the King and his Counſels, and his Majeſty was very deſirous to ſtick to them as his faſt Friends. Many of them had been promoted by *Danby*'s Intereſt, and theſe were ſure to be a Part of the *Dead Weight* on all Occaſions, when Spiritual and Temporal Liberty was in queſtion. It was ſaid that tho the Biſhops had no Right to vote in the final Judgment; yet they might vote in all Preliminaries: In the Caſe of the Earl of *Danby*, the allowing or not allowing the Pardon to be good was but preliminary; and yet the whole Matter was concluded by it: which induc'd the Commons to inſiſt upon it, *That the Biſhops ought not to have any Vote in any Proceedings upon Impeachments againſt the Lords in the Tower*. The Lords voted that they had a Right to ſtay in Court in Capital Caſes, till the Court gave Judgment; which Vote was ſtrenuouſly oppos'd by the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Hollis*, and other Peers; and as ſtrenuouſly eſpous'd by the Lord Chancellor, Lord *Roberts*, *&c.*

Judgment demanded againſt Danby.

Biſhops ſtick cloſe to the King, and the King to them.

Several noble Patriots enter'd their Diſſent againſt the Vote for the Right of the Biſhops to ſit in Capital Caſes, till Judgment is given; as, The

Duke of *Buckingham*.	Lord *Gray*.
Earl of *Huntington*.	Lord Viſcount *Newport*.
Earl of *Kent*.	Lord Viſcount *Say* and *Seale*.
Earl of *Shaftesbury*.	Earl of *Leiceſter*.
Earl of *Clare*.	Lord *Wharton*.
Earl of *Bedford*.	Earl of *Scarſdale*.
Marquis of *Wincheſter*.	Earl of *Strafford*.
Earl of *Rocheſter*.	Earl of *Derby*.
Lord *North* and *Gray*.	Lord *De la Mer*.
Lord *Howard*.	Lord *Paget*.
Earl of *Suffolk*.	Lord *Windſor*.
Earl of *Stamford*.	Lord Viſcount *Falconberg*.
Lord *Lovelace*.	Earl of *Salisbury*.
Lord *Townſhend*.	
Lord *Herbert*.	

There

A. D. 1679.

Lord Hollis *writes againſt* Hunt.

There was one *Thomas Hunt*, Eſq; a doughty Author, who wrote for the Affirmative in this grand Queſtion; but in the Negative appear'd the Lord *Hollis*, aſſiſted by thoſe famous Antiquaries, *William Pettyt*, Eſq; of the *Inner Temple*; and Mr. *Atwood*, of *Gray's Inn*: but I have often thought how *Titus*, *Timothy*, and the Primitive Chriſtian Biſhops, would have taken it to have been put upon Trials in Caſes of Blood; and yet the Then Biſhops were very hard to be perſuaded to withdraw in ſuch a Caſe, which there is not one Layman in a thouſand, but would be glad to be excuſed from, it being a kind of *Jury* upon Life and Death. The Commons were not ſatisfy'd with their involuntary withdrawing, and leaving a Proteſt behind them, that it was their Right to aſſiſt in Trials of Blood; and reſolv'd on the 24th of *May*, that they would not proceed to the Trial of the *Popiſh* Lords, before Judgment be given on the Earl of *Danby*'s Pardon. They alſo voted, that no Commoner ſhould plead the Validity of that Pardon at the Lords Bar; and upon this Difference between the two Houſes, his Majeſty three Days after prorogu'd them to the 24th of *Auguſt*, as well to ſcreen the five Popiſh impeach'd Lords, as the Earl of *Danby*. *The Force of whoſe Proſecution*, ſays the judicious *Acherley*, *could not be avoided or baffled, but by reſorting to that inglorious Practice of diſperſing the Parliament, and deſerting the Courſe of Juſtice.*

Biſhops cenſured.

The Biſhops Behaviour on this occaſion was much cenſur'd, and they loſt the Good-will of the People ſo generally, that they thought of ſecuring their Honour, Revenues, Powers, and Prerogatives, by aſſerting the unlimited Authority of the Sovereign, and the indiſpenſable Duty of the Subject in *Paſſive Obedience*. My Lord of *Sarum* acknowledges, *the Biſhops were expoſed to the Popular Fury, and every where cenſur'd, as a Set of Men, that for their own Ends, and for every Punctilio that they pretended to, would expoſe the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion to ruin. The greater part of the Clergy delivered themſelves up to much Heat and Indiſcretion, which was vented both in their Pulpits, and common Converſation, and moſt particularly at the Elections of Parliament-Men, which drew much Hatred and Cenſure upon them: They ſeem'd now to lay down all Fears and Apprehenſions of Popery; and nothing was ſo common in their Mouths, as the Year Forty-One*; being ſo ignorant and ſtupid, as not to know, that the very Parliament that brought in the King, juſtify'd the Cauſe of the *Forty-One* Parliament, till the Force was put on them by the Soldiery, and that it was founded in *Right* and *Reaſon*. But indeed, the Stupidity and Ignorance of thoſe Pulpiteers, were equal to their Malice and Rage; Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that they learn'd their Leſſons of the execrable *L'Eſtrange*, who corrupted them, and the vileſt Part of the People, with his Penny Papers; and out of this Corruption grew that odious Faction, call'd *Tories*, a Name given to the *wildeſt* of the *Wild Iriſh*.

Tories.

Moderate Churchmen, and Proteſtant Diſſenters, thought it high time to oppoſe thoſe dangerous Tenets, which inſenſibly led them to Popery and Slavery; and this they did with great Zeal in andout of Parliament; for which their lewd Adverſaries fix'd the Term *Whig* upon them, by way of Reproach, as being ſuch another Sort of Men, as the *Cameronian* Covenanters in *Scotland*: And from theſe Beginnings roſe at this time, the two Parties which have ſince divided the Nation.

Whigs.

Bill of Excluſion.

Before the *Prorogation* of the Parliament, the *Bill of Excluſion* was brought into the Houſe of Commons, as the only way to quiet Peoples Fears on account of the Duke's *Succeſſion*. The Leaders in both Houſes who were for it, had well conſider'd the Matter before this bold, but neceſſary Step, was agreed upon. The Earl of *Shaftesbury*'s Project was for *excluding* him ſimply, and making the Succeſſion to go on as if he was dead, as the only Mean which was eaſy and ſafe both for the Crown and the People. This was nothing but the diſinheriting the next Heir; which *certainly the King and Parliament might do*, ſays the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *as well as any private Man might diſinherit his next Heir, if he had a mind to it.* The King would not conſent to this. He had faithfully promis'd the Duke that he never would. And he thought if Acts of *Excluſion* were once begun, it would not be eaſy to ſtop them, but that upon any Diſcontent at the next Heir, they would be ſet a-foot. But the King's Thoughts ran upon every thing more than the Security of the Religion and Liberty of his Country. People will never be diſcontented at the next Heir, unleſs their Liberty and Religion are in the utmoſt danger, and then to ſet a-foot *Excluſion*, is both juſt and neceſſary. People are not ſo delighted with the Difficulties and Dangers in altering Succeſſions, as to run into it out of Humour or Wantonneſs. The truth is, King *Charles* hated the Conſtitution of *England*, as it is Free and Proteſtant, and did not care what became of it, as long as his Family was in the Saddle. The Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Halliſax* propos'd ſuch Limitations of the Duke's Authority, when the Crown ſhould devolve to him, as would diſable him from doing any Harm either to Church or State: Such as the taking out of his hands all Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, the Diſpoſal of the publick Money, with the Power of Peace and War: All theſe to be lodg'd in both Houſes of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was in being, or the laſt that had been in being at the King's Death, ſhould meet without a new Summons; which, with other Limitations, was by the King's Command propos'd to the Parliament in a Speech of the Lord *Finch*'s. The Lord *Shaftesbury* argu'd againſt it, as much more prejudicial to the Crown, than the *Excluſion* of one Heir; for this chang'd the whole Government, and ſet up a *Democracy* inſtead of a *Monarchy*. Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, "That Lord *Halliſax*'s arguing ſo much againſt "the Danger of turning the Monarchy to be "elective, was the more extraordinary in him, "becauſe he had made an *Hereditary Monar-*"*chy* the Subject of his Mirth; and had often ſaid, *Who takes a* Coach-man *to drive him, becauſe his Father was a good* Coachman? Yet he was now jealous of a ſmall Slip in the Succeſſion; but he at the ſame time ſtudy'd to infuſe into ſome a Zeal for a Commonwealth, of which, as appears by his Writings, he thought as favourably as a Man could do, who expected ſtill more Honours from the King; who, in good Reigns, is the Fountain of all Honour. Upon this Difference of Opinion, a Faction was quickly form'd in the new Council. The Lords *Eſſex*, *Sunderland*, and *Halliſax*, were for Limitations. The Lord *Shaftesbury*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and Mr. *Powle*, were for the Excluſion. Sir *William Temple* all this while trimm'd between both. He was probably in opinion for the *Excluſion*; but finding the King ſo inflexibly againſt it, he talk'd to him of Limitations only. The Duke was ſtruck almoſt dead when he heard the News at *Bruſſels*, that the Lord Chancellor had propos'd the Limitations to both Houſes of Parliament. My Lord of *Sarum* informs us, That he ſaw a Letter

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ter written by his Dutchess the next Day, wherein she wrote, *That as for all the HIGH Things which were said by their Enemies, they look'd for them; but the Speech of the Lord Chancellor's was a Surprize, and a great Mortification to them.* Their Apprehensions of that did not hang long upon them. The *Exclusion* became the popular Expedient. Accordingly, after much debating, a Bill was order'd for *excluding* the Duke of *York*. Indeed the Limitations seem'd to be, as was then said, *Hedging in the* Cuckow *by the Wise Men of* Gotham. Were not the Practices of the *Stuartine* Race too well known for them to be trusted again in the Bonds of Acts of Parliament? Had not all of those Princes broke thro' all such Obligations? Nay, had not this very King been limited by the *Triennial Act*, which Limitation he soon got over, and instead of three Years, kept his Parliament twice three times three Years? I do not repeat the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s many Arguments for and against the *Exclusion Bill*, because we who have liv'd since, and have seen the want of that Exclusion make an Abdication Act necessary, after great Tyranny and Oppression, must detest or despise all Arguments against it; and for it, is to be added, every Argument that was for the *Revolution*. When the Question was put in the House for committing the Bill of Exclusion, the *Yea's* were 207, the *No's* 1285 but it went no farther that Session.

Before I proceed to the Inquiry into the State of the *Pension* Affair in the last Parliament, I must correct an Error in Bishop *Burnet*'s Memoirs relating to the Bishops Votes in capital Cases. The reverend Author tells us, that Dr. *Stillingfleet gave, upon this Occasion, a great Proof of his being able to make himself Master of any Argument which he undertook.* If the Bishop of *Salisbury* ever read his Controversy with Mr. *Locke*, he could not but see he was not Master of that Argument; and we are told, his being baffled in it was one means of shortening his Days. In this Argument, he did not drive Lord *Hollis* off the Stage, as Bishop *Burnet* tells us; *After the Lord* Hollis *and others had writ many Books about it*, Stillingfleet *publish'd a Treatise that discover'd more Skill:* whereas that Lord wrote after Dr. *Stillingfleet*, whom he mentions in the Preface to his *Considerations*, in answer to the Doctor's grand Question.

Pensioners in the last Parliament.

In *May* the House of Commons inquired into the Affair of the Pensioners in the last Parliament, when they were passing the excellent *Church Acts*, so often mention'd. On which account it is, that *Echard* is not willing to think the following Journal of that House true.

Die Veneris 23 *Maij* 1679.

" *Ordered*, That Sir *John Hotham*, Sir *Robert* " *Peyton*, and Sir *John Holman*, go and bring " Sir *Stephen Fox*, and his Books of Account, " immediately to the House.

" They returning, reported, That Sir *Stephen* " *Fox* was come to the House.

" *Ordered*, That the same Members go with " Sir *Stephen Fox* to his House, and bring his " *Ledger-Journal* and his Cash-Books with him, " and the Receipts that the Members of the last " Parliament gave him for any Money they have " received, and that Sir *Stephen Fox* do not go " out of their company, but return with them to " the House.

" Sir *John Hotham* reports, That so soon as " they came to Sir *Stephen Fox*'s, the Lord " Chamberlain came in and told them, That he " durst not suffer any Books or Papers that con- " cern'd the King to go out of his House, with- " out the King's special Leave.

" *Ordered*, That Sir *Stephen Fox* do name " such Members of the last Parliament, as he " could remember, that received any Money " for secret Service. *A. D.* 1697.

" *Ordered*, That Sir *Francis Winnington* re- " port to-morrow, what Members of the last " Parliament the *Secret Committee* knows re- " ceived any Pension.

" *Ordered*, That the Clerk read over the " Roll, and that Sir *Stephen Fox* answer to every " Name.

	per Ann.		
Sir *Char. Wheeler*	400 *l.*	Sir *Phil. Mountain*	300 *l.*
Francis Roberts	500 *l.*	Upon Account.	
Sir *James Smith*	500 *l.*	Sir *Joh. Robinson*	1500 *l.*
Sir *Ric. Wiseman*	500 *l.*	Mr. *Rogers*	200 *l.*
Thomas Price	400 *l.*	Col. *Whitley*	300 *l.*
Humph. Cornwal	200 *l.*	Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*	500 *l.*
Sir *Lionel Walden*	300 *l.*	Sir *Phil. Howard*	500 *l.*
Dan. Collingwood	300 *l.*	Sir *Courtney Poole*	1000 *l.*
Robert Philips	300 *l.*	Col. *King*	200 *l.*
Receiv'd at a time.		Mr. *Westphaling*	200 *l.*
Sir *George Reeves*	500 *l.*	Sir *John Barnaby*	300 *l.*
Sir *Joh. Duncomb*	2000 *l.*	Sir *Job Charlton*	1000 *l.*
Sir *Tho. Woodcock*	200 *l.*	Mr. *Knolls*	200 *l.*
Henry Clark	400 *l.*	*Randolph Egerton*	500 *l.*
Sir *John Talbot*	500 *l.*		

Die Sabbati 24 *Maij* 1679.

" Sir *Francis Winnington* reports, That there " was annually paid out of the Excise 20000 *l.* " for Pensions, manag'd by Mr. *Charles Bertie* " by Patent, for which he was to give no ac- " count, but for secret Service; that Sir *Richard* " *Wiseman* received 400 *l. per Ann.* for himself, " and 400 *l. per Ann.* for three more: That " Sir *Joseph Tredenham*, Mr. *Piercy Goring*, " Sir *Robert Holt*, Mr. *Glascock*, and Sir *John* " *Johnston*, were also Pensioners.

" *Ordered*, That the Auditors of the Excise " bring in a List of the Farmers of the Excise, " that were before the great Farmers came in.

" *Ordered*, That Mr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Lent* " be sent for to attend the House, they having " paid several of these Pensions, and that the " Speaker issue forth his Warrant for any Wit- " nesses that any Member of this House shall " inform him of.

" *Ordered*, That the further Consideration of " this Debate be adjourned till *Tuesday* next.

Thursday May 1, 1679.

" *Ordered*, That a Bill be brought in to- " morrow, that no Members receive any Pen- " sions, or Places of Profit, during this Sessions " of Parliament.

May 8, 1679.

" A Bill for hindering any Members from ac- " cepting any Office or Imployment from the " King, during this Session of Parliament, was " read a second Time."

These Members are the same of whom *Echard* said, when they were passing the aforesaid *Acts*, they were the richest, the wisest, and worthiest Gentlemen in the Kingdom.

The Practice was, that, besides a Dinner, when they had done any Piece of eminent Service, every one found under his Plate such a Parcel of Guineas, as it was thought his Day's Work had merited. Sir *Richard Wiseman* and Sir *John Copleston*e, were allow'd to keep Open-House at the foot of the Parliament Stairs. So numerous were these *Hirelings* in that Assembly, that if any Point was carry'd there on the Side of the *Country*, it was often but by the poor Majority of two or three Voices. An Instance of their Integrity and Uprightness, appears in Mr. *Bertie*'s Case,

A. D. 1679.

Caſe, at a Committee of Elections between him and Mr. *Trenchard*: It being carry'd for Mr. *Bertie*, the Lord *Obrian*, who was related to the then Lord Treaſurer the Earl of *Danby*, came to him in triumph with the News, crying out, *My Lord, we have carry'd the Day, and voted thirteen more than one-and-twenty.* The Charges of the Election of the Penſioners were defray'd, that of *Northampton* amounting to 14000 *l.* They all knew their Pay-day, inſomuch that a great Officer was pleas'd to ſay, *They came about him like ſo many* Jackdaws *for Cheeſe, at the End of every Seſſions.* But many of theſe Penſioners, finding at laſt that all was at ſtake, and that whatever they had of their own, as well as whatever they had got out of the Court, was in danger of being made a Prey to the *French* and *Papiſts*, began to be reſty; and, tho' late, to attone for their paſt Errors, by their Zeal againſt both the *Papiſts* and the *French*. His Majeſty himſelf ask'd a lofty *Weſt-Saxon*, the Captain of the Band, *What was the reaſon of this Revolt of ſome of the Troops?* The *Weſt-Saxon* reply'd, *They had been of late neglected, and the Beaſts only bellow'd for Fodder.*

By the Records of the Exchequer, under the Article of *Secret Service*, it appears there was paid in three Years 294,916 *l.* 11 *s.* 4 *d.* in Mr. *Bertie*'s Name, beſides 84,640 *l.* to be diſtributed by him in New-Year's Gifts, as he ſhould be privately directed.

On the 10th of *May*, both Houſes of Parliament addreſs'd the King, that for the Security of the City againſt the Deſigns of the *Papiſts*, the *Militia* be immediately rais'd. And the next Day being *Sunday*, the Commons *reſolv'd*, Nemine Contradicente, *That in defence of the King's Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come by any violent Death, they will revenge it to the utmoſt upon the* Papiſts. Which Vote was drawn up in form of an Addreſs, and preſented to the King; whoſe Anſwer was, *Gentlemen, I thank you for your Zeal for the Preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and of my Perſon. And I aſſure you I ſhall do what in me lies, to ſecure the* Proteſtant Religion, *and am willing to do all ſuch Things as may tend to the Good and Benefit of my Subjects.* Three Days after, Mr. *Powle* brought a Meſſage from him for Money for a Fleet, but the Commons put off the Debate of it, tho' they ſeem'd to have more Care of the King than he had of himſelf: For as *Coke* obſerves, *He not only countenanc'd the* Plotters, *but ridicul'd the Plot.* In his Speech at the opening of this Parliament, he told them, He had not been idle in diſcovering the *Plot*; and in the laſt, told Sir *William Temple* he was diſpleas'd with the Earl of *Danby*, for bringing it into Parliament againſt his abſolute Command. This is what the Archdeacon calls his fine *Talent of Diſſimulation*; which is as inconſiſtent with Honour, as Fraud is with Honeſty. But he did not ſo well diſſemble as not to be perceiv'd. *Coke* adds, *Oliver's Profeſſions and Actions never appear'd ſo hypocritical and deceitful, as this King's.* As to the *Plot*, the ſame Author proceeds; " It was prov'd " by a Cloud of Witneſſes, agreeing in the Man- " ner and Circumſtances of it; many of whom " had never ſeen one another before they gave " their Teſtimonies." Then he anſwers a threadbare *Objection*, much inſiſted upon by Mr. *Echard*, and not a little by Biſhop *Burnet*. Tho' they both ſeem to me to *object* ſuperciliouſly, becauſe they would not be thought credulous, and to have weak Minds, which are ſoon impos'd on. The *Objection* is, *The Witneſſes were of ſuſpected Fame, and therefore no Credit ought to be given to them*; which, according to *Coke*, will admit of a *two-fold Anſwer.*

Warm Vote againſt the Papiſts.

The King's Diſſimulation.

" Firſt, *Truth* is one, and conſiſts in entire " Parts; whereas Error and Falſhood are in- " finite; and therefore it had been impoſſible, " that *Mowbray* and *Bolron*, two of the Wit- " neſſes, who had never ſeen *Oates* and *Bedloe*, " two other Witneſſes, before they gave their " Teſtimonies; and *Bedloe*, who had never " known *Mowbray*, *Bolron*, nor *Oates*, ſhould " concur not only in the Deſign of killing the " King, but in the Manner, Place and Circum- " ſtances of it. *The Evidence of the Plot juſtify'd.*

" Secondly, Admit theſe Mens Evidences " might not have been credited in other Caſes; " but it is fit to diſtinguiſh Caſes Criminal " from Caſes Civil. In Civil Caſes, Men may " make Elections of what Witneſſes they pleaſe; " and it is their fault if they make not uſe of " Men of known Integrity and Repute, that " more Credit may be given to their Evidence; " and the End of Civil Actions and Contracts " is, that they may be known: but immoral " and wicked Actions are Deeds of Darkneſs, " and contriv'd ſo as that they may not be " known; and one never comes to the Know- " ledge of them, unleſs by accident, or from " the Conſpirators themſelves. Suppoſe one " Man only ſees a Murderer, or a Thief kill or " rob another, if his Teſtimony ſhall not be " taken, becauſe he is otherwiſe an ill Man, " multitudes of Murders and Thefts might paſs " unpuniſhed. Thus, if *Cicero*, when *Fulvia* " firſt diſcover'd *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy to him, " had told her ſhe was a *Whore*, and no Cre- " dit was to be given to any thing ſhe ſaid, " *Rome* might have been in a flame as *London* " was, and all the Senators Throats might have " been cut.

" But admit no Credit could be given to any " or all theſe Mens Teſtimonies, who were all " *Roman Catholicks*, I would know what Ob- " jection could be againſt Mr. *Jenniſon*, a Gen- " tleman of Birth and Fortune, who gave no E- " vidence at *Ireland*'s, *Wakeman*'s, *Pickering*'s " or *Grove*'s Trials, and chang'd his Religion, " when he heard that *Ireland*, who was his Fa- " ther Confeſſor, at his Death, deny'd he was in " Town, but in *Staffordſhire*, when *Oates* and " *Grove*'s Maid ſaid he was in *London* in *Au-* " *guſt* 1678; whereas he knew the contrary, " and depos'd, that in *Auguſt* 1678, when *Ire-* " *land*, at his Death, declar'd he was in *Staf-* " *fordſhire*, *Ireland* told Mr. *Jenniſon* in *Lon-* " *don*, when he was newly return'd from *Wind-* " *ſor*, how eaſily the King might be taken off, " and ask'd Mr. *Jenniſon* if he would be one of " them, who ſhould go to *Windſor*, and aſſiſt at " the taking off the King, proffering to remit " 200 Pounds. which *Jenniſon* ow'd *Ireland*, if " he would. Then *Ireland* ask'd if he knew any " ſtout *Iriſh* Men; *Jenniſon* anſwer'd, he knew " Capt. *Lavalian*, Mr *Kerney*, *Brohal* and " *Wilſon*. *Ireland* told him, he knew *Lavalian* " and *Wilſon*, and ask'd him again if he would " go with them, and aſſiſt them in taking off the " King. He then ſaid he was going to the Club, " where Mr. *Coleman*, Mr. *Lavalian* and *Kerney* " would be, and he wanted 80 Pounds, which " he deſir'd *Jenniſon* to return him. The latter " farther depoſed, That his Brother Mr. *Tho-* " *mas Jenniſon*, a Jeſuit, ſaid, *If* C. R. *will* " *not be* R. C. *he ſhall not be long* C. R. which " he interpreted to be, *Si* Carolus *Rex non* " *eſſet Rex* Catholicus, *non diu foret Rex* Ca- " rolus. *If King* Charles *will not be a* Catho- " lick

Mr. Jenniſon's Evidence.

A. D. 1679.

" lick King, *he ſhall not be long King* Charles ; " *and that it was no great Sin to take him off.* " *Jenniſon* deſiring a Commiſſion in the new-" rais'd Army, his Brother the Jeſuit told him, " he would procure him one from the Duke of " *York* ; and that there was another Army to be " rais'd after the King was kill'd. About this " time there was a general Rumour of a Page " being ſtabb'd upon a Couch in the Night at " *Windſor*. The King, who had been drinking " very hard, lay down upon it, wrapt up in his " Cloak ; but Prince *Rupert* coming to him, " with ſome difficulty prevail'd on him to go to " Bed. The King throws off his Cloak, which " a Page ſeeing on the Couch, wrapt himſelf up " in it, and lay down on the Couch, where 'tis " ſuppos'd he was ſtabb'd in miſtake for the " King, who had been dogg'd to that Place."

Being come to the Trials of more of the *Plotters*, I was willing to clear up the Evidence againſt them ſtill further ; and this of *Jenniſon* proves the Lye in *Ireland*'s Mouth, even with his laſt Breath ; and that he propos'd the killing of the King to him in *London*, at the very time when, with his laſt Words, he declar'd he was in *Staffordſhire*. The Particulars of *Jenniſon*'s Teſtimony have that Air of Nature and Truth, that 'tis impoſſible not to be convinc'd by them ; and as it confirms the Teſtimonies of *Oates*, *Bedloe*, *Dugdale*, &c. there is no room to ſuſpect Impoſture in the latter. What ſaid an ingenious Writer, contemporary with theſe Facts! *Theſe and innumerable other Diſcouragements hath the* Plot *met with, which, being obſerv'd, together with the due Circumſtances of the Evidence, I think, no Man that is not in the whole or part of the Plot himſelf, can doubt the Truth of it. Indeed, at the firſt, many thought to caſt a Suſpicion upon what* Oates *and* Bedloe *inform'd, as being two Perſons of vicious Life and Converſation. But how ridiculous is this? As if ſuch Rogues would truſt ſuch a Villany with honeſt Men, or any but thoſe that had been as bad as themſelves ; you might as well expect a High-way-man ſhould go and acquaint my Lord Chief Juſtice, when and where he meant to commit the next Robbery. So that from the Nature of the Evidence, or Credit of the Informants, no Man can take exception againſt the Information of Dr.* Oates, *or Mr.* Bedloe, *or any of the reſt, to whom Mr.* Jenniſon *has lately given no ſmall Credit, in diſcovering the* four Villains, *that, as Mr.* Oates *had ſaid, were to have aſſaſſinated his Majeſty.*

The King ſullen.

The King, upon the Prorogation of the Parliament, became ſullen and thoughtful. He found he had to do with People that could neither be manag'd nor frighten'd. From this time his Temper was obſerv'd to change very viſibly. He began to give hard Names to Things and Perſons, and the *Plot* hanging on him ſtill, he knew not how to meet his Parliament, without continuing the Proſecution of the *Plotters* ; ſo five of the Jeſuits that had been accus'd of it, were brought to their Trial : They were, *Thomas Whitebread*, their Provincial ; *William Harcourt*, the reputed Rector of *London* ; *John Fenwick*, their Procurator in *England* ; *John Gawen* and *Anthony Turner*, Men of great *Gravity* and *Learning*, ſays *Echard*. *Oates* repeated againſt them his former Evidence, and they prepar'd a great Defence againſt it. For ſixteen People came over from their Houſe at *St. Omers*, who teſtify'd, that *Oates* had ſtay'd among them all the while, from *December* 77, till *June* 78 ; ſo that he could not poſſibly be in *London* in the *April* between, at thoſe Conſultations, where it was reſolv'd to kill the King, as he had ſworn. This they remember'd the more particularly, becauſe he ſat at the Table by himſelf in the *Refectory*, which made his being there to be the more obſerv'd ; for as he was not mix'd with the *Scholars*, ſo neither was he admitted to the *Jeſuit*'s Table. They ſaid he was among them every day, except one or two, in which he was in the *Infirmary*. They alſo teſtified, that ſome of thoſe, whom he ſwore came over with him into *England*, to the *Grand Conſultation* in *April*, ſtaid all that Summer in *Flanders*. This Evidence gives great Satisfaction to Mr. Archdeacon, who does not ſeem to be at all pleas'd with what follows. *Oates* produc'd ſeven or eight Perſons, who depos'd, that they ſaw him in *England* about the beginning of *May*, and that he being known formerly to them in a Clergyman's Habit, they had obſerv'd him ſo much the more, by reaſon of the Change in his Dreſs ; with one of theſe he had din'd. *Echard* adds the Teſtimony of an *Iſlington* Schoolmaſter to the ſame purpoſe, only becauſe he afterwards retracted it. 'Tho' *then he ſpoke home, which no body elſe did*, a notorious Falſity ; for the Perſon who ſwore *Oates* din'd with him, at the time the *St. Omers* Boys ſwore he din'd in *Flanders*, ſpoke home. But there was another Evidence that ſpoke ſtill more home, and that was an old Dominican Friar, who was ſtill of the Church and Order, and depos'd, that he ſaw him, and ſpoke frequently with him at that very time. *By this*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *the Credit of the* St. Omers *Scholars was quite blaſted. There was no reaſon to miſtruſt thoſe who had no Intereſt in the matter, and ſwore, that they ſaw* Oates *about that time ; whereas the Evidence given by the Scholars bred in the* Jeſuits *College, when it was to ſave the Lives of ſome of their Order, was liable to a very juſt Suſpicion. Oates*, ſays *Echard*, *produc'd one*, and but one *Witneſs*, who did affirm, they ſaw *Ireland* in *London*, when he ſwore he was there ; but I can produce two Witneſſes, as *Grove*'s Maid, and Mr. *Jenniſon*, both before mention'd. *Bedloe* ſwore the Plot for killing the King, and raiſing a Popiſh Army, againſt them all ; and *Prance* ſwore it againſt *Harcourt*. *Dugdale* gave in the Evidence before ſpoken of, the Letter from *Whitebread* to *Evers* about the Aſſaſſins hir'd to kill the King. He alſo mention'd the Letter he had receiv'd concerning Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*'s Murther, which the Lord Chief Juſtice took particular notice of, in ſumming up the Evidence, and when he ſpoke to the Priſoners : *This will ſtick, I aſſure you, Sirs, upon all your Party. While this Gentleman's Blood lies upon you, it muſt be yet further told you, that in what you did do, you have given us a Specimen of what you would do. We have a Teſtimony, that, for promoting your Cauſe, you would not ſtick at the* Proteſtants *Blood. You began with Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey ; *but who knows where you would have made an end? It was this Man you kill'd in his* Perſon, *but in* Effigy *the whole Nation. It was in one Man's Blood your Hands were imbru'd ; but your Souls were dipt in the Blood of us all. This was a Handſel only of what was to follow ; and ſo long as we are convinc'd you kill'd him, we cannot but believe you would alſo kill the King. We cannot but believe you would make us all away, that ſtand in the way of your Religion. A Religion which, according to what it is, you would bring in upon us, by a Converſion of us with* Blood, *and by a* Baptiſm *with Fire. God keep the Land from* one, *and the City from the* other. The *Jury*, after a ſhort Conſideration, brought all the five Priſoners in *guilty*. But Sentence was reſpited till the next day, *June* 14th.

Five Jeſuits, Whitebread, Harcourt, Fenwick, Gawen, Turner.

L. C. J. Scroggs's Speech to the Jeſuits.

They are found guilty.

When

A. D. 16-9.

St. Omers *Men perjur'd.*

A. D. 1679. Langhorn *try'd.*

When *Richard Langhorn* Eſq; Counſellor at Law, of the *Temple*, and a bigotted Papiſt, was brought to his *Trial* at the *Old Bailey*. *Oates* ſwore he ſaw a Letter of his to a Foreign Papiſt, where he had written with his own Hand, *We have now a fair Opportunity to begin or give the Blow*; that by order of *Whitebread*, he gave Mr. *Langhorn* an Account of the Reſolve at the Grand Conſult, *April* the 24th, to kill the King; and that *Langhorn* lifting up his Hands and Eyes, ſaid, *God give you a good Succeſs*. That he ſaw ſeveral Commiſſions in his Chambers, ſign'd by *Johannes Paulus de Oliva*, by virtue of a Brief from the *Pope*; as one to Lord *Arundel*, to be Lord Chancellor; to Lord *Powis*, to be Treaſurer; and to *Langhorn* himſelf, to be Advocate General; that he was diſguſted that *G. Wakeman* was not content with 10000 Pounds to poiſon the King. *Bedloe* ſwore that he brought Letters from *Harcourt* to *Langhorn*, ſpecifying, *that the Lord* Bellaſis, *and the reſt concern'd, ſhould be ready, for that their* Spaniſh *Correſpondents had ſent ſome* Iriſh *diſbanded Soldiers to land at* Milford, *&c. Langhorn* made uſe of the *St. Omers* Boys; but their Evidence ſeem'd to be ſo baffled, that it ſerv'd him in no ſtead; and the Jury having brought him in *Guilty*, he and the five Jeſuits receiv'd Sentence together, to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, at the pronouncing of which there was a very great Acclamation in the Hall. They all of them ſuffer'd at *Tyburn*, and went off like *Ireland*, denying the Facts prov'd againſt them with their laſt Breath; but their Denials made no Impreſſion on the People, the Belief being general, that they thought it lawful to utter the greateſt Falſhoods and Lyes in favour of their Religion and Cauſe.

Scroggs *check'd.*

The Court began to grow weary of indulging the zealous Proteſtants in the Proſecution of the *Plot*; and it was intimated to *Scroggs*, the Chief Juſtice, that he muſt abate of his Fury, if he hop'd for Favour; and we ſhall find he will change his Tone in the Trial of Sir *George Wakeman*, and turn his Rage againſt the Witneſſes, which he had hitherto very inhumanly employ'd againſt the Criminals.

Turns againſt the Evidence.

The Diviſion in the new Privy Council, made the King as uneaſy as the ill Humour of the Parliament. The Time of the *Prorogation* being almoſt expir'd, and Matters not very well prepar'd for their Meeting, moſt of the Lords of the Council were for putting off the Seſſion to *October*, and a Day was appointed for conſidering the Matter in full Council. The Earls of *Sunderland*, *Eſſex*, the Lord *Halliſax*, and Sir *William Temple*, were for diſſolving this Parliament, and calling a new one. The Duke of *Monmouth*, now in the height of his Glory and Intereſt, the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, and Lord *Cavendiſh*, were for the Parliament's meeting; ſo was the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, and the firſt that ſpoke againſt the Diſſolution, in which he was powerfully ſeconded by the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and even by the Marquis of *Worceſter*, the Earls of *Arlington* and *Angleſey*, who had not been conſulted with before hand, and knew nothing of the King's Intention, which being explain'd to them by Sir *William Temple*, 'twas carry'd, that the Parliament ſhould be diſſolv'd, and his Majeſty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for it, the 10th of *July*; in which alſo a new Parliament was ſummon'd to meet the 19th of *October*. But the *Diſſolution* gave general Diſguſt; and I do not ſee wherein Sir *William Temple* and his three Aſſociates, *Eſſex*, *Sunderland* and *Halliſax*, ſhew'd their Wiſdom or their Love to their Country, by

Parliament diſſolv'd.

putting the King upon it. What a ſenſeleſs Reflection have we in *Echard*, on the Zeal of the Proteſtant Party againſt Papiſts in the new Elections. *The Leaders encreas'd the Noiſe of* Popery, *French Penſioners, and Arbitrary Government*; as if Matters, ſo well known, and prov'd, were nothing but the Noiſe and Clamour of Faction. Had the King no *Penſion* from *France*? Had the Commons, who voted the perſecuting Acts, no *Penſions* from the King? Was not the late perpetual Prorogations and Diſſolutions of Parliaments, *Arbitrary Government*?

A. D. 1679. *A new one call'd.*

Sir *G.* Wakeman's *Trial.*

The Trial of Sir *George Wakeman*, Phyſician to the Queen, *William Marſhal* and *James Corker*, two Benedictine Monks, and *William Rumſey*, a Lay-Brother of that Order, came on at the *Old Baily*, the 18th of *July*, before *Scroggs* Lord Chief Juſtice, and other Judges, who had been acquainted with the Diſpoſition of the Court in this Matter. *Oates* ſwore, *That the Priſoner, in the Month of* July 78. *ſending a Letter to* Aſhby *the Jeſuit, of Inſtructions, how he ſhould order himſelf, before he went to and at the* Bath, *whither he was going, did afterwards in the ſame Letter write,* The Queen will aſſiſt me to poiſon the King; *which he knew to be his Hand-writing, becauſe, ſome two days after, he ſaw Sir* George *at* Aſhby's *Lodging, ſit in a writing Poſture, and then lay by his Pen, and roſe up, and going away, left behind him a written Paper wet with the Ink,* being an Apothecary's Bill; *and the Hand of this Paper, ſo left by Sir* George, *was the ſame with that of the forementioned Letter to* Aſhby. He further ſwore, that he was to have 15000 Pounds for poiſoning the King; and that he ſaw a Receipt ſign'd by *Wakeman*, for 5000 Pounds, part of the 15000. And *Bedloe* depos'd, that he heard *Harcourt* and *Wakeman* treat about poiſoning the King, and ſaw *Harcourt* deliver *Wakeman* a Bill for 2000 Pounds, part of the 15000, ſaying, *Sir* George, *this muſt be well follow'd, becauſe ſo much depends upon it: for if we ſhould miſs to kill him at* Windſor, *or you miſs in your way, we will do it at* Newmarket. *Echard* owns, that as ſoon as *Bedloe* had given this Evidence, *Wakeman* ſaid privately to his Fellow Priſoners, *There is my Buſineſs done.* The Teſtimony given by *Oates* is very plain and poſitive; ſo is *Bedloe*'s, nothing can be plainer; and the firſt Proof *Wakeman* produc'd againſt it, was as weak and trifling a one as ever was produc'd by Guilt, *a piece of a Letter of Directions to* Aſhby, wherein the Queen was not nam'd; and when *Oates* ſaid that was not the Letter he ſaw, *Wakeman*, ſays *Echard*, argued, how *improbable it was, he ſhould write two Letters about the ſame Thing.* Tho' nothing is more probable, than that a Phyſician might write two Letters about the ſame Thing to his Patient, at the latter's Importunity or Deſire to have ſome Particulars farther explain'd, or on ſome Alteration in the Diſtemper, or Miſcarriage of a former Letter, or that a Letter might be written on purpoſe to confront *Oates*'s Evidence. As to Sir *Philip Floyd*'s witneſſing, that *Oates* had, before the Council, declar'd the Letter about *Wakeman*'s poiſoning the King, was from *Whitebread* to *Fenwick*; and that with Hands up-lifted, *Oates* ſhould ſay, *God forbid I ſhould accuſe Sir* George Wakeman, *for I know nothing more of him*: 'tis too Theatrical to be genuine; but if it were, every one knew that *Oates* had then paſt thro' a long fatiguing Examination, that his Spirits were quite ſpent. *Coke* tells us, *Oates* was *then ſo tir'd, weak, and confounded with his other Evidence, that he was ſcarce able to ſtand*; and his Head not being the moſt clear, at the beſt, it is not at all ſtrange, that it was then ſo con-

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confus'd, as to forget many Paſſages, which he recover'd upon *Recollection*. The truth is this: *Scroggs* was a lewd, inſolent, mercenary Wretch, who would not have been ſuffer'd on a Bench of Juſtice in better Times; and it is aſtoniſhing that he did ever let his Rage looſe againſt the *Popiſh* Aſſaſſins and Conſpirators. The Court permitted him at firſt to cajole the People; but as ſoon as he underſtood it was not pleaſing to the King, he endeavour'd to attone for the paſt, by his ſhameleſs Behaviour towards the Witneſſes for the future. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, this wicked Judge was *more valu'd for a Readineſs in Speaking, than either for Learning in his Profeſſion, or any moral Virtue. His Life was indecently ſcandalous, and his Fortunes were very low. He was rais'd by the Earl of* Danby's *Favour. And it was a melancholy thing to ſee ſo bad, ſo ignorant, ſo poor a Man rais'd up to that great Poſt. When he ſaw the King had an ill Opinion of the Plot, he grew cold in the Purſuit of it. He began to neglect and check the Witneſſes.* This is the unjuſt Judge, whom *Echard* extols for his ſtrict Carriage, and a bragging Speech he made concerning *Wakeman*'s Trial, upon the firſt day of *Michaelmas* Term; *That he was neither afraid nor aſham'd of what he had done.* And the Reverend Hiſtorian adds, Maſter Juſtice *Jones*, and Maſter Juſtice *Dolben*, appear'd as Compurgators of the Honeſty and Integrity of the Chief Juſtice. If there is one Miniſter or Magiſtrate viler than another, he does not fail to load him with Eulogy. Sir *William Jones*, the ſuppoſed Author of the *juſt and modeſt Vindication* of the *two laſt* Parliaments, and the greateſt Lawyer of his Time, ſays, not only *Scroggs*, but his Compurgators behav'd themſelves *very unlike the ſame Men they were. Nor did they fear the Perverſion of Juſtice, but the Miſapplication of Mercy*, &c. *Wakeman* and the Prieſts were by their nefarious Conduct acquitted; but *Wakeman* did not think fit to truſt again to his Innocence; for he fled out of *England* as ſoon as he got his Liberty. I have intimated elſewhere, that I believe People were miſtaken in their Cenſures of the Queen, with reſpect to the Popiſh Plot; but it is very natural to think, that the chief Plotters gave out they were countenanc'd by her, to engage and hearten others in the Plot. The Queen got a Man of great Quality to be ſent over Ambaſſador from *Portugal*, not knowing how much ſhe might ſtand in need of ſuch a Protection. For both *Oates* and *Bedloe* had depos'd at *Wakeman*'s Trial, that they were told, *ſhe was to aſſiſt him to poiſon the King*. The Ambaſſador went the next day, with great State, to thank *Scroggs*, and probably to pay him for his good Offices in that Trial. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* writes of it; *If he meant well by this Compliment, it was very unadviſedly done; for the Chief Juſtice was expos'd to much Cenſure by it.*

Scroggs a wicked Judge.

An Incident or two of great Importance happening now in *Scotland*, we muſt review the Tranſactions in that Kingdom, and in *Ireland*, from the Time where we left off.

Scotland.

The Duke of *Lauderdale* had maſter'd all Oppoſition in *Scotland* ſo entirely, that there ſeem'd no room for the leaſt hope of Relief againſt the Tyranny of a Perſon univerſally hated and abhorr'd. The Field-Meetings encreas'd mightily. Men came to them arm'd, and great Numbers were out-law'd upon it. A Writ was iſſu'd, which was in the obſolete Laws, call'd *Intercommuning*, becauſe it made all who harbour'd ſuch Perſons, or did not ſeize them when they had it in their power, to be involv'd in the ſame Guilt. By this means many apprehending a ſevere Proſecution, left their Houſes, and went about in Bands, which the Privy Council pretended was a State of War.

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And upon an old Statute, which was almoſt quite forgotten, it was maintain'd, that the King had a Power to take any Caſtle, that lay convenient for his Forces, and put a Garriſon in it: Thus twelve Houſes were mark'd out, of which, two were the chief Dwelling-Houſes of two Peers: The reſt were the Houſes of Gentlemen, who had gone into the Party againſt Duke *Lauderdale*. And tho' theſe were Houſes of no ſtrength, and not at all properly ſituated for the ſuppreſſing of Field Meetings; yet they were taken, and Soldiers put in them, whom the Countries about were requir'd to furniſh with all Neceſſaries, which was againſt the expreſs Words of the Law, that had lately ſettled the Militia; and an Act of Tyranny, as enormous as ever was committed by *Lewis* XIV. Great Oppoſition was made to it; yet it was kept up above a Year, till the Houſes were quite ruin'd by the rude Soldiers; who underſtood, that the more Waſte they made, it would be the more acceptable. One *Carſtairs*, a looſe ſort of a Gentleman, propos'd to *Sharp*, Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, to go diſguis'd to the Field Meetings, and carry ſome Perſons with him, to witneſs againſt Preachers, and others whom they ſaw there. Among others, *Carſtairs* happen'd to ſee a noted Miniſter, one Mr. *Kirkton*, who was a very cautious Man, and had been very ſeldom at thoſe Meetings: *Carſtairs* ſeeing him afterwards in *Edinburgh*, pretended he had a Warrant, and would carry him to Gaol, unleſs he would give him Money, which *Kirkton* refuſing, *Carſtairs* offer'd Violence; and the famous Mr. *Baillie*, of *Jerviſwood*, Brother-in-Law to *Kirkton*, deliver'd the latter out of his hands; for which, the Privy Council fin'd Mr. *Baillie* 500 *l.* tho' *Carſtairs* had no Warrant to ſeize *Kirkton*. 'Tis true, he got one afterwards, and it was antedated, but he was aſham'd to ſhew it: Duke *Hamilton*, and Lord *Kincardin* were turn'd out of the Council, for oppoſing this Injuſtice. We have mention'd the cruel Proceedings againſt Mr. *Mitchel* for an Aſſault on *Sharp*, which ſo irritated a diſguſted People againſt him, that he might well be apprehenſive of ſome other ſuch Attempt; eſpecially conſidering, that the Proteſtants in *Scotland* were now labouring under greater Hardſhips than the Proteſtants in *France*.

Acts of Tyranny.

The Field Meetings continuing, and encreaſing, Duke *Lauderdale* threaten'd to extirpate them, and ruin the whole Country if a ſtop was not put to them; tho' the neighbouring Gentlemen repreſented to him, that the *Covenanters* diſpers'd themſelves quietly to their ſeveral Habitations, after Praying and Preaching were over, ſo they ſaid there was no harm done; which not ſatisfying *Lauderdale*, a new Motion was ſet on foot in the Weſtern Parts of *Scotland*: All Landlords were requir'd to enter into Bonds for themſelves, their Wives, Children, Servants, Tenants, and all that liv'd upon their Eſtates; that they ſhould not go to the Field Meetings, nor harbour any vagrant Teachers, or any *intercommun'd* Perſons. This was generally refus'd by them, as a thing they could not perform; they could not be anſwerable for their Servants, much leſs their Tenants; and if any of their Tenants, or Servants, did, tho' out of ſpite, and to do them a miſchief, get into ſuch an Aſſembly, their Bond would be forfeited. Upon which, *Lauderdale* wrote to the King, that the Country *was in a State of Rebellion, and that it was neceſſary to proceed to Hoſtilities.* Accordingly all the Forces then in *Scotland* were ſent into the

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Weſt Country, with ſome Cannon, as if they were going on ſome dangerous Expedition: Letters were written to the Lords in the Highlands, to ſend all the Strength they could, to aſſiſt the King's Army. The Marquis of *Athol*, never backward in any ſuch righteous Cauſe, ſent 2400 Men; the Earl of *Braidalbin*, 1700; and others ſo many, that 8000 *Highlanders* were brought into the Country; and, as my Lord of *Sarum* informs us, *let looſe upon free Quarter. Here was an Army, but no Enemy appear'd.* The Highlanders were very unruly, and ſtole and robb'd every where. The Gentlemen of the Country were requir'd to deliver up their Arms, and to keep no Horſe above four Pounds Price. The Gentlemen look'd on, and would do nothing, which put *Lauderdale* into ſuch a Frenzy, that at the Council-Table He, that old rank Presbyterian Covenanter, made bare his Arms above his Elbow, and ſwore by *Jehovah*, he would make them enter into thoſe Bonds. Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who were vex'd to ſee ſuch Waſte made on their Eſtates, eſpecially in Plowing-Time, went to *Edinburgh*, to try if it was poſſible to mollify him: But a Proclamation was iſſued out, requiring all the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries to go to their Houſes, to be aſſiſtant to the King's Hoſt; and to obey ſuch Orders, as ſhould be ſent them: And by another Proclamation, all Men were forbidden to go out of the Kingdom, without Leave from the Council, who were only Tools to the Monſter that was at the Head of them. Biſhop *Burnet* writes, *Theſe things ſeem'd done to force a* Rebellion, *which they thought would be ſoon quaſh'd*; and give a Colour to keep up a ſtanding Army, which Duke *Lauderdale*'s Party depended on ſo much, that they began to divide in their Hopes the confiſcated Eſtates among them: So that on *Valentine*'s Day, inſtead of drawing *Miſtreſſes*, they drew *Eſtates*; and great Joy appear'd in their Looks, upon a falſe Alarm that was brought them of an Inſurrection; and they were as much dejected, when they knew it was falſe.

Lauderdale's Tyranny.

To force a Rebellion.

Theſe *Ruffians* and *Robbers* are all this while pretending Zeal for Epiſcopacy, and that they will extirpate the *Presbyterians*, if they cannot extirpate *Presbytery*. Can a Sett of Villains without Morals, without Principles ſacred or civil, have any Regard to Religion? The Brutality of the perſecuting Pagans equals not that of *Lauderdale*. The arbitrary Acts of the Governments of *Morocco*, or *Moſcow*, come not up to thoſe in *Scotland* in the Reign of *Charles* the II^d^, and in the Miniſtry of that loath'd Wretch *Lauderdale*, who is uſing all his damnable Arts, to drive the *Scotch* Proteſtants into Rebellion, that he might afterwards murder and plunder them. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "It was happy for the publick "Peace, that the People were univerſally poſ- "ſeſs'd with this Opinion; for when they ſaw a "*Rebellion* was deſir'd, they bore the preſent "Oppreſſion more quietly, than perhaps they "would have done." The next Project of *Lauderdale*'s to force a Rebellion, was the putting in ſuit an old obſolete Writ, call'd *Law Borough*, becauſe us'd chiefly in Boroughs, by which all who were ſerv'd with it, were oblig'd to give Sureties for the good Behaviour, not only of themſelves, but of their Families. Duke *Hamilton*, who had notice that it was deſign'd to ſerve it upon him, took with him about twelve Noblemen, and fifty Gentlemen of Quality, and went to *London* to complain of all this; which, ſays the Biſhop, look'd like *French*, or rather like *Turkiſh* Government. *Lauderdale* being alarm'd at it, diſmiſs'd the *Highlanders*, after they had waſted the Weſt of *Scotland* above two Months; but he was more afraid than he needed have been, for the King took all his arbitrary Acts upon himſelf, by refuſing to ſee Duke *Hamilton*, and the *Scots* Noblemen; and he was ſo delighted with *Lauderdale*'s Management, that tho' he believ'd he was crazy, he would not diſown him. My Lord Biſhop adds, *All People ſaid, that by the Management in* SCOTLAND, *it appear'd what was the Spirit of the Government, and what would be done in* England, *as ſoon as the Deſigns of the Court were brought to a greater Perfection.* He obſerves further, that the Lord Chancellor *Finch* oppos'd the *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemen, when they were allow'd a Hearing before the Council. And *Lauderdale*, in their abſence, on a ſudden ſummon'd a Convention of the Eſtates, among whom, by Corruption, he got a great Majority; who gave Money for maintaining a greater Force, and wrote a Letter to the King, not only juſtifying, but magnifying Duke *Lauderdale*'s Government; *ſo baſe and ſo abject a Thing, that it brought the whole Nation under great Contempt!*

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Upon the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh-Plot* in *England*, the Diſgrace of the Earl of *Danby*, and the Removal of the Duke of *York*, who were *Lauderdale*'s chief Supporters, the *Scots* Lords and Gentlemen renew'd their Complaints againſt him, and were allow'd a Hearing by the King; and it was prov'd, that his giving free Quarter to the Soldiers and *Highlanders* in the Weſt of *Scotland*, was againſt the whole Conſtitution and expreſs Laws of the Kingdom. The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Halliſax*, who were at the hearing, told Biſhop *Burnet*, *That every thing was made out fully*; *and Mr.* May *ſaid*, he asking the King in a familiar way, *What do you think now of your Lauderdale?* His Majeſty anſwer'd, *They have objected many damn'd Things he has done againſt them, but there is nothing objected that is againſt my Service.* My Lord of *Sarum* reflects thus upon it: "Such are the Notions that many "Kings drink in, by which they ſet up an In- "tereſt for themſelves, in oppoſition to the In- "tereſt of the People. And as ſoon as the Peo- "ple obſerve that, which they will do ſooner or "later, they will then naturally mind their own "Intereſt, and ſet it up as much in oppoſition to "the Prince. And in this Conteſt, the People "will grow always too hard for the Prince."

In the mean time, all the Year 1677 and 1678, *Lauderdale*'s Tyranny continu'd to provoke the People to Action, which they carefully avoided; but whenever they held their Field-Meetings, they had always a Party of 30, 40, 50 or 60 young Men, who were Scouts, to obſerve the Enemy, and give notice to the Aſſembly to ſeparate; or, in caſe of ſurprize, to make Reſiſtance while the old Men, Women, and Children got off: And this Bravery of theirs for ſome time gave a Check to the Fury of the Prelates and their Inſtruments, ſuch as *Graham* Laird of *Claverhouſe*, afterwards Viſcount *Dundee*, who died by the Sword at the Battle of *Gillicranky* in King *William*'s Reign, when it was hop'd by all good Men, that he had been reſerv'd for the Halter: his Hands having been ſo often ſtain'd with the Blood of Innocents, that it is ſaid he kill'd above 100 Men in cold Blood, making it his buſineſs to purſue poor Proteſtants with a Crew of Dragoons and Highlanders. Theſe military Executions ſo exaſperated ſome reſolute Men among the *Covenanters*, that they reſolv'd to take vengeance on one of their chief Perſecutors, the Laird of ——— a cruel bloody Man, who a few days before had butcher'd ſeveral of their Brethren in *Fife*. The *Cameronians* had not then thought of the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrew's*, who hap-

The Field-Meeting

Dundee's Cruelty.

A. D. 1679.

happen'd to be paſſing on the Road in his Coach as the five Covenanters were looking after this *Laird:* Whom miſſing, they reſolv'd that *Sharp* the Archbiſhop ſhould not eſcape them. So they rode after him, and coming up to his Coach, quickly ſtopp'd it, diſarm'd his Servants, and gave him notice of their Reſolutions; letting him know his Offences, his Apoſtacy, Perjury, Pride, Cruelty and Injuſtice, and exhorting him to make confeſſion of his Guilt, to repent heartily of the Wickedneſs of his Life, and the innocent Blood he had ſhed, the Time being come that he was to die for the ſame.

Sharp *kill'd.*

It was ſome time before they could convince him they were in earneſt, and he ſeem'd to ſmile at what they ſaid about the Wickedneſs of his Life. His Daughter alſo, who was with him in the Coach, rail'd at them with much foul Language: But they caus'd her to come out of the Coach, and let him know that his Moments were very few; that they would wait for him yet a little while, and admoniſh'd him not to trifle with his Soul, but to call upon God for Mercy. After which, ſeeing them indeed in earneſt, he began to beg for Life. But they ſoon gave him to underſtand, they were not to be put by their Purpoſe, and that there was no Mercy to be ſhewn to him who had ſhewn no Mercy Upon which he began to think of Death; but inſtead of putting up Prayers to God, as his own Heart directed him, he pull'd a little Prayer-Book out of his Pocket, and was about to read over ſome Words to himſelf; at which thoſe *extempore Cameronians* conceiv'd ſuch Indignation, that they were all ready to fire at him. However, they waited yet a little longer, and call'd again upon him to commend his Soul to God's Mercy, for that he ſhould immediately die; and accordingly they immediately fir'd upon him with their Piſtols; and to rid him of Life with as little Torture as might be, they ran him thro' alſo with their Swords, the 3d of *May*. *Echard*'s Account of this Incident, is a String of Falſities. He tells us, the *Cameronians* enquired after the Archbiſhop in a Village, whereas they met him accidentally on a Moor; that there were twelve Horſemen with Piſtols, whereas there were but five; that they wounded the Poſtillion, and ſhot or hamſtring'd the Coach-Horſes; that they call'd him *Dog*, and, which I believe they might, *Apoſtate*, *Betrayer of the Godly*, *Perſecutor of Chriſt's Church:* All which was literally true. *That his Daughter came out of the Coach, and upon her Knees movingly begg'd her Father's Life*; inſtead of which, ſhe treated them with provoking Language, and came not out of the Coach till they caus'd her to do it; *That the Reverence of his Perſon, and his compos'd Carriage ſurpriz'd them.*

I am weary of repeating ſo many Untruths in favour of a Prelate, who, tho' he did not deſerve to die by theſe Hands, deſerv'd to die by the Hands of the *Hangman*, for his barbarous and deceitful dealing with Mr. *Mitchel* before-mention'd; and we may remember a Saying of Biſhop *Burnet*'s on that occaſion, *What* Sharp *did then to preſerve himſelf from ſuch Practices, was probably that which both in the juſt Judgment of God, and the enflam'd Fury of Men, brought him two Years after to ſuch a diſmal End.* Echard introduces this Story with ſetting forth what an Influence the Earl of *Shaftesbury*'s Speech in the Houſe of Lords at *Weſtminſter*, had on the depreſs'd Party in *Scotland*, inſinuating, that the Impreſſion it made on the Minds of the *Scots Presbyterians*, produc'd ſuch a terrible Effect, and he introduces his Account of the enſuing Tumult with a Falſity ſtill more notorious; for he aſſures us, Mr. *Huckſton* of *Rathbillet*, who join'd the *Cameronians* upon *Loudon-Hill* about a Month after, was one of thoſe that ſhot the Archbiſhop. Now *Huckſton* was the only Man among them who endeavour'd to diſſuade thoſe that were looking after the Laird of —— from meddling with *Sharp*; and when he could not prevail with them, he rode off, and would have no hand in it, as our Author informs us, who takes his Account from one of the Perſons concern'd in that Buſineſs. From the ſame Author, I ſhall borrow the Story of the *Bothwell-Brig* War, which *Echard* makes ſo formidable, and offers it as another Effect of the Lord *Shaftesbury*'s Speech; being ſo blind as not to ſee that the Scribler who made that Inſinuation before him, did it to blacken that Lord, who had but too much reaſon to complain in his Speech, *We have a little Siſter*, &c. of the tyrannical Government in *Scotland*, and the Inſolence of the Papiſts in *Ireland*.

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Mem. of Scotl. p. 209.

Ib. 195.

There was a very great Meeting of the perſecuted People in the *Fields* near *Loudon-Hill*, where, by report, many Thouſands met together. Their Intention was to have had the *Communion*, and to have made it a Day both of Humiliation and Rejoicing; a Day of Humiliation for the *Apoſtacy* of their Brethren, and for the Sins of the Land: And a Day of ſolemn Joy, for the Liberty of, and Affection of the People to, the Service and Worſhip of God.

As it was a very great Meeting, ſo the Number of Men was greater that were in Arms for their Defence, than was uſual on other and ordinary Occaſions, there being about 200 Men with Fire-Arms prepar'd for, and reſolv'd to do their Parts with the Enemy, if they came, as was threaten'd, to diſturb them.

Claverhouſe, afterwards *Dundee*, having Information of this Aſſembly, prepared alſo to attack them, boaſting what havock he would make of the *Cameronians* on that occaſion. It ſeems he ſaid *I hear they have ſome Fire-Men among them; but if they offer to make one Shot at my Men, I will ſave the Council and Courts of Juſtice the trouble of proſecuting my Priſoners with the Formality of the Law, for I will immediately hang up every one of them that falls into my hand, tho' I take 500 of them.* It was confidently reported, that ſome of the Soldiers of his own Troops gave private notice of this, and of the Meaſures he had taken for aſſaulting the Meeting For tho', generally ſpeaking, the Soldiers were as barbarous and cruel as their Officers could deſire, yet it was often found they were leſs ſo than their Officers. However it was, the poor perſecuted Proteſtants had receiv'd Information, that *Claverhouſe*, with 300 Dragoons, was reſolv'd to ſurround the Meeting, and put them all to the Sword. This Account came not to them till after they were aſſembled, and their Worſhip was actually begun. Upon which, the Men who had the Guard of the Meeting, far from being ſurpriz'd, conſulted what they ſhould do, whether they ſhould diſperſe for that time, and appoint another Meeting at another Place and Time, or what Courſe they ſhould take.

The Covenanters attack'd.

They had not many Hours to deliberate, much leſs to put in execution what they ſhould reſolve. But, in a word, it was concluded the People ſhould be deſir'd to ſit ſtill, and compoſe themſelves, whatever ſhould happen, leaving the Event to Providence, and the good Pleaſure of God, and that they ſhould ſend for Help to all the neighbouring Places.

Thus we ſee how execrably falſe is the Archdeacon's Relation of this Meeting. He boldly affirms, that upon the arrival of the Lord *Shaftes-*

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bury's Speech, and the Commons Addreſs againſt *Lauderdale*, the Dread of Puniſhment for the *Murther of ſo illuſtrious a Perſon as the Archbiſhop of* St. Andrews *his Grace, a Privy-Counſellor, and in hopes of Aſſiſtance from* England, *they came on the 29th of* May *and proclaim'd the Covenant at* Ragland, *burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament made ſince the* RESTORATION, which ſhould have been burnt indeed by other Hands, *fix'd a Rebellious* Declaration *to the* Market-Croſs, *and attempted the like at* Glaſgow, *but were prevented* by ſome of *the King's Forces.* On *Sunday* the 1ſt of *June, they rendezvous'd upon* Loudon-Hill. Thus does he make them commit ſeveral rebellious Acts before the great Meeting on *Loudon-Hill*; where, in the defence of the natural Liberty, which every Soul has to worſhip God Almighty as his Conſcience directs, they did *rebel*, as far as reſiſting a barbarous Butcher of innocent religious People is Rebellion. The Covenanters had 250 Men well arm'd at their firſt Muſter, and by the Aſſiſtance that came in to them, they made 400. The Aſſembly was great, and the People ſat all on the Ground upon the ſide of a ſteep Hill, the Miniſter preaching to them from a little Tent near the bottom of the Hill. The bloody *Claverhouſe*, with his Dragoons, came on with great Fury, and not expecting Reſiſtance, kept no Scouts before him: When on a ſudden they were challeng'd and bid *ſtand*, by an Out-Guard of the Perſecuted; who, finding them come on, fired at them, and retreated to the main Body. But the Dragoons were a ſecond time ſurpriz'd, when they advanced to that Body, and found it large and advantageouſly poſted. The firſt Line of whom fir'd a Volly of Shot upon them, killing and wounding 16 or 17 Men, with ſome Horſes.

This brought them to halt, and prepare for a Battle: but finding a large Ditch caſt up in the front of the Perſecuted, with a low, old, ruin'd Wall, which ſerv'd them as a Parapet, from whence they fir'd with more ſecurity, the Dragoons ſtood but two or three Fires, and retreated, having loſt about 30 Men. In this Action, Mr. *Cleeland*, a young Gentleman, who, 18 Years after, was Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of *Angus*'s Regiment, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in ſeveral gallant Actions; laid hands on the Bridle of *Claverhouſe*'s Horſe, and had certainly taken him Priſoner, if he had been well ſeconded. The Defeat of the Dragoons, made the Perſecuted terrible to the Council at *Edinburgh*; and had they continu'd to have acted on the Defenſive only, it was thought they would in time have ruin'd all the Troops of their *Perſecutors*: But their puſhing things to extremity, ruin'd them.

The Council at *Edinburgh* ſent the Earl of *Linlithgow* againſt them, with a Force much greater than was neceſſary to diſperſe that Company of raw undiſciplin'd Men. However, *Linlithgow* did not venture to engage them; and ſome impute his Retreat to an Underſtanding he had with *Lauderdale*, who was willing that the *Cameronians* ſhould increaſe in number, not only to have the more Blood and Confiſcations, but that their Deſperation might juſtify the Violences he had committed. *Echard* aſſures us, all *Things were ripe for an Inſurrection.* Which is ſo falſe, that Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, *It appear'd there were no Deſigns form'd for a* Rebellion, *ſince none came into it but thoſe deſperate inter-communed Men, who were hunted from their Houſes.* The Perſecuted publiſh'd a ſort of *Manifeſto*, complaining of the Oppreſſions they lay under, aſſerting the Obligation of the *Covenant*, and demanding a free Parliament. Mr. Archdeacon informs us, that their *Manifeſto* was in a Stile as barbarous as if it had been drawn up by a *Hottentot*; for that it imperiouſly commanded the Magiſtrates *to turn out all the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Curates, with their Bairns, &c.* When the News of this Inſurrection came to *England*, the King was for ſuppreſſing it immediately by Forces from *England*, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Earl of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Halliſax*, and thoſe of the Council who hated *Shaftesbury*, were jealous of *Monmouth*'s Greatneſs, as he was that Lord's Friend: but the Neceſſity of the Affair requiring diſpatch, they were all forc'd to fall in with his Majeſty's Opinion, and ſend away the Duke of *Monmouth* to *Scotland* with ſuch Troops as were ready, but they could not follow him faſt enough to be in that Service; for the *Duke* ſetting out from *London* the 20th of *June*, rode three hundred Miles on that Day and the two next, and on the 23d put himſelf at the Head of the Earl of *Linlithgow*'s and other Forces in *Scotland*, attack'd the *Cameronians* at *Bothwell-Bridge*, while they were irreſolute, and conſulting whether to yield or defend themſelves, and entirely defeated them, killing about 400, and taking 1200 Priſoners. The reſt eſcap'd, and diſpers'd themſelves as well as they could; nor were the Perſecutors at all ſatisfy'd with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Conduct, who refus'd, at their requeſt, to let the poor People be purſu'd and maſſacreed by the Dragoons. If ever Men in the world had Right to Reſiſtance, it was the Right of theſe *Cameronians*, whom the King had given up to the brutal Rage of that deteſted Apoſtate and Tyrant *Lauderdale*: and the Slaughter and Execution of theſe Perſecuted Proteſtants, was as much a Maſſacre as thoſe in *France* and *Ireland*, with regard to the Cruelty and Injuſtice. *Lauderdale*'s Faction complain'd againſt the Duke of *Monmouth* to the Court of *England*, for giving a check to the Dragoons in the intended Butchery.

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Duke of Monmouth ſent againſt the Cameronians.

Routs them at Bothwell-Bridge.

It was believ'd that the King, who found he could not manage His new Council as he had done the old one, and could not bear the Influence the Earl of *Shaftesbury* had upon it, ſent the Duke of *Monmouth* into *Scotland* with a double Proſpect, That he might deſtroy the *Covenanters*, and diſoblige their Friends in *England*, for they could not want Friends in a Free Proteſtant Nation: and that ſtill acting in concert with his Brother, tho' in a pretended Baniſhment, he was reſolv'd to take hold of the Complaints againſt *Monmouth*, to pick a Quarrel with him, and recall his Brother.

The King diſpleas'd with him.

After the Suppreſſion of the Inſurrection in *Scotland*, "The *Perſecutors*, to uſe the Words of my "*Scots* Author, gave themſelves a full ſwing in all "their bloody Meaſures, letting looſe the moſt "cruel and furious Agents of Tyranny, to execute "whatever their private Rage, as well as publick "could dictate to them. Under the pretence of "rooting out *Rebellion*, and of executing Juſtice, "they purſu'd the Innocent as well as the Guilty, "and put to death hundreds of People by all manner of Cruelties, and on the meaneſt Pretences "imaginable, nay, often without any pretences "at all, and that in the moſt barbarons manner." Mem. Ch. Scotl. 199, & *ſeq.*

I muſt continue the *Memoirs* of this Writer a Paragraph or two, for it will prove to us, that this Reign in *Scotland*, and under the execrable *Lauderdale*, was *Nerone Neronior*, more tyrannical than that of *Nero*; and that this Reign in *England*, under the Duke of *York* was not much better, will appear in the Sequel. "If I ſhould "take all verbal Relations that I have met with, "in converſing amongſt thoſe that were Eye-

"Wit-

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" Witneſſes of the Cruelties of that Time, it " would exceed, if we conſider the Smallneſs of " the Country, and Numbers of the People " concern'd; I ſay, it would exceed all that ever " was ſet down in any Hiſtory of all Perſecu- " tions, whether of *Popiſh* or Heathen Tyrants."

" The firſt Year after this Inſurrection, 1680, " was wholly taken up in ſearching after, and " purſuing thoſe who were actually in the Ar- " my, but had by the Miſmanagement, as they " call'd it, of the Duke of *Monmouth*, made " their Eſcape. For, by the way, their Deſire " was, that when the Body that defended *Both-* " *well*-Bridge was defeated, and the reſt began " to diſperſe, they ſhould have been all ſur- " rounded and cut in pieces, or purſu'd, and no " Quarter given them, till not a Man of them " had been left to carry News to *Glaſgow* of their " Defeat. And this having fail'd, they reſolv'd, " if poſſible, to find out every Man that had been " at *Bothwell*, and put them to death, where- " ever they found them, upon the very Spot.

" In order to this, they neither requir'd much " Evidence of the Fact, nor took the pains to " examine the Perſons themſelves. But if any " one told them, ſuch a Man, or ſuch Men had " been at *Bothwell* Bridge, they immediately " ſent Soldiers to their Houſes, who were to ask " them no Queſtions, but ſeize upon them, drag " them juſt out of the Doors, and ſhoot them " dead in a moment. How many poor inno- " cent Men, after proteſting in the moſt ſolemn " manner, *That they had not been any way con-* " *cern'd in the* Bothwell *Affair*, have they ſhot to " Death, with thoſe Proteſtations in their " Mouths; and when they have fallen on their " Knees, and begg'd for a Minute's time to " commend their Souls to God, have deny'd " them, and ſhot them kneeling, as they were " with that Requeſt in their Mouths!"

Theſe Tormentors and Butchers were the Men whom the *Scots* Prelates encourag'd in their ſanguinary Miſſions. Theſe were the Means made uſe of to make the *Perſecuted* renounce the Reform'd Religion, and profeſs themſelves Members of the Apoſtate *Sharp*'s Church. The Heathens look'd on the primitive Chriſtians as impious in denying Adoration to their Deities. The *Scots* Covenanters were of the ſame Religion, with reſpect to Faith and Doctrine, but deny'd Adoration to the Prelates. Good God! what infinite Difference there is between the Caſe of the Heathens and Chriſtians, and that of the Biſhops and Presbyters! Yet did the *Scots* Biſhops patronize the Perſecution of their Countrymen, of the ſame Faith and Doctrine, in a manner more barbarous than the Heathen Perſecutions, purely becauſe they preferr'd the Diſcipline of *Presbyters* to *Theirs*. Where is there now ſuch a Religion in the World, that is not under the Papal Tyranny? Where are ſuch Tyrants and Tormentors to be met, ſince our glorious King *William* the Third, of Bleſſed and Immortal Memory, deliver'd us from them? I could take many Sheets out of my *Scots* Author on the ſame Subject; but I am both weary and aſham'd of it.

When the Duke of *Monmouth* return'd to *London*, he was receiv'd by the People with ſo much Joy, that the King's Jealouſy encreas'd daily; and at laſt he was prevail'd upon by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Halliſax*, to recall his Brother from *Bruſſels*. The Duke of *York* talk'd of *Monmouth*'s Expedition in *Scotland*, as a courting the People there, and their Friends in *England*, by his ſparing thoſe that were left alive. The King himſelf ſaid to his Son, *If I had been there, we would not have had the trouble of Priſoners.* *Monmouth* anſwer'd, *I cannot kill Men in cold Blood, that's work only for Butchers.* Duke *Lauderdale*'s Creatures preſs'd the keeping the Army ſome time in that Country, with a deſign to have them eat it up: But the Duke of *Monmouth* ſent home the Militia, and put the Troops under Diſcipline, ſo that all the Country was ſenſible he had preſerv'd them from Ruin. He mov'd the King to grant an Indemnity for what was paſt, and a Liberty to hold Meetings under the King's Licence; but theſe ſoftening Meaſures fell with him, and Rage and Slaughter reign'd again under the Duke of *York*, to whom, ſome Months after, was given the Government of *Scotland*.

A. D. 1679. *Duke of Monmouth's Saying to the King.*

We left the Earl of *Eſſex* in the Government of *Ireland*, *A. D.* 1676, when *Sheridan*'s new Farmers had got Poſſeſſion of the Revenue there. The Earl had a difficult Game to play. He had, as it is believ'd, made fair Promiſes of being kind to the *Iriſh*, and to ſtand by *Sheridan*'s Farmers. To the firſt he gave good Words, and receiv'd them well at Court; but the Farmers beginning to make great Changes in their Officers, he thought fit to put a ſtop to it, otherwiſe all the Ports in that Kingdom would ſoon have been in the hands of *Papiſts*, which muſt have had very dangerous Conſequences; and the firſt Step he took towards it, was, to put the Lord *Granard* upon moving at the Council-Board, that Enquiry ſhould be made into the Farmers Securities, which *Danby* had paſt in *England* too eaſily. The Earl of *Eſſex* ſeem'd to oppoſe this Motion, and put off that Enquiry, of which he gave the Duke of *York* an Account, tho' he underhand encourag'd Complaints againſt them, which he declin'd hearing for a while; but at laſt, as if over-power'd by their Weight and Number, he ſent the Objections to the Farmers, who were all the Duke of *York*'s Creatures, to the King, and a Commiſſion of Inſpection was iſſu'd. Some time after the *Popiſh Plot* broke out in *England*, upon which *Sheridan*, having ſpoken ſome Words in favour of his Friend *Coleman*, was ſent for to *England*, and examin'd at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, where he had the Impudence to declare himſelf to be deſcended from the *O Sheridans*, ancient Kings of *Ulſter*; whereas his Father was a Biſhop's Turnſpit. He got himſelf out of that Affair by his Impudence and Cunning, neither of which he wanted. But the Earl of *Eſſex* loſt ſo far the Duke's Favour, that he ſoon after loſt his Government. The Earl of *Burlington* was nam'd for his Succeſſor, on condition, He who was rich, would lend the King Money; and *Talbot* was to manage this Affair, by means of the Earl of *Orrery*, who thought himſelf diſobliged by Lord *Eſſex*. The Earl of *Burlington* lik'd the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* very well; but he lik'd not to part with his Money for it. So the Lord *Eſſex* was continu'd a little longer.

Ireland.

Juſt before the breaking out of the *Popiſh* Plot, it was deſign'd, that the *French* King ſhould demand the Performance of the Articles he had made with King *Charles* the Second, in behalf of the *Iriſh*; and the King of *England* was to admit ſome *French* Forces to join thoſe *Iriſh*, which the Earl of *Tyrone* and the Lord *Brittas* were to raiſe, in order to make a Diverſion in *Ireland*, while the Conſpirators were at work in *England*: But the whole of the Intrigue was kept from the King. He knew only ſo much of it as referr'd to the *French* King's demanding the Promiſes made by him, when in Exile, in favour of the *Iriſh*. The Duke undertook to qualify the King, if any Diſcovery was made of the intended Inſurrection of the *Iriſh*. But ſome of

A. D. 1679.

of them divulg'd it, and the King was hardly prevail'd on to believe it. Every one thought the Duke of *Ormond* the moſt proper Perſon for the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, on account of his great Knowledge of the Country and People, and his great Intereſt in both. But this Duke having at laſt obſerv'd, that the King and his Brother were bent on ſubverting the Conſtitution both in Church and State, fell in heartily with thoſe who were for preſerving it, and had therefore been kept out of the Government of *Ireland* by the Duke of *York*'s Intrigues againſt him, which he was now afraid to continue; and it being mov'd in Council, that the Duke of *Ormond* ſhould ſucceed the Earl of *Eſſex*, it was not oppos'd by any one; ſo he went over Lord-Lieutenant once more, and behav'd with great Prudence and Courage. For the Duke of *York* having prevail'd with the King to order the raiſing ſome *Iriſh* Forces, under the notion of Foreign Service, the Duke of *Ormond* would not let them have Arms, and ſo they were exercis'd with Sticks. Upon the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh* Plot in *England*, they were all disbanded, and Orders came from *England* to the Lord-Lieutenant to diſarm the *Papiſts*; but they had ſuch timely notice of it by their Friends at Court, that there were not found 200 Arms in all *Ireland*: The *Iriſh* having a Contrivance to conceal their Arms by thruſting them into Bogs, filling the Barrels of their Guns with Butter, which prevents their taking any harm; and as for the Locks they can eaſily hide them. The Lord *Brittas*, and other Conſpirators, made their Eſcape; but the Earl of *Tyrone* was taken, and committed to the *Gatehouſe* *Sheridan* was ſeiz'd in *London*, and *Talbot*, afterwards *Tyrconnel*, in *Ireland*, where he was impriſon'd in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, together with his Brother the titular Archbiſhop, who died there.

The Earl of *Orrery*, at this time, obtain'd Leave of the King to fortify his Houſe *Caſtle Martyr*; he put a ſmall Gariſon into it, and maintain'd it at his own Charge, being apprehenſive of the like Deſigns in *Ireland* as in *England*; for he gave entire Credit to the *Plot* from the firſt Diſcovery of it, founding his Belief in his Experience of *Popiſh* Treachery and Cruelty. He writ to the Council, time after time, to have the *Militia* ſettled, but could not prevail till *March* 1679, and then thoſe that appear'd were not half arm'd. Some time before this, the Earl had notice, that the Papiſts and their Abettors had ſent the King Information, that the Proteſtant *Diſſenters* in *Ireland* were forming themſelves into a Body, in order to make a Diſturbance, becauſe the Plot was not duly proſecuted, and that the Earl knew of it: But he wrote to the Council in very pertinent Terms, that the Information was falſe and groundleſs, and he challeng'd any one to prove it, repreſenting how ready the *Diſſenters* of all Denominations, were to do as they were directed by the Government, of which thoſe in his Neighbourhood had given him Aſſurance. Upon this the Information was trac'd to the Informer, who, on ſtrict Examination, confeſs'd he was miſtaken; but 'twas ſeen by this, how the *Papiſts* were contriving to turn the Plot off from themſelves, and charge it upon the Diſſenters, as they were contriving to do in *England*; where the Diſcovery of the *Meal-Tub* by *Dangerfield*, prov'd that damnable Deſign beyond all queſtion.

Papiſts *contrive to turn the* Plot *on the* Diſſenters.

He depos'd before Sir *Robert Clayton* the Lord Mayor, *October* 31. *That having been diſcharg'd out of* Newgate, *by means of Mrs.* Cellier, *a Popiſh Midwife, he was ſent for to the Tower, whither he went in diſguiſe, and after much Diſcourſe with my Lord* Powis, *he was carry'd into a Room where my Lord* Arundel *was, who having talk'd to him ſome time, ask'd him, If he would do any thing to make his Fortune*; Dangerfield *ſaid, Yes, I will do any thing.* Well then, *ſaid he*, will you kill the King for a good Reward? *You jeſt, Sir*, ſays *Dangerfield.* Lord *Arundel* ask'd him again; he reply'd, *Any body but the King and his Royal Brother.* No, *ſays my Lord*, I don't mean ſo; *but tell me, will you do it?* The Man anſwer'd, *No*, without taking time to conſider on't. Then ſaid Lord *Powis*, *No, no; come, come, my Lord* Arundel *does only this to try you: and pray, my Lord* Arundel, continues Lord *Powis, what will you give him to do ſo?* 'Tis worth, *ſaid Lord* Arundel, two thouſand Pounds. *No, no*, ſays Lord *Powis, you ſhall do that to my Lord* Shaftesbury, *and ſhall have* 500 *Pounds for your Reward.* This Diſcovery of his is introduc'd, with ſome of *Echard*'s Grimace, and pitiful Raillery on the Diſcoverer's Character; of which kind of Reflections enough has already been ſaid. That clear-headed Writer would have the Actors in theſe deviliſh Plots, to be Men of Integrity and Honour, that their Words might go as far as other Mens Oaths; when, as I have ſaid, it is impoſſible for Villany to be carry'd on and diſcover'd by any but Villains. *Dangerfield*, quoth he, *appear'd to be as great a Cheat as* Bedloe, *tho' he had not the Fortune to draw as much Blood* Could he go ſo far in this Story, without knowing the Reaſon why he drew it not? He was detected before his Plot was ripe, and his Evidence was afterwards brow-beaten and ridicul'd, becauſe the King and his Brother were in the Plot. The Wickedneſs of vilifying *Dangerfield*'s Teſtimony about the *Meal-Tub*, is the more ſhocking becauſe no Plot was ever plainer, none ever better diſcover'd. Yet *Echard* tells us with a wry Mouth, *This dark* Intrigue *came ſeaſonably for the ſupport of the* Credit *of the* Grand Plot. The bare Relation of the *Meal-Tub* Plot is ſufficient to gain the Reader's Credit; and never was anything more diabolical contriv'd in an infernal Divan. I ſhall take it up where I ſet it down, the Offer of 500 Pounds to murder my Lord *Shaftesbury*, which *Dangerfield* promis'd to undertake. I make uſe of *Echard*'s Abridgment of *Dangerfield*'s *Narrative*, printed by order of the Houſe of Commons, to ſhew that, if he was capable of Conviction, the very telling it only would have convinc'd him of the Villany.

A. D. 1679. Dangerfield *employ'd in it.*

" Whereupon they told him of one *Rigaut*, a " *Virginia* Merchant, that would adviſe with him " about it, and ſecure him the Money; and the " next day, waiting on the Lord *Caſtlemain*, he " appear'd much enrag'd, ſaying, *Why were you " ſo unwilling to do what you were taken out of " Priſon for?* Whereupon he made haſte a- " way; but Mrs. *Cellier* excuſed his Lordſhip's " Paſſion at that time. Soon after he went to " meet Sir *Robert Peyton* at *Gadbury*'s the " Aſtrologer, where *Gadbury* appear'd very an- " gry, becauſe he refus'd to kill the King; ad- " ding, *That he had calculated his Nativity, and " found him a fit Perſon for that Enterprize, " and that he might come off with ſafety.* Then " the Counteſs of *Powis* dictated to him *Re- " marks of four Clubs in the Town*, and Names " of ſeveral Perſons to be chief Officers and Com- " manders in an Inſurrection, which was intended " by the Presbyterians.

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Duke of *Buckingham.*
Earl of *Shaftesbury.*
Earl of *Eſſex.*
Earl of *Radnor.*
Earl of *Hallifax.*
Lord *Wharton.*
} The Council.

Duke of *Monmouth.* — General.

Earl of *Macclesfield.*
Lord *Brandon Gerrard.*
Lord *Gray.*
} Lieutenant Generals.

Sir *Thomas Armſtrong.*
Col. *Blood.*
Sir *William Waller.*
} Major Generals.

With more ſuch treaſonable Hints, and many more Names of Managers at Coffee-Houſes and Taverns, in a Paper, of which more preſently.

Danger-field *with the Duke of* York *and the King.*

" *Dangerfield* was introduc'd by the Lord *Peterborough* to the Duke of *York*, and acquainted " him with this *Presbyterian* Plot; the Duke " gave him twenty Guineas with his own Hand, " and brought him to the King, who order'd " him forty Pounds. About the ſame time, in " purſuance of the Lords Inſtructions, he went " twice to murder the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, arm'd " with a Dagger given him by Mrs. *Cellier*, pre- " tending Buſineſs from her and the Lady *Powis*; " but was both times prevented by People's co- " ming in, and his own guilty Fears; for which " the Counteſs call'd him Coward, and Mrs. *Cel-* " *lier* ſaid, *She would go and let the World know,* " *that ſome of her Sex were more brave than* " *Men*;" but ſhe could not meet with a fair Opportunity. Then *Dangerfield* put the treaſonable Letters, which the Lady *Powis* had dictated to him, directed to the chief Proteſtant Lords and Gentlemen, and the Liſt of the pretended Officers Civil and Military above-mention'd into a Bundle, which he deſign'd to drop in ſome proper Place, and then to have them found upon Search, and produc'd as a Proof to confirm the Information he had given the King and Duke, who very greedily ſwallow'd this Plot tho' they would not ſmell to the Popiſh one. Theſe Papers did *Dangerfield* carry to the Lodgings of Coll. *Roderick Manſel* in *Axe-Yard*, *Weſtminſter*; for which purpoſe, he had taken Lodgings in the ſame Houſe; having done this, he informed two Cuſtom-Houſe Officers, that there was *Lace* lodg'd in *Manſel*'s Room, to the Value of 2000 Pounds, and put them upon ſearching for it, himſelf accompanying them. The Officers finding nothing, he bad them remove the Bed, and they would find ſomething, for he had pinn'd the Papers behind *Manſel*'s Bed's Head; and himſelf firſt diſcovering them there, cry'd out, *here is Treaſon*; adding, the Papers muſt be carry'd to the Secretary of State: but the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers knowing their Duty better, carry'd them firſt to their Maſters, the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, which Coll. *Manſel* hearing of, he immediately apply'd to that Board; and thoſe Gentlemen, like Men of Honour, order'd them to be deliver'd to the Colonel, whoſe next Work was to find out *Dangerfield*, who went then by the Name of *Willoughby*, and finding him four Days after at Mrs. *Cellier*'s Houſe, he had him brought before the Council, who having taken a full Examination of this horrid Conſpiracy, made this Warrant for his Commitment. *Theſe are in his Majeſty's Name to require you to take into Cuſtody the Perſon of* Thomas Willoughby *herewith ſent you, for forging of Letters importing High Treaſon, and fixing the ſame privately at Mr.* Manſel's *Chamber, to render him guilty thereof without Cauſe; and you are to keep him ſafe till he ſhall be delivered by due Courſe of Law; for which, this ſhall be your Warrant.*

Council Chamber, Whitehall, *October* 27. 1679.

Worceſter. *Henry Coventry.*
Bridgewater. *Henry Capel.*
Falconbridge. *Henry Powle.*
Francis North. *John Nicholas.*

To the Keeper of *Newgate*, or his *Deputy*.

We are coming now to a new Proof of this Helliſh Contrivance, for Sir *William Waller*, a Juſtice of Peace, and a zealous Proteſtant, ſearching the Houſe of Mrs. *Cellier*, where *Dangerfield* was taken, found a Bundle of Papers, being Copies of the above-mention'd Letters and Liſt, in a Meal-Tub, where her Maid ſwore they were put by her Order. Here are ſeveral *Snips* of Paper for Mr. Archdeacon. Here's a Confirmation of Evidence, as ſtrong as that of Senſe can make it. Yet he calls it a dark *Intrigue*, a *little Accident* to keep up the *Heat and Fervour too againſt the Popiſh Plot*. Here's a Conſpiracy againſt the moſt noble Blood in *England*, carry'd on in concert with the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, yet they muſt not be ſuſpected of Conſpiring. What frontleſs Partiality is this! The *Papiſts* and *Tories*, for they are now tack'd together, had in view the Deſtruction of the whole *Presbyterian* Party in this curſed Contrivance. It was the firſt Plot call'd *Presbyterian*, tho' with their wonted Stupidity, they pick'd up a Parcel of Names, among whom there was not one *Presbyterian*, but the Lord *Wharton*.

Meal-Tub Plot.

The ſame Day that *Dangerfield* was ſent to *Newgate*, Mrs. *Cellier* was ſent thither alſo; and the former being afraid he ſhould be brought to an Acccount for the Guilt of the Libel and Liſt, confeſs'd the whole Intrigue to the Lord Mayor four days after. *Cellier* behav'd herſelf before the King and Council with all the Impudence imaginable. I ſhall not enter into the Detail of her Examination, but only take notice of one Paſſage, which ſeems to ſhew the Aſſurance of this Female Plotter, and the good Humour of the Prince that was preſent when ſhe was examin'd.

Mrs. Cellier's *Impudence.*

Adams was one of the Evidences againſt her.

Adams. *Your bawdy Story I left out of the Depoſitions, I was aſham'd to ſpeak it.*

King. *What can ſhe ſpeak Bawdy too?*

Adams. *Yes indeed ſhe did.*

Lord Chancellor. *Ay, ſhe's fit for any thing.*

Cellier. *My Lord I never ſpoke an immodeſt Word in my Life*; *Mrs.* Adams, *tho' you contrive to take away my Life, do not take away my Honour. What did I ſay?*

King. *What did ſhe ſay, come tell us the Story.*

Adams. *She ſaid—ſhe ſaid—ſhe ſaid, that—— ſhe ſaid—that if ſhe did not loſe her Hands, ſhe could get Money as long as——*

Adams made as if ſhe was aſham'd, and could not ſpeak ſuch Words.

Cell. *I ſaid, if I did not loſe my Hands, I ſhould get Money as long as Men kiſs'd their Wives.*

Adams. *By the Oath I have taken, ſhe ſaid their Miſtreſſes too.*

Cell. *Did I ſo! Pray what elſe do they keep them for.*

Ld Chanc. *That was but witty.*

King. *'Twas but her natural Practice.*

'Tis obſervable, that tho' ſhe was ſeveral times examin'd by the Council, the King being preſent; yet his Majeſty did not in Perſon manage any Part of the Examination, but this relating to the Bawdy.

Upon *Dangerfield*'s Diſcovery, the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was committed to the Tower, from whence he had been bail'd before, as having been charg'd only by *Oates*. Mr. *Rigaut* was ſent to *Newgate*; *Gadbury*, Fellow-Labourer with *Roger L'Eſtrange*, to the *Gatehouſe*; Lady *Powis* to the Tower, for High Treaſon, of which 'tis very evident ſhe was moſt guilty.

Lord Caſtlemain, *Lady* Powis, *and* Gadbury *imprſon'd.*

Some

A. D. 1679.

Some time before this, the King fell ſick at *Windſor*, and his Life began to be in danger, which occaſion'd a general Conſternation. *The People*, ſays *Echard* very prettily, *looking upon any thing that ſhould happen ill to the King*, as the End of the World. The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Hallifax* having mov'd his Majeſty to ſend for the Duke of *York* from *Bruſſels*, he immediately embark'd for *England*, and arriv'd at *Windſor* the ſecond of *September*, to the great Mortification of the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Party, who were farther mortify'd, by that Duke's loſing his Place of Captain General, and the Earl of *Shaftesbury* that of Preſident of the Council. The Duke of *York*, on the King's Recovery return'd to *Bruſſels*; the Duke of *Monmouth* having before been order'd to paſs over to *Holland*. The Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, finding the King's Head and Heart were againſt popular Counſels, and being not willing to ſerve him againſt the Intereſt of their Country, went to him together, and deſir'd him to excuſe their Attendance any more upon him at Council. The King, who was weary of ſuch faithful Counſellors, and wanted ſuch as would promote his arbitrary Meaſures, reply'd, *with all my Heart*. The Earl of *Eſſex* quitted the Treaſury. Mr. *Lawrence Hyde*, and Mr. *Sydney Godolphin*, were ſworn of the Privy Council; *Monk*'s Son, *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*, as great a Soldier as Politician, was made Captain of the Life-Guard; the Earl of *Radnor*, Preſident of the Council; and Sir *Stephen Fox*, one of the Lords of the Treaſury.

King ſick at Windſor.

Duke of York returns.

Duke of Monmouth diſgrac'd.

Changes at Court.

On *Thurſday* the 27th of *November*, the Duke of *Monmouth* return'd to *London*; and tho' it was Mid-night when he arriv'd, yet the Watch having ſpread the News of it, the City was preſently illuminated with Bonfires; and the Bells rang every where to expreſs the Citizens great Joy. The Duke of *York*, with his Dutcheſs, and his Daughter, the Lady *Anne*, went to *Scotland*, where he arriv'd the 4th of *December*; and govern'd that Kingdom in ſuch a manner, as encreas'd the Apprehenſions People had of his Succeſſion. The King would not ſee the Duke of *Monmouth*, becauſe he came home without leave, and requir'd him to go back again; for he was now quite gone over to the Popiſh Party, and had put himſelf into the worſt hands he could think of, his Brother, the Duke of *York*'s, whoſe Emiſſaries had the Government of him, when he was not preſent to govern him himſelf. Some of *Monmouth*'s Friends adviſ'd him to comply, but the Earl of *Shaftesbury*'s Advice prevail'd; and that was to ſtay in *England*, and truſt to the Affections of the People; accordingly he went round many Parts of *England*, pretending it was for Hunting, and Horſe-Matches; many Thouſands coming together in moſt Places to ſee him, particularly in *Somerſetſhire*, where, when he came to Sir *William Portman*'s, near *Taunton*, it was thought he had not many leſs than 20000 Men with him, moſt on horſeback; but this was a ſandy Foundation for him to build upon, eſpecially ſince his Architect, the Lord *Shaftesbury*, conſider'd nothing in the Counſels he gave him, but gratifying his own Ambition and Revenge. He ſet on foot Petitions for a Parliament, in order to the ſecuring the King's Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion; and Multitudes in all Parts of the Nation ſet their Hands to thoſe Petitions, which were preſented to his Majeſty by Perſons of the beſt Quality. The Petition from *London* was ſubſcrib'd by above 20000 Hands. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, accompany'd with eight Gentlemen of Note, and ſeveral eminent Citizens, preſented a Petition from *ſome Thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects in* London, Weſtminſter, *and Parts adjacent, for the Sitting of the Parliament*: In which Petition were theſe Expreſſions; *There is a moſt damnable and helliſh Popiſh Plot, branched forth into the moſt horrid Villanies againſt his Majeſty's moſt ſacred Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the well-eſtabliſh'd Government of this Realm; for which, ſeveral of the principal Conſpirators ſtand impeach'd by Parliament: Therefore in ſuch a time, when his Majeſty's Perſon, as alſo the Proteſtant Religion, and the Government of the Nation are in moſt imminent Danger, we moſt humbly and earneſtly pray, that the Parliament, which is prorogu'd until the 26th Day of* January *may then ſit to try the Offenders, and to redreſs all the moſt important Grievances, no otherwiſe to be redreſſed.* The Roll of Names to this Petition was above 100 Yards in Length. To which the King return'd this Anſwer, *I look upon myſelf to be the Head of the Government, and the only Judge of what is fit to be done in ſuch Caſes; and I will do what I think moſt for the Good of myſelf and my People.* Then turning to Sir *Gilbert*, he ſaid, *I did not expect to find one of your Name, and particularly you, in ſuch a thing, and I am ſorry for it*; which Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* was not, but would have vindicated what he had done, if the King would have ſtaid to have heard him. The *Wiltſhire* Petition was deliver'd by the famous *Thomas Thynne*, Eſq; accompany'd by Sir *Walter St. John*, Grandfather to the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, and Sir *Edward Hungerford*. The King ask'd them, *Whether they had their Directions from the Grand Jury*. But what was a pack'd *Grand Jury*, ſuch as abhorr'd theſe Petitions, to ſuch Men as Mr. *Thynne*, Sir *Walter St. John*, and Sir *Edward Hungerford*? Mr. *Thynne* anſwer'd, *no*: The King preſently reply'd, what indeed I am aſhamed to repeat, conſidering to whom he ſpoke; *Why ſay you then that you come from the County? You come from a Company of looſe People*: Proteſtant Diſſenters, and ſober Churchmen. *What do you take me to be*? I know well enough, but I care not to tell it. *What do you take yourſelves to be, I admire Gentlemen of your Eſtates ſhould animate People to Mutiny and Rebellion.* You ſee, to *petition* the *Stuartine* Princes is to *rebel*. *You would not take it well I ſhould meddle with your Affairs, and I deſire you would not meddle with mine, eſpecially with a Matter, which is ſo eſſential a Part of my Prerogative.* How they do hang upon that Word, and upon all occaſions bring it in by the Head and Shoulders? His Majeſty's Anſwer to Sir *Robert Barrington*, Colonel *Mildmay*, and Mr. *Honeywood*, who preſented the *Eſſex* Petition, is ſtill worſe: *I am extremely ſurpriz'd to ſee you meddle with Matters that ſo immediately concern the Crown and me, and that againſt the Senſe of the beſt and chiefeſt Men of the County; I believe ſome of you, who have ſign'd the Petition may mean well, but they are abus'd by thoſe who do not. I am not willing to call to mind Things paſt, yet I cannot but remember the* Act of Oblivion, *tho' not as ſome do; and thoſe who had ſtood in need of that Act, would do well not to take ſuch Courſes as might need another; I very well remember* FORTY: and ſo, ſays *Echard*, he turn'd away; and indeed he might very well be willing to get out of the Hearing of an Anſwer. To the Gentlemen from the Juſtices of the Peace in *Berkſhire*, he ſaid, *We will agree this Matter over a Cup of Ale, when we meet at* Windſor; *tho' I wonder my Neighbours will meddle with my Buſineſs*: As if the Gentlemen of *England* had nothing to do in the Security of their Religion, Rights, Liberties, and Properties, which he was ſo far from taking care of, that he was an Enemy to their Religion; and

A. D. 1679.

London Petition.

The King gives himſelf up to the Popiſh Party.

Duke of Monmouth's Progreſſes.

Petitions for a Parliament.

A. D. 1679. and as to their temporal Concerns, his ſecret Engagements with the *French* King, ſhew what was his Concern for them. The Petitions from *York*, *Surry*, *&c.* were ſign'd by many Thouſands of Freeholders. The King endeavour'd to put a ſtop to that from *London*, by ſending an Order to the Lord Mayor, *December* the 20th, *not to ſuffer Perſons to go about to get Hands*; but to ſeize them, and bring them before the Council-Board, where they were ſure to meet with good Uſage from Mr. *Lawrence Hyde*, the Marquis of *Worceſter*, and thoſe that kept their Places there, after the Proteſtant Lords were gone. Two days after, the King put forth a *Proclamation* againſt Petitioning, of which, we ſhall hear more hereafter; and another to declare his Intention to prorogue the Parliament, which ſeems to be done to ſpite the Petitioners; and it has been obſerv'd of the *Stuartine* Kings, that when the People have been very earneſt for, or againſt any thing, they always would be as earneſt againſt it, or for it. One cannot by their Actions think they did really know what the Duty of a King was, that a good Prince has in truth no ſeparate Intereſt of his own, and that the Intereſt of the People, is the Intereſt of the King. It is not in common Senſe to ſuppoſe that the well being of eight or ten Millions of Souls in this World, and the next, muſt depend on the Paſſion or Folly of one Perſon: Nor is it common Senſe to imagine, that People when they ſuffer have not a Right to complain, or to petition when they are aggriev'd. But the *Stuartine* Kings always treated their Subjects, as if they took them to be Fools as well as Slaves, tho' they had of all Princes that ever reign'd the leaſt Pretence to do ſo, from the Strength or Extent of their Genius; for I defy the greateſt Bigot to the Race to produce one wiſe ſtep in all their Hiſtory, which was not forced from them, I will not ſay by the Petitions, but by the Clamours of the People. *North*, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, drew up the Proclamation againſt Petitioning, *as contrary to the common and known Law of the Land, and tending to raiſe Rebellion.* A Word theſe Kings and their Miniſters made uſe of to frighten the People, as Nurſes and old Women do of *raw Head* and *bloody Bones* to frighten Children.

The Stuartine *Princes thwart the People.*

1680.

A. D. 1680. WE have already mention'd the Petitions from ſeveral Cities and Counties for the Meeting of the Parliament, and the King's neglecting them; inſomuch, that on the 26th of *January*, the Day to which the Parliament was prorogu'd, he came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Commons, told both Houſes, that the Diſtractions and Jealouſies at home were of ſuch a nature, and ſo heighten'd and improv'd by the Malice and Induſtry of ill Men, that he is unalterably of opinion, that a longer Interval of Parliament will be abſolutely neceſſary; accordingly the Lord Chancellor, by his Command, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 15th of *April*: one of the fine Strokes in Politicks in this Reign. The People were in a general Ferment under the Apprehenſions of Popery. The Parliament's vigorous Reſolutions could only quiet their Minds. They earneſtly petition'd, and impatiently waited for a Seſſion. *A longer Interval of Parliament is abſolutely neceſſary for compoſing and quieting of Men's Minds.*

King prorogues the Parliament.

The Judges were well inſtructed, and the Popiſh Conſpirators might now venture to take their Trials. Sir *Thomas Gaſcoigne*, an old *Yorkſhire* Knight, was arraign'd at the King's-Bench Bar in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, upon an Information of *High Treaſon*, in conſpiring the Death of the King, and the Subverſion of the Government. The chief Evidence againſt him were *Bolron*, who had been Bailiff of his Colepits, and one *Mowbray*, who had belong'd to his Family, who both ſwore home; but Sir *Thomas Hudſon*, Foreman, and the reſt of a *Yorkſhire* Jury, clear'd him, giving more credit to the Priſoner than to the Witneſſes. *A. D.* 1680.

About the ſame time was try'd *William Laud*, of note only for his Name and his Crime, the tearing a Petition for the ſitting of the Parliament, as it was handing about for Subſcription; but the Jury would not find him guilty, nor his two Accomplices *Whitfield* and *Smallbones*: but they convicted *Ben. Harris*, the Publiſher of the *Weekly Domeſtick Intelligence*, for publiſhing the *Appeal from the Country to the City*; and the Court ſentenc'd him to be pillory'd, to pay 500 *l.* Fine, and be impriſon'd a Year. *Francis Smith* and *Langley Curtis* were alſo convicted of publiſhing a Pamphlet for the Country Party, as was *Henry Care* the Author.

However, the Duke of *York* did not think fit to ſtand it out againſt the Clamour of the People, but to abſent himſelf ſome time longer, under colour of the Commiſſion of *Scotland*, which Kingdom is highly recommended by him in a Speech he made to the Privy Council there, *for a brave and loyal Nobility and Gentry, a regular Privy Council, for Judicatures fill'd with upright Judges*; and for ſome other the like Bleſſings under his auſpicious Government, which the *Scots* cannot think of to this day without Terror and Trembling. He left *Edinburgh* in *February*, and there being no Parliament ſitting, he made uſe of the Interval to return to Court, where the King receiv'd him with the greater Tokens of Affection, for that he knew it would mortify the Proteſtants. We have juſt mention'd the Conviction of Bookſellers and others, for certain Pamphlets in Vindication of the Proteſtant Religion, and the People's Rights and Liberties, which began now to be openly attack'd, and to quaſh all Attempts in Defence of thoſe dear Liberties and Rights, and our moſt holy Religon, The Judges were directed to declare, *That the King might prohibit the Printing and Publiſhing of all News-Books and Pamphlets*; and preſently a Proclamation was iſſu'd, to ſuppreſs all Pamphlets and News-Books that had not the Royal Licence. There cannot be a ſurer Mark of an ill Government, than its being afraid of the Preſs: Honeſty fears no Slander, but Guilt ſtarts at a Whiſper.

The Preſs reſtrain'd.

Archdeacon *Echard* tells us, the very Counties that had addreſs'd for the Parliament's ſitting, grew aſham'd of what they had done, and ſent up Addreſſes of Abhorrence of thoſe Petitions. One as blind as himſelf might have ſeen that thoſe Counter-Petitions were extorted from thoſe Counties by Menaces, or that they were wheedled out of them by Fraud: for can any thing be more unnatural, than for a Free People to petition to be Slaves, to deſtroy the Fences of their Liberty, or make way for Tyranny to deſtroy them, which would be the natural Conſequence of the Subverſion of our Parliamentary Conſtitution. The *Grand-Jury* of *Weſtminſter* was very forward with their abhorring Petition, which was preſented by *Withens* the Lawyer, one of their Parliament Men. There came the like Petitions from *Surrey*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and *Norfolk*: Which laſt mention'd County ſent his Majeſty *their humble Thanks for recalling the Duke from* Flanders. His Majeſty knighted *Withens*, and ſeveral other *Abhorrers* were dubb'd, to encourage the Work all over *England*.

Petitions of Abhorrence.

I have ſeen a very particular Account of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Mother's pretended Marriage

A. D. 1680.

riage to the King; 'twas ſaid to be printed at *Cologne*, where the Author would have us believe the Marriage was conſummated; but it is a Heap of Falſities and Inconſiſtencies. The King's Amour with her was ſome Years before he was at *Cologne*, nay, at the very time that his Father was about to be try'd, condemn'd, and executed, the Duke being born at *Rotterdam* a few Months after. But it was now rumour'd, that Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* had Proofs of that Marriage in a *Black Box*, which, upon examination, he ſolemnly deny'd before the King and Council; and it is moſt certain, that Rumour was only rais'd to puzzle the Duke of *York*'s Cauſe ſtill more, and encreaſe the Party of the Duke of *Monmouth*, tho' the Falſhood of it was the occaſion that it had quite contrary Effects. The King made three Declarations one after another, that he was never marry'd to any Woman but Queen *Catherine*; and conſidering how little Credit was given to this falſe Rumour, he ſeems to over-act in this Part to ſhew how unalterably he was attach'd to his Brother's and the Popiſh Intereſt. The Earl of *Shaftesbury* was thought to be at the bottom of this Rumour, tho' it is by no means worthy his great Genius for Politicks.

Rumour of the King's Marriage to the Duke of Monmouth's *Mother.*

The Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs* makes uſe of this Interval of Parliament, to diſcharge the Popiſh Priſoners as faſt as they are brought before him. The Grand-Jury of *Middleſex* brought in the Bill againſt the Counteſs of *Powis Ignoramus*, and ſav'd him the Drudgery of bringing her off. *Richard Tasborough* Eſq; of *Suffolk*, was try'd for conſpiring the Death of the King; and after a *long Hearing to no purpoſe*, ſays *Echard*, he was acquitted. Sir *Henry Tichbourne*, Mr. *Roper*, and *John Caryl* Eſq; were bail'd, becauſe there was no Witneſs againſt them but Dr. *Oates*. And the Counteſs of *Powis*, Sir *Robert Peyton*, and one *Bedingfield* were abſolutely diſcharged of all Attendance; tho' as to the Counteſs, Fact is not capable of better Proof, than that ſhe ſet *Dangerfield* on the Diſcovery of *Manſel*'s Preſbyterian Plot, that the Letters ſhe dictated were treaſonable, and that the Guilt and Puniſhment due to Forgery did of right belong to her. Mrs. *Cellier* was alſo acquitted on account of *Dangerfield*'s being outlaw'd for Felony, and conſequently his Evidence was not good. But *Dangerfield* had a Pardon which render'd him *rectus in Curia*; and as impudent as *Cellier* was, ſhe never had the Impudence to deny the treaſonable Papers found in her Meal-Tub, Copies of thoſe that were found in Col. *Manſel*'s Lodgings. *Echard* is her Advocate againſt *Dangerfield*, that *Great and Infamous Criminal*, ſays he: but what ſays Mr. *Baxter* of that very *Dangerfield*? He confeſs'd all, and was a ſtedfaſt *Convert and Proteſtant*. Is it neceſſarily once a Rogue and always a *Rogue*, as is ſaid of a *Captain*? But ſo much has been urg'd in vindication of ſuch Evidence, and that Villany cannot be otherwiſe evidenc'd than by Villains, that we ſhall ſay no more of it. This is a grateful Period of Time with Mr. Archdeacon. *Others that were to be try'd about the Popiſh-Plot, were ſome bail'd, ſome abſolutely diſcharg'd*; as

Illegal Practices.

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Papiſts clear'd.

Lord *Aſton*.	Sir *John Gage*.
Sir *James Symonds*.	Mr. *Howard*.
Father *Petre*.	Mr. *Heveningham*.
Needham, a Prieſt.	*Langhorn* junr.

Sir *Anthony Dean* and Mr. *Pepys* were diſcharg'd from further Attendance, and the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, on his Trial was acquitted by the Jury; which, to uſe the reverend Hiſtorian's own Phraſe, was *follow'd with great Shouts and Acclamations to the Diſappointment and Mortification of many at that time.*

A. D. 1680.

Bedloe died at *Briſtol* the 20th of *Auguſt*; and the Lord Chief Juſtice *North* being then there in his Circuit, he viſited him before his Death; and with his laſt Words, *Bedloe* atteſted, That the Duke of *York* was engag'd in the Plot; That *Anderton* and *Lodge*, two Jeſuits at *Rome*, own'd to him the King was to be made away with, and that every Word he had ſworn againſt any of the Conſpirators was true, and rather leſs than more than the Truth. *North* took the Depoſition of this dying Man; yet *Echard*, who laid ſo great ſtreſs on the laſt Words of *Green*, *Berry*, *Hill*, and *Staley*, knows not how to ſpeak *ſoftly of the dying Words of one harden'd by ſo many Years Villanies*: and then to juſtify his uncharitable Cenſure, he remembers us of his *changing* and *contradicting* his Evidence. He had certainly no Occaſion, no Temptation to depoſe a Confirmation of all of it before a Judge, juſt as he was going out of the World. He had no Cauſe to credit by it, as the *Papiſts* had by denying the Crimes they were charg'd with. The Papiſts could be abſolv'd. *Bedloe* could have no Abſolution for his lying in the laſt Moment of his Life; yet ſo very tender is Mr. Archdeacon of the Popiſh Intereſt, that he will not ſpeak charitably, or indeed humanely of a Perſon who had born his Teſtimony againſt it.

Bedloe *confirms all at his Death.*

The Juries impannel'd by *Raymond* and *Lewis*, Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, had lately appear'd to be ſo much at the Direction of the Judges, that the Citizens of *London* reſolv'd to reſume their ancient Right; and inſtead of taking a Sheriff, becauſe the Lord-Mayor drank to a Man, to chuſe two ſubſtantial diſcreet Citizens to diſcharge that Office. The Court was alarm'd at this Proceeding, and inſtructed their Creatures to make a vigorous Oppoſition, that they might keep Juries ſtill in dependance upon them. The honeſt Citizens put up *Slingsby Bethel* Eſq; who wrote that excellent Treatiſe of the *Intereſt of Princes*, wherein is more good Policy, than in the Earl of *Clarendon*'s three Folio's, and Alderman *Henry Corniſh*. The Election of theſe two Citizens was oppos'd by the *Perſecuting Party*, who demanded a Poll for Mr. *Box* and Mr. *Nicholſon*: and *Echard* pretends, the honeſt Livery-Men were forc'd to uſe Violence in procuring a Majority, tho' the Numbers for *Bethel* and *Corniſh* were really almoſt double to thoſe for *Box* and *Nicholſon*.

Bethel *and* Corniſh *choſen Sheriffs.*

Corniſh —	2483	*Nicholſon* —	1230
Bethel —	2276	*Box* —	1428

Which Votes were declar'd to ſtand thus at a *Common Hall*, *July* 29th; tho' to animate thoſe who poll'd againſt *Bethel* and *Corniſh*, the King himſelf came into the City, and ſupp'd with Sir *Simon Lewis* the Sheriff; who being check'd by Mr. *Osborn* the Draper for ſome unwarrantable Proceeding, it was immediately call'd a Riot, and the King immediately order'd a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to be iſſu'd out for the trial of the ſaid Riot; ſo haſty was he in purſuing theſe fatal Meaſures, that led directly to the Subverſion of the People's Religion and Liberty.

Duke of York indicted.

The Duke of *York* continuing to ſhew by all his Conduct abroad and at home, that he was the moſt obſtinate and inveterate Enemy of Liberty and Religion, ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Eminence in the Kingdom for Birth, Quality, Fortune and Merit, preſented Reaſons for indicting him to the Grand-Jury of *Middleſex*, *June* 26, 1680. Two of which are as follow:

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" That there have been divers Letters read " in both Houſes of Parliament, and at the *Se-* " *cret Committees* of both Houſes, from ſeveral " Cardinals, and others of *Rome*; and alſo from " other *Popiſh* Biſhops and Agents of the *Pope* " in other foreign Parts, which do apparently " ſhew the great Correſpondencies between the " Duke of *York* and the *Pope*. And how the " *Pope* could not chooſe but weep for joy at the " reading ſome of the Duke's Letters, and what " great Satisfaction it was to the *Pope* to hear " the Duke was advanc'd to the *Catholick Reli-* " *gion*. That the Pope has granted *Breves* to " the Duke, ſent him Beads, ample Indulgen- " ces, with much more to this purpoſe. That " the whole Houſe of Commons have declar'd " him to be a *Papiſt* in their Votes, *Sunday*, " *April* 6, 1679."

Reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That *the Duke of* York *being a* Papiſt, *and the hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, has given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent Conſpiracy, and Deſigns of the* Papiſts *againſt the King and the Proteſtant Religion*. What this *Conſpiracy* and *Deſign* is, will appear by a *Declaration* made by both Houſes of Parliament, *March* 25, 1679.

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente, *by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, That they do declare that they are fully ſatisfy'd by the Proofs they have heard, that there now is, and for divers Years laſt paſt, hath been a horrid and treaſonable Plot and Conſpiracy contriv'd and carry'd on, by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion for the murthering of his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, and for ſubverting the Proteſtant Religion, and the ancient well eſtabliſh'd Government of this Realm.*

Theſe and other Reaſons for the Indictment of the Duke of *York*, were ſign'd by

Huntington.
Shaftesbury.
Grey of *Werk.*
Lord *Ruſſel.*
Lord *Cavendiſh.*
Lord *Brandon.*
Sir *Edw. Hungerford.*
Sir *Hen. Calverly* K^t. of the *Bath.*
Thomas Thynne Eſq;
William Forreſter Eſq;
John Trenchard Eſq;
Thomas Wharton Eſq;
Sir *William Cowper* Bar^t.
Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* Bar^t.
Sir *Scroop How.*

The *Jury* was ſent for up to the Court of *Bing's-Bench*, whilſt they were on this Indictment, and diſmiſs'd; ſo that nothing further was done upon it, excepting that the *Jury* receiv'd the *Preſentment*; and by diſmiſſing them, a very great Number of Indictments were diſcharg'd: *A Thing ſcarcely to be parallel'd*, ſays my Author; *and of very ill Conſequence, not only to many private Perſons, but chiefly to the Publick*. The Duke was gone again to *Scotland* to be out of the Parliament's way, tho' he ſate in the Houſe of Lords when the Parliament was prorogu'd from the 15th of *April* to the 17th of *May*, and from thence, by ſeveral Prorogations, to the 21ſt of *October*. This Preſentment was a terrible Mortification to him, and he and his Party muſt then have ſunk, had not the King his Brother been as much of his Religion as of his Blood, with reſpect to Faith and Principle, tho' not to Bigotry and Zeal. As ſoon as the Duke was departed for *Scotland*, the Party for the Excluſion Bill began to work all their Engines for accompliſhing it. The Chief of this Party were the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, who was to manage with the King and the Earl of *Sunderland*. Mr. *Godolphin*, Lord *Halliſax*, and others, were for Limitations; and with theſe the King join'd ſo heartily, that he would have agreed to any Limitations that ſhould leave the Title of King to the Duke, tho' it ſhould be little more than a mere Title: But he was poſitive and fix'd againſt the *Excluſion*. The Duke was obſtinate againſt all Limitations; and that was acting a ſincere Part, and letting the World ſee he was reſolv'd to be limited by nothing but his Will and Pleaſure. Mr. *Hyde*, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, lately made Secretary of State in the room of Mr. *Coventry*, were at the head of thoſe that oppos'd the Bill of Excluſion in the Houſe of Commons. But what are thoſe Names to the following, who ſtrenuouſly promoted it by their ſtrong Arguments and ſtrong Intereſt?

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Members for the Excluſion.

Lord *Ruſſel.*
Lord *Cavendiſh.*
Sir *Henry Capel.*
Mr. *Powle.*
Sir *William Jones.*
Sir *Gilbert Gerrard.*
Sir *Thomas Lee.*
Sir *William Ellis.*
Sir *Richard Onſlow.*
Sir *Edward Harley.*
Sir *Scrope How.*
Sir *Sam. Barnardiſton.*
Sir *Henry Calverley.*
Sir *John Pelham.*
Will. Sacheverell Eſq;
Thomas Bennet Eſq;
Serjeant *Maynard.*
Thomas Wharton Eſq;
Henry Booth Eſq;
Charles Harbord Eſq;
Henry Mildmay Eſq;
Sydney Godolphin Eſq;
Paul Foley Eſq;
John Trenchard Eſq;
Ralph Montagu Eſq;
George Treby Eſq;
Thomas Thynne Eſq;
Edward Ruſſel Eſq;
Hugh Boſcawen Eſq;
Col. *Birch.*
Col. *Titus.*
Richard Hampden Eſq;
William Forreſter Eſq;
Sir *Francis Winnington.*

And a great Majority of the Members and Patriots, who were all for the *Excluſion Bill.*

Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, the Stickler againſt this Bill, makes a ſorry Figure in Sir *William Temple's* Memoirs: and Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, he was a *dull Man*, as is plain enough by his Speeches in *Echard* againſt the Excluſion; but he does not eſcape the Archdeacon's Panegyricks on account of his Zeal for a *Popiſh* Succeſſor.

P. 481. *Sir* Lionel Jenkins a *dull Man.*

About this time the Prince of *Orange* projected an Alliance againſt *France*, and moſt of the *German* Princes were diſpos'd to come into it. For the *French* had ſet up a new Court at *Metz*, in which many Princes were, under pretence of Dependencies, and ſome old forgot or forg'd Titles, adjudg'd to loſe their Territories, as belonging to the *French* Conqueſts. This, as my Lord of *Sarum* phraſes it, *was a mean as well as perfidious Practice*, in which the Court of *France* rais'd much more Jealouſy and Hatred againſt themſelves, than could be ever ballanc'd by ſuch ſmall Acceſſions as were adjudg'd by that Mock-Court. Had King *Charles* fallen in with this Diſpoſition of the *German* Princes, ſuch a Confederacy might have been form'd, as would have given a Check to the exorbitant Power of *France*. But he was deep in another dark Confederacy, to maſter his Parliaments by the help of *French* Money and *French* Forces, upon occaſion, which made him deaf to all Propoſals that were not conſiſtent with his Engagements with *Lewis* the XIVth, who, according to *Acherley*, " grew up " to a View of Univerſal Monarchy, to a Puiſ- " ſance able to reduce even *England* as well as " the Empire, *Holland*, &c. under an abſolute " Subjection, which could not afterwards be a- " voided, but by their uniting againſt that Po- " tentate in two long and bloody Wars; the one in " the Reign of King *William* III. and the other " in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, in which their " Liberty was put in doubt, their Wealth ex- " hauſted, and thoſe Nations involv'd in Debts " almoſt inſuperable." Theſe are the Bleſſings the two laſt *Stuartine* Kings entail'd on theſe Nations: Theſe the Legacy they left us. All which

The French King's mean and perfidious Practice.

P. 601.

A League againſt him projected.

A. D. 1680. which would have been prevented, and the *Engliſh* Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*, as well as the Proteſtant Religion, have been ſecur'd, by the Bill of Excluſion.

The Earl of *Sunderland* enter'd into a particular Confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, which he manag'd by his Uncle Mr. *Sydney*, afterwards Earl of *Rumney*, who was ſent Envoy to *Holland*. The Prince, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, was confident, that if *England* would have come heartily into a Confederacy againſt *France*, a ſtrong one might be form'd; but *Van Beuning*, who was then in *England*, wrote to the Town of *Amſterdam*, that they could not depend on the Faith or Aſſiſtance of *England*, for the Court was ſtill in the *French* Intereſt. He thought the Jealouſy between the Court and the Country Party then ſo high, that he did not believe it poſſible to heal Matters, ſo as to encourage the King to enter into any Alliance which might draw on a War. For the King ſeem'd to ſet that up for a Maxim, that his going into a War, was the putting himſelf into the hands of his Parliament, and was firmly reſolv'd againſt it, tho' not for *Van Beuning*'s Reaſon, ſo much as in conſideration of his *Secret League* with that very Prince, who, at the ſame time, had in conception already ſubjected the *Britiſh* Empire. No body can think that, when he had reduc'd the *Spaniſh Netherlands* and *Holland*, he would have confin'd his Conqueſts to the Continent; and Lord *Holles*, who was Ambaſſador in *France*, thinks he intimated his intended Invaſion of *England*, when he ſaid once, *I will bring my Men to a Place, where there are neither Gates nor Bars*: And that Lord *Holles* did really believe he meant *England*, appears by this Expreſſion in his Letter to the before mention'd *Van Beuning*; *The wiſeſt and greateſt Men are not always ſo guarded, but that in their Gayeties their future Intentions drop out of their Mouths*; *and wicked Men do not only expreſs their Natures in their wicked Sayings, by which Men may take Warning of them*; *but they live after their Deaths in thoſe Sayings*, as King *Charles* the Second does in this; *God would not damn him for taking a little pleaſure out of the way*, which we have elſewhere mention'd after Biſhop *Burnet*. Lord *Holles*, in the ſame Letter, gives us a juſt Character of the Government of *England*, ſince it fell into the hands of the *Stuarts*. *In former Times we had two grand Maxims in our Government*; *one was, That we ſhould always keep the Balance of* Chriſtendom *equal and ſteady*, England *only having the natural Advantage to do that*; *and this grew up with us from the* Norman *Conqueſt, for above* 600 *Years ſince. The other was, That we ſhould always make ourſelves the Head and Protection of the* Proteſtant Intereſt, *a Maxim that we took from the Reformation, and which we ſhew'd the World in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time. How we have kept to theſe two Maxims, our entring into a League to ſubvert and deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion, and to break the Bonds, and remove the Land-Marks of States and Kingdoms, will ſufficiently declare unto you.* Such was the Circumſtances of the *Engliſh*, with reſpect to Foreign Affairs; and they are not more ſecure and honourable, with reſpect to Domeſtick; in which the rigid Clergy behav'd very indecently and unwarrantably, as that great Lawyer Sir *John Hawles* intimates; *Many of the* Clergy *of the Church of* England *had been prevail'd with, to cry up the* Popiſh *as a* Fanatick Plot. *The* Papiſts *and the* Church *of* England *being, in the late Times, equally Sufferers, and oppreſs'd by the* Fanaticks, *they naturally grew to have a kindneſs for each other, and both join'd in hating the* Fanaticks; *and therefore pretended, at leaſt, that they did not believe any thing of the Popiſh Plot, but that that Report was given out by the* Fanaticks, *while they themſelves were deſigning ſomething againſt the Church of* England. So far the Eccleſiaſtical Writer of the *Compleat Hiſtory* goes; but he ſinks what follows in Sir *John Hawles*'s Remarks on *Fitzharris*'s Trial. *The* Papiſts *having ſo great a part of the* Clergy *of the Church of* England *ready to believe any thing of a* Fanatick *Plot which they ſhould forge*; *and obſerving, that that which gave Credit to the* Popiſh *Plot, was Writings*, (*not a* Snip *of Paper*, ſays another Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian) *concurring with* oral *Teſtimony, which it did*; mind how *Echard* and all of them endeavour to ridicule and baffle the Evidence: *For very little of the Truth of the* Popiſh Plot *depended on the Credit of* Oates, Bedloe, *or any other Perſon.* Mr. Archdeacon affirms, it all depended upon it, *moſt of the Facts of that Deſign, when diſcover'd, proving themſelves. To inſtance in one*, Oates *diſcover'd* Coleman *had Intelligence with* Le Chaiſe, *of a Deſign on* England, *and that* Coleman *had Papers teſtifying as much*; *when thoſe Papers were ſeiz'd, and own'd by* Coleman, *and the purport of them was what* Oates *ſaid they were, it was not material whether* Oates *was a Man of Truth or not, the Papers without* Oates's *Evidence ſufficiently prov'd the Deſign.* The Heads of the two reverend Hiſtorians were not clear enough to admit ſuch ſolid Reaſoning. Inſtead of this, one of them, an Archdeacon, writes with amazing Confidence, *The Minds of the* Parliament *were fill'd and heated with the Fears and Apprehenſions of* Popery, Plots *and* Conſpiracies. *And now all ſorts of Plot-Diſcoverers apply'd themſelves with their Narratives and Relations, and never fail'd of proportionalle Encouragement.* Dangerfield *began with giving in his Information*, which he treats as ludicrouſly, as if there had been much Mirth in a horrid Deſign againſt the Lives of the greateſt and worthieſt Men in the Kingdom. Sir *John Hawles* ſpeaks of it thus, "*Dangerfield* was made uſe of to leave "Papers in Col. *Manſel*'s Lodgings, he being an "Acquaintance of my Lord *Shaftesbury*'s, im- "porting a Plot; but that was ſo fooliſhly car- "ried on, and the then Attorney General, who "had the Examination of that Matter, not be- "ing qualify'd with the Aſſurance his Succeſſor "had, to carry on a Thing that had neither "Senſe nor Honeſty in it, made ſuch a ſcurvy "Report of the Matter to the King and Coun- "cil, that they were forc'd to vote *Manſel* in- "nocent." However, Mr. Archdeacon is in a very good humour, that Mrs. *Cellier*, an Accomplice with *Dangerfield* in that helliſh Contrivance, was clear'd, which ſo ſpirited that Bawd, that ſhe publiſh'd a *Narrative* in oppoſition to *Dangerfield*'s, call'd, *Malice Defeated*; wherein ſhe ſcandalouſly reflected on ſeveral Perſons of Eminence and Worth, and did not ſpare ſome in Power; and being try'd for publiſhing this Libel, Juſtice overtook her, and ſhe was condemn'd to ſtand thrice in the Pillory, to pay 1000 Pounds Fine, and to be impriſon'd till all was perform'd, which, as to the Pillory part, was to the endangering her Life, the Populace pelting her without Mercy; and tho' ſhe richly deſerv'd a *Gibbet*, yet the Mob were not to be her Executioners. I leave Sir *William Temple*'s Account of the Lord *Eſſex*'s Impatience to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* again; and Lord *Shaftesbury*'s ſaying to him, *My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble yourſelf, we will make*

A. D. 1680. Sir John Hawles's *Account of the Clergy's Behaviour as to the Plot.*

P. 479.

French *King deſign'd to invade* England.

Baldwin's *State-Tracts.* p. 458.

Two Grand Maxims of Engliſh *Government,*

deſtroy'd by Charles II.

Mrs. Cellier *pilloryd.*

A. D. 1680.

make you Lieutenant, &c. in the place where *Echard* found them, being apprehenſive that we have not the whole Truth.

On the 20th of *October*, the Duke and Dutcheſs of *York* began their Journey to *Scotland* by Sea; the King accompanying them as low as *Woolwich*, and giving him, no doubt, all Aſſurances, that he would never conſent to alter the Succeſſion. Next day the Parliament met, after ſeveral Prorogations, when the King made a Speech to both Houſes, wherein, after the Benefits, which *Chriſtendom* as well as *England* may reap by the Alliances the King had made, he thought fit to renew all Aſſurance that can be deſir'd for Security of the Proteſtant Religion, which he is reſolv'd to maintain againſt the Conſpiracies of our Enemies. We all know the Prince who ſaid it, to be a Papiſt, and with what Conſcience could he ſay it? *Coke* is a little coarſe in his Expreſſion, but he's honeſt, and therefore I ſometimes make uſe of him; "Can any Man, "who reads the Tranſactions between the Pro- "rogation of the laſt Parliament, and the Meet- "ing of this, force a Belief of this?" *And concur with any new Remedies which ſhall be propos'd, which may conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal Courſe*; "that is, Let the Wolf be Shepherd, and let "the Sheep make what Laws they pleaſe." Then the King recommends to them a ſtrict Inquiry into the *Popiſh* Plot, and that the Lords in the Tower be brought to a ſpeedy Trial, without which, he did not think himſelf or the Parliament ſafe. *Coke* upon this. "The conſtant "Vogue was, That the King diſſolv'd the two "laſt Parliaments, to preſerve the Lords in the "Tower from being brought to a Trial; and I "am ſure that you will ſoon hear that the King "did not believe his and the Nation's Safety did "conſiſt in the Trial of the Lords in the Tower." He told the Parliament, what danger *Tangier* was in, and what vaſt Expence he muſt be at to keep it. "And that the Commons, laſt Parlia- "ment, drew up an Act, to ſettle it upon the "Imperial Crown of *England*; and that they "who did adviſe the King to part with *Tangier* "to any Foreign Prince or State, or were in- "ſtrumental therein, ought to be accounted "Enemies to the King and Kingdom." *Coke* again, "What care the King took to keep it, "will ſoon appear, tho' 'twas ſaid the Parlia- "ment (I think it was out of the Chimney-Mo- "ney) gave him 40000 Pounds *per Ann.* to- "wards the Preſervation of it, to the Crown of "*England*." The King goes on, and ſays, *That above all the Treaſure in the World, which he was ſure would give him greater Strength, both at home and abroad, than any Treaſure can do, is a perfect* Union *among ourſelves. Yet*, ſays *Coke*, "he does not ſay wherein we ſhould unite. "Truth and Unity are one, and conſiſt in "entire Parts; but Falſhood and Diſcord are "infinite. What Truth or Unity could be in "the King's looſe and irregular Actions, ſo con- "founding, and every day varying from what "he had promis'd before? Or how is it poſſible "for the Nation to unite under Terms which "are inconſiſtible and impoſſible; *viz.* Unite "to preſerve the Conſtitutions of the King- "dom, and yet be at no Diſcord with the King, "who, they were morally certain, would make "it his Buſineſs to ſubvert them?" Here's enough of it, conſidering the Speech was ſo ill grounded, and the Art ſo little hid, that the Commons would not deign to debate one Paragraph. Nay, the Lord Chancellor was at ſo great a loſs how to give it any Flouriſhes, that he choſe rather to ſay nothing, but as his Majeſty commanded, directed them to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker, and they unanimouſly choſe *William Williams*, Eſq; of *Gray's-Inn*, Recorder of *Cheſter*; who being approv'd of by his Majeſty, the Houſe agreed upon an Addreſs, *wherein they expreſs'd their Reſolution to purſue, with a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry, the execrable* Popiſh-Plot; and fix Days after they proceeded to Votes about the before-mention'd *Petitions*.

King's Speech to the Parliament.

P. 251.

King Cha. *deſigns to ſubvert the Conſtitution, p.* 254.

A. D. 1680.

Wi. Williams *choſen Speaker.*

The Right of Petitioning *aſſerted.*

"Reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, That it "is, and ever hath been the undoubted Right "of the Subjects of *England*, to petition the "King for the Calling and Sitting of Parlia- "ments, and redreſſing Grievances. *Reſolved*, "That to traduce ſuch Petitioning as a Viola- "tion of Duty, and to repreſent it to his Ma- "jeſty as tumultuary and ſeditious, is to *betray* "the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes "to the Deſign of ſubverting the ancient legal "Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and introdu- "cing arbitrary Power." They order'd a Committee the next day to inquire of all ſuch Perſons, as have offended againſt theſe Rights of the Subject.

Sir Francis Wythens *expell'd.*

And the next Day, *October* 28th, Sir *Francis Wythens*, Head Steward of *Weſtminſter*, and Citizen in Parliament for that City, being found guilty in particular, they voted him a *Betrayer of the undoubted Rights of the Subjects of* England, and order'd him to be expell'd the Houſe, having firſt receiv'd their Cenſure upon his Knees at the Bar, which he ſuffer'd with great Dejection, both of Look and Mind. The infamous *Jefferies* was next queſtion'd; he was Recorder of *London*, and the City petition'd the Houſe againſt him. A Committee being order'd, they paſs'd this Vote the 15th of *November*: *Reſolved*, "That this Committee is of opinion, that "by the Evidence given to this Committee, it "does appear, that Sir *George Jefferies*, Recor- "der of the City of *London*, by traducing and "obſtructing Petitioning for the Sitting of the "Parliament, hath betray'd the Rights of the "Subject;" to which the Houſe agreed, and 'twas order'd, *That an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to remove him out of all publick Offices.* They further order'd, that the Committee ſhould enquire into all ſuch Perſons as had been adviſing or promoting of the late Proclamation, ſtil'd, *A Proclamation againſt tumultuous Petitioning.* The *Grand Juries* of the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Devon* having expreſs'd their *Abhorrence* of ſuch Petitioning, the Houſe, on the 19th of *November*, order'd, that the two Foremen of the ſaid Juries, *William Coleman* Eſq; and *Henry Walrond* Eſq; ſhould be ſent for in cuſtody of the Sergeant at Arms; as were alſo Sir *Giles Philips*, Capt. *William Caſtle*, *William Stawel* Eſq; Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, Mr. *Thomas Staples*, and Sir *Thomas Holt*, Sergeant at Law. The next day they voted *Thomas Herbert* Eſq; of *Monmouthſhire*, to be ſent for in cuſtody for proſecuting *John Arnold* Eſq; Knight of that Shire at the Council-Table, for promoting *Petitioning*, and procuring Subſcriptions. *Echard* highly reſents theſe vigorous Proceedings, and eſpecially the keeping an *Iriſh* Man five Weeks in Priſon upon bare Suſpicion. This *Iriſh* Man is *Thomas Sheridan* before mention'd, whom he calls a *Gentleman of a good Family*; that the Injuſtice of the Parliament might be the more crying in this Gentleman's Caſe, who, in truth, was a notorious Villain, the Son of a Biſhop's *Turnſpit*, who had been bred up by Charity, and becoming a Deacon, was ſo zealous a Proteſtant, that *Oliver*, when he was in *Ireland*, order'd a Maintenance for himſelf and his three Sons, of whom

An Addreſs againſt the infamous Jefferies.

Abhorrers taken into Cuſtody.

A. D. 1680.

whom one was this ſame *Sheridan*, whoſe Siſters were ſeen by my Author in *Brogues* and *Kirchiefs*, and the Family was of the *Scologues*, a ragged Crew of wild *Iriſh*. But this Man being an Agent for the Papiſts, and even for the very worſt ſort of Papiſts, is ſo civilly treated by Mr. Archdeacon, tho' the beſt Name his Countryman *Tyrconnel* could give him, was, *Traytor*, *Cheat*, *Rogue*. If one was to compliment ſuch a vile Fellow as this, methinks one ſhould be very careful not to ſay a falſe thing in his favour. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further of theſe Parliamentary Proſecutions in the Sequel, and muſt now give a ſhort Account of the grand Debate about the Bill of Excluſion. The noble Patriot *William* Lord *Ruſſel* open'd it *October* the 26th, ſaying, *It is my opinion, that the Life of the King, the Safety of the Nation, and the* Proteſtant Religion, *are in great danger from* Popery; *and that either the Parliament muſt ſuppreſs the Growth and Power thereof, or elſe* Popery *will ſoon deſtroy not only Parliaments, but all that is near and dear to Us. Wherefore I humbly move, that we may in the firſt place take into Conſideration how to ſuppreſs* Popery, *and prevent a* Popiſh *Succeſſor*. His Lordſhip's Motion was ſeconded by the wiſe and honourable Sir *Henry Capel*, afterwards Lord *Capel*, who related, in a long Speech, *How the* Popiſh *Party made it their Endeavours, by their diabolical Counſels, to weaken the* Proteſtant *Intereſt, in order to a general Deſtruction* of it, *by engaging us in a War againſt* Holland; *as alſo dividing our Fleet under Prince* Rupert *and General* Monk, *with a deſign to deſtroy them,* as well as our Navy at *Chatham*. *How when the City of* London *was burnt in 1666, thoſe who were taken in carrying on that wicked Act, were diſcharged without Trial.* Pray call to mind what the Archdeacon ſaid directly contrary to this, *that he had weigh'd all Circumſtances*, and found that no mortal Man had any hand in it, but that it was the *Judgment of Heaven*. Sir *Henry Capel*'s Speech is as good as it is long; but what follows is entirely omitted by the reverend Hiſtorian, and his Partiality in it is ſhameleſs. Sir *Henry*, ſpeaking of the *Faction* that *obtain'd the* Oxford *Act, and ſome others againſt the* Diſſenters, adds, *Great Endeavours were us'd to have them executed ſeverely, in expectation that the* Diſſenters *would ſo be made weary of living quietly under them, and in the end be glad of a* Toleration; *but the* Diſſenters *deceiv'd them, and ſubmitted to the Laws, inſomuch, that in the Year 1670, till 1671, there was hardly a Conventicle to be heard of in* England. *Echard* poſitively aſſerts, *they had now their open Meetings more full and frequent*. Sir *H. C.* again, *And might never have been more, if that Party had not been afraid of a great Diſappointment thereby; wherefore, to revive our* Diviſions, *and to bring in, as they hop'd, their own Religion, they employ'd all their Force again to get a Toleration. I ſay, they did it, becauſe it cannot be imagin'd it could be from any* Proteſtant Intereſt, *both Church-men and Diſſenters* publickly *declaring their Deteſtation of it*. I do not mention his and other Members Reaſons for the Excluſion, becauſe there was not one Reaſon againſt it; and that it is now the greateſt Nonſenſe in the World to argue againſt *excluding* a Prince, whom we *abdicated* eight Years after: For if the abdicating him, when he had been ſeveral Years in poſſeſſion of the Throne, was rightful and lawful, it was much more ſo to exclude him, before he poſſeſs'd it, he having ſhewn his Diſpoſition to do what he did, as evidently as if he had already done it; and 'twas apparent that he had enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt the Religion, Rights and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation, long before the Parliament talk'd of an Excluſion, which being High Treaſon by our Laws, would have had worſe Effects had he been brought to a Trial while he was a Subject. What was his employing *Coleman* to correſpond with *La Chaiſe* about a Project for deſtroying the *Peſtilent Hereſy*? What his own Letter to *La Chaiſe* for Supplies from *France*? What his Endeavours to ſtifle the Popiſh Plot? What his Tampering with *Dangerfield* about a ſham *Presbyterian* Plot, and a great variety of other ſuch Offences, not ſo much as mention'd in the Arguments for excluding him? I ſhall only name the Gentlemen who ſpoke heartily and reaſonably for the Excluſion, as,

A. D. 1680.

State-Tracts, Vol. III. *p.* 648.

Lord Ruſſel's *Speech for the Excluſion.*

Sir Henry Capel's *Speech.*

P. 859.

Speakers for and againſt the Excluſion Bill.

Lord *Ruſſel.*	Sir *Thomas Player.*
Sir *Henry Capel.*	Sir *William Jones.*
Mr. *Harbord.*	Mr. *Boſcawen.*
Col. *Titus.*	Mr. *Trenchard.*
Mr. *Thomas Bennet.*	Mr. *Montagu.*
Sir *Francis Winnington.*	Col. *Sidney.*

Againſt the Bill.

Sir *Lionel Jenkins.*	Mr. *Daniel Finch.*
Mr. *Laurence Hyde.*	Mr. *Garraway.*
Mr. *Edward Seymour.*	Sir *Richard Graham.*

The Strength and Weakneſs of this Cauſe cannot be put into a better Light, than by ſhewing the Advocates for and againſt it in the Contraſt.

Pro	*Con*
Sir *William Jones.*	Mr. *Edward Seymour.*
Mr. *Trenchard.*	Sir *Lionel Jenkins.*
Mr. *Montagu.*	Mr. *Hyde.*
Sir *Henry Capel.*	Mr. *Finch.*
Mr. *Harbord.*	Mr. *Garraway.*
Sir *Francis Winnington.*	Sir *Richard Graham.*

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays of *Jenkins, He neither ſpoke nor writ well, and all his Arguments were heard with Indignation*. They may be read in *Echard*'s Hiſtory, in which ſuch ſort of Speeches are carefully preſerv'd; and it was mov'd in ſome of them, that the Duke of *York*'s Daughters might be nam'd in the Bill of *Excluſion* as the next in Succeſſion: But it was ſaid that was not neceſſary, for ſince the *Duke* was only perſonally diſabled, as if he had been actually dead, that carried the Succeſſion over to his Daughters. However, tho' they would not name the Duke's Daughters, yet they ſent ſuch Aſſurances to the Prince of *Orange*, that nothing thus propos'd could be to his prejudice, that he believ'd them, and declar'd his Deſire that the King would ſatisfy his Parliament. The States ſent over Memorials to the King, preſſing him to conſent to the *Excluſion*. The Prince did not openly appear in this. But it being manag'd by *Fagel*, it was underſtood that he approv'd of it, which created a Hatred in the Duke to him that was never remov'd. The Earl of *Sunderland*, by means of Mr. *Sidney*, brought the States into it, but it had no Effect.

Prince of Orange *for the Excluſion, And the States.*

Upon the firſt Debate of the *Excluſion Bill* this Seſſions, the *Duke's* Friends were not prepar'd to ſpeak for him, and when they ſpoke, their Arguments were extremely weak. Mr. *Garraway* was for having him heard, as if he could have ſpoke better for himſelf, than they did for him, or could vindicate the Charge brought againſt him by a Perſon of Quality, *For making up the Match for the King, as foreſeeing the Queen would have no Children; for the Loſs of the Earl of* Sandwich; *for clearing of Perſons taken in the Fire of* London; *the Death of Sir* Edmundbury Godfrey, *&c.* as in *Echard*. Mr. *Hyde* was

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for *hearing him*, and ſaid, *he doubted the Act would not be binding to him, and to a great many Loyal Perſons*, who, if they had oppos'd it when it had the Royal Aſſent, would have been REBELS; and I believe there is not a Perſon in *England*, now ſo weak as to doubt, whether there is a Subject in the three Kingdoms, whom an Act of Parliament will not bind. Mr. *Edward Seymour* ſpoke more nervouſly and politely, *I have been ſhot at by Wind-guns, have we not great Experience of the Duke's Love for this Nation*, in his Endeavours to deſtroy the *Dutch*, whoſe Intereſts are inſeparable from ours; in his inveterate Enmity to our Religion; in his Abhorrence of *Engliſh* Liberty, and the like? *Can ſo indiſcreet an Attempt as the Alteration of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, be made by a Prince ſo abounding in Prudence and Wiſdom*? It may be a ſufficient Anſwer to this Interrogatory, that the ſame Mr. *Seymour* ſome time after took Arms againſt him for attempting it. Mr. *Seymour* ſaid alſo, *the Bill would not bind* Ireland, as was experienc'd by the Bill for ſettling the Crown on King *William* and Queen *Mary*. Mr. *F*—— told the Houſe, *He never heard of any Law, which made an Opinion in Religion a Cauſe to be diſpoſſeſs'd of Right*. Did he never ſee or hear of any Man diſpoſſeſs'd of his Right for being a *Presbyterian*? Excellent Logick! Becauſe it may not be very equitable to diſpoſſeſs a Man of his Right for an Opinion in Religion; or in other Words, to take away a private Man's Eſtate, becauſe he is a Papiſt, ſince his Religion has no relation to any other Man's, or to any other Man's Liberty or Property; therefore it is not lawful to diſpoſſeſs a Prince of his Right of Succeſſion for his Opinion in Religion, tho' that Opinion brings every other Man's Religion into Danger, and his Principle is to ſubvert the Government, to which he pretends an Inheritance. One cannot imagine that ſuch doughty Arguments as theſe, would ſway much with a Houſe that was full of the ableſt Heads in the Kingdom. The Bill intitled, *an Act to diſable the Duke of* York *to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm*, was read the firſt time the 4th of *November*, and paſt by a great Majority about ten Days after, when it was ſent to the Houſe of Lords by *William* Lord *Ruſſel*, attended by the Lord *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and indeed by almoſt the whole Houſe of Commons. The Earls of *Shaftesbury*, *Eſſex*, and *Sunderland*, were zealous for it, but the Lord *Halliſax* deſerted the Country Party, and appear'd with equal Zeal againſt it. Upon the firſt Reading it was carry'd in the *Affirmative* for a ſecond by two Votes only, according to the Archdeacon. At the ſecond Reading it was ſtrenuouſly debated, the King being preſent all the time, to awe and influence the Members, ſo that on a Diviſion it was thrown out by a Majority of thirty-three Voices; the Tale ſtanding thus, *No's* 63. *Yea's* 30.

The Excluſion Bill ſent to the Lords.

Thrown out.

P. 482. Of the *No's* Biſhop *Burnet* tells us was the *whole Biſhops Bench*; and *Philips* ſays, all the Biſhops then preſent were for the *Negative*. *Echard* can't help falſifying Fact here too, by telling us, that we muſt except *three* of the Biſhops. The Houſe of Commons was inflam'd when they ſaw the Fate of their Bill, which *Ib.* Biſhop *Burnet* ſays was thrown out at the *firſt* Reading.

After the Bill was rejected, a noble Lord, one of the Minor Vote, ſpoke as follows.

My Lords,

" This noble Lord near me hath found fault " with that Precedent that he ſuppoſes I offer'd " your Lordſhips concerning the chargeable La- " dies at Court; but I remember no ſuch thing " I ſaid: but if I muſt ſpeak of them, I ſhall ſay, " as the Prophet did to King *Saul*, *What means* " *the Bleating of this kind of Cattle*; and I hope " the King will make me the ſame Anſwer, " *That he preſerves them for Sacrifice*. For there " muſt be, in plain *Engliſh*, my Lords, a Change; " we muſt neither have *Popiſh* Wife, nor *Popiſh* " Favourite, nor *Popiſh* Miſtreſs, nor *Popiſh* " Counſellor at Court."

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A Lord's bold Speech.

The laſt Paragraph of this Speech was extremely bold.

" However, we know who hears, and I am " glad of this, that you have dealt ſo honourably, and ſo clearly in the King's Preſence, " and in the King's Hearing, that he cannot ſay " he wants a right State of things; he hath it " before him, and may take Counſel as he thinks " fit."

While this Bill was in Debate in the Houſe of Commons, the King ſent them a Meſſage, offering them any Security, but that without which they could never be ſecure, as was found by woful Experience. By another Meſſage he demanded Supplies for the Defence of *Tangier*, beſieg'd by the King of *Fez*: Upon which, the Houſe reſolv'd upon a Remonſtrance, which was preſented to the King the 13th of *November*, and was very unacceptable to him, as containing ſeveral Particulars of Miſgovernment, and all the Grievances in his Reign, with relation to Popery.

Grievances.

" That *Tangier* had been ſeveral times under " the Command of *Popiſh* Governors, that the " Garriſon was made up of *Popiſh* Officers and " *Iriſh* Papiſts; that the bloody and reſtleſs Po- " piſh Party had found Protection from the " Laws made againſt them, and were become " able to influence Matters of State and Govern- " ment; that the Continuance and Prorogation " of Parliaments had been accommodated to " ſerve the Purpoſes of that Party; Money " rais'd upon the People to ſupply his Majeſty's " extraordinary Occaſions, had by the Preva- " lence of Popiſh Counſels been employ'd to " make War upon a *Proteſtant* State, and to ad- " vance and augment the dreadful Power of the " *French* King; that great Numbers of his Ma- " jeſty's Subjects were ſent into, and continu'd in " the Service of that King; and even the Mi- " niſters of *England* were made Inſtruments to " preſs the States of *Holland* to accept of a De- " mand from the *French* King of admitting " the publick Exerciſe of the *Roman* Catholick " Religion; that if ever any Command was given " for the Laws to be put in execution againſt the " *Papiſts*, even from thence they gain'd Advan- " tage, while the Edge of thoſe Laws were " turn'd againſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, and the " *Papiſts* eſcap'd in a manner untouch'd; that " the *Teſt Act* had little Effect; for the *Pa- " piſts*, either by Diſpenſations obtain'd from " *Rome*, ſubmitted to thoſe Teſts, and held " their Offices themſelves, or thoſe put in their " Places were ſo favourable to the ſame Intereſts, " that *Popery* itſelf had rather gain'd than loſt " ground ſince that *Act*."

King Charles the Second's Deſign to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion and Engliſh Liberties.

And many other the like Articles, among which, the Proſecution of *Henry Care* was one, *That becauſe a Pamphlet came forth Weekly*, call'd, *The Weekly Packet of Advice from* Rome, *expoſing Popery as ridiculous to the People as it deſerv'd, a new arbitrary Rule of Court was made in the King's Bench, rather like a* Star-Chamber Court, *in King* Charles *the Firſt's Reign, than a Court of Law, that the ſame ſhould not for the future be printed.* You ſee the Tyranny of the arbitrary Courts ſuppreſs'd in the former Reign is reviv'd in this, and the Deſigns againſt

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againſt our Religion and Liberty carry'd on in the *Stuartine* Line; yet Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was ſo ſimple as to recommend the Duke of *York* to the Succeſſion purely becauſe he was Brother to King *Charles* II. and Son to King *Charles* I. The Remonſtrance, full of ſuch intolerable Grievances, had no better Effect than ſuch Remonſtrances were wont to have ſince this Royal Houſe began to rule theſe Realms, and the Careleſſneſs of the Government amidſt ſo much Diſquiet and Danger, could not but augment the Heat that was in the Houſe of Commons, who proceeded to the Trial of one of the Popiſh Lords, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, who on the 30th of *November* was brought before the Peers, then ſitting for that purpoſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. The Lord Chancellor *Finch* was made Lord High Steward on this occaſion, and a Committee of the Houſe of Commons were the Managers againſt him. They open'd the Cauſe with great Copiouſneſs and Eloquence, they began with the Plot in general, and laid open the *Malice*, *Wickedneſs and Horror of ſo dreadful, bloody, and helliſh a Deſign*. They ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the expreſs poſitive Oaths of the Witneſſes: *Upon whom*, ſays *Echard*, *the credit of the Plot chiefly depended*; falſe and ſtupid to a Prodigy! The learned Sollicitor General Sir *John Hawles* writes, *very little of the Truth of the Popiſh Plot depended on the Credit of* Oates, Bedloe, *or any other Perſon*.

Lord Stafford's *Trial.*

The Managers expatiated upon *Coleman*'s Letters, and others, *Echard* aſſures us, *there was not a Snip of Paper* beſides thoſe Letters, clearly proving the Deſign and Activity of the Writers: They preſs'd home the execrable Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* charg'd upon the Papiſts, as well by the Oaths of *Self-acknowledg'd* Partners in the Fact, as by a Letter from *London* to *Tickſhall*, intimating this very Murder the third Day after 'twas committed. The Managers fully explain'd the Sham-Plots and Counter-Contrivances whereby the *Papiſts* would have ſuborn'd the King's Evidence, and turn'd all the Guilt upon his Majeſty's moſt loyal Subjects. They urg'd the firing of the City, the burning the Navy, *&c.* And produced Witneſſes to make the particular Charge againſt the Lord *Stafford*. *Dugdale* a *Papiſt* ſwore poſitively that the Lord *Stafford* was at a Meeting about the Beginning of *September* 1678, at *Tickſhall* in *Staffordſhire* with Lord *Aſton* and others, and did in his preſence give his full Conſent to *take away the King's Life, and introduce the Popiſh Religion*. That on the 20th or 21ſt of *September* in the Forenoon the Lord *Stafford* ſent for him to his Chamber whilſt he was dreſſing, and turning out his Servants, offer'd him 500 *l.* to take away the King's Life, ſaying, *You ſhall have a free Pardon of all your Sins, and be ſainted; for the King has been excommunicated, and is likewiſe a Traytor and Rebel, and an Enemy to Jeſus Chriſt*. Dr. *Oates* ſwore he ſaw ſeveral Letters, both in *Spain* and *St. Omers* ſign'd *Stafford*; wherein his Lordſhip aſſur'd the *Jeſuits* of his Fidelity and Zeal in promoting the Catholick Cauſe. That being in *London* in 1678, the Lord *Stafford* came to Father *Fenwick*'s Chamber, and there in his Preſence receiv'd a Commiſſion from him to be *Pay-Maſter-General* of the Army: Upon which, his Lordſhip ſaid, *I muſt of neceſſity go down into the Country, to take account how Affairs ſtand there; and do not doubt but at my return* Grove *ſhall do the Buſineſs*; adding, *he has deceiv'd us a great while*, ſpeaking of the King, *and we can bear no longer*. The third Evidence was *Turberville*, to blacken whom, *Echard* ſays he was a *profligate indigent Perſon*. *Turberville* gave the Court an Account how he became indigent, *he had diſoblig'd his Friends by leaving his Fryar's Habit at* Doway; *and thereupon going into* France *in the Year* 75, *where he got acquainted with the Lord* Stafford *at* Paris, *and his Lordſhip propos'd to him a way both to retrieve his Credit with his Friends, and make himſelf happy; which was*, by taking away the Life of the King, who was an *Heretick*, and a *Rebel* againſt God Almighty. Much the ſame with what he ſaid to *Dugdale*; *That when he took leave of him, his Lordſhip appointed him to meet him at* London; *but he ſoon after return'd into* France, *not being willing to undertake the Propoſal, and was diſcountenanc'd by his Friends, and reduc'd to Poverty*. When afterwards this Wretch was ſuborn'd to ſwear againſt *Colledge*, *Echard* ſays not a word of his *Indigence*, or his being a Scoundrel. The beſt Defence made by the Lord *Stafford*, was his charging the three Witneſſes againſt him with *Poverty*, and his declaring in the *Preſence of God and his Angels*, that *he was innocent*. The Witneſſes to ſuch a Crime were not likely to be Men of great Fortunes. His Lordſhip would not have offer'd a rich Man 500 *l.* to kill the King, nor was it likely that any but profligate Perſons would be thought Workmen for ſuch Work.

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The Managers for the Commons brought new Proofs of the Plot in general. One *Smith* ſwore he had heard Diſcourſe at *Rome* of killing the King. An *Iriſh* Prieſt, who had been long in *Spain*, confirm'd many Particulars in *Oates*'s Narrative, as we are told by my Lord of *Sarum*, and that the Lord *Stafford* ſaid little in his Defence: And as to the Credit of the Witneſſes, Sir *William Jones* made it very clear, that *Dugdale* and *Turberville* were good Evidences, and not at all diſcredited by any thing that was brought againſt them. The Trial was very auguſt, and continu'd five Days; and when Judgment was to be given, 55 Peers pronounced him Guilty, and 31 *not Guilty*. Of the latter, 'tis ſaid a noble Lord ſhould ſay aloud, *Not Guilty, upon my Honour*: And ſoftly to another, *Guilty, upon my Conſcience*. Which, if true, makes the Evidence to be very clear, and that the Archdeacon's vilifying it, ſhews more Zeal for the Cauſe than for the Truth. We read in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Memoirs, "Four of the *Howards*, his Kinſ-
"men, condemn'd him. Lord *Arundel*, after-
"wards Duke of *Norfolk*, tho' in Enmity with
"him, acquitted him. Duke *Lauderdale* con-
"demn'd him. So did the Earl of *Nottingham*
"and Earl of *Angleſey*. The Lord *Halliſax* ac-
"quitted him. The Lord Chancellor, when
"he gave Judgment, made a Speech, in which
"he committed one great Indecency: for he
"ſaid, *Who can doubt any longer that* London
"*was burnt by Papiſts*, tho' there was not one
"Word in the whole Trial relating to it?" Biſhop *Burnet* viſited him after his Condemnation at his Requeſt, and the Lord *Stafford* own'd to him, he could *diſcover many things that were more material than any that were yet known, and for which the Duke would never forgive him*: but upon his Examination before the Lords, he ſpoke only of the Endeavours of the *Papiſts* to get a Toleration, and that Lord *Shaftesbury* had undertaken to promote it. When he nam'd him, he was order'd to withdraw, and the Lords would hear no more from him. The Sentence againſt him being, that he ſhould be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, the two Sheriffs, Alderman *Corniſh* and Mr. *Bethel*, upon the King's changing the Execution to beheading, apply'd to the Parliament with theſe following Queries: 1. *Whether the King, being neither* Judge *nor* Party, *can order the* Execution? 2. *Whether the Lords can award the* Execution? 3. *Whether the King can*

He is condemn'd.

London *burnt by Papiſts.*

Sheriffs Application to the Commons.

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can diſpenſe with any Part of the Execution? 4. *If the King can diſpenſe with ſome Part, why not All?* Some were *ſhock'd* with theſe Queries, *ſays Mr. Archdeacon*; and Sir *William Jones* was for dropping them, leſt the Parliament's making any oppoſition might prevent the Execution of the Lord *Stafford*.

The Lord Stafford *executed.*

On the 29th of *September*, he was brought to a Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he made a Speech; in which, among other things, he ſaid, *I aver, upon my Death and Salvation, That I never ſpoke one Word either to* Oates *or* Turberville; *and for* Dugdale, *I never ſpoke to him but about ſome trivial Matters, and was never alone with him.* The Biſhop of *Salisbury* writes, *Many Proofs were brought that he was often in Lord* Stafford's *Company, of which many more Affidavits were made after that Lord's Death.* Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, That *Turberville*, when he was dying, ſent for Mr. *Hawes*, Curate of *St. Martin's*, who found his Underſtanding and Memory no way affected by his Diſeaſe, and adviſ'd him to confeſs *his Sins, and glorify God*, tho' to his ſhame. *Turberville*, both in Diſcourſe, and when he receiv'd the Sacrament, proteſted that he had ſworn nothing but the Truth againſt Lord *Stafford*, and renounc'd the Mercies of God, and the Benefit of the Death of Chriſt, if he did not ſpeak the plain and naked Truth, without any Reſervation. Yet *Echard* hangs upon the Lord *Stafford*'s denying he had ever ſeen *Turberville*. And ſo much has been ſaid of Popiſh Declarations of Innocence on the Scaffold, or at the Gallows, that there's no need of further Reflection upon it.

Comet.

I wonder the Reverend Hiſtorian omitted the *Blazing Star*, which appear'd about this time. The *Star* itſelf, as it was call'd, ſeem'd ſmall, but the Tail or Stream of Light was of great Magnitude. It ſeem'd not much above the Horizon when firſt diſcover'd, but every Night afterwards it appear'd higher and higher in the beginning of the Night, and conſequently ſetting later and later, its Luſtre and Extent gradually decay'd, till it was no more ſeen. The Archdeacon loſt a happy Occaſion to apply this *Comet* to the Death of Lord *Stafford*, which he treats as a ſort of Martyrdom for the Cauſe.

King's Speech.

On the 15th of *December* the King came to the Parliament, and made a Speech to both Houſes, wherein, as he takes notice he had done before, *he promiſes to concur with them in any Remedies for ſecuring the* Proteſtant Religion, *which might conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion in its due and legal Courſe of Deſcent.* The Commons, in a long Anſwer to this Speech on the 18th of *December*, tell him, "That no Interruption of "that Deſcent has been endeavour'd by them, "except only the Deſcent upon the Perſon of "the Duke of *York*; who, by the wicked Inſtru- "ments of the Church of *Rome*, has been mani- "feſtly perverted to their Religion; that his "Succeſſion is utterly inconſiſtent with the Safe- "ty of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Preſervation "of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Property, "Peace, and Welfare of his *Proteſtant Sub- "jects.*" They alſo came to theſe Reſolutions upon it.

Commons Anſwer.

Votes againſt the Duke of York.

Reſolved, "That 'tis the Opinion of this "Houſe, that there is no Security or Safety for "the *Proteſtant Religion*, the King's Life, or "the well conſtituted and eſtabliſh'd Govern- "ment of this Kingdom, without paſſing a Bill "for diſabling *James* Duke of *York* to inherit "the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*: "And to rely upon any other Means or Reme- "dies without ſuch a Bill, is not only inſufficient, "but dangerous."

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The Houſe of Commons paſs'd a Vote, That all Anticipations on any Branches of the Revenue are againſt Law, and that whoſoever lent any Money upon thoſe Anticipations, were publick Enemies to the Kingdom: for they look on the Revenue as a publick Treaſure, that was to be kept clear of all Anticipations, and not as a private Eſtate that might be mortgag'd. They thought when all other Means of Supply, except by Parliament, were ſtopp'd, the King would certainly be brought to their Terms. They alſo paſs'd a Vote for an *Aſſociation*, copy'd from that in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, for the revenging the King's Death upon all *Papiſts*, if he ſhould happen to be kill'd.

Aſſociation.

Dutcheſs of Portſmouth *for the Bill of Excluſion.*

I have mention'd the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s falling in with the Majority of the Houſe of Commons for the Excluſion Bill; and I muſt explain the Myſtery of a *French* Papiſt's being againſt the Duke of *York*, who was a faſt Friend to *Popery* and *France*. It was propos'd to her, that if ſhe could bring the King to the *Excluſion*, and to ſome other popular Things, the Parliament would go next to prepare a Bill for ſecuring the King's Perſon, in which ſhould be a Clauſe, that the King might declare the Succeſſor to the Crown, as had been done in *Henry* the VIIIth's Time. This would very much raiſe the King's Authority, and would be no Breach with the Prince of *Orange*, but would rather oblige him to a greater Dependance on the King. And if ſuch an Act could be carry'd, ſhe might prevail on the King to declare her Son his Succeſſor. It was further ſuggeſted to her, that in order to the ſtrengthening her Son's Intereſt, ſhe might treat for a Match with the *French* King's natural Daughter. The Duke of *Monmouth* eaſily gave into this Scheme, as flattering himſelf that nobody would be preferr'd to him in the Succeſſion by his Father. Thus were the Duke of *Monmouth* and Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* brought to an Agreement to carry on the Excluſion, tho' with different Views; and the Parliament engag'd in it with ſtill another View, the Princeſs of *Orange*'s Succeſſion. The Dutcheſs not only acted heartily in this matter, but ſhe once drew the King to conſent to it, if he might have had 800000 Pounds for it, which was afterwards brought down to 600000 Pounds. But the Houſe of Commons were ſo jealous of the King, that the Managers durſt not move for giving Money, till the Bill of Excluſion was paſs'd, leſt they ſhould loſe their Credit, and his Majeſty would not truſt them. *So near*, ſays the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *was this Point brought to an Agreement, if the Duke of* Montagu *told me true.* *Welwood* tells us, the *French* King outbid the Country Party in favour of the Duke of *York*, and by giving more Money, got the King to perſiſt in the Oppoſition he gave to the Bill. When it was thrown out of the Houſe of Lords, the King told his Brother, that the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* did all by his Order, that ſo ſhe might have Credit with the Party, and ſee into their Deſigns, which the Duke of *York* believing, or ſeeming to believe, he was eaſily reconcil'd with her.

The King bargains for the Excluſion Bill.

Limitations for the Popiſh Succeſſor.

The Lord *Halliſax* preſs'd the Houſe of Lords to go on the Limitations; and he began with one, That the Duke ſhould be oblig'd to live 500 Miles out of *England*, during the King's Life. The Earl of *Eſſex* mov'd, that an *Aſſociation* ſhould be enter'd into to maintain whatever Limitations ſhould be agreed upon, and that ſome cautionary Towns ſhould be put into the hands of the *Aſſociators* during the King's Life, to make them good after his Death, which the King look'd upon as a Depoſing of himſelf.

The

A. D. 1680. The Earl of *Shaftesbury* and his Party laugh'd at all Expedients, and those that were propos'd carry'd so many Difficulties with them, that the Necessity of the Exclusion was daily more apparent to People of the least Penetration and Foresight, who had any Concern for the Religion and Liberty of their Country.

Tho' the Commons could not carry that Bill, they endeavour'd to supply the loss of it with some vigorous Votes: As, 1. For a Bill to *banish all Papists.* 2. Another, *For the more effectual securing of the Meetings and Sittings of Parliaments.* 3. Another, *For the Judges to hold their Places* quam diu se bene gesserint. 4. Another, *For uniting his Majesty's Protestant Subjects:* And on a Debate of Freedom of Voting, and of the Corruption and Partiality occasion'd by Offices and Pensions, they *Resolved, December* the 30th, *That no Member of this House shall accept of any Office or Place of Profit from the Crown, without the Leave of this House, nor any Promise of any such Office or Place of Profit, during such time as he shall continue a Member of the House.*

Good Votes.

1681.

Judges impeach'd. ON *Wednesday* the 5th of *January*, the Commons order'd an Impeachment against Sir *Francis North*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*; Sir *William Scroggs*, Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*; Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Justices of the same Bench; and Sir *Richard Weston*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*. And it is a melancholy Reflection, that in the former Reign, and this, the Crown never wanted a Bench of Bishops and a Bench of Judges to promote the Designs which were form'd against the Reform'd Religion, and the Liberties of *England*. The Lawyers must know better, or they knew not the Law; and the Bishops know otherwise, or they knew not the Gospel. Sir *Francis North*'s Crime was, That he, as appear'd by the Confession of the Attorney General before the House, *was advising and assisting in drawing up, and passing the Proclamations against tumultuous Petitions.* There were a great many Complaints against Sir *William Scroggs*, and Sir *Thomas Jones*, which occasion'd many *Resolutions* of the House, and Votes against them. One of those Complaints was, that when the *Grand-Jury* which serv'd for the Hundred of *Offulston* in the County of *Middlesex*, attended the *King's-Bench* with a Petition, which they desir'd the Court to present in their Name to his Majesty, for the Sitting of the Parliament, the Chief Justice *Scroggs* said he would dispatch them presently; that the Court took it ill to have a Petition offer'd to alter the King's Mind contrary to his Proclamation. *Observe what sober Reasoning there is amongst them!* 'Twas further urg'd against *Scroggs*, That when there were several Presentments against *Papists*, among which was the Bill against the Duke of *York* for not coming to Church, he and his Brother Judges discharg'd the *Grand-Jury* four Days before the End of the Term, which was never done before. The Parliament voted their doing it, *Arbitrary, Illegal, and a High Misdemeanor*, the 22d of *November*, several Days before the Impeachment was order'd. One of Baron *Weston*'s great Crimes was, That in an extraordinary kind of Charge given the Assizes before at *Kingston*, *he inveigh'd very much against* Farel, Luther, Calvin *and* Zuinglius, *condemning them as Authors of the* Reformation, *which was against their Princes Minds*, and then adding to this purpose, *Zuinglius set up his* Fanaticisms, (the stupid Wretch mistakes Piety and Purity for the Dreams of distemper'd Brains,) *and* Calvin *built on that blessed Foundation; and to speak truth*, prodigious Impudence! *All his Disciples are season'd with such a Sharpness, that it mostly concerns Magistrates to keep a strict Hand over them.* Upon which, an ingenious Writer observes, "It was then the *grand Ar-* "*tifice* to represent All, who would not do "what the Courtiers then would have them, "as *Fanaticks.*" Which Mr. Archdeacon has very happily endeavour'd to imitate. *Weston* proceeds, *And now they are restless, amusing us with Fears, and nothing will serve them but a* Parliament: *For my part, I know no Representative of the Nation but the King.* The last cited Author takes notice, *None of his Kidney* knew any other in those Days. *Weston* again, *All Power centers in the King.* 'Tis true, he *does intrust it with his Ministers, but he is the* sole Representative, *and* i'faith *he has Wisdom enough to intrust it no more in these Men, who have given us such late Examples of their Wisdom and Faithfulness.* Several Witnesses prov'd these Words upon him, some of whom put them immediately in writing: And it was *Resolv'd*, "That the said Expressions in the said Charge "given by the said Baron *Weston*, were a Scan- "dal to the Reformation, in Derogation of the "Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and ten- "ding to raise Discord between his Majesty and "his Subjects." What sort of Churchmen and Bishops there were in those Days, we may see by Speech made in the House of Commons, in the Debate of another Message from his Majesty the Day before these Proceedings. *I remember before the last Session of* Parliament, *there was a Council held at* Lambeth, *and there hatch'd a Bill against* Popery. *It was for the breeding of Children of a* Popish Successor, *which admitted the Thing, and it was call'd a Bill against* Popery, but we call'd it the *Popish Bill. I am for the Church of* England, *but not for such Church-Men as the late Bishop of* St. Asaph, *who, on his Death-bed could hardly forbear declaring* himself, *which his Epitaph did*, Ora pro Anima, Pray for the Soul, *order'd to be written upon his Tomb.*

A. D. 1681.

And against the Constitution of England.

A Speech about Bishops.

Bishop of St. Asaph *a Papist.*

Complaints against Sir Francis North.

Sir Will. Scroggs.

Baron Weston's *Speech against the Protestant Religion.*

Baron *Weston* and this Bishop shew us how our Church and Law-Benches were then fill'd: The former were the well known Dead Weight, the latter are well set out in their proper Colours by the following Speech in Parliament.

The two great Pillars of the Government are Parliaments *and* Juries. *It is this gives us the Title of* Free-born Englishmen: *for my Notion of* FREE-BORN ENGLISHMEN *is this, that they are rul'd by Laws of their own making, and try'd by Men of the same Condition. The two great and undoubted Privileges of the People have been lately invaded by the Judges that now sit at* Westminster. *They have espous'd* Proclamations *against Law, they have discountenanc'd and oppos'd several legal Acts, that tended to the Sitting of this Honourable House; they have grasp'd the Legislative Power into their own hands, as in that Instance of Printing: the* Parliament *was considering that matter, but they in the Interim made their private Opinion to be Law, to supersede the Judgment of this House. They have discharg'd Juries on purpose to quell their Presentments, and shelter great* Criminals *from Justice; and when Juries have presented their Petitions for the sitting of the Parliament, they have in disdain thrown them at their feet, telling them, They would be no Messengers to carry such Petitions; and yet in a few days after, would have encourag'd all that would spit their Venom at the Constitution. They have serv'd an* Ignorant and Arbitrary *Faction, and been the Messengers of* Abhorrences *to the King.* Rare Tools

Speech about the Judges.

English *Liberty defin'd.*

A. D. 1681.

theſe, to do the Perſecuting Biſhops Work, and to harraſs and ruin *Proteſtant Diſſenters*; and it had been well, if they had not dipp'd their Hands deep in the Blood of *Proteſtant* Churchmen a Year or two after. Another worthy Member ſpoke thus:

Speech about the Miniſtry.

" His Majeſty is inclos'd by a ſort of Mini-
" ſters, who endeavour to deſtroy the Conſtitu-
" tion, and I hope to move againſt them before
" we riſe; and tho' we have loſt our Bill, we
" have not loſt our Courage and Hearts."

Another, ſaid to be the Lord *Ruſſel*, on the Demand of Money for *Tangier*, by the Meſſage of the 4th of *January*, ſpoke as follows:

Lord Ruſſel's Speech againſt Popery and the Popiſh Duke.

I'll never be for giving of Money to promote Popery, *and a* Succeſſor *a publick Enemy to the Kingdom, and a Slave to the* Pope. *While he has* Eleven *to* Seven *in Council, and* Sixty-four *to* Thirty-one *in the Houſe of Lords, we are not ſecure. If my own Father had been one of the* Sixty-four, *I ſhould have voted him an Enemy to the King and Kingdom; and if we cannot live* Proteſtants, *I hope we ſhall die ſo.* It is thought this Speech was one of the Provocations that haſten'd the Murther of this excellent and beloved Patriot, as ſoon as the Court could get Sheriffs and Juries that were fit for ſuch Butchery.

Another Speech made the ſame Day, has ſomething in it very extraordinary, and diſcovers a Secret, which further explains the unwarrantable Correſpondences and Practices of the Miniſters at this Juncture.

Speech about Tangier *and* Popery.

I am of opinion that POPERY *may be aim'd at by keeping* Tangier, *and our Councils are manag'd at* Rome; *from whence I ſaw a Letter from a Friend dated the* 21*ſt of* October, the Day on which this Parliament met, *with the Heads of the King's Speech in it, to this effect:*
" That his Majeſty would command them not
" to meddle with the *Succeſſion*, *that he would*
" *keep* Tangier *to draw on Expences.*"

Such was King *Charles* the IId's Government, ſuch his Miniſters, ſuch his Biſhops, ſuch his Judges, ſuch his Zeal for the Proteſtant Church of *England*, and ſuch his Affection to the *Engliſh* Liberty. To prevent the Ruin of which, as far as in them lay, the Parliament voted on *January* the 7th, " That his Majeſty in his laſt
" Meſſage having aſſur'd this Houſe of his Rea-
" dineſs to concur in all other means, but the al-
" tering the Courſe of Succeſſion; this Houſe
" doth declare, That until a Bill be likewiſe
" paſs'd for the excluding the Duke of *York*,
" this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Ma-
" jeſty, without Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon,
" extream Hazard to the Proteſtant Religion,
" and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom this
" Houſe is truſted.

Reſolved, " That all Perſons who advis'd his
" Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe, to
" inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for ex-
" cluding the Duke of *York*, have given perni-
" cious Counſel to his Majeſty, and are Promo-
" ters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and
" Kingdom:" And as ſuch they name,

Lords voted Enemies to the Kingdom.

George Earl of *Halliſax.*
Henry Marquis of *Worceſter.*
Henry Earl of *Clarendon.*
Lewis Earl of *Feverſham.*
Laurence Hyde Eſq;

Againſt whom they order'd Addreſſes to be preſented to the King, to remove them from his Preſence and *Councils*. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, Hyde *ſpoke ſo vehemently to vindicate himſelf from the ſuſpicion of* Popery, that he cry'd in his Speech; and Sir *William Jones*, upon the ſcore of old Friendſhip, got the Words relating to *Popery* to be ſtruck out of the Addreſs againſt him. The Commons alſo impeach'd that Eminent Orthodox Senator Mr. *Edward Seymour*, for Corruption and Male-Adminiſtration in the Office of Treaſurer of the Navy, and order'd an Addreſs to remove him from his Majeſty's Council and Preſence; but the Parliament was prorogu'd before they could get it preſented. *Scroggs*'s Impeachment being ſent to the Lords, they rejected it, alledging the Charge againſt him amounted not to *High-Treaſon*, as 'twas laid in that Impeachment. This was carry'd chiefly by the Earl of *Danby*'s Party, and in favour to him.

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The City of *Briſtol* never wanted a Party in the worſt of Times, to contribute as much as they could to what made them ſo bad as they were. One may gueſs at their Temper now, by their chuſing a Perſon of very ſmall Fame, Sir *Robert Cann*, to be their Repreſentative, who, however, made himſelf famous by his Crime and his Puniſhment. He was queſtion'd for ſaying, *There was no* Popiſh *Plot*, but a *Presbyterian* Plot, and the Expreſſion is the lively Image of his Capacity. The Houſe order'd him to receive their Cenſure upon his Knees at the Bar, to be expell'd, and committed to the Tower; and his Expulſion is ſaid to be in ſo homely a Phraſe as this from the Speaker, *That the Houſe ſpew'd him out*. *Richard Thompſon*, Parſon of St. *Thomas*'s Church in *Briſtol*, a noiſy, inſolent, ignorant Prieſt, I take the more liberty with him becauſe I knew him, ſaid alſo in a Sermon preach'd in the Church of St. *Thomas*, 30th of *January* 1679, *There is no Popiſh Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot.* He was a great Stickler againſt Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament. Being ſent for into cuſtody, he was brought on his Knees in the Houſe of Commons, and committed to Priſon. He was examin'd very ſtrictly, and gave the Houſe of Commons ſo little Satisfaction in his Anſwers, that they order'd an Impeachment againſt him, but diſcharg'd his Commitment on his giving Security to anſwer the Charge againſt him when call'd upon. His Majeſty, to ſhew how little he valu'd the Sentiments of the Repreſentatives of the Nation, ſoon after made this *Richard Thompſon* Dean of *Briſtol*; *Laurence Hyde*, Earl of *Rocheſter*; Earl of *Halliſax*, Marquis of *Halliſax*; and the Marquis of *Worceſter*, Duke of *Beaufort*. Nay, he ſo much affected to let the People ſee he acted in deſpight, that he advanc'd and favour'd every Man that had given offence to the Parliament, by betraying the Liberties of their Country. The Houſe *Reſolv'd*, " That whoſo-
" ever ſhall hereafter lend, or cauſe to be lent,
" by way of Advance, any Money upon the
" Branches of the King's Revenue ariſing by
" Cuſtom, Exciſe, or Hearth-Money, ſhall be
" adjudg'd to hinder the *Sitting* of Parliaments,
" and ſhall be reſponſible for the ſame in Par-
" liament." And having notice that there would be a ſudden Prorogation to hinder their perfecting the good Bills that were paſſing, and the bringing their good Votes into Bills, they, on the 10th of *January*, *reſolv'd*, " That who-
" ſoever advis'd his Majeſty to prorogue this
" Parliament to any other purpoſe, than in or-
" der to the paſſing of a Bill for the *Excluſion*
" of *James* Duke of *York*, is a *Betrayer* of the
" King, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and of the
" Kingdom of *England*, a Promoter of the
" *French Intereſt*, and a Penſioner to *France*."
They alſo *Reſolv'd*, " That the Thanks of
" this Houſe be given to the City of *London*, for
" their manifeſt Loyalty to the King; their
" Care, Charge and Vigilancy for the Preſerva-
" tion of his Majeſty's Perſon, and of the *Pro-*
" *teſtant*

Cann *and* Thompſon *of* Briſtol, *Cenſur'd.*

Votes againſt lending Money.

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" *teſtant Religion.*" In this the Houſe of Commons refer to two City Petitions; the one for the Sitting of the Parliament; the other, That the Parliament might ſit till *Proteſtantiſm was ſecur'd.* The Commons *Reſolv'd*, " That it is " the Opinion of this Houſe, that the Acts of " Parliament made in the Reign of Queen *Eli-* " *zabeth* and King *James*, againſt *Popiſh Re-* " *cuſants*, ought not to be extended againſt *Pro-* " *teſtant Diſſenters. Reſolv'd*, That it is the " Opinion of this Houſe, that the Proſecution " of *Proteſtant Diſſenters* upon the Penal Laws " is, at this time, grievous to the Subjects, " a weakening the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, an En- " couragement to *Popery*, and dangerous to the " Peace of the Kingdom." One would think this Vote was occaſion'd by an Apprehenſion of the Loſs of the Bill *for uniting his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects*, which was brought in and debated. In this Debate will be ſeen what ſolid Reaſons the Enemies to *Proteſtant Diſſenters* had, to juſtify their perſecuting them. *There are a ſort of Men*, ſaid one of the Members, *who will neither be advis'd nor over-rul'd, but under the pretence of Conſcience, break violently through all Laws whatſoever, to the great Diſturbance both of Church and State; therefore I think it more convenient to have a Law for forcing the Diſſenters to yield to the Church, and not to force the Church to yield to them. Echard* is aſham'd of the Man's Name, and well he may. If I could tell who he was, the Reader ſhould know it, that his Memory might receive the homage that's due to ſo much Merit. He ſays the Diſſenters will break every Act of Parliament in the Statute-Books, rather than they will go to Church; and tho' they might be baniſh'd, and in ſome caſes hang'd, by the Statute 35 *Elizabeth*, yet he is for making more Laws to force the Diſſenters to yield to the *Common Prayer Book*, to the Surplice, the Croſs in Baptiſm, to Godfathers and Godmothers, and to thirty or forty other ſuch Articles which he calls the *Church*, and which is the Charm my Lord Biſhop of *Sarum* ſpeaks of. Another Member, who had as much Senſe as the former, but not quite ſo much Courage, ſaid, *I am afraid, if once the Government begin to yield to Diſſenters, it will be as in* Forty One; when there were no Diſſenters in *England* but *Papiſts* and *Enthuſiaſts. Nothing will ſerve but an utter Subverſion*; he means, that to *unite* Proteſtants, is to ſubvert the *Proteſtant Religion. The receiving of one thing will give occaſion for demanding more; and it will be impoſſible to give them any ſatisfaction, without laying all open, and running into confuſion.* The Archdeacon printed all theſe *Idiotiſms*, after the poſſibility of it had been experimented between 40 and 50 Years, and the Diſſenters had receiv'd Satisfaction without the leaſt Confuſion imaginable. But the noble Cauſe is equal to the noble Defenders of it, who have generally been Men of the ſame ſize with theſe two worthy Senators for Capacity and Merit. Such Speeches as theſe could not be made without Anſwers in ſuch a Place as St. *Stephen's* Chapel. One worthy Member ſaid, *Sir, this Bill is intended for the Preſervation of the Church, and I am of opinion it is the beſt Bill that can be made in order thereto; our Circumſtances conſider'd, I think this is a very good time to try whether the Diſſenters will be drawn with the Cords of Love or no, and the Bill will be very agreeable to that Chriſtian Charity, which our Church profeſſes; and I hope, that in the time of this imminent Danger, they will conſider their own Safety, and the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, and not longer keep on foot the unhappy Diviſions among us, on which the Papiſts ground their Hopes: But rather ſeeing the Church ſo far condeſcend as to diſpenſe with the Surplice*; a very great Condeſcenſion truly, conſidering what a handſome and neceſſary thing it is, the ſame Gentleman expects, *They will ſubmit to the reſt that is enjoin'd by Law, that ſo we may unite againſt the common Enemy.* Another Member ſaid, *What real Love, Friendſhip, or Obedience can the Church expect from ſuch Perſons, as by the Execution of ſuch Laws, may be forc'd to come to Church? How can they be depended on, or the Church be ſtrengthen'd by them? You may prevent their Meetings, and force them either to come to Church, or pay Fines, or be impriſon'd; but you cannot expect that their Opinions or Affections ſhould be alter'd by ſuch Proceedings, without which the Church can never be the ſtronger. Hath the* Oxford Act, *or that of the 35th of Queen* Elizabeth, *or any other againſt the* Diſſenters *been executed in favour of the Church? Are not the Diſſenters as many, if not more than ever? Is there any thing more viſible, than that theſe Laws have been made uſe of to ſerve the Popiſh Intereſt, or as Engines rather for the State than the Church? When in the Year* 1670, *by the ſevere Execution of theſe Laws, all Meetings and Conventicles were prevented, and many Diſſenters came to Church, did not the* Toleration *happen thereupon? And if this* Toleration *had been intended for the Advantage of the* Proteſtant Religion, *why were not the Churchmen, or* Diſſenters *of any kind pleas'd with it? And if the* Oxford Act, *and other Laws againſt* Diſſenters, *were projected in favour of the* Proteſtant Religion, *it was ſtrange that they were ſo much promoted by Sir* Thomas Clifford, *Sir* Solomon Swale, *and Sir* Roger Strickland, *who have ſince all appear'd to be* Papiſts?

Votes againſt the Perſecuting Acts.

Speech for them.

Speeches againſt them.

Echard boaſts, *That tho' this Bill was committed it would not paſs*; but he does not tell us why. It was ſo drawn, that it did not pleaſe the Diſſenters, whoſe Party in the Houſe, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, did *not ſeem concerned to promote it*; on the contrary, they neglected it.

The leading Men of that Party in the Houſe of Commons, were

Mr. *Boſcawen.*	Sir *Richard Temple.*
Paul Foley Eſq;	Col. *Birch.*
Sir *Nicholas Carew.*	Col. *Titus.*
Richard Hampden Eſq;	Sir *Francis Winnington.*
Sir *John Maynard.*	

Nay, Sir *Thomas Clarges* and Mr. *Finch* ſpoke for this *Uniting* Bill; and it is ſaid one of thoſe Gentlemen made the following Speech: Mr. *Speaker*, " I would not open my Mouth in fa- " vour of this Bill, if I thought it would any " ways prejudice the Church or Church-Go- " vernment; but I believe it may have a quite " contrary effect, and tend more for the Preſer- " vation and Safety of the Church and Church- " Government, than any Bill whatſoever that " could be contriv'd.

" The *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and all " other Diſſenters, may be more in number than " the *Papiſts*, and may be willing enough to " have the Church Government alter'd, if not " deſtroy'd; yet, being they cannot have any " Succour from abroad, nor from the Govern- " ment here at home, I cannot ſee any great " danger of them. For it is not probable that " they ſhall ever have a King of their Opinion, " nor a Parliament by the Diſcovery they " made of their Strength in the laſt Elections; " for, according to the beſt Calculation I can " make, they could not bring in above one in " twenty; and therefore becauſe they have not

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" ſuch bloody, deſperate Principles as the *Pa-*
" *piſts*, and becauſe we agree in Points of Faith,
" and ſo no ſuch great danger from them as from
" the Papiſts, I think we have reaſon to con-
" clude, that the *Church is moſt in danger* from
" the Papiſts, and that therefore we ought to
" take care of them in the firſt place; and we
" cannot do that by any way more likely to prove
" effectual, than by ſome ſuch Bill as this; be-
" cauſe, if it ſhould have the Effect deſign'd, of
" bringing in many of the *Diſſenters* into the
" Church, it would diſappoint them of the
" great Hopes they have grounded on our Di-
" viſions, and make the Church ſtronger, not
" only to oppoſe the *Papiſts*, but ſuch Diſſenters
" as may not come in. And if we ſhould not
" have this Succeſs, I do not underſtand it will
" any way weaken the Church Government."

I cannot reconcile two reverend Hiſtorians on this Subject. The *compleat one* ſays, *the* Majority *of the Houſe fell in heartily with this Bill*; and Mr. Archdeacon thought it *would not paſs*, which is not at all conſiſtent with a Majority. 'Tis certain that it did not paſs, and that another Act did, entitul'd, *An Act to repeal the Statute of* 35 *of* Elizabeth, as far as it related to Proteſtant Diſſenters, againſt whom it had been ſeverely executed, tho' the reverend Hiſtorians own it was *apparently made againſt Popiſh* Recuſants. This charitable Bill was ſtrenuouſly oppos'd in the Houſe of Lords by the Biſhops. However, the Temporal Lords carry'd it againſt them. And on the day of Prorogation, *January* 10, it ought to have been offer'd to the King; but the Clerk of the Crown, *by the King's particular Order*, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, withdrew the Bill. His Lordſhip calls this Method *indiſcreet*; but as moſt of the Methods of this Government did, it deſerv'd a much harder Name; for it was very baſe to direct the *ſtealing* away an Act of Parliament, when there was not Courage enough to reject it, nor Honour enough to paſs it. All the future cruel tyrannical Proceedings againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters in the *Spiritual* and other Courts, was, in a great meaſure, ſupported by this vile Treachery, or rather *Larceny*. For had the repealing Act paſs'd, it had taken away the Edge of the Laws againſt them, of which this was the moſt *keen*, as extending to Death in ſome Caſes. The Commons having private notice, that they were to be prorogu'd, aſſembled early in the Morning, and before the Uſher of the Black Rod came in, they reſolv'd *That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that the Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James *againſt* Popiſh Recuſants, *ought not to be extended againſt* Proteſtant Diſſenters. After which the Houſe of Commons were ſent for up to the Lords, where his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to an *Act about* Iriſh *Cattle*; and another about *burying in Woollen*. And then the Lord Chancellor prorogu'd the Parliament to the 20th of *January*, but it never ſat more.

Act of 35 Eliz. *repeal'd.*

Stolen.

Vote in favour of the Diſſenters.

The Biſhop of *Salisbury*, as moderate as he was in his Principles, cannot help remembring, that the Vote againſt executing the Penal Laws on Diſſenters, was *thought a great Invaſion of the* Legiſlature, *when one Houſe pretended to ſuſpend the Execution of Laws, which was to act like Dictators in the State; and inſtead of being a Kindneſs to the* Nonconformiſts, *rais'd a new Storm againſt them over all the Nation*, inſinuating they had brought the Storm on themſelves, by endeavouring to provide a Shelter. The Author of the *Vindication of the two laſt Parliaments*, ſuppos'd to be Sir *William Jones*, the greateſt Lawyer in *England*, ſpeaks of this Matter with much more Reaſon and Judgment, in theſe Words, *Is it a* ſuſpending *an Act of Parliament, if the Houſe of Commons declare a Law to be* grievous *and* dangerous *in their Opinion, before they ſet about the Repeal of it? And is there any ground to doubt, but that a Bill would have paſs'd that Houſe purſuant to this Vote, had it not been prevented by a* Diſſolution? *Nor was there the leaſt* Direction *or Signification to the* Judges, contrary to Biſhop *Burnet's* Inſinuation. *They meant that Courts and Juries ſhould govern themſelves by the Opinion they now gave*; ſuch Practices are laid to the Charge of the Court; and my Author adds, *Judges ought not to break them in reverence to Votes, nor in reſpect to any Command from the King or Favourites; then we ſhould have no more Letters from Secretaries of State to* Judges *ſitting on the Bench; then we ſhould have no more* Proclamations, *like that of the* 14*th of* October 1662, *forbidding the Execution of the Laws concerning the High Ways; nor that of the* 10*th of* May 1672, *diſpenſing with divers Clauſes* in the Acts of Parliament for *Encreaſe of Shipping; nor any more* Declarations, *like that of the* 15*th of* March 1672, *ſuſpending the* Penal Laws *in Matters Eccleſiaſtical. Tho' the* Judges *are ſworn to execute all Laws, yet there is no Obligation upon any man to inform againſt another; and therefore, tho' the Miniſters prevented the Repeal of thoſe Laws, 'tis to be hop'd that this Vote will reſtrain* Engliſhmen *from proſecuting* Proteſtants, *when ſo wiſe and great a Body have declar'd the pernicious Effects of ſuch a Proſecution. 'Tis moſt true, that in* England *no Law is abrogated by Deſuetude, but 'tis no leſs true that there are many Laws ſtill unrepeal'd, which are never executed, nor can be, without publick Detriment. The Judges know of many ſuch dormant Laws, and yet they do not quicken the People to put them in execution, nor think themſelves guilty of Perjury, that they do not.* Such are the Laws for wearing Caps, for keeping Lent, thoſe concerning Bows and Arrows, about Calves and Lambs, and many others. *And thoſe who vex Men by* Informations *on ſuch antiquated Laws* as the 35th *Eliz.* with reſpect to Diſſenters, *have been ever look'd upon as infamous.* What then were all the perſecuting Prelates, ſuch as *Gunning, Ward, Mew &c. Hence it is that there are no Names remember'd with greater Deteſtation than thoſe of* Empſon *and* Dudley, *the whole Kingdom a hor'd them as* Monſters, *and they were puniſh'd as* Traytors.

Votes for the Diſſenters juſtify'd.

Laws unrepeal'd not executed.

Three Days after the Prorogation of the Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Sir *Patience Ward*, with a Court o Common Council, order'd a *Petition* to be drawn up to be preſented to the King, praying, that the Parliament might ſit at the Day appointed, *January* 20th, in order to try the Popiſh Lords in the Tower, to carry on the Impeachment againſt L. C. J. *Scroggs*, and ſettle the Nation; which Petition was order'd to be deliver'd that Night by the Lord Mayor, attended by the new Recorder, *George Treby* Eſq; and certain Members of the Court of Aldermen and Common Council: But the King took no more notice of it, than he did of the other Petitions about the ſitting of Parliaments; on the contrary, he *diſſolv'd* them five Days after by Proclamation, in which he alſo decla'r'd his Intention to call another, to meet on the 21ſt of *March* at *Oxford*, in deſpight to the City of *London*. Againſt this ill-concerted Removal of the Parliament from the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, to crowd them up in a Place which was equally inconvenient and diſagreeable to them, ſeveral noble Lords drew up a *Petition*, repreſening to his

City petitions the King.

New Parliament elected.

A. D. 1681.

Lords Petition againſt ſitting at Oxford.

his Majeſty, " The many Misfortunes attending " the untimely Prorogations, Diſſolutions, and " Diſcontinuations of Parliaments of late, at a " time when the whole Nation was in imminent " Danger from *Papiſts*: And now at laſt, his " Majeſty had been prevail'd on to call another " Parliament at *Oxford*, where neither Lords nor " Commons could be in Safety; but would be " daily expos'd to the Sword of the *Papiſts*, and " their Adherents, of whom too many had crept " into his Majeſty's *Guards*. The Liberty of " ſpeaking according to their Conſciences would " be thereby deſtroy'd, and the Validity of their " Acts and Proceedings left diſputable. The " Straitneſs of the Place no ways admitted of " ſuch a Concourſe of Perſons as now follow'd " every Parliament, and the Witneſſes which " were neceſſary to give Evidence upon the Com- " mons Impeachment, were unable to bear the " Charges of ſuch a Journey, and unwilling " to truſt themſelves under the Protection of a " Parliament, that was itſelf evidently under the " Power of *Guards* and *Soldiers*." They ſay in the Cloſe, *The Premiſes conſider'd, we your Majeſty's Petitioners, out of juſt Abhorrence of ſuch a dangerous and pernicious Counſel, which the Authors have not dar'd to avow, and the direful Apprehenſions of the Calamities and Miſeries that may enſue thereupon, do make it our moſt humble Prayer and Advice, that the Parliament may not ſit at a Place where it cannot be able to act with that Freedom which is neceſſary, and eſpecially to give unto their Acts and Proceedings that Authority which they ought to have among the People, and have ever had, unleſs impair'd by ſome Awe upon them, of which there wants not Precedents; and that your Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to order it to ſit at* Weſtminſter, *it being the uſual Place, and where they may conſult with Safety and Freedom.* And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

Monmouth.	*Shaftesbury.*
Kent.	*Mordaunt.*
Huntington.	*Eure.*
Bedford.	*Paget.*
Salisbury.	*Grey.*
Clare.	*Herbert.*
Stamford.	*Howard.*
Eſſex.	*Delamer.*

The Lord *Eſſex* made the following Speech at the Delivery of it.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Earl of Eſſex's *Speech to the King againſt it.*

" The Lords here preſent, together with di- " vers other Peers, taking notice that by your " late Proclamation your Majeſty had declar'd " an Intention of calling a Parliament at *Oxford*, " and obſerving from Hiſtory and Records how " unfortunate many Aſſemblies have been, when " call'd at a Place remote from the Capital City; " as particularly the Congreſs in *Henry* II's Time " at *Clarendon*; three ſeveral Parliaments at " *Oxford* in *Henry* III's Time, and at *Coventry* " in *Henry* VI's Time, with divers others, " which prov'd very fatal to thoſe Kings, and " have been follow'd with great Miſchief to " the whole Kingdom: And conſidering the pre- " ſent Poſture of Affairs, the many Jealouſies " and Diſcontents which are amongſt the People, " we have great cauſe to apprehend, that the " Conſequences of a Parliament now at *Oxford*, " may be as fatal to your Majeſty, and the Na- " tion, as thoſe others mention'd have been to " the then reigning Kings. And therefore we " do conceive that we cannot anſwer it to God, " to your Majeſty, or to the People, if we, being " Peers of the Realm, ſhould not, on ſo impor- " tant an Occaſion, humbly offer our Advice to " your Majeſty, that, if poſſible, your Ma- " jeſty may be prevail'd with to alter this, " as we apprehend, *unſeaſonable Reſolution.* " The Grounds and Reaſons of our Opinion are " contain'd in this our *Petition*, which we hum- " bly preſent to your Majeſty;" and which the King receiv'd with a Frown, as he knew well how to do when he was in an ill Humour; and his Majeſty's Face ſeem'd to be well made for it.

A. D. 1681.

A few Days before the King went to *Oxford*, *Fitzharris*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, was taken up for framing a malicious treaſonable Libel againſt the King, and his whole Family: He had met with one *Everard*, who pretended to make Diſcoveries; but it was in general Terms, and he deſcended not to ſo many Particulars as the Witneſſes had done. *Fitzharris* and he had been acquainted in *France*, and on confidence of old Acquaintance, he ſhew'd him his *Libel*. He made an Appointment to come to *Everard*'s Chamber, who thought he intended to trapan him, and plac'd Witneſſes to over-hear all that paſt. *Fitzharris* left the Libel with him all writ with his own Hand. *Everard* went with the Paper and his Evidence, and inform'd againſt *Fitzharris*, who upon that was committed to *Newgate* the 28th of *February*. And ſeeing the Proof againſt him was like to be full, he ſaid the Libel was drawn by *Everard*, and only copied by himſelf; but he had no ſort of Proof to ſupport this. Biſhop *Burnet* proceeds, " *Corniſh* the Sheriff " going to ſee him, *Fitzharris* deſir'd he would " bring him a Juſtice of Peace, for he could make " a great Diſcovery of the Plot, far beyond all " that was yet known. *Corniſh*, in the Simplici- " ty of his Heart, went and acquainted the King " with this, for which he was much blam'd; for " it was ſaid, by this means that Diſcovery might " have been ſtop'd. But his going firſt with it " to the Court prov'd afterwards a great Happi- " neſs to himſelf, and a great many others. The " Secretaries and ſome Privy Counſellors were " upon that ſent to examine *Fitzharris*, to whom " he gave a Relation of a Practice to kill the " King in which the Duke was concerned, " with many other Particulars, which were all a " Fiction. The Secretaries came to him a ſe- " cond time to examine him farther; he boldly " ſtood to all he had ſaid, and deſir'd that ſome " Juſtice of the City might be brought to him. " So Sir *Robert Clayton* and Sir *George Treby* " went to him; and he made the ſame pre- " tended Diſcovery to them over again, inſinua- " ting he was glad it was now in ſafe hands that " would not ſtifle it. The King was highly of- " fended at this, ſince it plainly ſhew'd a Diſ- " truſt of his Miniſters; and ſo *Fitzharris* was " remov'd to the *Tower*, which the Court re- " ſolv'd to make the Priſon for all Offenders till " there ſhould be Sheriffs choſen more at the " King's devotion; yet the Depoſition made to " *Clayton* and *Treby* was in all points the ſame " that he made to the Secretaries, *ſo that there* " *was no colour for the Pretence afterward put* " *on this, as if they had* practis'd *on him.*" What then will the Reader ſay of the Honeſty and Conſcience of a reverend Hiſtorian, who affirms that they did practiſe on him. Sir *Robert Clayton* *ask'd him what he could ſay to* Godfrey's *Murder*; *he anſwer'd*, ſomething. *Upon which* Clayton *reply'd, it may be you are in Confuſion, recollect yourſelf.* Sir *George Treby kept him three Hours, preſs'd him about* Godfrey's *Death, and declar'd*, unleſs he could ſpeak to that Murder he could ſay nothing. *Then ſaying ſomething he had heard from others*, he ask'd him *if he could ſay no more.*

Fitzharris's *Treaſon.*

Echard's *falſe Account of it.*

A. D. 1681.

He reply'd, *is not this enough to ſave my Life? am I not Rogue enough?* Hereupon the Recorder, Sir *George Treby*, a vertuous and ſober, as well as learned and judicious Gentleman, ſwore *God's Zounds!* it is Mr. Archdeacon who ſays it, *what were you ever but a Rogue?* Then he enter'd upon the Heads of the Examination, and told him, *All this would not ſave his Life, unleſs he would ſpeak to the* Libel, *which was a Court-Trick, and it was not for nothing that he had been ſo often ſeen at the Lady* Portſmouth's. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays there was not the leaſt colour to pretend to ſuch tampering; *Fitzharris*'s Libel tended to excite the People to Rebellion againſt the King, whom it repreſented as a Tyrant and a Papiſt, and the Duke of *York* to be ſtill worſe, if poſſible. Notwithſtanding the ill Succeſs of the Meal-Tub Plot, the *Faction* compos'd of *Papiſts* and *Torics* reſolv'd not to give over; and therefore in this ſecond Contrivance, fram'd to bring the Proteſtant Party, moderate Churchmen and Diſſenters, now call'd *Whigs*, into another Conſpiracy: For this treaſonable Libel was to be diſpers'd by the Penny-Poſt among the chief Proteſtant Lords and Gentlemen, whoſe Houſes and Perſons were then to be ſearch'd; and upon finding of the Libel they were to be apprehended, and proceeded againſt as Traytors. It is confeſs'd that the King gave *Dangerfield* Money before the Diſcovery of the Meal-Tub Treaſon, and now *Everard* ſwore poſitively, that the Court had a hand in it, and that the King had given *Fitzharris* Money. Sir *William Waller*, who was very active in diſcovering both *Dangerfield*'s and *Fitzharris*'s Treaſons, ſaid, *when he acquainted the King with the apprehending of* Fitzharris, *his Majeſty told him*, he had done the greateſt piece of Service he had ever done in his Life; *but he was no ſooner gone, than two Gentlemen told him the King ſaid*, he had broken his Meaſures, and he would have him taken off one way or other. Lord *Conway*, one of the Secretaries of State, own'd the giving of *Fitzharris* Money, but it was for ſome *trifling Buſineſs*; an *Iriſh* Papiſt to be cloſetted by the King, and to be rewarded by him, muſt needs be for a *Trifle:* Mrs. *Wall*, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s uſeful Handmaid, marry'd afterwards to Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, depos'd, that he had 250 *l.* at once given him for that *trifling Buſineſs*. *Is it not a Wonder*, ſays a modern Hiſtorian, *that after the Detection of two ſuch monſtrous and horrid Deſigns*, Dangerfield's *and* Fitzharris's, *any one ſhould believe the Presbyterian Plot, which murder'd the greateſt Patriots in* Britain, Lord *Ruſſel*, Col. *Sidney*, *&c*? It is very reaſonably ſuſpected, that the laſt mention'd *Presbyterian Plot* was a Branch of this of *Fitzharris*, and that the ſtifling the full Diſcovery of *Fitzharris*'s made way for thoſe Murders. The great Lawyer, Sir *John Hawles*, ſeems to be of that Opinion: *I am apt to think if that Matter had been thoroughly look'd into*, ſome Perſons, afterwards Witneſſes in the Lord *Ruſſel*'s, Col. *Sidney*'s, and Mr. *Hampden*'s Trials, *had either never been produc'd, or had not been credited if produc'd*; *nor would my Lord of* Eſſex's *Throat have been cut, and my Lord* Ruſſel *and Col.* Sydney *might have worn their Heads on their Shoulders to this day.* The *Oxford* Parliament were for looking into the Matter thoroughly, and we ſhall preſently ſee how they were prevented.

The King knew of it.

Fitzharris's *the Groundwork of the* Presbyterian Plot.

Lord Eſſex's *Throat cut.*

Now it was the Faction took into Pay the mercenary Pen of *Heraclitus Ridens*, who, ſays *Echard*, *wrote in favour of the King and Court. It was a notable Paper, and fill'd with uncommon Wit and Humour*, by which, as with a Rule, one may meaſure the Extent of his Underſtanding, and have a juſt Conception of the Delicacy of his Taſte, there having never been publiſh'd a more ſcurrilous and impudent Libel againſt the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Liberties of the *Britiſh* Nation, and all ſober Perſons and Things. The ſame was done by the Libeller's Fellow-Labourer, *Roger L'Eſtrange*, of whom a Poet, then living, thus ſung:

A. D. 1681.

When you return'd, you fell to work amain,
And took up your old ſcribling Trade again.
Some ſorry Scandal on Diſſenters *thrown,*
And viler Canting upon Forty-one;
You thought yourſelf the Buttreſs of the Crown.
Now for the Church of England *you declare,*
And wage with the Fanaticks *furious War.*
Tho' the two lewd Diurnals you diſpenſe,
Alike are void of Reaſon, Truth and Senſe.

Again,

While you at Sam's, *like a grave Doctor ſate,*
Teaching the Minor Clergy how to prate,
Who lick'd your Spittle up, and then came down,
And ſhed the naſty Drivel o'er the Town.

Which is a filthy, but a natural Image of what the Author would repreſent to us. For we read every where, that the Succeſs of *Heraclitus Ridens* and *L'Eſtrange*'s Papers, was among the *Minor Clergy*, and no wonder the reverend Hiſtorian brags of it.

In the mean time the Elections went on all over *England*, and in moſt Places the former Members were re-elected, or others choſen that were of the ſame Principles, both as to Church and State. The *Election* for *London* was at *Guildhall*, *February* 4. and the Choice fell upon Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Tho. Player*, *Tho. Pilkington* Eſq; and *William Love* Eſq; the ſame Members as in the laſt Parliament; but it is a general Miſtake, that there were few new Members in this Parliament; for there were near 220 new Members, tho' they were for the moſt part of the ſame Principles with the Majority of the laſt Parliament; and it ſhews what a diſpoſition the People were generally in all over the Kingdom, to preſerve their Religion and Liberties, tho' the Papiſts, the Minor Clergy above mention'd, the Court, their Creatures and Adherents, were then ſapping the Foundations of the Conſtitution of *England*, and would in time have utterly deſtroy'd it, had not the Genius of Liberty exerted itſelf at the Revolution. A Member of this *Oxford* Parliament, told a Perſon of Honour, from whom I had it, that there were 200 Members in that Houſe of Commons, which the King's Revenue could not bribe; and we ſhall preſently ſee how handſomely his Majeſty treated them. When the above mention'd four Citizens were choſen for *London*, a Paper was preſented to them in the Name of the *Common Hall*, containing a Return of their moſt hearty Thanks for their faithful and moſt unwearied Endeavours in the two laſt Parliaments, to ſearch into, and diſcover the Depth of the Plot, to preſerve his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the well-eſtabliſh'd Government of this Realm, to ſecure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Parliaments, to aſſert our undoubted Rights of Petitioning, to promote the long wiſh'd-for Union of his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects; to repeal the 35 *Eliz.* and the *Corporation Act*; and more eſpecially for their Endeavours in promoting the Bill of *Excluſion* of *James* Duke of *York*. In fine, they conclude, that being confidently aſſured, that they the ſaid Members for the City will never conſent to the granting any Money-Supply, till they have effectually ſecur'd us againſt *Popery* and Arbitrary Power, they

Citizens for London.

Receive a Paper from the Common Hall.

A. D. 1681.

they reſolve, by God's Aſſiſtance, to ſtand by their ſaid Members with their Lives and Fortunes.

The City thank the Earl of Eſſex and the other Lords.

After this, another Paper was preſented to the two Sheriffs, requeſting them in the Name of all the ſaid Citizens, then aſſembled in *Common Hall*, to return their grateful Acknowledgement to the Earl of *Eſſex*, and by him to the reſt of the Lords, who preſented the late *Petition* and *Advice* to his Majeſty.

The like Papers of Addreſs were preſented to the Members choſen for Counties, Cities and Boroughs; and ſo zealous were the Freeholders and Electors all over the Kingdom, that, contrary to the old Cuſtom of Parliament-Men treating the Country where they ſtood, now the Country in moſt Places treated them, or, at leaſt, every Man bore his own Charges.

I paſs over the Compliments paid to the King and Queen at their Arrival in *Oxfordſhire*, and at *Oxford*, by the Lord *Norreys* Lord Lieutenant of the County, who, a few Months after, very officiouſly aſſiſted at the Trial of poor *Colledge*, by *Bowel* Mayor of *Oxford*, and by the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Halton*, Provoſt of *Queen's*; which the King, Queen, and Court, were ſo well pleas'd with, that Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* tells us 'twas publiſh'd in print, *That this* Univerſity *is no leſs renown'd abroad as well as at home for its Loyalty and Duty to his Majeſty, than for its Learning and ſound Religion*; the Nonſenſe of which is pretty remarkable. Does *Salamanca* and the *Sorbonne*, *Geneva* and *Leyden*, admire the Renown of the Univerſity of *Oxford* for Soundneſs of Religion? The Preſents they made the King and Queen were extreamly acceptable. To the King they gave a large *Oxford Bible*; to the Queen, the Cuts of the Hiſtory of the Univerſity. They came thither a Week before the Seſſion of Parliament open'd. Many Members of the Houſe of *Commons*, eſpecially thoſe of *London*, were attended with great Retinues, Friends, Dependents and Servants on horſeback, not being without Apprehenſions of ſome ill Deſign againſt them, by the King's perſiſting ſo obſtinately to have them meet in that City.

Parliament meet at Oxford.

On the 21ſt of *March* the Parliament met, the Houſe of Lords in the Gallery at the public Schools; the Houſe of Commons in the Convocation-Room; to both whom, the compleat Hiſtorian ſays, his Majeſty made a moſt *gracious Speech*, which began moſt *graciouſly* thus: *My Lords and Gentlemen*, "The unwar- "rantable Proceedings of the *laſt Houſe of Com-* "*mons*." As I obſerv'd in the Reign of King *Charles* I. that there ſeem'd to be a Fatality in all his Counſels, tending to Confuſion and Deſtruction, ſo in the Counſels of this King there is ſomething very much like it. For he and his Miniſters knew very well that this Parliament would be rather more than leſs zealous in thoſe very Proceedings, which he calls *unwarrantable*, than were the laſt. What a hopeful Beginning was this then! Biſhop *Burnet* takes notice, that he ſeverely reflected on the laſt Parliament. He propos'd Expedients inſtead of the *Succeſſion* Bill, and deſir'd Supplies for *Tangier*, and to ſupport his Alliances, tho' he could not but be ſenſible that they would not give him a Penny without the Excluſion-Bill, inſtead of which he propos'd, that the Adminiſtration of the Government ſhould remain in *Proteſtant* Hands. This was explain'd by Sir *John Ernley* and Sir *Thomas Littleton*, to be meant of a *Prince Regent*, with whom the regal Authority ſhould be lodg'd during the Duke's Life. But before that Debate was enter'd upon, the Houſe of Commons took up Buſineſs where the laſt Parliament left it; As a Bill *againſt the Duke of* York's *Succeſſion*, another to *repeal the Act of* 35 *Eliz.* Preparations were to be made for the Proſecution againſt the *impeach'd* Lords in the Tower; and an Inquiry into the Affair of *Fitzharris*. A Motion being made for printing the *Votes*, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* oppos'd it, as not conſiſtent with the *Gravity of the Houſe*, of which he was one of the *graveſt* Members in Dr. *Littleton*'s Senſe of the word *Grave*. The major Vote paſt for printing. Another Motion was made, to inquire into the Miſcarriage of the laſt Bill, for repealing the Statute 35 of *Elizabeth*, which, ſaid the Mover, *I look upon as a Breach of the Conſtitution of the Government*. The Debate being adjourn'd to the next Day, *March* 25, a worthy Member mov'd, that, *That for the Preſervation of the* Proteſtant Religion, *a Bill be brought in to prevent a* Popiſh Succeſſor, *in particular againſt* James *Duke of* York; *and that it be the ſame Bill which paſs'd the laſt Parliament*. Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who repreſented the Univerſity of *Oxford*, ſtood up, and ſaid, *I muſt give my* Negative *to this Motion, and my Reaſon why I do ſo is, becauſe the King hath declar'd in his Speech, that as to the Point of altering the Succeſſion, he cannot depart from what he has ſo often declar'd, the King has given his Vote againſt it, and therefore I muſt do ſo too.* This is one of *Echard*'s brisk *Speakers*, and the Member who ſeconded him, ſpoke every whit as *briskly*. *The* King's *Speech gives us a Latitude for* Expedients, *and therefore we ſhould not have the Bill any more put to the hazard of* Rejection, *but think of ſome Expedients.* *Broom Whorwood* Eſq; who repreſented the City of *Oxford*, ſaid, *They who adviſ'd the King's Speech, muſt anſwer for it. The Words of the Speech are*, If any other way can be found out, *&c. I think thoſe about the King have done enough to ruin him and us; but I would have the King ſee we are ſo far from putting him upon that ſtreſs, that we would help him out. I think that Speech they read to us, to have nothing of the King in it; he is a better Man, and a better* Proteſtant, *than to do it of himſelf, therefore I would not put on a Reſolution, as flat and as ſhort as that is in the King's Speech. The King has gone ſo far as this Reſolution comes to in his* Declaration about Diſſenters *formerly; and yet from the Reaſons from hence he was perſuaded to revoke it. If Perſons have been ſo prevalent, as to put the King upon this Speech, let me ſee thoſe Perſons ſo forward in bringing the King into a Thing, to help him out; if they do not, I hope the King will lay the blame at their doors, and not at ours.* Yet ſuch was the Moderation of this great Aſſembly, notwithſtanding their juſt Zeal for the Security of their Religion, Rights and Properties, they agreed, *That in order to pay his Majeſty all the Reſpect that might be, they would ſet apart a time to conſider of* Expedients; and accordingly they appointed *Saturday* the 26th, for the Debate of them.

A. D. 1681.

Two Speeches againſt the Excluſion. P. 605.

Mr. Whorwood's *Speech for it, and againſt the King's.*

The next Day there was a Motion in the Houſe of Commons, which was much taken notice of for the novelty of it: 'Twas *to return Thanks to thoſe Places, who had generouſly and without Expence choſen their Members; and the Members ſo freely elected, were order'd to ſend their particular Thanks to thoſe that choſe them.* Then they proceeded to reſume yeſterday's Debate, upon the loſs of the Bill for the *Repeal of the Act of the* 35*th of* Elizabeth: Upon which, Sir Wil. Sir *William Jones* ſpoke thus: "This Matter Jones's "deſerves mature Conſideration, whether in *Speech about the* "reſpect of the loſs of the Bill, or the ſhaking *ſtolen Bill,* "the very Conſtitution of Parliament. The "Bill 35 Eliz.

Expedient.

A. D. 1681.

" Bill that is loſt is of great Moment, and of " great Service to the Country, and perhaps to " their Lives in the time of a *Popiſh Succeſſor*. " Thoſe Men that hinder'd the paſſing the Bill " had a proſpect of that, and if it be ſent up " again, we are like to meet with great Oppoſi- " tion. But be the Bill what it will, the *Pre-* " *cedent* is of the higheſt Conſequence. The " King has his *Negative* to all Bills, but I never " knew that the Clerk of the Parliament had " a *Negative*. No Man that knows Law or " Hiſtory but can tell, that to Bills grateful " and popular, the King gives his Conſent to " them: But if this way be found out, that Bills " ſhall be thrown by, it may be hereafter ſaid, " *They were forgot and laid by*, and we ſhall " never know whether the King would paſs them " or no." If this be ſuffer'd, 'tis in vain to ſpend time here, and 'tis a Scandal to the *Engliſh* Name, that a Law paſs'd by the Peers and Repreſentatives of the Nation ſhould be ſtolen out of the Houſe of Lords, and the Thief remain unpuniſh'd. Antiquity has no Parallel to this Baſeneſs, and the Theft is the more baſe and deteſtable, becauſe by that means many Thouſands of pious Proteſtants were ruin'd afterwards on the Pretence of the Statute 35 *Eliz.* which the Clerk of the Crown or Parliament ſtole away from among the Bills that were ready for the Royal Aſſent. The Houſe of Commons next read the Information concerning *Fitzharris*'s Treaſon, a Preparation for the Presbyterian Plot; and a Member of former Parliaments reported, how that one *Hubert* confeſs'd he had *fir'd* the City of *London*; upon which the Houſe reſolv'd to examine him next Morning: but before the Houſe ſate, *Hubert* was hang'd to prevent it. It was alſo remember'd, that there had been a Deſign to try the Popiſh Lords in the Tower by Indictment, to prevent which, the Commons exhibited general Impeachments againſt them ſo ſucceſsfully, that the Lords were never try'd upon Indictments, and the Judges gave their Opinion that they could not. Upon which the Houſe order'd an Impeachment againſt *Fitzharris*, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to carry it up; which he at firſt refus'd, ſaying, *The ſending me upon this Meſſage reflects upon my Maſter, and do what you will with me, I will not go.* The Houſe took him immediately to task; and to prevent the ill Conſequences of their Reſentment, he ſubmitted to their Order, ſome ſay, weeping, and carry'd the Impeachment to the Houſe of Peers, who threw it out, Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *upon a Pretence which the Earl of* Nottingham, Lord Chancellor, *furniſh'd them with*, that *Edward* III. had got ſome Commoners to be condemn'd by the Lords; of which, when the Houſe of Commons complain'd, an Order was made that no ſuch thing ſhould be done for the future. But the Biſhop proves his Earl to be in the wrong, for that related only to Proceedings at the King's Suit, and it could not be meant that an *Impeachment* from the Commons did not lie againſt a Commoner. The Houſe the next Day ran high in their Debates upon it. Sir *Thomas Littleton* ſaid, *This was to have no further uſe of a Parliament, but to ſerve a Purpoſe.* Another, Indictments *were brought againſt the Lords in the* Tower, *yet that was no Impediment to their* Impeachment *in the Lords Houſe; and the laſt Day of the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, the Lords accepted an Impeachment againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice* Scroggs, *and that this Denial of Juſtice by the Lords was greater than* Scroggs's *Denial of taking Preſentments from the Grand-Jury of* Middleſex, *by how much the Commons of Parliament are the great Inqueſt of the Nation.* Another, *This is a new Plot againſt the* Proteſtants *of which* Fitzharris *is accus'd; the Commons* impeach *him, and the Lords ſay*, We will not hear it. *If it were not for the Lords*, Fitzharris *might have diſcover'd all the Conſpiracy, and the* Proteſtant Religion *might have been ſav'd; wherefore I move that the denying this* Impeachment, *tends to the Subverſion of the Conſtitution of the* Parliament, *and of the* Proteſtant Religion. Sir *William Jones* did not only exclaim againſt the other Houſe, but againſt the Biſhops in particular, declaring, *They had no Right to vote in this Caſe.* Serjeant *Maynard* cry'd, *Our All is at ſtake; and if we muſt not proſecute*, Holland *and* Flanders *muſt ſubmit to the* French, *and they over-run all.* Another ſpoke thus; *This is a Confirmation of the Deſign to murther the King, and the Duke's conſenting to deſtroy his own Brother; and therefore I move*, " That if any Judge, Juſtice, or " Jury proceed upon *Fitzharris*, and he be " found guilty, that the Houſe would declare " him and them guilty of his Murther, and *Be-* " *trayers of the Rights of the Commons of* Eng- " land." To which was added, upon the Motion of Sir *William Jones*, " Or that any inferior " Court ſhall proceed, *&c.*" which was paſs'd. The reaſon of this Vote was, that if *Fitzharris* was try'd upon an Indictment, he muſt have been try'd ſingly upon the Fact, whether he were guilty or not of the contriving and diſperſing the *Libel*; whereas upon an Impeachment, the Commons might inquire into the whole Conſpiracy, which would moſt certainly have involv'd the Court in the Guilt of it; and it is certain they would not otherwiſe have precipitated his Trial in an inferior Court as they did, nor would they have directed their Creatures in the Houſe of Lords, among which were almoſt the whole Bench of Biſhops, to have oppos'd the Impeachment on purpoſe to hinder an Inquiry into that dark Myſtery of Iniquity, which not many Months after let out ſome of the beſt Blood in the Nation, which cry'd aloud for Vengeance on the Heads of thoſe that were concern'd, and the righteous Vengeance of Heaven moſt apparently and terribly purſu'd them.

A. D. 1681.

Speech upon it.

Fitzharris's Impeachment thrown out by the Lords.

I have hinted that Sir *John Ernley* propos'd to the Houſe the Expedient of a *Regency*: Upon which Sir *William Poultney* ſaid, *Conſider what is a* Regency; *I never heard of it, but of a Prince in poſſeſſion in* Minority *or* Lunacy, *and it has generally been very unfortunate: But to talk of a* Regency in futuro, *in Condition and Limitation of Time, I never heard of. This* Expedient *does not anſwer the King's Speech, nor your former Bill. They make the King but a Shadow, and they divide* Perſon *from* Power, *our Law will not endure it. The* Perſon *divided from the* Power, *both will be courted. The King leads you to conſider* Expedients, *but ſuch as will conſiſt with the Safety and Dignity of Monarchy. This muſt be two Kings at the ſame time, one by* Law, *and another by* Right. *The former Bill has been under Conſideration of all the People of* England, *and perhaps all the* Proteſtants *of* Europe. *All the Wits of Learned Men have made their Objections againſt it, yet notwithſtanding all People are ſtill of the ſame mind. And now we run upon the moſt miſhapen Thing, which it may be two or three Years before we underſtand it, and we may expect to have an Operation of it nobody knows when.* Mr. *H. C.* ſpoke for *Expedients*; " If the *Excluſion* of the Duke be " the beſt way to preſerve Religion, this Houſe " cannot do it alone. If we cannot have that " beſt way, we are guilty to our Country if we " take none. If a Man be ſick, and ſo order'd " that

Sir Will. Poultney.

A. D. 1681. " that nothing muſt be taken but by Direction " of three Phyſicians, and two are for giving " him the *Jeſuits Powder*, and one againſt it, " and he thinks he does the Duty of his Profeſ- " ſion, but they all three not agreeing, muſt the " Patient take nothing? And we are but one " Part of the Legiſlative Power.——When Men " preſs ſo faſt, they may come late into their " Inn by tiring their Horſes. Let a grand Com- " mittee try *Expedients*, elſe 'tis not *conſultare*, " but *dicere*." Mr. *J. S.* ſaid, in anſwer to the Simile of the three Phyſicians, *If the Caſe be ſuch, that the two, in the Judgment of the third, did offer nothing to the ſick Man but what was mortal, he ought not to venture upon his own Diſreputation in joining with them.* Mr. *T. B.* ſaid, *Expedients have been mov'd for already, as the* Jeſuits Powder *for an Ague, but our Diſeaſe is a Pleuriſy, and we muſt let blood.* Sir *William Jones* and Sir *Francis Winnington* were unmoveably for the Bill of Excluſion; and againſt two ſuch Men, Mr. Archdeacon produces Mr. *George Legg*, who urg'd the *Dangers* of a Commonwealth, and told them a Story as much to the purpoſe, as if he had given them an Argument. " His Father being in Priſon in the " late Times, an eminent Man then in Power, " in Diſcourſe with him, ſaid, *I have oblig'd you,* " *and if the King come in, as I believe he will,* " *then think of me. Look to yourſelves when* " *you are in the Saddle again; if once you di-* " *vide, adieu to Monarchy for ever.*" This muſt needs be ſome Man of Eminence, by his believing the King would come in again: He muſt believe alſo that *Oliver* would betray his Maſters the Republick; that he would refuſe to be King; That he would leave the Government to his Son *Dick*, and that his Son's Brethren and Uncles would turn him out of it; that the Army would reſtore the Parliament, and then pull them down again; that *Monk* would be too hard for *Lambert* and *Fleetwood*; that he would abjure all his Abjurations, intend to make himſelf Protector, but be put out of his Intentions by Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*; and when he could do nothing for himſelf, let in the King without making any Terms but for himſelf. Had any one of theſe Things not happen'd as it did, the King had died abroad, as his Brother the Duke of *York* did, and had had no better a Kingdom to leave behind him, than the Pretender is now in poſſeſſion of. One Senator compar'd Expedients *to* Cucumbers; *which, after they were well dreſs'd, were to be thrown away.* Another ſaid, *It ſeems to me as if a Man that ſcorch'd his Shins at the Fire, inſtead of removing himſelf farther off, ſhould ſend for a Maſon to remove the Chimney back. If I am to leap over a River, I had rather have no Staff than a broken one. I ſee no Remedy to ſave Religion, unleſs excluding the Duke.* So the Bill was order'd to be brought in on *Monday* Morning, the next Day of meeting, which was the 28th of *March*, when it was again read, and Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* ſtood up, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, *and ſaid*, (not elegantly or wiſely, but *fearleſly*,) what follows: *No Bill was ever offer'd to the Parliament of the like nature, ſo much againſt the Juſtice of the Nation: It condemns a Man unheard, and by a Law made Ex poſt Facto.* They excluded him after he had turn'd Papiſt. Would Mr. Secretary have had them exclude him before he turn'd Papiſt? Is it againſt the Juſtice of the Nation to provide for the Security of their Religion, Rights, Properties and Liberties? He fearleſly goes on, *It is not only againſt the fundamental Juſtice, but againſt the Wiſdom of the Nation:* None but Fools are for Self-Preſervation. Again, *And will introduce a Change of Government.* No great matter that, if it was for the better, and it could not well be for the worſe. *If the Duke will try to cut this Law with his Sword*, he would have had the ſame Succeſs as when he endeavour'd afterwards to cut the Abdicating Law with the Sword. *If he overcome, he will have the ſame Power to ſet aſide all Laws, both for Religion and Property*, as he attempted afterwards, without overcoming. *The Power will be in the hands of the Conqueror, and certainly he will change the Government. It is againſt Religion*, (the Popiſh one it was againſt) *and the* Oaths *of the Nation.* Here Mr. Secretary began to be not quite ſo fearleſs as at firſt, ſaying, *Poſſibly I am too tedious, and not willingly heard: if the Bill be againſt the Religion oblig'd by* Oaths, *againſt the Government, and the Wiſdom of the Nation, I hope you will throw it out.* Never did Man hope ſo, when he ſaw almoſt every body all round him impatient for the paſſing the Bill, and ſo little notice was taken of what he ſaid, that Mr. *T. B.* ſpoke thus: *Mr. Secretary has mov'd to throw out the Bill, and deſir'd to be heard patiently, I find nobody ſeconds him, pray let him go on and ſecond himſelf.* They had no doubt a very mean Opinion of him, or they would not have heard any thing ſo contemptuouſly ſaid of him, without taking ſome notice of it. The Bill was order'd a ſecond Reading; and as they were reſuming the Debate about *Fitzharris*, on a ſudden the Uſher of the Black-Rod commanded their Attendance in the Houſe of Lords; where the King told them, *He perceiv'd there were great Heats between the Lords and Commons, and their Beginnings had been ſuch, as he could expect no good Succeſs of this Parliament, and therefore thought fit to diſſolve them*; which the Lord Chancellor did accordingly, and King *Charles* never met a Parliament more.

A. D. 1681.

Sir Lionel Jenkins's *fearleſs Speech.*

Parliament diſſolv'd.

Echard here begins a new Period, and he opens it with ſome idle Reflections, which are as much an Affront to common Senſe as the preſent Conſtitution, and it is amazing that he ſhould have the Confidence to make a Preſent of it to his late Majeſty. He tells the World he's about to treat of the *King's Succeſs*, after he had ſo raſhly diſſolv'd the *Oxford* Parliament with *unuſual Courage. He ſet up a more independent Adminiſtration; he acted more like an abſolute Monarch; he reſolv'd to exert his Authority, and to get Supplies by other than* Parliamentary *Methods; he was tired out with endleſs Stories of the Plot; he grew more tricking and artful in his Proceedings; and having ſatiated himſelf with Blood, grew more* ſanguinary *in his Temper.* This, and a great deal more of it, is what he calls his Majeſty's *Succeſs* in his Adminiſtration. The Ingenious Author of *The Hiſtory of ſtanding Armies*, deſcribes his *Succeſs* thus: " No " Man could be employ'd in Church or State, " till he had declar'd himſelf an open Enemy to " our Conſtitution, by aſſerting deſpotick Power " under that nonſenſical Phraſe of *Paſſive Obe-* " *dience*, which was more preach'd up than all the " Laws of God and Man. The *Helliſh, Popiſh* " *Plot* was ſtifled, prov'd ſince too true by fatal " Experience; and in the room of it *Proteſtant* " ones were forg'd, and Men trapann'd into o- " thers, as the *Meal-Tub, Fitzharris, Ryehouſe,* " *Newmarket*, and *Black heath Plots*; and by " theſe Pretences, and the help of pack'd *Juries* " and Judges, they butcher'd ſome of the beſt " Men in *England.*" This is what the reverend Hiſtorian calls his Majeſty's Succeſs, and when he comes to thoſe very Butcheries, he gives his Verdict, and pronounces the *bloody* Sentence after thoſe Juries and Judges. The abovemention'd

Tory Government applauded by Echard.

A. D. 1681.

ingenious Author proceeds; " They ſet immo-
" derate Fines upon others, gave probable Suſ-
" picion of cutting the Lord *Eſſex*'s Throat; and
" to finiſh our Deſtruction, they took away the
" Charters, as faſt as they were able, of all the
" Corporations in *England* that would not chuſe
" the Members that were preſcrib'd them."
How *ſucceſsful* was this bleſſed King in his At-
tempt to deſtroy the Conſtitution! But the Arch-
deacon, who is extreamly ignorant of the Cauſes
and Springs of Action, and Counſels in theſe ca-
lamitous Times, miſtook King *Charles*'s *Succeſs*
for his Brother the Duke of *York*'s: read the ju-
dicious *Acherley*. " The King declar'd, *He would*
" *live on his own Revenues, and never more*
" *trouble Parliaments*, who had truſted him with
" that Revenue. At this time commenc'd a
" new *Æra*, and an intire *Alteration*, in order
" to ſtrike at the Root, and over-turn the *Con-*
" *ſtitution*; for the King diſmiſs'd himſelf in a
" manner from the Government, and delegated
" over the whole Adminiſtration into the hands
" of his Brother the Duke of *York*, who under-
" took to ſecure his own *Succeſſion*, without gi-
" ving the King any more Diſturbance; and the
" careleſs King was glad of being eas'd of the
" trouble, and to ſtand by as unconcern'd at his
" Brother's Management of the Government,
" contenting himſelf to be attended at his *Levees*
" and in his *Walks* like a Duke, whilſt the *Duke*
" was at his *Levees* and in his *Walks* attended like
" a *King*: inſomuch that from this time, *A-*
" *pril* 1, 1681, during the reſt of King *Charles*'s
" Reign, the *Duke* may be look'd upon as *King*
" *in Potentia*, except the Name. As ſoon as
" this was known, the Eagerneſs to *exclude*
" him chang'd into *courting* and magnifying
" of him, and into a manifeſt Coldneſs to-
" wards the King. *You ſee what Succeſs he*
had, " all Applications were made to the
" *Duke* for Preferments in Church and State,
" he made the *Biſhops*, and garbled the Judges,
" till he had made a Sett to his Mind; of whom,
" ſome of them acted more like furious Proſecu-
" tors than Judges."

Duke of York *governs all.*

P. 602.

The Duke's Tyranny.

I ſhall continue *Echard*'s Succeſs ſtill farther, not only becauſe it proves the Weakneſs of his Underſtanding, or of his Integrity, but becauſe it alſo proves what I have all along intended, that the *Stuartine* Race were from the firſt to the laſt of them in a Conſpiracy againſt the *Britiſh* Conſtitution Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. Dr. *Welwood* writes thus of it: " The Charters of the
" City of *London* and other Corporations ſtood
" in the way of an abſolute Government, and it
" was reſolv'd to break thro' this *Barrier*: in
" order to which, *Quo Warranto's* were brought
" againſt them, and in progreſs of time, they
" were either ſurrender'd or vacated by a Sett
" of *Judges* PICK'D out for that Purpoſe; and
" it was reſolv'd thereby to make one of the
" Eſtates of Parliament depend entirely upon
" the *Will* and *Nomination* of the Prince. While
" theſe *Quo Warranto's* were going on, whole
" Peals of *Anathema* were rung out againſt thoſe
" Patriots who had ſtood up for the Liberties of
" their Country in the preceding Parliaments,
" and it was look'd upon as a Crime againſt the
" *State* for any one to regret the approaching
" Fate of his Country; even the *Holy Scrip-*
" *tures* themſelves were made a Stale for *Arbi-*
" *trary Power*. This was a Time never to be
" forgotten, when Heaven itſelf was rank'd up-
" on our Enemies ſide by ſome that pretended
" to expound its *Will*. In ſome places a new
" kind of *Funeral Harangues* came in faſhion,
" our *Laws*, our *Liberties*, our *Parliaments*,
" our *Native Rights* were to be buried; but in-
" ſtead of dropping a Tear at their Funeral, ſul-
" ſome *Panegyricks* were made upon their Mur-
" therers, and Curſes denounc'd againſt thoſe
" that would have retriev'd them from Deſtruc-
" tion."

Clergy aſſiſt him in it.

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Biſhop *Burnet* gives further Proof of the De-
ſign to enſlave us, *and all this laid together*, P. 528.
ſays his Lordſhip, *the whole look'd like an extra-*
vagant Fit of Madneſs; yet no Part of it was ſo
unaccountable, as the high Strains to which the
Univerſities, and moſt of the Clergy were carry'd. *Univerſities againſt the Conſtitution.*
We ſhall have too much occaſion to ſpeak of this
boaſted Succeſs of King *Charles* in the following
Pages.

The King left *Oxford* the ſame Day he diſ-
ſolv'd the Parliament, with an apparent Affecta-
tion of Haſte, as if he thought he was in danger
there, and it was to countenance a Deſign form'd
to proſecute a *Presbyterian* Plot, tho' *Fitzharris*
was to be hang'd for contriving it; and King
Charles did indeed carry on that Proſecution with
great *Succeſs*; for which, according to *Echard*, P. 624.
he gain'd more *Authority and Reverence, and*
more Love and Affection than he had met with
for ſeveral Years before, which he imputes chiefly
to the Effects of a *well-penn'd Declaration* pub-
liſh'd by him ſoon after he *diſſolv'd* the *Oxford*
Parliament; but as he knows little of the *well* or
ill-penning of any ſuch Piece, the Reader will
not be prejudic'd by what he ſays againſt the An-
ſwer to it, which was firſt drawn up by Col. *Al-*
gernon Sidney, then improv'd by the late Lord
Somers, and laſt of all corrected by the very emi-
nent Sir *William Jones*; in a Treatiſe entitled,
A juſt and modeſt Vindication of the two laſt Par- *The King's Declaration concerning the late Diſſolution,*
liaments, of which mention has been made. *E-*
chard affirms, *he began by Art and Smoothneſs.*
Biſhop *Burnet*, *He reckon'd up all the hard things*
that had been done by three Parliaments; as the
Vote not to lend Money, that againſt proſecuting
Diſſenters, *&c.* Tho' this Declaration is not quite
ſo wordy as Lord *Clarendon*'s and Lord *Notting-*
ham's Speeches; yet it is too redundant to be in-
ſerted intire, unleſs there had been more Sincери-
ty in it. Enough of it will be ſeen by repeating a
few Paragraphs of the Vindication, wherein
there's more Law, Reaſon, and good Argument, *Anſwer'd in the juſt and modeſt Vindication.*
than in all the Harangues and Declarations that
the Court-Party had publiſh'd ſince the *Reſtora-*
tion.

It prov'd, that by the Statutes of this Kingdom
Parliaments ſhould not be prorogu'd or diſſolv'd,
till all the Petitions and Bills before them were
anſwer'd and redreſs'd: That the Manner of *diſ-*
ſolving the *Oxford* Parliament was unwarranted
by the Precedent of former Times: That the
King doth not act any conſiderable Act of Regal
Power, till it be firſt debated and reſolv'd in
Council, and the Peers at *Oxford* were ſo wholly
ignorant of the Counſel, that they never thought
of a *Diſſolution* till they heard it pronounc'd; yet
the Dutcheſs of *Mazarine* publiſh'd the News at
St. James's many Hours before it was done; for
that not only the *Diſſolution*, but the ſubſequent
Declaration were both coin'd in a *French* Mint, no
body queſtions, and it will appear ſtill plainer, by
what follows out of the *Vindication*.

" Tho' to the Diſhonour of our Country it ap-
" pears, that ſome *Engliſhmen* were concern'd in
" the unhappy Advice of breaking the two laſt
" Parliaments, and ſetting up this pretended De-
" fence of it; yet the *Galliciſms* which are found
" in the Paper, ſhew the Writer to have been of
" another Nation, or at leaſt to have had his
" Thoughts ſo much taken up for the Intereſts of
" *France*, (whilſt he was labouring this way to
" heighten and perpetuate the Differences be-
" tween the King and the People) that he could
" not

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" not expreſs himſelf in any other *Idiom* than " theirs; he would not otherwiſe have introduc'd " the King ſaying, *That it was a Matter ex-* " *tremely ſenſible to us*, a Form of Speech pecu- " liar to the *French*, and unknown to any other " Nation. The Reader who underſtands that " Language, will obſerve ſo many more of this " kind, as will give him juſt Cauſe to doubt " whether the whole Paper was not a Tranſla- " tion, and whether the *Engliſh* one, or that " which was publiſh'd in *French* was the Origi- " nal?

" Let us then no longer wonder that the Time " of *diſſolving* our Parliaments is known at *Paris* " ſooner than at *London*, ſince 'tis probable the " Reaſons now given for it, were formed there " too. The *Declaration* was not communicated " to the Privy-Council till *Friday* the 8th of *A-* " *pril*, when his Majeſty, according to the late " Method, did graciouſly declare to them his " Pleaſure, to ſet it forth without deſiring from " them any Advice in the Matter; but Monſieur " *Barillon*, the *French* Ambaſſador, did not only " read it to a Gentleman the 5th of *April*, but ad- " viſed with him about it, and demanded his Opi- " nion of it." Echard *owns this, and ſinks what comes after*, " Which his Excellency will the better " remember, becauſe of the great Liberty which " the Perſon took in ridiculing it to his Face." Here the *Vindicator* modeſtly exclaims, *Good God! to what a Condition is this Kingdom reduc'd, when the Miniſters and Agents of the only Prince in the World, who can have Deſigns againſt us, or of whom we ought to be afraid, are not only made acquainted with the moſt ſecret Paſſages of State, but are made our chief Miniſters too, and have the principal Conduct of our Affairs!* As fully as this Declaration is anſwer'd in the before-cited *Vindication*, which the Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſays was the beſt Paper that had been publiſh'd, *writ with Spirit and true Judgment*, *Echard* commends the Declaration as very *popular*. *Sancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, mov'd in Council that this *French* Memorial might *be read in all Churches and Chappels*; and the Minor Clergy executed the Order they receiv'd concerning it with ſingular Delectation. This Declaration rais'd over *England* a Humour of making *Addreſſes* to the King, returning him Thanks for it. There was an *impartial Account* of theſe Addreſſes publiſh'd at the Time when the Addreſſers were crowding to Court with them, and the Author ſets us right in the Matter: " Should any in the " Liſt of the late *Thankſgivers* be hereafter " found to have promoted Addreſſes with a " Proſpect of introducing either Tyranny or Po- " pery, the Names and Pretences of Law and " the Proteſtant Religion, which they have not " only flouriſh'd their Papers with, but made his " Majeſty's Promiſe of preſerving them the " Grounds of their Acknowledgments, and the " Foundation of the Tenders which they have " made of their Lives and Fortunes, will entail " an everlaſting Infamy upon them. The Num- " ber of the Subſcribers is not ſo conſiderable as " to bear any Proportion to thoſe that are againſt " them." *L'Eſtrange* call'd them the *Thirty to One*, " For tho' a few buſy People have made a " great Noiſe and Buz in ſeveral Places of the " Kingdom; yet all of them put together make " not ſo great a Number, as we have ſeen not long " ſince to *one* Petition for a Parliament; ſo that " it is matter of Wonder, that the Govern- " ment for its own Reputation hath not in ſome " publick way prohibited and forbid them, and " eſpecially when it finds that after all the Neg- " lect and Scorn which the *Addreſſers* are ex- " poſ'd unto for their Paucity and Fewneſs, yet " they have not the Diſcretion to forbear and de- " ſiſt." The *compleat Hiſtorian* confeſſes they were procur'd by Sollicitations from the Court, and their Sollicitations produc'd a Cartload of Folly, Stupidity, Fuſtian, Impudence and Impertinence, too well known to need expatiating upon it. It is not ſtrange that the Archdeacon flouriſhes on theſe Addreſſes, and particularly on that from *Norwich*, which he tells us reflected on the *Exorbitancies* of the late Houſe of Commons, who, if Sir *William Jones*, the Lord *Somers* and Col. *Sidney* knew what belong'd to ſuch things, committed no Exorbitancy. The *Stuffmen* of *Norwich thank'd the King moſt ſolemnly for giving his two laſt Parliaments ſuch timely Diſſolutions*. The Author of the *impartial Account* of Addreſſes, tells us, *Moſt of the Clergy did not only intereſt themſelves in countenancing, but were Sticklers* for them, of whom Lord *Halifax* ſaid pleaſantly, *The* Petitioners *for a Parliament ſpit in the King's Face*, but the Addreſſers ſpit in his *Mouth*. Tho the Papers that were extorted or procur'd by Artifice from Counties, Cities and Boroughs were equally dull and fulſome, bombaſt and impertinent; yet every Mortal that accompany'd them had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, and many of them were dubb'd, who had not wherewithal to pay the Fees of Knighthood.

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Addreſſes.

Lord Halifax's *witty Saying of them.*

John Dryden is now brought into the Archdeacon's Hiſtory, for laſhing a Pamphlet concerning his Majeſty's Declaration in a Lampoon, wherein Mr. *Bayes* was pleas'd to ſay, *The Commons may make Spaniels of the Lords, throw them a Man, and bid them go judge him, as we command a Dog to fetch and carry*. He could not ſee that the Simile was Nonſenſe, but it was Impudence; and he has more than once miſtaken that for Wit. He then extols *Heraclitus Ridens* once more, and writes another Panegyrick on that Hireling *L'Eſtrange*, againſt whom were many Writers, when they could get any one to print their Writings, which was not eaſily to be done; inſomuch that it is ſaid, *Andrew Marvel*, who had more Wit than *Dryden*, *L'Eſtrange*, *Heraclitus*, and all of them, was forc'd to compoſe his own Pieces himſelf, and to work them off at a little Preſs, which he had contriv'd on purpoſe: For as another ſweet Effect of Tyranny and arbitrary Power, the Writers, Printers and Publiſhers on the Side of the Country were put down and ſilenc'd, and *Francis Smith*, one of them, thrown into *Newgate*; while *L'Eſtrange* was ſuffer'd to inſult the religious and wiſe Part of the Nation, to vilify the Reformation and the free Conſtitution of *England*, not only with Impunity, but with Reward, tho' there was really no more Wit than Truth in his Writings. In one of his Papers he propheſy'd indeed, as well he might, being let into the Secret of the intended Murders, *if it ſhould pleaſe God*, ſaid the prophane Hireling, to ſend us ſeaſonable Sheriffs, *and fair play for our Money, there are ſet on foot ſo many Titles in competition for the Gallows, that it would be a hard matter to ſettle their Claims, and ſay who ſhould go firſt*. What ſort of Men he thinks would make *ſeaſonable Sheriffs* we may diſcover by what he ſays elſewhere, *Wilt thou ſet their* Corniſh *and* Bethel, *their* Pilkington *and* Shute, *againſt our* North *and* Rich, *our* Daniel *and* Daſhwood? And in another place he ſays, *A Citizen's Skull is but a thing to try the Temper of a Soldier's Sword upon*.

L'Eſtrange's *Impudence and Villainy.*

This wretched Buffoonry does the Archdeacon miſtake for Wit, and honour it with his Applauſe, on account of the Cauſe he is engag'd in; he alſo highly extolls *Dryden* for his *Abſalom* and *Achitophel*, a lewd Satyr on the Lord *Shaftesbury*, and

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and other noble Patriots. He knew not that *Dryden*'s Character, as a Poet, is wearing, and that he is valu'd only for his Verfification. I have repeated a Couplet or two of the Satyrs written by Mr. *Marvel*, and others of the Country Party, whofe Humour and Wit were infinitely fuperior to *Echard*'s, *Heraclitus*, and *Roger L'Eſtrange*. Whoever has a mind to make the Compariſon, need only turn to the four Volumes of *State Poems*. If the Archdeacon had as juſt Conceptions of Perſons and Things as Biſhop *Burnet*, he would not have mention'd ſo lewd a Verſifyer as *Dryden* without Animadverſion. *He was a Monſter of Immodeſty*, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *and a Monſter of Impurity of all ſorts.* He fell upon the Church afterwards in his *Hind* and *Panther*, but the Reverend Hiſtorian forgives him for his falling upon the *Presbyterians*, when they were fallen upon by the Government, and the Prieſthood preach'd more againſt them than againſt Drunkards and Adulterers, who were forgotten in the Fury of their Zeal. The Pulpits were every where defil'd with Railing and Invectives, with Reproaches and Curſes. *The Clergy*, 'tis Biſhop *Burnet* who ſays it, *ſtruck up to a higher Note with ſuch Zeal for the Duke's Succeſſion, as if a Popiſh King had been a Bleſſing from Heaven to be much long'd for by a Proteſtant Church. They likewiſe gave themſelves ſuch a Looſe againſt* Nonconformiſts, *as if nothing was ſo formidable as that Party; ſo that in all their Sermons Popery was quite forgot, and the Force of their Zeal was turn'd almoſt wholly againſt* Diſſenters, *who were now by Order from the Court to ſuffer Perſecution.* There was alſo a great Change made in the Commiſſions all over *England*, none were left either on the Bench, or in the Militia, that did not with Zeal go into the Humour of the Court; and ſuch of the Clergy as would not engage in that Fury, which were not many, were cry'd out upon as Betrayers of the Church. I ſhall add other Inſtances of the Happineſs of the Times, upon which *Roger* and *Heraclitus* waſted ſo much Paper in dull Panegyricks, and *Echard* praiſes them for praiſing the Felicities of this felicitous Reign; I find them in the *State Tracts*. The Author is ſpeaking of the *Tories*, whoſe Tools I have juſt mention'd. "As to their original Riſe, 'tis certain they owe their being known in the World "to the horrid and execrable Deſigns of the two "late Kings to ſet up *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* amongſt us. Then were all the Jails, "Brothels and Kennels rak'd for Villains of "fear'd Conſciences, and deſperate Fortunes. "Your *Arl——ns*, *Cliff——ds*, *Oſ——ns* were then "thought upon for Miniſters of State, and under them were bred ſuch a pack of Wretches "as the Court of *Tiberius* would have been aſham'd of. In the *Law* they were of the ſame "ſort with the Miniſtry. What Age can parallel their *N——*, their *N—ths*, their *Jefferies*, *Scroggs*, *Rainsfords*, *Wrights*, *&c.* and "their Under-Managers *Graham* and *Burton*. "Then as to the Pillars of what they then call'd "the Church of *England*, tho' ſo diſguis'd at "that time, that it was ſcarce known by its moſt "dutiful, moſt affectionate, and moſt pious "Children, I need ſay no more of them, than "that they were compos'd of Biſhops, and a "Clergy prefer'd by two Kings, who were about "to ſet up Popery and Tyranny, and therefore "were to chuſe ſuch Men into the Government of "the Church, as they thought would be moſt complying with thoſe Purpoſes, and whoſe Looſeneſs "of Morals might bring moſt Diſcredit upon the "Proteſtant Religion. And whoever remembers *Mew*, *Parker*, *Cartwright*, *White*, *Watſon*, &c. will, I think, be of the Opinion they were "not ill choſen for the Works they were to do." Dr. *Welwood* obſerves, *About this time a certain Set of Men began a ſecond time to adopt into our Religion a* Mahometan *Principle, under the Names of* Paſſive *Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, which, ſince the Time of that* Impoſtor, *who firſt broach'd it, has been the Means to enſlave a great part of the World.* I could very much enlarge on this Subject, to prove that the tyrannical Proceedings of the Government in theſe bad Times, were much encourag'd by an immoral and illiterate Clergy, in hopes of Church-Preferments, which were liberally beſtow'd on them, while the learned, pious and orthodox Divines were neglected and deſpis'd for their Charity and Moderation; ſuch as *Tillotſon*, *Patrick*, *Fowler*, *Kidder*, *Meriton*, *Hall*, *Lloyd*, *Teniſon*, *Grove*, *Williams*, and many others, Fathers and Doctors of our Church, which, by God's Bleſſing, has never wanted religious and worthy Miniſters, to preach the Purity of the Chriſtian Faith in oppoſition to Superſtition and Perſecution; ſuch have been a very conſiderable Body of the Clergy ſince the Revolution, Men of Proteſtant and *Engliſh* Principles, who cannot be too much reſpected by *Engliſh* Men and Proteſtants.

Clergy deep in the perſecuting Buſineſs.

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Paſſive Obedience *and* Non-Reſiſtance *a* Turkiſh *Principle.*

I have been led into this Digreſſion by *Echard*'s ridiculous Encomiums on two wretched Scriblers, Betrayers of our Religion and Liberties, after the Diſſolution of the *Oxford* Parliament. We have ſeen what honourable Times theſe were, and we muſt now ſee what Honours were diſtributed in them.

Laurence Hyde Eſq; Viſcount *Hyde* of *Kennelworth*, Baron of *Wootton Baſſet*.

Charles Duke of *Richmond*, Knight of the Garter.

Heneage Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellor, Earl of *Nottingham*.

Sir *Francis Pemberton*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, to give the better colour to *Fitz-Harris*'s Trial; *Pemberton* being, till then, thought a Man of ſome Probity.

In *Eaſter* Term, a Bill of *High Treaſon* was preferr'd againſt him to the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, Mr. *Godfrey*, Brother and Heir to Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, being Foreman. They heſitated as to receiving of it, becauſe he was *impeach'd* by the Commons; but the new Judge *Pemberton* and his Brother Judges remov'd that Heſitation, by declaring they might lawfully proceed. The Bill being found, *Fitz-Harris* pleaded the *Impeachment*, and that he could not be try'd by that Court. He had Counſel aſſign'd him, and conſidering who they were, he had the Advantage as to pleading; for Sir *William Williams*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, and Mr. *Wallop*, had no hard Task to deal with Sir *Robert Sawyer* the Attorney-General, and Mr. *Finch* Solicitor-General; but the Court was determin'd, and notwithſtanding the ſtrong Arguments of *Fitz-Harris*'s Counſel, and the weak Arguments of the King's, *Pemberton*, *Jones* and *Raymond*, gave their Opinion, that *Fitz-Harris*'s *Plea* was *inſufficient*; but gave no Reaſons for it, which they ought to have done, as we are taught by the very learned Sir *John Hawles* in his Remarks on this Trial. *Fitz-Harris* then pleaded *Not guilty*; and having a Witneſs in *Holland*, he was not try'd till the 9th of *June*.

Fitz-Harris's *Trial.*

Very wickedly is this Trial introduc'd in the Hiſtory we have ſo often animadverted upon. The Whigs took great pains in the making of a Jury; whereas the pains was taken by the Attorney-General *Sawyer*, who excepted againſt ſeveral

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A. D. 1681. ſeveral of the *Pannel* without cauſe, and challeng'd *John Kent*, *Giles Shute*, *Nathaniel Grantham*, and others as no *Freeholders*, and his Challenge was allow'd by the Court. Tho' in the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Caſe the Court adjudg'd, that *no Freehold* was a good Challenge. The Proof of the Libel upon him was too plain to be conteſted, and *Fitz-Harris* ſaid he did it by order of his Superiors, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* joining with him in it. Nay, it was the general Report, that Lord *Howard* indited the *Libel*; but, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, it was too meanly drawn to come from that Lord. *Echard* owns *the Tories were for* hanging him, and to that end the new Judge and his Brother Judges ſumm'd up the Evidence unfairly, to uſe Sir *John Hawles*'s own Words, and he was convicted and condemn'd. The Archdeacon, who is Counſel againſt *Fitz-Harris*, produces one of the King's Concubines, and her Woman Mrs. *Wall* too, as Witneſſes for the King, tho' call'd by the Priſoner. *They deny'd what he chiefly wanted them to affirm, that they employ'd him in ſuch Buſineſs.* Now *Wall*'s Evidence was likely to be good, ſhe ſwore *he was never admitted to the King*; and the Lord *Conway* ſwore he did ſpeak with the King. Many other Hardſhips were put upon the Priſoner to take away his Life, and prevent the Diſcovery of the Contrivers of this Plot, among whom, no doubt, would have been found the Duke, if not the *King*; and even by the Confeſſion of Mr. Archdeacon, Mrs. *Fitz-Harris* did, ſeveral Years after, aver to a Perſon of Worth, *That the Buſineſs of the* Libel *was a Court-Trick, and the King was privy to it:* yet does he expatiate on what *Fitz-Harris* confeſs'd to *Hawkins* the Tower Chaplain, *of a Deſign of the Proteſtant Party to ſeize the* King; *that they had* 60000 *Men at command, at a ſhort Warning. That the Biſhops and Clergy*, good Men at that time, *were to be ſeverely handled*; *that he and* Haynes *had ſeveral Meetings about it with the Lord* Howard of *Eſcrick*, and a great deal more ſuch bare-fac'd Falſhood, which was put into the Mouth of this poor Wretch, and convey'd to the World by *Hawkins*, one of the meaneſt Creatures that ever wore a Caſſock; yet *Echard* doctors him up, and tells us, when he publiſh'd *Fitz-Harris*'s *Confeſſion, it was very ſurpriſing and provoking to thoſe that had ſo much endeavour'd to ſave his Life*, Which Confeſſion, as *Hawkins* and he have worded it, is to me a convincing Proof, that the approaching Presbyterian Plot was founded on this of *Fitz-Harris*, or rather was only a Renewal of that very Plot which had been interrupted by *Everard*'s Diſcovery. When an honeſt Man unwittingly falls into Error we pity him. But when a Man errs out of Malice we abhor him.

Now read what Biſhop *Burnet* writes of the pretended Confeſſion of *Fitz-Harris* to the Tower Chaplain, and then make a Judgment of the reverend Hiſtorian's Integrity and Capacity.

P. 504. " *Hawkins*, the Miniſter of the Tower took him,
" *Fitz-Harris*, into his Management, and pre-
Parſon Hawkins *tampering with* Fitz-Harris. " vail'd with him, *the vile Suborner!* not
" only to deny all his former Diſcovery, but
" to lay it on Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *George Treby*, Alderman *Corniſh*, and Sheriff *Bethel*,
" *as a Subornation of theirs*, tho' it was evi-
" dent that was impoſſible to be true." Pray turn to Mr. *Echard*'s Hiſtory again, *p.* 631, 632, 633, and compare his Account of *Fitz-Harris* and his Confeſſion with my Lord of *Sarum*'s, who proceeds, " Yet at the ſame time, *when he con-*
" *feſs'd theſe Things to the Chaplain*, he wrote
" Letters to his Wife, which I ſaw and read, in
" which he told her how he was practis'd upon
" with hopes of Life. He charg'd her to ſwear falſely againſt none; and yet, before he was led to Execution, he ſign'd a new Paper, containing the former Charge of *Subornation*, and put it into *Hawkins*'s hand. At *Tyburn* he referr'd all he had to ſay to that Paper, which was immediately publiſh'd; but the *Falſhood* of it was ſo very notorious, that tho' it ſhew'd what a ſort of Man *Hawkins* was, yet he was ſoon after rewarded for this with the Deanery of *Chicheſter*. But when the Court heard what Letters *Fitz-Harris* had writ to his Wife, they were confounded." On the contrary, *Echard* gives us to underſtand, that the World was *ſurpris'd* at the ſight of *Fitz-Harris*'s Paper, *which was the ſubject Matter of* Diſcourſe *amongſt all People for a conſiderable time after*; ſweetly inſinuating, that People believ'd he was ſuborn'd by Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *George Treby*, &c. whereas we are inform'd by the Biſhop, " The Court *ſtifled* all further " Diſcourſe about him, and practis'd on Mrs. " *Fitz-Harris*, by the Promiſe of a Penſion, " ſo far, that ſhe deliver'd up her Husband's " Letters to them; but ſo many had ſeen them " before, that this baſe Practice turn'd much to " the Reproach of all their Proceedings."

P. 504. *Made a* Dean *for it.*

Fitz-Harris accus'd the Earl of *Danby* of being concern'd in the Death of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*; but there was Inconſiſtency in his Evidence. His Wife and her Maid accus'd the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* of the Contrivance of the Libel, and he was committed to the Tower the 12th of *June*. A Bill of Indictment was deliver'd againſt him to the Grand Jury of *Edmonton* Hundred, who, not ſatisfy'd with the two Womens Evidence, was about to indorſe it with an *Ignoramus*; but *Ward*, one of the Clerks of the Crown-Office, ſtole the Bill, for which they immediately deliver'd a Bill of Indictment againſt the ſaid *Ward* to *Offulſton* Grand Jury, for his high Miſdemeanor. The latter preſently found it, however, nothing more came of it.

Fitz-Harris being executed on the firſt of *July*, the Court no longer kept Meaſures with the Conſtitution, and a Scene of Tyranny and Blood was open'd to the Terror and Amazement of the whole Proteſtant World. They had no longer any Reſtraint upon them; They reſolv'd to ſave themſelves by the Deſtruction of all that oppos'd them; and *Echard*, who opens it, does it with this Flouriſh.

Fitz-Harris's Confeſſions to *Hawkins*, *gave the King a fair Occaſion of ſearching after a new ſort of Plotters.* What the Biſhop of *Salisbury* calls *impoſſible*, he calls fair. Warrants *were iſſu'd out*, continues he, *againſt ſeveral Offenders*, Rouſe, Haynes, White, *and one* Colledge, commonly call'd the *Proteſtant Joyner*, and eſpecially the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, who were all ſent to the *Tower*, *Joyner* and *Earl*, and all, for the greater Wonderment of the Matter. This was done two or three days after *Fitz-Harris* was hang'd, with whom ſuffer'd *Oliver Plunket*, the *Iriſh* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. *To condemn whom*, ſays *Echard*, the Lord forgive him, *ſeveral Witneſſes were encourag'd to come over from* Ireland, *who now wanting Money, and likewiſe their* Pardons, *were forc'd to work hard to obtain both, and they were ſoon found to be proper Inſtruments for different kinds of Services*; and, true it is, the Court took them into Pay as ſoon as they had done *Plunket*'s Buſineſs. *Echard* goes on, *Tho' the Accuſation look'd* Romantick, *not to ſay* malicious, *yet the Witneſſes were ſo perfect, and poſitive*, that the Jury found him guilty of High Treaſon, and he was condemn'd and executed. We have obſerv'd that *Orleans*'s ly-

Archbiſhop Plunket *hang'd.*

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ing Libel is uſher'd into the World by the Archdeacon's Recommendation, with his Name to it; that Jeſuit affirms, Archbiſhop *Plunket* was *put to death upon the falſe Imputations of the Enemies to his Religion*; and his Recommender affirms, *the Witneſſes againſt him were* profeſs'd Papiſts. You ſee what Agreement there is among them, and how can it be otherwiſe? Truth only is one, Falſhood multiplies itſelf, and conſequently cannot always be the ſame. To expiate for the Execution of *Plunket*, the *Proteſtant Plot* is haſtily brought on the Stage, and Sacrifices ſet apart, to appeaſe the *Manes* of *Whitebread*, *Fenwick*, *Ireland*, *Gavan*, *Plunket*, &c. Martyrs to Idolatry and Tyranny. The Court *ſingled* out *Colledge*, ſays Mr. Archdeacon, *a pragmatical, ſaucy Fellow, who ſung Songs againſt the King and his beſt Friends*, as *Scroggs* and *Jefferies*, and *North* and *Rich*, and *Sawyer* and *Hawkins*. *Colledge*, 'tis true, had been more buſy in the Proſecution of the Popiſh Plot, than he needed to have been; and it was Puniſhment enough for him that he loſt ſo many Weeks Work by it. But Vengeance being to be taken for the Death of the Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, the Court reſolv'd to make the Experiment on this Man, whom they had devoted to Slaughter, in remembrance of his Zeal againſt the Lord *Stafford*. A Bill of *High Treaſon* againſt him was deliver'd to the Grand Jury of *London*, of which, ſays the reverend and modeſt Hiſtorian, one *Wilmore* was Foreman. I knew that one *Wilmore* of his, an honeſt Citizen, Confectioner in *Cannon-ſtreet*, whoſe Word would have paſt for Money and Evidence, where I queſtion whether the Perſon that inſults him would have had the like Succeſs. *He and his Jury were prepar'd for ſuch Attacks, and at once threw out the Bill with an* Ignoramus. We ſhall find, by and by, that they had good Reaſon ſo to do. Mr. *Wilmore* was, out of all *courſe of Law*, as the *compleat Hiſtorian* confeſſes, apprehended and examin'd before the *Council*, *Auguſt* 16, and ſent to the *Tower*. He was afterwards forc'd to fly to *Holland*, and return'd not till after King *James* was forc'd to fly to *France*. The Court, to follow their Blow, immediately hurry'd him away to *Oxford*, where a wicked Jury was indeed prepar'd for ſuch Attack, and very greedily took this poor Man's Blood upon them. Let us ſee who they were, who are to account for it at the grand Tribunal of eternal Judgment.

Stephen Colledge *indicted.*

An Ignoramus *found.*

Stephen Colledge *tried.*

At the Trial of *Stephen Colledge*,

Preſent,

Lord *Norreys*.
Lord Chief Juſtice *North*.
Judge *Jones*.
Judge *Raymond*.
Judge *Levins*.
Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Attorney General.
——— — ——— Solicitor General.
Sir *Geo. Jefferies*, Serg. at Law, } King's
Mr. *North*, } Counſel.

Jury.

Henry Standard.	*Roger Browne.*
William Big.	*Timothy Doyley.*
Robert Bird.	*Ralph Wallis.*
John Shorter.	*John Benſon.*
William Windlow.	*John Piercy.*
Charles Hobbs.	*John Laurence.*

Is there any Title or Dignity, any Wealth or Revenue, that could make theſe Men eaſy under the Load of the Guilt of this Man's Murder, as the Legiſlature afterwards term'd it? *Coke* remembers one of the Judges in particular.

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"The Chief of theſe was Sir *Francis North*, a "Man cut out to all Intents and Purpoſes for "ſuch Work; and, as if born to do it, his Fa- "ther was a Committee-Man in all the late "Troubles, againſt King *Charles* I. and his "Grandfather, one of the Seven who condemn'd "Archbiſhop *Laud*. 'Tis no matter who were "the other Judges, for *North* was the Mouth "of the Court." *A. D.* 1681.

The King's *Counſel* poſted away after *Colledge* to *Oxford* with their *Iriſh* Witneſſes, to prevail with the *Grand Jury* to find the Bill; inſomuch that the Bill being found, one of them boaſted at Court of his Service and cunning Management of the Matter. The ſame was done in *Fitz Harris*'s Caſe, thoſe Mercenaries cajoling the *Grand Jury* for ſome hours in private.

The murdering Judges ſeem'd to act very graciouſly, in allowing the execrable *Weſt* to be Counſel for *Colledge*, and Mr. *Aaron Smith* Solicitor; but then, to prevent his being the better for it, as ſoon as the Bill was found againſt him, they diſpatch'd *Muriel* the Goaler, and *Sewel* the Meſſenger, to bring *Colledge* from the Caſtle to his Trial; and order'd thoſe Villains to take away his Papers from him, containing Minutes of Inſtructions from his Counſellor and Solicitor, which they did, and carry'd *Colledge*'s Papers to the King's Counſel, which Sir *John Hawles* aſſerts was *unjuſtifiable*, and the firſt time that ever *a Priſoner had the Inſtructions for his Defence taken away from him*. *Colledge* finding his Life ſo beſet, ſaid, *It was a horrid Conſpiracy, not only againſt his Life, but againſt all the Proteſtants in* England; and Sir *John* adds, He prov'd *a true Prophet*. It ſeems there was Matter in his Papers for quaſhing the Indictment; and he hinted ſo much to the Court, as that the Indictment contain'd Crimes of a different Nature, as Treaſon and Miſdemeanor, which Solicitor-General *Hawles* ſays, ought not to be join'd in one Indictment. He was arraign'd at 12 a-clock, the 17th of *Auguſt*, and brought to his Trial two hours after; the Charge was for High Treaſon, for conſpiring *to ſeize the King*, which is evidently in conſequence of *Fitz-Harris*'s pretended Plot, and ſpeaking certain treaſonable Words; for having Libels, Pictures, Silk-Armour, Pocket-Piſtols, Horſe-Piſtols, and a Sword, which *Dugdale* ſwore. *Smith* depos'd, that *Colledge* ſhew'd him the terrible Piſtols, ſaying, *Theſe are the Things which will deſtroy the pitiful Guards of old* Rowley. One *Stephens* ſwore to the Picture call'd the *Raree-Show* in *Colledge*'s Chamber; and *Haynes*, that he ſaid the City had 100000 Men ready at an hour's Warning; and what is very extraordinary indeed, Mr. *Maſters* made Oath, *that he juſtify'd the Proceedings in* 1641, which this King's firſt Parliament juſtify'd. Sir *William Jennings* did himſelf the honour to bear falſe Witneſs alſo againſt him, that after boxing with one *Fitzgerald*, who made *Colledge*'s Noſe bleed, he ſaid, *He hop'd to ſee a great deal more Blood ſhed for the Cauſe*. For the Priſoner, one *Hickman* witneſs'd, he heard *Haynes* ſwear, *Damn him, he car'd not what he ſwore, nor whom he ſwore againſt, for it was his Trade to get Money by ſwearing*. Mrs. *Hall* depos'd, *She heard* Haynes *own he was employ'd to put a* Plot *upon the* Diſſenters. *Low* witneſs'd, that he ſaid, *The* Parliament *were a Company of* Rogues, *for not giving the King Money, but he would help the King to Money enough out of the* Phanaticks *Eſtates*. As to *Smith*'s Evidence, one *Blake* depos'd, that *Smith* told him, *Haynes*'s Diſcovery was a *Sham*-Plot, a *Meal-Tub* Plot. *Belron* ſwore,

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ſwore, That *Smith* would have had him give Evidence againſt Sir *John Brooks*, that Sir *John* ſhould ſay there would be cutting of Throats at *Oxford*, and that there was a Conſult at *Grantham*, wherein it was reſolv'd, That it was better to ſeize the King than to let him go: That he would have had him to be a Witneſs againſt *Colledge*, and told him what he ſhould ſay, that they might not diſagree in their Evidence: That he heard *Haynes* ſay he knew nothing of a *Preſbyterian* Plot; but if he were to be an Evidence, he car'd not what he ſwore, but would ſwear any thing to get Money.

Mowbray depos'd, That *Smith* tempted him to be a Witneſs againſt *Colledge*, and was inquiſitive to know what Diſcourſe paſs'd betwixt him, my Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *John Hewly*, and Mr. *Stern* on the Road: And now out comes the whole Secret of the pretended Presbyterian Plot. *Mowbray* ſolemnly ſwore, that *Smith* ſaid, *If the Parliament would not give the King Money, and ſtood on the Bill of Excluſion, it was Pretence enough to ſwear a Deſign to ſeize the King.*

Everard ſwore, *Smith* told him he knew of no *Presbyterian* Plot, and ſaid Juſtice *Warcup*, to his eternal Infamy, *would have perſuaded him to* ſwear againſt ſome Lords a *Presbyterian* Plot, but he *knew of none*. *Warcup* was knighted for this Helliſh Subornation. He ſaid *Haynes* told him, *Neceſſity had put him upon ſwearing* contrary to what he had ſworn formerly. Mr. *Parkhurſt* and Mr. *Symons* depos'd, They had ſeen Arms at *Colledge*'s in the Time of the laſt Parliament, ſo they could not be purchas'd for ſeizing the King at *Oxford*; and *Yates* ſwore *Dugdale* beſpoke a Piſtol of him, which he promis'd to give *Colledge*: Whom *Yates* commending as an honeſt Man, that ſtood up for the King and Government; *Yes*, ſays *Dugdale*, *I believe he does, and I know nothing to the contrary.* Several other Witneſſes gave the like Evidence againſt the forſworn Wretches, whom *Sawyer* and the King's Counſel had play'd off before. Others bore Teſtimony to *Colledge*'s Honeſty and Conformity, that he was a good *Churchman*, and never went to a Conventicle that they knew of. Sir *John Hawles* proves the falſe ſwearing of every one of the Witneſſes againſt *Colledge* ſtill further than I have done, upbraids the Jury with giving a Verdict againſt their Conſciences, and the unrighteous Judges with commending them for it. *Hawles* tells us, *North* acted diſingenuouſly with the Priſoner, that he broke his Word with him in ſumming up the Evidence, that he ſumm'd it up unfairly, that he made a lame Excuſe for not minding the Jury of what *Colledge*'s Witneſſes ſaid, ſaying, he refer'd it to their Memory: *whereas, I dare ſay*, 'tis Sir *John Hawles* who ſpeaks it, *after about thirteen Hours Evidence, the Jury remember'd no more than that they were to find him* guilty. Tho' this Villany, under colour of Juſtice, is not ſtamp'd with the Archdeacon's Authority ſo much as the Injuſtice he pretends was done the Popiſh Conſpirators, yet he can't help abuſing *Colledge* now he is under Condemnation. "His Execution was defer'd "fourteen Days, till the 31ſt of *Auguſt*; during "which time, in company he ſeem'd to be very "little concern'd, but often had terrible Agonies "when he was by himſelf," inſinuating the Horrors of a guilty Conſcience. Sir *John Hawles* tells us, *One thing was very diſhoneſtly inſinuated, that he* was a *Papiſt*, *which was only to incenſe the Jury againſt him, and it had* its *effect*: Whereas he declar'd at his Death, he died of the Church of *England*. *Hawles* gives us this account of it: *The true reaſon of ſo long a* Reprieve, *was to ſee how the Nation would digeſt the matter, and whether the Man by the Terror of Death could be prevail'd upon to do an ill thing to ſave his Life, and become a Tool to deſtroy other Innocents; but when it was found that the People were quiet, and that he was not to be corrupted, his* Execution *was order'd: yet as a ſhow of Mercy, his Quarters were permitted to be bury'd: a Favour he ſlighted*, ſaying, *I care not whether I am eaten up by Flies or Worms.* A like brave Saying of his was juſt after Sentence, *When am I to be executed?* Sir *John Hawles* proceeds, "The ſame favour was ſhewn "to *Fitzharris*; but the true Reaſon of both "was, that they had a mind that the Trials and "pretended Crimes for which *Fitzharris* and "*Colledge* were condemn'd, ſhould be forgotten, "which would not be ſo ſoon done, if their "Quarters were always expos'd to view. But "tho' all People were quiet, yet there was "great grumbling, and moſt honeſt Men were "afraid; and the Conſtancy of *Colledge* at his Execution was ſuch, that it made the moſt violent againſt him relent." *Echard*, who had the Confidence to dedicate his Book to his late Majeſty, terms the unjuſt Execution of this honeſt Man, ſo prov'd to be at his Trial, a juſt Judgment of Almighty God upon him, for his endeavouring to bring the Lord *Stafford* to Juſtice. And now, continues he, *the King ſeem'd to enjoy himſelf more than in ſome Years* before, by being daily complemented with ſeveral Spits in the Mouth, as Lord *Halliſax* call'd the Addreſſes, *flowing in*, cries the Archdeacon, from all Parts of his Kingdom, from Attorneys, Tapſters, Bailiffs, Curates, Militia Men, and the like Fry, as is ſhewn at large in the before-mention'd *Impartial Account* of theſe *Addreſſes*.

Colledge *condemn'd and executed.*

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His Courage.

P. 637

Now alſo was Dr. *Oates* turn'd out of *Whitehall*, and his Penſion taken from him. An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion was granted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Halliſax*, the Lord *Hyde*, and Mr. *Edward Seymour*, to diſpoſe of all Church Preferments, which belong'd to the King's immediate Patronage. And about ten Days after *Colledge* was hang'd, his Majeſty went to *Newmarket*, where he was ſoon attended by a numerous and *ſolemn Appearance of the Univerſity of* Cambridge, I take it from Mr. Archdeacon, *at the head of which was the* Vice-Chancellor *Dr.* Gower, Maſter of *St. John's-College*, who made a Speech to him; which being extreamly academical, I leave where I found it in his Hiſtory, and ſhall only inſert ſome of the *Beaux Endroits* in it: *That the ſeditious Endeavours of unreaſonable Men had made it neceſſary to aſſert the antient Loyalty of the* Engliſh *Nation, and make the World ſenſible, that they, the* Doctors, Maſters, *and* Scholars *of* Cambridge, *do not degenerate from thoſe prime Glories of their Anceſtors, Love and Allegiance to our Prince*, be what he will, and who he will. He then tells the King, that if it had not been for *God's Providence, and his Majeſty's royal Care, in ſo ſeaſonably checking the arbitrary and inſolent Undertakings of factious and malicious Men, they would not have* been content to *vent the Venom of their Reproaches* againſt thoſe good Univerſity Men, *but would have plunder'd and ſequeſter'd them, would have violated their Chapels, rifled their Libraries, and empty'd their Colleges, as they did once.* Then he tells his Majeſty what they will believe and maintain; which was, that when his Brother the Duke of *York* came to be King, *He would not derive his Title from the People, but from God; that to God only he would be accountable, that it belongs not to Subjects either to create or cenſure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign.* Then comes ſome

Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

Dr. Gower's *Speech to the King.*

D. A. 1681.

ſome of that ſtaring Nonſenſe which endeavours to reconcile the Unalterable with the Revolutional Right, the Hereditary Right and the Abdication Right. Again, who *comes to be our Sovereign by a fundamental hereditary Right of Succeſſion, which no* Religion, *no* Law, *no* Fault *or Forfeiture can alter or diminiſh.* He ſaid a Truth after it, which makes ſome Atonement for this Falſhood: *We bring no Names and Seals, no Lives and Fortunes, which are at all worth your Majeſty's acceptance.* The King in anſwer to this *Lofty* Speech, ſaid, *He would conſtantly own the Church of* England. Did he not make his Word good by dying a Papiſt? *Be aſſur'd of this,* (ſays he,) *for I will be as good as my word.* On the 20th of *September* the King and Queen went to *Cambridge*; the Univerſity Orator Mr. *Billers* ſpoke in *Latin* to the King, who always ſpoke and wrote in *Engliſh*; but to the Queen in *Engliſh*, as ſuppoſing ſhe did not underſtand *Latin*, tho' ſhe never pray'd to God in any other Language. They preſented the King with a Proteſtant Bible. They might as decently have given it to the Dutcheſs of *Cleveland*, and the Queen with *Dugdale's View of the late Troubles of* England; a Preſent I ſhould not think too good for Mr. Archdeacon himſelf, if he would pleaſe to accept of it. He is very copious in his Deſcription of the Entertainment of the Royal Pair, and tells us it *reſounded thro' the whole Kingdom.* The judicious and learned Lawyer Mr. *Acherley* explains to us, the virtuous Motives that produc'd this Harangue from the Vice Chancellor of *Cambridge.*

" The *Popiſh* Cabal contriv'd and provided " Schemes for the *Duke*, to impoveriſh and in- " timidate all Oppoſers of his Intereſt. Some " of them were; To encourage and prefer ſuch of " the Clergy as would *preach*, and ſuch Writers
P. 604, 605. " as would enforce the Doctrines of *Paſſive Obe-* " *dience without Reſerve, and unlimited Non-* " *Reſiſtance*; which *Preachers* carried the Point " further, and in Imitation of the Preachers in
Clergy preach againſt Liberty and Property. " the Reign of King *Charles* I. they made the " *Pulpit* a *Bar*, at which to plead againſt the " *Liberty* and *Property* of the Subject.

" To encourage ſatirical and fiery Writers to " feed, and even glut the World with printed " Papers, wherein were *blacken'd* the Principles " of thoſe Gentlemen, who in the Year 1640, " and 1641, found means to reſcue the Conſti- " tution and the *National* Freedom from Arbi- " trary Power, as the moſt profligate and deteſt- " able Tenets in nature."

Gower's Speech is the very Eſſence of theſe dangerous and deteſted Schemes. The Conſpiracy to take off the chief Proteſtant Lords and Gentlemen, being check'd by the honeſt Proceedings of the Sheriffs, the Court reſolv'd to uſe all their Arts and Strength to get the City of *London* into their hands, that ſuch Juries might be pack'd as had no reſtraint of Conſcience upon them, and whoſe Hearts were harden'd to go thro' the greateſt Butcheries without Remorſe. The ſober Part of the City would have ſet aſide Sir *John Moor*, an old canting Fanatick of ſo weak Parts, that even *Jenkins* could wheedle him out of his Religion and Principles; but he being the next Alderman to the Chair, and ſeveral Diſſenting Miniſters being ſo far impos'd upon by his hypocritical Pretences, as to get Votes for him in their Congregations, he had the *Majority* of Sir *John Shorter*, and *Moor* was ſo ſharpen'd by Oppoſition, that he abandon'd himſelf his former Religion and Principles to the Popiſh Faction. He began his betraying of the Cauſe of his Country with drinking to one *Dudley North*, a Merchant, Brother to the Chief Juſtice, to entitle him to be Sheriff, which occaſion'd a great Diſorder in the City, as will be ſeen in the Sequel; but as yet the Shrievalty was in good hands, and when a Bill of Indictment of High Treaſon was preferr'd againſt the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, the Court found they had precipitated the Matter, and that there was not a *ſeaſonable Jury* ready for them. That Lord, then call'd the *Proteſtant Earl*, was ſent to the Tower in *July*, and there continu'd till the 24th of *November*; and had every thing to fear from the implacable Malice, and the mercileſs Rage of his wicked Enemies, who had brib'd perjur'd Villains to ſwear *Colledge* out of his Life, and were now employing them in the like diabolical Work to ſwear the Earl of *Shaftesbury* out of his. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſays of the Miniſtry and Judges at this time, *The Court intended to ſet the Witneſſes to ſwear againſt the* Proteſtant *Party, which was plainly* MURDER *in them, who believ'd them* falſe Witneſſes, *and yet made uſe of them to deſtroy others.* Mr. Archdeacon vouches for them that they were true Witneſſes, and that the not believing them *rous'd the Indignation, and rais'd the higheſt Reſentments of the greateſt* P. 645. *Part of the Nation.* He could not have ſaid it without want of Senſe as well as Integrity. The Grand Jury impannel'd on this occaſion were Gentlemen of ſuch Note and Worth, that at the Names of them a whole Hoſt of his *Abhorrers* and *Addreſſers* vaniſh like Goblins at the Dawn of Day.

A. D. 1681.

The Earl of Shaftesbury's *Jury.*

Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, Foreman.	*John Dubois* Eſq;
Sir *John Morden.*	*Charles Hearle* Eſq;
Sir *Humphry Edwyn.*	*John Morrice* Eſq;
Sir *Edmund Harriſon.*	*Joſeph Wright* Eſq;
Sir *Leonard Robinſon.*	*John Cox* Eſq;
Thomas Papillon Eſq;	*Thomas Shepherd* Merchant.
Michael Godfrey Eſq;	*Joſeph Richardſon* Eſq;
Edward Rudge Eſq;	*Andrew Kendrick* Eſq;
John Flavell Eſq;	*William Empſon* Eſq;
John Lane Eſq;	*John Hall* Eſq;

Iriſh Evidence.

How ſtupid as well as wicked muſt the Proſecutors be to bring ſuch Witneſſes as *Dennis Macnamarra, Bernard Dennis, John Macnamarra, Edward Ivey, &c.* before ſuch a Jury as this, Men of great Parts, great Virtue and Fortune, who could not but abhor the Evidence, and deteſt or deſpiſe the Proſecutors? If the Earl of *Shaftesbury*'s Throat had been cut, as it is ſuſpected the Earl of *Eſſex*'s was, it had been a Complement to Juſtice; but to attempt to murder a Man by forms of Law, and the Teſtimonies of perjur'd Criminals, was an Affront to it, which we ſhall hardly meet with in the worſt of Times, if ever there were worſe than theſe, the Reigns we are writing of, of which *Coke* ſays, and it is one of the beſt things he ever ſaid, *For near eighty Years theſe three Kings of the* Scottiſh Race *had been* P. 312. *endeavouring to eſtabliſh an arbitrary tyrannical Government. Charles* the Firſt exceeded his Father, and *Charles* II. imitates his; for as *Charles* I. did his illegal Acts by ſuch *Judges* as he could get, *ſo* Charles II. *in the Executions of* Fitzharris *and* Colledge, *would have the colour of Juſtice by form of Law, for which there was no Law*; This plainly leaves the Blood of thoſe Sacrifices on the Heads of the Court, the Judges, the Juries: Upon which the righteous Vengeance of Heaven has been, and will be pour'd to the third and fourth Generation.

Bad Reigns.

The Biſhop of *Salisbury* gives this Account of the Proceedings againſt the Earl of *Shaftesbury*:

" His

A. D. 1681.

" His Papers were ſeiz'd and ſearch'd; nothing " material was found among them, but a " Draught of an *Aſſociation*, which was neither " writ nor mark'd in any place with his hand." *Echard* avers there was ſomething material found beſides the Aſſociation, and that was a *Book of the ſeveral Counties of* England, *rang'd in* Alphabet, *under the Heads of* Worthy Men *on the one ſide, and* Men Worthy *on the other*. I leave it to the Reader to gueſs on which ſide his Lordſhip would have rang'd Mr. Archdeacon, who would have had this and the Aſſociation tack'd together to make High Treaſon of it. For he continues, *It appear'd afterwards that under the Cypher of* Men worthy *was couch'd the Conceit of* Men worthy to be hang'd; for which he would have had the Jury hang up the Earl of *Shafteſbury*. My Lord of *Sarum* tells us how the Earl came by this Aſſociation, and if ſo, there was nothing but the *Alphabet* left to hang him.

How the Earl came by the Aſſociation.

" When there was a Talk of an *Aſſociation, as* " *there was in Parliament ſome Months before,* " ſome had fram'd this Paper, and brought it to " him, of which he always profeſs'd, that he re" member'd nothing at all: So it is probable, " that, as is ordinary when any great Buſineſs is " before the Parliament, that zealous Men are at " the Doors with their ſeveral Draughts; this " was one of theſe, caſt careleſly by, and not " thought on by him, when he had ſent his more " valuable Papers out of the way. There was " likewiſe but one Witneſs that could ſwear to " its being found there. The Witneſſes againſt " the Earl were examin'd in open Court, con" trary to the uſual Cuſtom; they ſwore many " incredible things: The Draught of the *Aſſocia*" *tion* was alſo brought as a Proof of his Trea" ſon, tho' it was not laid in the Indictment, and " was prov'd only by one Witneſs." So the *Jury* return'd *Ignoramus* on the Bill, and the Sollicitors and Witneſſes would have had their Brains beaten out, had not the Proteſtant Sheriffs protected them, and been their Guard as far as the *Savoy*. Sir *John Hawles* gives many Reaſons, Arguments and Authorities to juſtify thoſe worthy Gentlemen in their juſt Verdict, to which I refer, and ſhall only repeat what my Lord of *Sarum* writes on this occaſion. " There was all " this Summer ſtrange practiſing with Witneſſes " to find more Matter againſt the Earl of *Shafteſ*" *bury*. *Wilkinſon*, a Priſoner for Debt, who " had been often with him, was dealt with to " accuſe him. The Court had found out two " Sollicitors to manage ſuch Matters, *Burton* and " *Graham*, who were indeed fitter Men to have " ſerv'd in a Court of Inquiſition, than in a legal " Government. It was known that Lord *Shafteſ*" *bury* was apt to talk very freely, and without " Diſcretion; ſo the two Sollicitors ſought out " all that had frequented his Company, and " tried what they could draw from them, and " they made great Promiſes to ſuch as by ſwear" ing boldly would deſerve them. In all this P. 507. " *foul dealing* the King himſelf was believ'd to " be the chief Director, and Lord *Halliſax* was " thought deep in it." *Wilkinſon* abovemention'd was tamper'd with, not only by the Lord P. 311. *Conway* Secretary of State, but *Coke* ſays by the King himſelf, by the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Juſtice *Pemberton*, and other Court Lords; and *Wilkinſon* having been promis'd *Advancement*, if he would ſwear againſt the Earl of *Shafteſbury*, he refus'd it, as having nothing to ſwear; the Lord Chancellor ſaid, *There are two Sorts of* Advancements, *and you are like to come to your Trial before the Lord* Shaftesbury: for which, no doubt he has been rewarded according to his Works.

Clear'd by an Ignoramus.

Burton *and* Graham *great Villains.*

The Court having given the Word for it, the Addreſſers, a very ragged Regiment, box'd about *Ignoramus* Juries and *Aſſociations*, in variety of dull, fulſome and inſolent Papers, which being below Contempt, cannot be worthy Remembrance. A. D. 1681.

Four Days after the *Ignoramus* Verdict, the Earl of *Shaftesbury* was bail'd out of the Tower, his Bail being the Lord *Ruſſel*, Mr. *Montagu*, afterwards Duke, Sir *William Cowper*, Father of the late Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, and Mr. *Charlton*. The Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* was alſo then bail'd, and the Court was ſo afraid of Rejoicings, that the Lord Mayor was order'd to take eſpecial Care that there ſhould be no *Bonfires*. However, the good People ſhew'd their Affection to the Earl and the Proteſtant Cauſe, by a Medal which was ſtruck, and on which *Echard* aſſures us Mr. *Dryden* made a very *ingenious Poem*; but as he's no better a Critick than he is an Hiſtorian, the Reader will not be miſled by his Judgment.

1682.

A. D. 1682.

THE Duke of *York*, who governs all, is made High Commiſſioner of *Scotland*, ſays *Coke*, *where at this time he is contriving the Deſtruction of the noble Earl of* Argyle, *whilſt his Brother is doing that of my Lord* Shaftesbury, *and both act their Parts under the Veil of ſacred Juſtice*; in which, ſays he, the Duke ſeems more *ſucceſsful* than his Brother. He refers to the intended Murder of my Lord *Argyle*, which is with him *Succeſs*; and the two Brothers will indeed be thus ſucceſsful till the Nation gets rid of them by Death and Abdication.

Scotland. P. 308.

The Duke had ſome Excuſe for exerciſing the Cruelty of his Nature by the raſh and frantick Proceedings of ſome enthuſiaſtick *Cameronians*, who inſiſted upon it, that the King by breaking the Covenant which he had thrice ſolemnly ſworn, had forfeited his Right to the Crown, which they were ſo bold as to declare in a Paper fix'd to the Croſs at *Dumfries*. The Guards were immediately hurry'd away to fall on theſe crazy Creatures, the Chief of whom was one *Cameron*, a Teacher among them, from whom they took their Name; and he making a vigorous Reſiſtance was kill'd. Two others of their Teachers and Chiefs, *Cargil* and *Hackſtone*, were taken. *Hackſtone*, when brought before the Council, would not own their Authority, nor make any Anſwer to their Queſtions; he was ſo low by reaſon of his Wounds, that it was thought he would die in the Queſtion, if tortur'd, ſo he was in a very ſummary way condemn'd to have both his Hands cut off, and then to be hang'd, which he ſuffer'd with a Conſtancy that amazed all People. He ſeem'd to be all the while in an Extaſy, and inſenſible of what was done to him. When his Hands were cut off, he ask'd like one unconcern'd, if his Feet muſt be cut off too? And he had ſo ſtrong a Heart, that notwithſtanding all the Loſs of Blood by his Wounds, and the cutting off his Hands; yet when he was hang'd up and his Heart cut out, it continu'd to palpitate for ſome time after it was on the Hangman's Knife. *Cargil*, and many others, Women as well as Men, were executed; and all ſuffer'd with ſo particular an Obſtinacy, that tho' the Duke of *York* ſent them the Offer of Pardon, if they would only ſay, *God bleſs the King*, they refus'd it with a kind of Scorn. One of the Women ſaid very calmly, *I am ſure God will not bleſs him, and therefore I will not take God's Name in vain* Another ſaid more ſullenly, *I will not worſhip that Idol, nor acknowledge any other King but Chriſt*; which ſhe muſt be ſuppoſed to ſay, on the ſcore

Biſhop Burnet.

Camero-nians *hang'd.*

A. D. 1682.

of the King's pretended Forfeiture by the Breach of his Oath.

On the 28th of *July* laſt the Duke held a Parliament, and paſt an Act for the *Security of the Proteſtant Religion*. *Echard* is ſo very weak as to mention this ſeriouſly, tho Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *that it was not intended that this new Confirmation* of old Statutes againſt Popery ſhould have any Effect. The next Act was for the unalterable Succeſſion of the Crown, which was only oppos'd by the Earl of *Tweedale*, and that not with reſpect to the Duke, but to the Queen of *Spain*, the King and Duke's Niece.

A Member of this Parliament accus'd the Lord *Halton*, *Lauderdale*'s Brother, of Perjury, on account of *Mitchel*'s Buſineſs before mention'd. *Halton* ſwore there was no Promiſe of Life made; *Mitchel*, and his Letters to Lord *Kincardin* then produc'd, prov'd that there was; but the Duke of *York* ſtifled the Proſecution. The ſame he did concerning a Conſpiracy againſt Lord *Bargeny*'s Life, Witneſſes being ſuborn'd, as he could very plainly prove, to ſwear he was in the *Bothwell-Bridge* Buſineſs, tho he had many Proofs to the contrary, and no body believ'd he knew of it; but this alſo the Duke ſtifled, notwithſtanding *Bargeny* was Nephew to Duke *Hamilton*.

The Teſt Act.

The *Teſt* Act, which was brought into this *Scots* Parliament, was more rigid, and more exalted the Prerogative above the Laws, than the baffled Teſt in 1675 in *England*, and the Sermons and Addreſſes of the Popiſh Faction in that Kingdom did. The Account given of the Lord *Argyle*'s ſuffering for it, is ſo falſe in Mr. Archdeacon's Hiſtory, that one would think he invented it, on purpoſe to exaſperate the whole *Britiſh* Nation againſt the moſt noble Houſe of *Argyle*, who have done and ſuffer'd as much for the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty, as any other honourable Family whatſoever in *Great Britain*. My Lord *Argyle*'s main Objection to this vile Teſt, was the obligatory Part, not *to endeavour any Alteration in the Government in Church and State*. The Biſhops were very zealous for the paſſing of this Teſt; but ſeveral weighty Reaſons were given againſt it, as had been urg'd in the Parliament of *England*; however, it paſs'd, and the Earl of *Argyle* being requir'd to take it, did it with this Explanation, *That he did not intend to bind himſelf up by it from doing any thing in his Station, for the amending of any thing in Church or State, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the Duty of a good Subject*; *and he took that as a part of his Oath*. Having ſaid this, he ſate down at the Council-Table, and went next day to the *Treaſury-Chamber*, where he was a Commiſſioner, and repeated the ſame Words. Some Enemies of his, and of his Religion and Principles, ſuggeſted to the Duke of *York*, who was very ſuſceptible of ſuch Suggeſtions, that great Advantage might be taken againſt him from thoſe Words; ſo at the Treaſury-Chamber he was deſir'd to write them down, and give them to the Clerk, which he did, and was immediately ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh* Caſtle. The Reader has the full ſtate of the Caſe before him, and when he has ſeen how it is miſrepreſented by Dr. *Sprat* and Mr. *Echard*, he will have pity on them, if he has any Chriſtian Charity.

The Earl of Argyle *explains the Teſt, and is impriſon'd.*

Echard begins his Abuſe, with ſaying the Earl had, by many indirect *Ways*, *attempted to hinder his Majeſty's Service*. This is ſo falſe, that Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, Lord *Argyle* was of the Duke of *Lauderdale*'s Party, of whom the King ſaid, that whatever *Lauderdale* had done againſt the *Scots*, it was all for his Service, as has been obſerv'd already. The next Falſity is, that *Argyle* himſelf put the very Clauſe into the Teſt, againſt which himſelf excepted; if he ſtole this from *Sprat*, one may have from thence an Idea of the Falſities in that Doctor's Hiſtory of the *Rye*-Houſe Plot. The two Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians add, The Earl travell'd about the Country, to inſinuate Prejudices againſt the Teſt, and diſpers'd his Explanation. Now 'tis evident that he had no time to do it, he writ it down in the Treaſury-Chamber, and was immediately clapt up in Priſon. The two reverend Hiſtorians, Dr. *Sprat* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Mr. *Echard* Archdeacon of *Stow*, aſſert, That *his Trial was according to the Laws of his Country*; *that it was full and equal*; *that he was found guilty of Treaſon by the Judges, and a Jury, not only of his Peers, but alſo ſeveral of them his own neareſt Relations. That ſoon after Judgment, tho' the King had no thought of taking his Life, yet he took the firſt Opportunity to make his Eſcape, not daring to venture on the King's Mercy*; which will be found to be every Word falſe, by comparing it with what my Lord Biſhop of *Sarum* writes upon it: "*Lockhart* "pleaded three hours for him, and ſhew'd ſo "manifeſtly, that his Words had no ſort of Cri- "minouſneſs, much leſs of *Treaſon* in them, "that if his Cauſe had not been judged before "his Trial, no harm could have come to him." *You remember* Echard *aſſerted the Trial to be* fair *and* equal. The Biſhop again: "The "Court that was to judge the Point of Law, "conſiſted of a Juſtice General, the Juſtice "Clerk, and of five Judges. The Juſtice Ge- "neral does not vote, unleſs the Court is equal- "ly divided. One of the Judges was deaf, and "ſo old, that he could not fit all the while the "Trial laſted, but went home, and to Bed; the "other four were equally divided, ſo that the "old Judge was ſent for, and he turn'd it a- "gainſt Lord *Argyle*. The Jury was only to "find the Fact prov'd; but yet they were of- "ficious, and found it *Treaſon*. No Sentence "in our Age was more univerſally cry'd out on "than this. All People ſpoke of it, and of the "Duke that drove it on, with Horror." Now *Sprat* and *Echard* affirm it was a fair and equal Trial, and ſpeak of it, and of the Duke that drove it on, with infinite delight, and would make us believe there was no harm intended againſt him; but he was ſo guilty, that he durſt not truſt to the King's MERCY, but made his Eſcape. Biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks quite otherwiſe; "Lord *Argyle* was made believe that the "Duke intended to proceed to Execution. Some "more of the Guards were order'd to come to "*Edinburgh*. Rooms were alſo fitted for him "in the common Goal, to which Peers uſe to "be remov'd a few days before their Execution. "And a Perſon of Quality affirm'd to him, on "his Honour, that he heard one, who was in "great Favour, ſay to the Duke, *It muſt be* "*done*. It is certain many of the *Scottiſh* No- "bility did believe it was intended he ſhould "die, and upon theſe Reaſons Lord *Argyle* "made his Eſcape. This buſineſs made the "Duke look'd upon as one that would prove a "terrible Maſter when All ſhould come into "his hands." You have heard how *ſucceſsful* the Duke was in *Scotland*, and muſt now hear a little more of it from my Lord of *Sarum*; "He had promis'd to redreſs all the Merchants "Grievances, with relation to Trade, to gain "their Concurrence in Parliament; but as ſoon "as that was over, all his Promiſes were for- "gotten; the Accuſations of Perjury were "ſtifled by him; and all the Complaints of the "great

A. D. 1682.

Sprat *falſe.*

Lord Argyle *is condemn'd.*

P. 521.

And eſcapes.

Duke of York *breaks his Word.*

P. 519.

A. D. 1682.

" great Abuſe Lord *Halton* was guilty of in the " Employments of the Coin, ended in turning " him out, and obliging him to compound for " his Pardon, by paying 20000 Pounds to two " of the Duke's Creatures; ſo that all the Re- " paration the Kingdom had for the Oppreſſion " of ſo many Years, and ſo many Acts of In- " juſtice, was, that two new Oppreſſors had a " ſhare of the Spoils, who went into the ſame " Track, or rather invented new Methods of " Oppreſſion. The Biſhops made their Court " to the Duke with ſo much Zeal, that they " wrote a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canter-* " *bury*, to be communicated to the reſt of the " *Engliſh Biſhops*, ſetting forth, in a very high " Strain, his Affection to the Church." Nay, ſo very high was the Strain, that the Duke of *York*, as much as he had been us'd to Flattery from thoſe Men, could *not but deſpiſe it*, 'twas ſo abject and indecent. He made *Gordon*, now Earl of *Aberdeen*, Chancellor, and *Queensberry* Lord Treaſurer; and having Leave given him to come to Court, he waited on the King at *Newmarket*, *March* 3d, and obtain'd the King's Permiſſion to live again at Court; but having left his Dutcheſs in *Scotland* big with Child, he return'd thither again in *May*. The *Glouceſter* Frigat that carry'd him, ſtruck on a Bank of Sand; the Duke got into a Boat, and, as we read in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, *took care of his Dogs and ſome unknown Perſons, who were taken from that earneſt Care of his to be his Prieſts. The Long-Boat went off with very few in her, tho' ſhe might have carry'd off above* 80 *more than ſhe did. One hundred and fifty Perſons periſh'd, ſome of them Men of great Quality: But the Duke took no notice of this cruel Neglect, which was laid chiefly to* Legg's *Charge.* The Biſhop has been very much vilify'd for telling this Story by the Popiſh Faction and their Abettors, one of whom, *Zachary Gray*, charg'd him with Falſhood in it at the ſame time that himſelf publiſh'd a Libel full of the moſt impudent Falſhoods. I have ſince met with a further Proof of that *cruel Neglect*, I had it from a Man of Honour, who had it from one *Flower*, a Muſician, the only Man of the Duke's Band that could play on the Lute. He was one of thoſe whom the Duke left in the Ship, and jumping into the Sea, he ſwam after the Long-Boat; he ſunk twice, and when he roſe the third time, caught hold of a piece of the Wreck, which drove towards the Long-Boat; when he came near it, the Boat's Crew were going to knock him on the head, but the Duke cry'd out, *Hold, take him in, he's a Fidler*. However, he afterwards turn'd him out of his Band, becauſe he would not turn *Papiſt*. He was receiv'd into the Family of the Gentleman, from whom I receiv'd my Information, and declar'd to him, That the Duke of *York* took only his Dogs and his Prieſts aboard the Pinnace. *Flower* was reſtor'd to his Place after the *Revolution*.

The Duke in danger at Sea.

Ireland.

The Kingdom of *Ireland* liv'd in great Tranquillity under the Duke of *Ormond*, who began to be ſenſible of the King and the Duke's Intention to change the Government in Church and State, and ſet up Popery and Arbitrary Power. He was extreamly ſolicitous to ſettle the Militia of *Ireland*, and order'd their Watching equal with the Army. By his good Adminiſtration, the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland* became of greater Value than ever, inſomuch that an *Iriſh* Lord ſwore, *He believ'd Jeſus Chriſt was a Proteſtant*, for that nothing proſper'd on the ſide of the Catholicks, who, however, gave not over their Intrigues. *Sheridan* was with the Duke in *Scotland*, from whence he wrote over private Encouragement to the Popiſh Party, and kept them ſtill in heart. The Duke of *Ormond* endeavour'd to have a Parliament in *Ireland*, and ſucceeded ſo far, as to obtain a Grant, in purſuance of which, a Bill drawn by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, was ſent over to *England*: But the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt obſtructed it, and 'tis ſuppos'd his firſt Journey from *Scotland* was to put a ſtop to the Duke of *Ormond*'s Deſign; and the *Iriſh* were ſo confident he would do it before it was done, that they ſtuck not to affirm, they were well aſſur'd there would be no Parliament whilſt King *Charles* liv'd. Nay, they would frequently diſcourſe with that Liberty and Boldneſs, as if the Duke of *York* had been actually ſeated on the Throne, upon a preſumption he would ſpeedily aſcend it. Thus we ſee that the three Kingdoms were in the Duke's hands, ſome Years before the Scepter was his by the Death of his Brother, till when, and during his own dreaded Reign, the Proteſtants of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* groan'd under the moſt intolerable Tyranny; the Inſtruments he made uſe of, being the moſt inſolent as well as the moſt infamous that could be pick'd out among the three Nations. *Ireland* had continu'd for two or three Years in much quiet, before and after the Duke went to *Scotland*, when, on a ſudden, a Stratagem was ſet on foot, *laid as deep as Hell*, ſays my Author, and yet ſeemingly for the Advantage of the *Engliſh*. In the *Settlement* of *Ireland* there were *overplus* or conceal'd Lands, ſaid to be in poſſeſſion of divers of the *Engliſh*, but in truth, much more in that of the *Iriſh*. Now to inſure the Titles of the *Engliſh* from future Diſcoveries, as was pretended, a *Court of Grace* was erected, where all that would come, had the Opportunity of putting in their Claims; and upon proving their Poſſeſſion, and compounding with the Commiſſioners for Payment of ſuch a Sum as they thought fit to impoſe upon them, they had new Patents granted them. This Policy had its intended Effect, many Perſons came in, and conſiderable Sums were rais'd: But this Court was ſoon found out to be a Snare to the *Engliſh*; the Deſign being to make a narrow Inſpection into all Mens Titles, and thereby diſcover what Advantage might be deriv'd from it. For by the *Act of Settlement*, all the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* were only veſted in the King, as a Truſtee, for the uſe of the Soldiers and Adventurers, and could be no way diſpos'd of, but according to the Intent of that Act; and the King's Patent could not alter it, as was pretended to be done by this Court of Grace, which was ſet up by the Duke of *York*'s Intereſt, contrary to Law, and therefore his Faction did not appear in it openly, but tranſacted it by the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, who got a great deal of Money out of it by Fines.

Duke of York *governs all.*

The main Agent in it was one *W——th*, who, ſome time before bought a Judge's Place in the Exchequer for 800 Pounds. He call'd himſelf a Proteſtant; and to make this Poiſon go down the more eaſy, the Pill was gilded. Moſt of the Judges were made Commiſſioners, and had part of the Fines. The Lawyers and Attorneys got Money by the Court, and purchas'd Eſtates, to the ruin of the former Poſſeſſors. My Author adds, " In ſeveral Deſigns of the *Papiſts*, they " acted by Proteſtant Tools. No Man was to " paſs a Patent for *Fair*, *Market*, *Mannor*, &c. " without paſſing his Eſtate thro' this Court; " whereas by the Act of Settlement, all Per- " ſons had liberty, for the Improvement of the " Country, to paſs Patents for them, provided " they were not within three Miles one of an- " other. A ſad thing, *continues he*, that *Eng-*

" *liſhmen*,

A. D. 1682.

A. D. 1682.

" *liſhmen* and Proteſtants ſhould, by baſe and " unworthy Compliances, become ſuch ſervile " Inſtruments to the Advancement of the Po- " piſh Cauſe."

The Duke of *Ormond* perceiving, by the Tendency of theſe Affairs, that the *Romiſh* Deſign was agitated with great Earneſtneſs, he with much difficulty obtain'd leave to go for *England* in 1683. He left his Son the Earl of *Arran* Lord Deputy. Upon his Arrival at Court, he a ſecond time attempts a Parliament, but ineffectually; upon which he return'd to *Ireland* with a heavy Heart, as he himſelf declar'd to a Perſon of great Quality in that Kingdom. He had Inſtructions to regiment the Army, and to do ſome other things that were Preparatives to what follow'd ſoon after the Duke of *York*'s Acceſſion to the Crown.

The Difficulties the Court of *England* met with, in taking off Proteſtant Lords and Gentlemen by Forms of Law, while there were honeſt Sheriffs and Juries, made them undertake the greateſt Invaſion of the People's Rights that ever had been heard of ſince the great *Charter* was ſign'd at *Runimead*. *Echard* is ſo ſimple as to own the King's Deſign, by bringing *Quo Warranto's* againſt the Charter of *London*, and the Charters of other Cities and corporate Towns all over the Kingdom. *He reſolv'd to find Expedients againſt the* London *Juries, and to alter the Methods of* electing *Sheriffs*. Till that was done, the Courſe of Juſtice was regular; but as ſoon as the Court had got Sheriffs and Juries to their mind, they ſet their Judges to work, who with ready Hand prepar'd the Knife to murder the noble Sacrifices which they offer'd to the *Manes* of the Popiſh Traytors, who were executed for the Popiſh Plot.

One *Cradock*, a pragmatical Mercer in *Paternoſter-Row*, was ſu'd in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* by the Earl of *Shaftesbury*; but the Judges refus'd to try the Cauſe by a *London* Jury, tho 'twas laid in *London*, and the Earl was not willing to truſt it to a pack'd Country Jury, ſuch as that of *Kent*, who found Mr. *Wilmore*, Foreman of *Colledge*'s Ignoramus Jury, guilty of *Kidnapping* a Boy to *Jamaica*, without *going from the Bar*, ſays *Echard*; and adds, *So much Difference there was between a Country and City Jury*, between thoſe wealthy and worthy Citizens, who gave an *Ignoramus* to Lord *Shaftesbury*'s Indictment, and a Parcel of *Kentiſh* Clowns, cull'd out of that County to do this Job for the Miniſtry. *Echard* had ſeen, or might have ſeen, what Sir *John Hawles* ſays of the impudent Injuſtice and Illegality of the Proceſs againſt Mr. *Wilmore*; and yet he beſtows ſuch Eulogy on the *Yeomen of Kent*, for finding him guilty about the End of *May*. He informs us the Judges reprimanded the Sheriffs for not returning the Writ *de Homine Replegiando* brought againſt *Wilmore* Elongatus eſt. Sir *John Hawles*, who knew more Law than all thoſe Mercenaries, ſays, the Sheriffs *would have return'd on the Writ, that the Boy went abroad by his own Agreement and Conſent with Mr.* Wilmore; and the Judges ſaid, if they did not return *replegiando*, they would lay the *two Sheriffs by the Heels*: and as to the *Withernam* the reverend Author mentions, probably without knowing what it means, Sir *John* tells us, *It was not Law*, and that *Mr.* Wilmore *and the Nation had great Injuſtice done them; for it was quickly ſeen what the Miſchief of that Judgment was, and therefore it was endeavour'd to be reform'd by an Act of King and Council afterwards. I ſay firſt, it is lawful for a Maſter to covenant with a Servant to ſerve him beyond Sea. In the next place, it is lawful for a Maſter to ſend a Servant beyond Sea, according to ſuch Agreement*; which he very learnedly proves to be according to Law, and adds, *It is not an Argument for diſallowing the Sheriffs firſt Return, that the Perſon ſent beyond Sea was a Child not capable of making ſuch a Contract, tho' I believe if the matter were look'd into, he was of age ſo to do.* Notwithſtanding all this found Law, and much more of it in *Hawles*'s Remarks, does the Archdeacon intimate, *Wilmore had been indicted in the City for the ſaid Crime of* Boy-ſtealing; mark the Malice and Virulence! But the Grand-Jury there found the Bill *Ignoramus*; for which, and for clearing Mr. *Harris* the Bookſeller, whom the Court caus'd to be indicted for publiſhing a Treatiſe againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power, which *Echard* terms a ſcandalous Libel, he ſets forth the Neceſſity of the King's taking away Charters. But Sir *John Hawles* gives us the true Reaſon for it; which, if he lives to read, I am ſo tender to him, as to hope it will be with Shame and Confuſion, he having pleaded the Neceſſity and Juſtice of ſeizing the Rights and Privileges of *Engliſhmen* founded on theſe Charters. " Notwithſtanding all theſe Hard- " ſhips on Juries, ſays Sir *John*, the Court ſaw " plainly it was impoſſible to procure any Bills " of Indictment for *High Treaſon*, much leſs " any Perſon to be convicted on the like Evi- " dence, except in *London*, where are ſome of " the beſt, as well as the worſt Men in the Na- " tion; and even there it was not to be done, as " long as the Juries were ſenſible and honeſt " Men." *Don't you remember how Mr.* Archdeacon *boaſted of the Difference between* Kentiſh *Men and Citizens of* London? " And that " would be as long as the Election of Sheriffs " was in the Citizens; and to the honour of the " City it was ſeen, that they choſe only honeſt " Men to be Sheriffs, and that when they ſaw " the publick Safety depend on honeſt Officers, " tho' at other times they had rather pay a Fine " than undergo the Charges and Trouble of " that Office; yet at that time no Man legally " choſen refus'd to ſtand, tho' they were re- " proach'd and puniſh'd for it: and if Mr. *Box* " refus'd, it was becauſe he would not join with " *North*, who was impos'd upon the City; for " which reaſon, it was reſolv'd to take from the " City the Right of chuſing Sheriffs."

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Quo Warranto's *why iſſu'd.*

Mr. Wilmore's *Caſe.*

The Court could not help ſhewing their diſlike to the Choice laſt Year, when, as Sir *John Hawles* informs us, *honeſt Men* were choſen, inſomuch that Sir *George Treby* the Recorder, and the two Sheriffs, Mr. *Pilkington* and Mr. *Shute*, being ſent to invite the King to Dinner laſt Lord Mayor's Day, his Majeſty deſcended ſo low from his Imperial Character, as to ſay, *Mr.* Recorder, *an Invitation from my* Lord Mayor *and the City is very acceptable to me; and to ſhew that it is ſo, notwithſtanding that it is brought me by Meſſengers that are ſo unwelcome to me as theſe two Sheriffs are, I accept it.* If a private Gentleman had ſaid as much to other Gentlemen, coming with ſuch an Invitation, in his own Houſe, I queſtion whether well-bred People would not have taken it to be an Offence to Good-Manners.

I have but little Room or Inclination to dwell on ſmall Events, which are more Biographical than Hiſtorical; but I think I muſt remember, after the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, that his Majeſty made a Knight of *John Knight* Eſq; one of the Sheriffs of *Briſtol*, for his adherence to the Church, and of *George Vernon* Eſq; of *Farnham*. That he gave ſome Bucks to the *London* Prentices, who did alſo adhere to the Church, and iſſu'd an

A. D. 1682. an Order againſt a Dinner in the City, on account of certain Tickets given out by ſome Citizens that adher'd to the Conſtitution: That *George Legg* Eſq; Maſter of the Ordnance, was ſworn of the Privy-Council; and Sir *Samuel Morland* had the Benefit of an Engine, which, with the Strength of eight Men, would force the Water in a continual Stream, at the rate of above 60 Barrels an Hour, from the River of *Thames* to the top of *Windſor-Caſtle*, for which his Majeſty gave him a Medal with his own Royal Hand, and order'd him to be ſworn Maſter of the Mechanicks; tho' ſince the Diſcovery of the *Fire-Engine*, Sir *Samuel*'s is not worth the Leather the Pipe was made of. His Majeſty knighted alſo *Thomas Deerham* Eſq; his Reſident with the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and *Chriſtopher Buckle* Eſq; of *Surrey*. He made the Duke of *Grafton*, whom he order'd to be one of the Stewards at the City-Prentices Feaſt; Colonel of his Firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards. Sir *George Carteret*, eldeſt Son to Sir *Philip Carteret*, was created a Baron of *England*, by the Name of Baron *Carteret* of *Hawnes*, in the County of *Bedford*. And about the ſame time laſt Summer, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* viſited his Uncles in *England*, where he made a ſhort ſtay of a few Days only. Some time after, *Sunday February* 12, a barbarous Aſſaſſination was committed on the Perſon of *Thomas Thynne* Eſq; who paſſing the *Pall-mall* in his Coach, was ſet upon by three Men on Horſe-back; one of which diſcharg'd a Muſquetoon into the Coach, and mortally wounded him, four Bullets entering his Body. The Aſſaſſins were one *Vratz*, a *German* Captain; *Borotski*, a *Polander*; and *John Sterne*, who were ſet on by Count *Coningſmark*, a Rival of Mr. *Thynne*'s in his Pretences to the Lady *Elizabeth Piercy*, Daughter and Heir to the great Earl of *Northumberland*; tho' no body had ſo good a Right to pretend to her as Mr. *Thynne*, who was her wedded, tho' not bedded Husband. To extenuate this barbarous Act, Mr. Archdeacon inſinuates, that Mr. *Thynne*, after he had refus'd two Challenges from *Coningſmark*, ſent ſix Men to *France* to aſſaſſinate that Count there, and that it was a Judgment upon *Thynne* for his treacherous Practices to another Lady; which he tells us out of the *Scandalous Chronicle*, much more ſcurrilous and falſe than any of our *Secret Hiſtories*.

Promotions, &c.

Mr. Thynne aſſaſſinated.

The Reader will not wonder at this groſs Partiality, when he is told that Mr. *Thynne* was zealous for the Proteſtant Intereſt, and the Bill of Excluſion; that he abhorr'd perſecuting Diſſenters, and on all occaſions aſſerted the Liberty of his Country.

Coningſmark ran away, and was taken in diſguiſe at *Graveſend* by *Gibbons*, a Servant of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s, who, 'tis ſaid, was in the Coach when his Friend Mr. *Thynne* was ſhot, and to whoſe Friendſhip and Diligence was owing the quick Apprehenſion of the Aſſaſſins, who were try'd, condemn'd, and hang'd in the *Pall-mall*. *Sterne* and *Borotski* were very penitent; but *Vratz* ſaid at the Gallows, *God has a greater Favour for Gentlemen, than to require Punctilio's of Humility at their hands; and it is abſurd to think, that ſo many thouſand Gentlemen in the World, that ſtood upon their Honour and Reputation ſo much as he, ſhould be for ever damn'd, becauſe they could not ſtoop to things that would ſpoil the Figure they made in the world.* It is miraculous that a Man of ſuch religious Sentiments as theſe, and ſo good a Catholick, ſhould not come off as well as *Coningſmark*; who having rid the Court of an *Oppoſer*, Directions were given that the Judges ſhould be *favourable*; as Sir *John Hawles* aſſures us they were, and gives ſeveral Inſtances of it, cloſing his Remarks thus: Vratz *being the next greateſt Offender, was honourably interr'd*; *and* Sterne *and* Borotski, *who were the leaſt Offenders in that Matter, were hang'd in Chains. It was ſomewhat like* New-England *Law, remember'd by* Hudibras, *of hanging an uſeleſs innocent* Weaver *for an uſeful guilty* Cobler.

The Aſſaſſins hang'd.

Echard prints many of the Addreſſes that were preſented the King againſt the *Aſſociation*, *Ignoramus's*, &c. eſpecially one *from the Artillery Company in* Briſtol, who ſhew'd that they could write no better than they could fight. He then inſerts a Speech of Dr. *Coya*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge* to the Duke of *York*, to which he tells us, his Royal Highneſs was pleaſed to return this Anſwer. *I will ever ſtand by the Church of* England *as by Law eſtabliſh'd*, which the Reverend Hiſtorian would have ſunk, if he had a true Notion of the Baſeneſs, as well as Sin of breaking a Man's Word. The Univerſity, in compliment to his Royal Highneſs, turn'd out their Chancellor the Duke of *Monmouth*, and choſe in his place *Monk*'s Son *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Albemarle*, who was juſt as well qualify'd to be their Chancellor, as his Father was to be their Repreſentative in Parliament, if good Senſe and Learning were Qualifications neceſſary to protect or repreſent that moſt famous Nurſery. But by what follows, neither of them ſeem to be then of the Growth of that Place; for that venerable Body were ſo fooliſh or mad, as to burn the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Picture, which not long before they had begg'd of his Grace. This ſhameleſs Act of Ingratitude was finely laſh'd in a Satyr written upon the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, by *George Stepney* Eſq; who ſerv'd King *William* ſo long and ſo laudably in ſeveral foreign Negociations. It began thus:

Cambridge *Loyalty.*

They burn the Duke of Monmouth *in Effigie.*

Yes, fickle Cambridge, Perkins *found this true,*
Both from your Rabble, and your Doctors too;
With what Applauſe you once receiv'd his Grace,
And begg'd a Copy of his God like Face:
But when the ſage Vice-Chancellor was ſure
Th' Original in Limbo lay ſecure,
As greaſy as himſelf, he ſends a Lictor,
To vent his loyal Malice on the Picture.
The Beadle's Wife, &c.

The Duke of *York* before he return'd to *Scotland*, was adviſ'd by his Faction to aim at Popularity; and as one ſtep towards it, he din'd with the *Artillery* Company at *Merchant-Taylors Hall*, where his Hand was kiſs'd by great Numbers of Citizens, who crowded to have that Honour, and where-ever he went the Rabble were excited to make a Noiſe, as if he had been the People's Darling: But as his Courtſhip of them was awkward and affected, ſo their Acclamations were forc'd and unnatural. He had not one engaging Quality; he was haughty, ſullen, ſevere, tenacious of his Money, and careleſs of his Promiſes. But the Addreſſers ſet up an Idol, which they worſhip'd as the Prieſts of *Baal* did their God, to his Confuſion, and their own Deſtruction. The Duke of *York* ſtaid about a Fortnight only in *Scotland*, and then return'd by Sea to *England* with his Dutcheſs and the Princeſs *Anne*, his ſecond Daughter. Mr. Archdeacon waits upon him in all Progreſſes with as much Joy and Ceremony, as if he had been the Protector of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Champion of *Engliſh* Liberty; tho' he allows that he was the cauſe of future *Severities* and *Irregularities*, and would have put the King ſtill upon

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more of them, which once extorted this Rebuke from him; *Brother, I am reſolv'd never to travel again, you may do ſo, if you pleaſe:* and ſo he did, and never more ſaw his injur'd Country.

Diſſenters ſeverely handled.

It was now that the drunken Juſtices, and their Band Dogs the Informers were let looſe upon Proteſtant Diſſenters. The King, who pretended to be deſirous to keep his ſacred Word, given them at *Breda* for Liberty of Conſcience, now ſuffer'd his Brother to preſs the moſt rigorous Execution of the new Laws, and of the Statute 35 *Eliz.* againſt them, in defiance of the Votes of Parliament in their favour: Nay, ſeveral zealous Proteſtants, who had been moſt active againſt the *Papiſts*, were try'd by *mercenary Judges*, with pack'd Juries, upon *Iriſh* Evidence. Orders and Directions were ſent from the King and Council-Board to ſuppreſs all Meetings of Proteſtant Diſſenters, which was very officiouſly forwarded by the *Middleſex* Juſtices at *Hickes's-Hall*, by the Juſtices in *Southwark*, and ſome Aldermen of the City; ſuch as *Pritchard*, *Raymond*, *Sheldon*, *Davies*, &c. Many Miniſters were impriſon'd, and they and their Hearers impoveriſh'd by exorbitant Fines. The Reverend and Learned Mr *Baxter* was hal'd out of his Bed, ſick as he was, and had been thrown into Jail upon the Corporation Act, beſides a Warrant againſt him for 195 Pounds, had not that eminent Phyſician Dr *Thomas Cox* accidentally come by; and ſeeing him in the hands of Ruffians, forc'd him into his Houſe again, while he went to five Juſtices of the Peace and took his Oath, that Mr. *Baxter* could not go to Priſon, without danger of Death. However, the Juſtices would not favour him, till they had conſulted the King, who conſented that his Impriſonment ſhould for that time be forborn, *that he might die at home.* Mr. *Baxter* had been one of his firſt Chaplains after his Reſtoration, in which he was more inſtrumental than perhaps every one of the Biſhops, who ſo inſulted him at the *Savoy* Conference. The Ruffians executed their Warrant, diſtrain'd the Books and Goods in the Houſe, tho' he made it appear they were none of his, and they ſold even the Bed which he lay ſick upon. All which was done without his having the leaſt notice of any Accuſation, or receiving any Summons to appear and anſwer for himſelf, or ever ſeeing the Juſtices or Accuſers. He was afterwards in conſtant danger of new Seizures, and at laſt was forc'd to leave his Houſe, and retire into private Lodgings. Dr. *Anneſley* and ſeveral other Divines had their Goods diſtrain'd for latent Convictions. Others were impriſon'd upon the *Corporation Act*, while others were worry'd in the Spiritual Courts. Warrants were ſign'd for Diſtreſſes in one Pariſh only to the Value of 1400 Pounds, and one of them for 500 Pounds. The Reverend Mr. *Vincent* was try'd at *Surrey* Seſſions, upon the 35th of *Eliz.* and caſt. Two hundred Warrants were iſſu'd out for Diſtreſſes upon *Uxbridge* and the Neighbourhood. The pious and eminent Dr. *Bates*, one of the moſt learned and polite Writers of the Age, was diſtrain'd upon. The Jayls all over *England* were fill'd with the ſame ſort of Offenders for Conſcience ſake only. Here you might ſee a lewd Herd of Informers, probably with a roaring Juſtice at their Head, haling away religious conſcientious Perſons, Women as well as Men, to the common Priſon. There another Band of them loaden with the Plunder of their Houſes and Barns, and driving away their Cattle for not coming to Church, and for going to a Proteſtant Meeting. I have been an Eye-Witneſs of theſe impious and cruel Practices, and the Impreſſion is ſtill too ſtrong upon my Mind to tell even this little with Patience. Theſe are this King's Succeſſes, theſe his Triumphs, which produce ſuch Exultation in the Pulpit and out of it, in Sermons and Addreſſes; the latter were ſtuff'd with moſt hearty and humble Thanks for ſecuring a Popiſh Succeſſor to reign over our Proteſtant Church, for perſecuting and ruining our diſſenting Brethren, for eſtabliſhing Principles of Tyranny and Slavery, if Tyrants and Slaves are capable of Principles; and now, ſays *Echard*, his Majeſty rul'd with more *Independency*. He means nothing, if he does not mean with leſs Regard to that Religion, and thoſe Laws which he had ſworn to defend. One cannot queſtion but when the Duke of *York* came laſt from *Scotland*, the Reſolution was taken, not only to harraſs, oppreſs and ruin *Proteſtant* Diſſenters, but alſo to ſtrike ſuch Terror into Proteſtant Churchmen, as ſhould induce them to give up all their Rights and Privileges, for fear of giving Offence to the two Popiſh Brothers, the King and the Duke of *York*; but as that could not be done while there were honeſt Sheriffs, thoſe Princes reſolv'd at any rate to get others, ſuch as would not ſtick at any Butchery, which they ſhould be put upon; accordingly they pitch'd on *Dudley North*, of whom they were ſure, annd ventur'd to name Mr. *Box*, of whom they were not ſure. Theſe two Citizens they caus'd to be put up for Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*, in oppoſition to two worthy and wealthy Merchants, Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*. Some time before the Election Sir *John Moor* drank to *North* at the Bridge-Houſe Feaſt, and by drinking to him, *choſe him Sheriff according to ancient Cuſtom*, ſays the honeſt Hiſtorian. Biſhop *Burnet* on the contrary tells us, "The Right was to be determin'd by the "*Charter*, which granted the Election of the "*Sheriffs* to the Citizens of *London*; and what-"ever Cuſtoms had crept in among them, the "Right ſtill lay where the *Charter* had lodg'd it, "among the Citizens; but the *Court* was re-"ſolv'd to carry this Point: The Common Hall "alledg'd, that the Right of chuſing both She-"riffs was in them; and the old Sheriffs put it "according to cuſtom to a Poll, and it was viſible "that the much greater Number was againſt the "Lord Mayor." Now tho' there was no manner of occaſion for unfair Dealing, by thoſe that had a viſible Majority; yet, ſays *Echard*, *ſeveral Names of thoſe who poll'd for* North *and* Box *were refus'd to be enter'd, and ſeveral Names of thoſe that poll'd on the other ſide were enter'd, tho' the Perſons were not preſent.* The Falſhood of this is not to be conceiv'd, but by imagining Contraries; and this Violence, continues he, occaſion'd the Mayor's adjourning the Court by Proclamation three Days to the 27th of *June*, which he had no Right to do; for as the Biſhop of *Sarum* tells us, "The *Sheriffs* were always under-"ſtood to be the Officers of that Court, ſo the "adjourning it belong'd to them; yet the "Mayor adjourn'd the Court, which the Sheriffs "ſaid he had no Power to do, and ſo went on "with their Poll." The Reader will obſerve that the Poll is carry'd on regularly, and without Diſturbance from any body but the Mayor. *Echard*'s Repreſentation is directly contrary, *the Lord Mayor was thrown down upon his Knees, and in great danger.* My Lord of *Sarum* aſſures us, *there was no Diſorder in the whole Progreſs of the Matter.* When I charge the Archdeacon with Falſity, is there not a ſhorter Term for it in our Language? but the Purity and Delicacy of Hiſtory will not admit of it. The King, who had nothing at all to do in this Affair, takes it upon himſelf, and ſends for the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen and Sheriffs. I have fully related

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Box *and* North *Sheriffs impos'd on the City.*

Echard, p. 660.

Moor *the Mayor's Injuſtice.*

P. 660.

P. 529.

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There was no Riot at all, 'twas the Sheriffs Right to adjourn the Court: The Biſhop of *Salisbury* tells us, *the Mayor's Party carried themſelves with great Inſolence, the Sheriffs with more Temper than could be expected from ſo great a Body, who thought their Rights invaded.* Yet Mr. Archdeacon takes great Comfort in the illegal Impriſonment of thoſe two worthy Magiſtrates, and goes on with the Story as fairly as he began it. The Sheriffs being bail'd out of the Tower, met at the *Common Hall* the fifth of *July*, the Lord Mayor adjourn'd it to the ſeventh of *July*, and then further to the fourteenth of *July*, which, as we have ſeen, he had no Right to do: However the King interpos'd again, and ſent an Order of Council to the Lord Mayor, to ſtand by *antient Cuſtoms*, meaning the Mayor's chuſing the Sheriff by giving him a Cup of Sack: This Order being a Violation of their Charter, the Citizens after it was read, cry'd, read the Statute of 16 *Car.* I. Chap. x. againſt ſuch Orders of Council, which yet Mr. Archdeacon informs us was impertinent; and indeed Law was at this time Impertinence. *So the Lord Mayor*, continues he, *declar'd Mr.* North *duely elected, and that he would poll for the other three*; for in obedience to the illegal Order of Council, he ſtood by *North*, as having drunk to him. *North* was ſo hated on his own, and his Brother's account, that unleſs the Mayor could chuſe him by a *Bumper*, he was never like to be a Sheriff of *London*; but thoſe four and twenty Counſellors could not have pitch'd upon a Tool fitter for their cruel Purpoſes, and the Mayor ſtood to it that he was fairly choſen by himſelf, but poll'd again for *Box*, as the two Sheriffs did for *Papillon* and *Dubois*, and Mr. *Echard* affirms *Box* was duely elected by a Majority of Votes in the Mayor's Book, upon which, the good Man declar'd *North* and *Box* Sheriffs. Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account is again contrary, *The* Mayor *reſolv'd to take another Poll, to which none ſhould be admitted, but thoſe who were contented to vote only for one, and to approve his Nomination for the other; and it was reſolv'd that his Poll ſhould be that by which the Buſineſs ſhould be ſettled; and tho' the Sheriffs Poll exceeded his by many Hundreds, yet Order was given to return thoſe on the Mayor's Poll, and that they ſhould be ſworn.* Mr. *Box* was too honeſt a Man to countenance ſuch Injuſtice and Violence, and refus'd to ſtand with *North*, who Sir *John Hawles* ſays, *was impos'd on the City*, and for that Reaſon *Box refus'd to join with him*; but they afterwards found out a ſort of a Woodmonger, or Timber-Man in *Southwark*, *Peter Rich*, who made no ſcruple of joining with *North*, or any one the Court pleas'd to couple him with. Now *Echard* again, as falſe as before, The Lord Mayor call'd a *Common Hall* on the 19th of *September*, and propos'd the electing another Sheriff in the room of Mr. *Box*; but the Party of the old Sheriffs inſiſted on their firſt *Election, as they had good reaſon to do, it being legal and peaceable.* Mr. Archdeacon affirms, *The Lord Mayor being ſteady and reſolute went on in the Election, and by the Majority of his Party* Peter Rich *Eſq; was choſen*; and to ſhew us how conſiderable a Perſon he was, he informs us he was a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Trained Bands. The Truth is, there was no Election at all. *Moor* the Mayor, *without any Proclamation made as uſual*, as we are told by Biſhop *Burnet*, took the Vote of *one in a Corner near him, who nam'd* Rich, *which was applauded by about thirty more*; *upon this it was ſaid that* Rich *was choſen without any Contradiction, and ſo* North *and* Rich *were return'd and ſworn.* *Echard* again, *Whereupon the Lord Mayor return'd to his Houſe in* Triumph, *and* Heraclitus *totally laid down his ſatirical Pen after* 18 *Months uſe of it in a ſort of Triumph*, tho' there hardly was ever a more wretched Scribler, and his Satyr was no better, either for Language or Wit, than you may every day hear from the Fiſhery at *Billingſgate*. I could very eaſily prove this, but I ſhall never be able to bring myſelf to make a *Critique* on the Wit and Humour of a Faction, who were ſuch Fools as to part with their Religion and Liberties for a few good Looks and good Words from the King and his Brother, or who rather, like *Eſau*, were ſelling their Birth-right for a Meſs of Pottage. *Moor* had not yet done all the Buſineſs the Court had cut out for him, Apoſtates and Renegades never think they can do enough to convince the World of their Apoſtacy, and *Moor* undertook to give them a Mayor as well as two Sheriffs, and in this Conteſt Mr. Archdeacon is no fairer than in the other: *The* Whig *Party muſter'd all their Strength* to chuſe a Lord Mayor; ſure it is, the *Tory* Party muſter'd a great deal more than their Strength. The *Tories* put up Sir *William Pritchard*, a Man of a mean Trade and Character, otherwiſe than as he was an Alderman, and very much bigotted to what Sir *George Jefferies*, and Sir *Dudley North* call'd the *Church*. The *Whigs* were for Sir *Thomas Gould*, or Alderman *Corniſh*. Mr. *Echard* is pleas'd to confeſs that theſe two had the Majority at the firſt Appearance; *but upon a long Scrutiny, and thorough Examination*, ſays he, *it was found that a great Number had appear'd for them, who were not legally intitled to Voices.* What follows has a pretty deal of Stupidity in it, for he caſts up the Voices himſelf.

A. D. 1682.

North *and* Rich *illegally declar'd by the Mayor.*

Sir William Pritchard *illegally declar'd Mayor.*

Sir *William Pritchard*	2138
Sir *Thomas Gould*	2124

So that his great Number is by his own Account reduced to 14, but even that too is ſhamefully falſe. My Lord of *Sarum*, " The Poll was " clos'd when the Court thought they had the " Majority; but upon caſting it up, it appear'd " they had loſt it, ſo they fell to canvaſs it, and " they made ſuch Exceptions to thoſe on the o- " ther ſide, that they diſcounted as many Voices " as gave them the Majority. This was alſo " manag'd in ſo groſs a manner, *which* Echard " *calls a thorough Examination*, that it was vi- " ſible the Court was reſolv'd to have the Go- " vernment of the City in their own Hands; but " becauſe they would not be at this Trouble, " nor run this Hazard every Year, it was reſolv'd " that the Charter of the City muſt either be gi- " ven up, or be adjudg'd to the King". Mr. *Echard* is inſenſible of theſe tyrannical Proceedings, and of the Deſigns the Court was carrying on by 'em, and with great Coldneſs and Indifference only tells us, a *Quo Warranto* was determin'd to iſſue againſt the City of *London*.

Acts of Tyranny.

The

A. D. 1682.

The Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs being entirely to the good Liking of the *Popiſh* Faction, and the Court ſure of Juries, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York* preſents himſelf firſt on this terrible Stage, and brings an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt Alderman *Pilkington* for Words ſpoken by him, as if he had ſaid the Duke fir'd *London*. *Tulſe* and *Hooker*, two Aldermen, fully prov'd the Words, if you will believe Mr. *Echard*; but he conceals the Evidence of Sir *Patience Ward*, who was by when it was pretended the Words were ſaid, and depos'd, that to the beſt of his Remembrance *Pilkington* ſaid not thoſe Words, for which, becauſe the Jury found *Pilkington* guilty, they try'd *Ward* for Perjury, and ſuch another Jury convicting him of it, the Court intended to have put the late Lord Mayor in the Pillory had he not gone out of the way. *Sawyer*, the Attorney General, tho' as Biſhop *Burnet* ſays he was a *dull Man*, and truly there were the dulleſt Tools then ſet to work that ever ſcandaliz'd a Government, was as active as his Dulneſs would let him be in theſe Proſecutions, and in thoſe alſo that follow'd, which let out the nobleſt Blood in the Nation. Alderman *Pilkington* had refus'd to go to *Whitehall* with *Moor* and *Pritchard*, and *Tulſe* and *Hooker*, and the reſt of them that waited on the Duke with ſome nauſeous Compliments at his Return from *Scotland*, and he being now oblig'd to render himſelf a Priſoner in Diſcharge of his Bail, *North* got himſelf to be return'd Alderman of his Ward. The pack'd Jury, contrary to the *Salvo Contenemento* in *Magna Charta*, gave the Duke of *York* 100,000 *l.* Damages. The pleaſurable Part of the Hiſtory is, that the Duke liv'd long enough to account for theſe things, and to taſte of that Miſery which he brought upon others.

P. 532.

Alderman Pilkington fin'd againſt Law.

The Earl of *Shaftesbury* could not but foreſee that ſuch Doings about Sheriffs were to prepare for the Tragedies that the Court were bent upon acting, ſo he prudently remov'd to *Holland*, and reſided at *Amſterdam*, but did not long ſurvive his Removal, nor was it long before the ſage Lord Mayor *Pritchard* put out an Order againſt burning the Pope, and making Bonfires on Queen *Elizabeth*'s Day. A *Whig* News-Paper, call'd *the Weekly Intelligence* was prohibited, and all Hawkers ſilenc'd. Ill Governments, like *Hearkners*, never hear Good of themſelves, and 'tis no wonder they are for ſtopping People's Mouths by all the ways they can think of, by Executions, Prohibitions, by Cruelty, Oppreſſion and Terror. The Foreign News admits of no Hiſtory. The Crown of *England* was in a degree of Contempt abroad not to be remember'd without Indignation, while at home it was terrible to all true *Engliſhmen*. However there were two new Ambaſſadors this Year from beyond Sea, one from the King of *Fez*, the other from the King of *Bantam*, and ſurely the Subjects of thoſe two Monarchs were not at that time leſs happy than the Subjects of the King of *Britain*.

Unjuſt Elections of Common Council-Men.

At the latter End of the Year the *Popiſh* Cabal employ'd all their Inſtruments, the illegal Lord Mayor, and the illegal Sheriffs, the Aldermen of that Faction, and others in the City, to get a Common Council of no more Honour than the Mayor and his Sheriffs. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *much Injuſtice was complain'd of in many Wards of the City, both in the Poll, and in the Returns. In order to the diſabling of* Diſſenters *from voting, the Biſhop and Clergy were preſs'd by the Court to proſecute them in the* Church *Courts, that ſo they might excommunicate them, which ſome corrupt Lawyers thought would render them incapable to vote, tho' other Lawyers were very poſitively of another Opinion:* However this Point was not carry'd, and the *King was diſpleas'd*; the Majority of the new Common-Council being as averſe to the Surrender of their *Charter* as the laſt was. My Lord Biſhop charges Sir *Lionel Jenkins* with *indirect Practices* in theſe Tranſactions, tho' his Capacity did not enable him to do as much Miſchief as he wou'd. His Lordſhip adds, *that tho' he underſtood nothing, yet he had ſo much credit with the* High Church *Party, that he was of great uſe to the King and the Duke.*

A. D. 1682.

When we liv'd in the Reigns after the Revolution, and ſaw the Streams of Honour running pure from the Fountain, when Patriots were preferr'd to high Stations and Titles, and the Favourites of the Kings and Queens were Favourites of the People, 'twas with wonderful Delight that they heard of *Honours* and *Promotions*; but I queſtion whether the Reader's Appetite will be ſo keen for the following Paragraph, copy'd from two Reverend Hiſtorians: As thus, out of *Echard*, " With a great Flood of " diſtinguiſhing Favours, cheap and acceptable, " at the beginning of *December* his Majeſty was " pleas'd to grant

" To *Thomas* Lord *Windſor*, Governor of the " Town and Garriſon of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, " the Name and Stile of Earl of *Plymouth*.

" To Sir *Thomas Thynne*, the Name and Stile " of Baron *Thynne* of *Warmiſter*, and Viſcount " *Weymouth*.

" To Col. *George Legg*, the Name and Stile " of Baron of *Dartmouth*."

The Lord *Townſhend* was created Viſcount *Townſhend*; and Col. *John Churchill*, Lord *Churchill* of *Aymouth* in *Scotland*. The two laſt Names illuſtrious in our late Hiſtories.

The Lord *Norreys* was made Earl of *Abington*; Sir *John Bennet*, Lord *Oſſulſton*; *Coniers* Lord *Darcy*, Earl of *Holderneſs*; *James* Duke of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, a Duke of *England*; the Duke of *Hamilton*, a Knight of the Garter; the Earl of *Arundel*, Governor of *Windſor-Caſtle*.

Edward Viſcount *Campden* was created Earl of *Gainsborough*; *George* Earl of *Hallifax*, Marquis of *Hallifax*; and the Earl of *Sunderland* was reſtor'd to the Office of Secretary of State; Lord *Conway* was the other Secretary, as his Father had been before him, and ſo unfit for the Station, that King *James* was wont to ſay, he had a Secretary who could not write; nor had there ſince been an unfitter Perſon in that high Station, unleſs that *dull one* Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, or this Lord *Conway*, his Son, who was ſo ignorant, that his Province being the *North*, when one of the Foreign Miniſters talk'd to him of the *Circles* of *Germany*, it amaz'd him, he could not imagine what Circles had to do with Affairs of State. But he was a good *Churchman*, in the reverend Hiſtorian's Acceptation of the Word; and ſo alſo was *Laurence Hyde*, now Earl of *Rocheſter*, whoſe Probity may be gueſs'd at, by this Inſtance out of Biſhop *Burnet*: " Lord *Halliſax* and Lord *Hyde* fell to be in an " open War, and were both much hated, *at* " *which I am not at all ſurpriz'd*; *Men can* " *never be belov'd by the Country whoſe Inte-* " *reſt they betray, by promoting Slavery and* " *Perſecution.*" Lord *Halliſax* charg'd *Hyde* of *Bribery*, *He that will betray the Country, will ſurely betray the King, when he can get by it*: " For having farm'd a Branch of the Reve- " nue much lower than had been proffer'd for it, " Lord *Halliſax* acquainted the King firſt with " it, and he deſir'd Lord *Rocheſter* himſelf to " ex-

Conway *an ignorant Secretary.*

Rocheſter's *Probity.*

A. D. 1682. " examine into it, he being inclin'd to think it " rather an Abuſe put upon him, than Cor- " ruption in himſelf; but he ſaw Lord *Roche-* " *ſter* was cold in the Matter, and, inſtead " of proſecuting any for it, protected all con- " cern'd in it." Lord *Halifax* laid the Complaint before the King in Council; and, to convince the King how ill a Bargain he had made, the Complainers offer'd, if he would break it, to give him 40000 Pounds more than he was to have for it from the Farmers. The Biſhop ſays again, *Rocheſter* was much hated, but the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* protected him, and he protected the *High Church Party*. He afterwards wrote a Prefatory Dedication to *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, ſo renown'd for its Veracity and Impartiality

1683.

A. D. 1683. ABout the beginning of this Year, Sir *Francis North* was made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, on the Death of the Earl of *Nottingham*, of whoſe *Capacity* Biſhop *Burnet* ſeems to have had as mean an Opinion as of *North*'s *Honeſty*. " *North* had not the Virtues of his Predeceſſor, " but he had Parts far beyond him. They " were turn'd to *Craft*." A rare Man to make a Lord-Keeper! " So that whereas the former " ſeem'd to mean well, even when he did ill; " this *North* was believ'd to mean ill, even " when he did well." He had a deep hand in the Murder of *Colledge*; and now the ſacred Scale of Juſtice is put into it, and how he held it we may conjecture from this Inſtance. Mr. *Robert Mayot* of *Oxford*, a pious *Churchman*, who had devoted his Eſtate to charitable Uſes, gave, by his laſt Will, 600 *l.* to be diſtributed by Mr. *Baxter* to *ſixty* poor ejected Miniſters, adding, *That he did it not becauſe they were* Non-conformiſts *but becauſe many ſuch were pious and poor*. The mercenary *Sawyer* Attorney-General ſued for it in the Chancery, and *North* the Keeper gave it all to the King. It was paid into Chancery by *North*'s Order, and it lay there till King *William* ſo happily aſcended the Throne, when the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal reſtor'd it to the Uſe for which it was intended by the Deceas'd; and Mr. *Baxter* diſpos'd of it accordingly. The Baſeneſs and Wickedneſs of this Attempt of *Sawyer*'s are not to be parallel'd in Chriſtian Hiſtory.

Mr. Mayot's *Will defeated.*

Cal. 361.

The poor perſecuted Diſſenters were every where flying from, or ſuffering under the Rage of their *Perſecutors*. 'Twas bad enough in *London*, but worſe ſtill in the Country, where the moſt brutal Wretches were made Juſtices and Conſtables, purpoſely to carry on that wicked Work, which was the main *Buſineſs* of the Spiritual Courts, ſtill the Deteſtation of all ſober People. Many who were taken at Proteſtant Meetings, were convicted as Rioters, and fin'd 10 Pounds apiece, and ſome religious young Men and young Women were ſent to *Bridewel*, to beat Hemp with Whores and Thieves. And *now*, ſays *Echard*, *the State of the Nation ſeem'd to have been in a more quiet and calm Condition than ever ſince the breaking out of the* Popiſh *Plot*. *The* Whig *Party being forc'd to give way to the* Tory *more apparently than for ſeveral Years before, the Struggles and Contrivances of the declining Party were either more feeble or more clandeſtine*; inſinuating the damnable Sham-Plots that the Court were inventing to deſtroy the Nonconformiſts. *The Duke of* Monmouth *and his Party* were entring into *ſecret and deſperate Methods*; he will have his Share of the innocent and noble Blood that is about to be ſpilt. The Duke of *Monmouth* was, it is true, now very popular, he had the Eyes and Hearts of all good Proteſtants and good *Engliſhmen*; but he had not *Genius* enough to make the beſt Uſe of them. Mr. Archdeacon tells us, that his Race-Horſe winning the Prize in *France*, *added to his Fame*, as it did to Mr. *Bernard Howard*'s, that his Coach was permitted to come within the *Louvre*; of ſo great Importance are his Incidents, when he is not abuſing Proteſtant Diſſenters, or printing nonſenſical Addreſſes, ſuch as that from the *Middle-Temple*, deliver'd by two Knights, as poor as ever were the old Knights Templers; Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, who went afterwards to *Barbadoes*, and Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, who was afterwards branded for a Cheat by a Vote of the Houſe of Commons. The King alſo made a Knight of *Dudley North*; and the Archdeacon tells us, the King dubb'd him in gratitude to the City, becauſe Sir *John Moor* was thank'd for his *good Adminiſtration* in impoſing *North* on them as a Sheriff by a *ſhameleſs Trick*, as Sir *John Hawles* calls it.

A Perſecution.

A. D. 1683.

The King having made the Earls of *Huntington* and *Peterborough* Privy-Counſellors, went to *Newmarket*, *March* the 16th, and ſix days after a terrible Fire ſuddenly broke out, which conſum'd about half of the Town. His Majeſty remov'd his Reſidence to another Houſe, but the Wind purſu'd him thither, conducted, ſays *Echard*, by an inviſible Power, and, in a moment, it became as untenantable as the other, which oblig'd the King and Court to return to *London* ſooner than they intended; and the Hiſtorian, with a foul Mouth and falſe Heart, adds, The *providential Fire*, thus do they blaſpheme in their Invectives, *defeated and prevented a black Conſpiracy form'd againſt him and his Brother*. Dr. *Welwood* writes of that and the other Sham-Plots about this time: " The ſhatter'd Remains " of *Engliſh* Liberty were then attack'd on eve- " ry ſide, and ſome of the nobleſt Blood in the " Nation was offer'd up a Sacrifice to the *Manes* " of Popiſh Martyrs; *Swearing* came into fa- " ſhion, and an *Evidence*-Office was erected in " *Whitehall*. But whereas the Witneſſes for the " *Popiſh* Plot were brow-beaten and diſcourag'd, " thoſe for the *Proteſtant* Plot were highly en- " courag'd; and, inſtead of Judges and Juries " that might boggle at half Evidence, as it fell " out in the Proſecution of the former, Care was " taken in this to pick out ſuch as ſhould ſtick " at nothing to ſerve a Turn." Mr. *Coke* explains this helliſh Impoſture ſtill further, " The " Court ſet three Plots on foot; The *Rye-Plot*, " to kill the King and the Duke as they came " from *Newmarket*. A Plot to ſeize the Guards; " and the *Blackheath* Plot. In all theſe Plots, " for ought I can find, the Fox is the Finder. " My Lord *Howard* and *Rumſey* in that of the " Guards; *Lee* and *Goodenough* in that of " *Blackheath*; *Keeling* and *Weſt* in that of *Rye-* " *Houſe*; *Lee* was ſet to trapan *Rouſe* and *Ba-* " *ker* in the *Blackheath* Plot: *Rumbald*, at " whoſe Houſe it is ſaid the *Rye-Houſe* Plot was " to be acted, upon his Death deny'd he ever " knew of any." And tho' *Rumbald* was a Proteſtant, and probably a Republican, his dying Words will certainly have more weight with the Reader than Mr. *Echard*'s. Some time after the King's Return to *London*, Mr. *Broom* the Coroner arreſted the Lord Mayor *Pritchard*, *North* the pretended Sheriff, and ſome perſecuting Aldermen, and carry'd them Priſoners to *Skinners-Hall*, in an Action upon the Caſe, at the Suit of Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois*, the legal Sheriffs of the City. But the Faction got one *Fletcher*, a Sergeant of the *Poultry* Compter, to arreſt *Broom* in an Action of 400 Pounds Debt upon Bond, and to carry him to Priſon; upon which, *Pritchard*,

Rye-Houſe Plot.

Pritchard *the Lord Mayor arreſted.*

A. D. 1682.

chard, North, and the Coroner's other Priſoners, went to their ſeveral Homes. The Common Council very formally diſclaim'd the Mayor's Arreſt, *becauſe* the Writ ran in the Name of the Citizens of *London*. They alſo turn'd Mr. *Broom* out of his Place. The Court took quick Vengeance againſt the Party that had thus inſulted their beſt Friends, and under pretence of a Riot, committed by the moſt ſober Citizens of *London*, which Riot was only a peaceable Poll for their Sheriffs, they caus'd an Information to be exhibited againſt

Thomas Pilkington Eſq; 500 *l.*
John Shute Eſq; 1000 Marks.
Henry Corniſh Eſq; 1000 Marks.
Slingsby Bethel Eſq; 1000 Marks.
The Lord *Grey*, 1000 Marks.
Sir *Thomas Player*, 500 Marks.
Mr. *Deagle*, 400 Marks.
Mr. *Jekyl*, 200 Marks.
Mr. *Jenkins*, 300 Marks.
Mr. *Freeman*, 300 Marks.
Mr. *Wickham*, 100 Marks.
Mr. *Goodenough*, 500 Marks.
Mr. *Swinnock*, 500 Marks.
Mr. *Keys*, 100 Marks.

Who were fin'd in the above mention'd Sums, *May* the 8th. *Echard* vows and proteſts that the Lord Mayor's Right to *adjourn* the Common Hall, was *fully prov'd*; tho' my Lord of *Sarum* affirms the adjourning the Common Hall always *belong'd to the Sheriffs*; and that Riot was made out to the *full*, tho' his Lordſhip aſſerts, *There was no Diſorder in the whole Progreſs of the Matter*. Several of the injur'd Gentlemen were Proteſtant Diſſenters, which probably he thinks ſufficient for him to injure them again in his Hiſtory. And *now*, continues he, the City appear'd more *loyal and obſequious*. Loyalty to good Kings and Queens, ſuch as King *William*, Queen *Mary*, Queen *Anne*, King *George*, and his preſent Majeſty, is at once a Duty and a Pleaſure. But what is meant by *Loyalty* to ſuch Kings as *Charles* and *James* the Second, while they were breaking down all the Barriers of our Religion and Liberty? Do not they underſtand a tame Submiſſion to the Yoke of Slavery, Spiritual and Temporal, under which the miſerable People of *England* now heavily groan'd?

The reverend Hiſtorian informs us, that the Scaffolds in *Weſtminſter-Hall* were now a ken down, and a Statue of King *Charles* I. now ſet up at the *Royal Exchange*, with an Inſcription, which begins with a Quibble, *Eikon Baſilike*. But if the Statue was no more a Picture of the King than *Eikon Baſilike*, the Book written by Dr. *Gauden* was his Portraiture, that Nich is the worſt fill'd of any in the *Exchange*.

London Quo Warranto.

Mr. *Acherley* informs us, that the Duke of *York*, in purſuance of the Scheme laid down by the *Popiſh Cabal*, got a *Quo Warranto* brought againſt the City of *London*, whereby the King requir'd them to ſhew by what Right they claim'd to be a Corporation. The Breaches which the Attorney-General *Sawyer*, that *hot, dull Man*, as Biſhop *Burnet* calls him, aſſign'd as Cauſes to forfeit their Being as a Corporation were, that they had made an Addreſs *to the King for the Sitting of the Parliament*; and that they had rais'd the Rents of their Wharfs and Ware-houſes, which they had themſelves built. Had there been any Shame in *Sawyer*'s or the Sollicitor-General's Faces, they could not have held up their Heads while ſuch Nonſenſe was reading, as a pretence to take away the Rights and Privileges of that Capital of the *Britiſh* Empire, and the great *Emporium* of the World. I ſhall not enter into the Detail of the Merits of the Cauſe. *Sawyer* and *Finch* pleaded as well as they could againſt thoſe very learned and eminent Lawyers *Pollexfen* and *Treby*, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtices of the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas. There needs but a ſmall Portion of Knowledge to ſatisfy one, that *Engliſhmen* may very lawfully petition the King for the Sitting of Parliaments; and that People may ſet what Rent they pleaſe on their Lands and Tenements. *Sawyer*'s firſt Argument was falſe in fact, according to Mr. *Acherley*, *That the City had impos'd Taxes by By-Laws; whereas the By-Law was not to impoſe new Taxes, but to reduce their antient and uncertain Tolls to a reaſonable Certainty*. And when the particular Breaches came to be argu'd upon, *Sawyer* and *Finch*, according to Mr. *Acherly*, ſeem'd to fail; and Sir *George Treby* and Mr. *Pollexfen* prov'd, That the *Tolls in the Markets for Stallage* and other Conveniences, *provided at the City's Charges, were due by Law*. The judicious Lawyer obſerves, "It appear'd "afterwards that this pretence of a breach of "Truſt to make a Forfeiture was merely ſpe"cious; for, after the King had obtain'd Judg"ment againſt the City, his Majeſty himſelf, "by thoſe commiſſion'd under him, exacted and "collected the ſame Rates for the Tolls, which "the City had by their Act of Common-Council "aſcertain'd. When the Breach, touching the "City's *Petition*, came to be argu'd, the "King's Counſel ſeem'd to lay the whole Streſs "upon Clamour only, without any real Sub"ſtance." The Counſel for the City prov'd, That the Conſtitution and the Law of the Land had given Subjects a Right of *petitioning, and of Acceſs to the ſupreme Governor, to repreſent to him their Grievances, which were the Dangers ariſing from the Popiſh Plot. The Facts recited in the* Petition *were unqueſtionably true*, and even confeſs'd by the King's Counſel. Ach. p. 610. The Arguments for the City were, *by Standers-by*, deem'd a *ſufficient Defence*, but no Defence would be heard; and the Judges, without giving Reaſons, gave a Capital Judgment, *That the City's* Franchiſe *ſhould be ſeiz'd into the King's hand*. This Judgment was before agreed on, and it was admitted by all Sides to be the ſame thing as to diſſolve them. Accordingly the King acted, as if their Being was extinguiſh'd, for he nominated and appointed the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen. *But when the Rage and Oppreſſion of theſe Times* were remov'd, continues the learned Lawyer, this unjuſt Seizure of the Charter was by Act of Parliament *condemn'd as an illegal Proceeding, and made void, and conſequently* Injuſtice, Cruelty *and* Folly were charg'd *upon the Proſecution*. The Proſecutors were *Sawyer* and *Finch*, and *eſpecially upon that enormous Breach of the Conſtitution and the Law of the Land, whereby the* Right of Petitioning *was infring'd*, and the Eſſence of the Legiſlature attempted. The Mayor, the Sheriffs, *Tulſe* and ſuch Aldermen, with ſome of the Common-Council, made a ſlaviſh Submiſſion to this tyrannical Judgment. And *Echard*, who has told this Story with much Satisfaction, tells us, *The City was reſtor'd upon it*; the King only reſerving to himſelf the Approbation of the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, Common Sergeant, Town-Clerk, Coroner, Steward of *Southwark*, *&c.* The Citizens were now ſo corrupted by Court-Flattery, or intimidated by Court-Cruelty, that when it was put to the Vote in Common-Council to agree or not agree to the a-

Acts of Tyranny.

bove

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bove mention'd Submiſſion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by a ſmall Majority. Having diſpatch'd this Tale, he goes upon another every whit as unjuſt, but more bloody and terrible; for having ſecur'd Judges, Sheriffs and Juries, they bring their Hangman upon the Stage, and begin the *Carnage*, as Mr. *Acherley* very juſtly terms it. Yet *Echard*, with Front erect, and Heart harden'd againſt all Remorſe and Compaſſion for his bleeding Country, and her bleeding Patriots, opens the dreadful Scene with Applauſe, and introduces thoſe bloody Butcheries as ſolemnly, as if that innocent Blood, which cry'd long and aloud for Vengeance, and was at laſt aveng'd, had only been a Peace-offering to free and impartial Juſtice. He is ſo fooliſh as to own he takes his Information from what the Government printed of it: that is, he took the Vindication of the following Murders from the Murtherers themſelves. He adds, and *from the Confeſſion of the Sufferers*. Falſe to a Prodigy! For *Rumbald* declar'd at his death, that he never *knew or heard of any Deſign to kill the King*; nor was there the leaſt ſtep taken towards that Part of the Plot which was call'd *Presbyterian*, as an Inſtance of the King's Gratitude to thoſe that reſtor'd him, who were all *Presbyterians*, however they were as unlucky in this *Sham-Plot*, as in *Dangerfield*'s, and pick'd out moſt of their Plotters among Churchmen; as the Duke of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Shaftesbury*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, Lord *Howard*, &c.

Ryehouſe *Sham-Plot.*

The Archdeacon copies the *Romance* written by *Sprat*, who wrote a tedious fulſome Panegyrick upon *Cromwel*, as did alſo *South*, but *South*'s Conſcience could not go *Sprat*'s Lengths; for when King *Charles* II. deſir'd him to write the *Fable* of the *Ryehouſe-Plot*, which his Majeſty call'd a *Hiſtory*, *South*, after he had read all the Papers the King had to ſhew him, refus'd the Work, ſaying, *Thoſe Papers were all Copies, and no legal Proof, and unleſs his Majeſty had better Evidence, he would not meddle with it*, as Dr. *Prideaux* late Dean of *Norwich* told a Gentleman of that City, from whom I had it. *Sprat* however undertook it, Evidence or no Evidence, and *Echard* has copied him in all the Variety of Untruths, from one end of the pretended Narrative to the other. And as in *Dangerfield*'s Plot, the Roll of Generals and Officers was the moſt conſiderable Part, ſo here too is a Roll produc'd.

Mr. P.——

The pretended Plotters.

The Duke of *Monmouth*.
The Earl of *Shaftesbury*.
The Earl of *Eſſex*.
The Lord *Howard*.
Col. *Sidney*.
Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*.
The Earl of *Argyle*.
Sir *Hugh Cambell*.
Robert Baillie of *Jerviſwood* Eſq;
John Hampden Eſq;
Sir *Joſeph Tyley*.
Major *Wade*.
Richard Nelthorp Eſq;
The Lord *Melvill*.
Sir *Patrick Hume*.
Sir *John Cambell*.

To theſe the Fable joins

Robert Ferguſon, a *Scotch* Prieſt.
Richard Rumbald, a Maltſter at *Ryehouſe*.
Richard Goodenough, } two Attorneys.
Francis Goodenough, }
Zachary Bourn, Brewer.
Joſiah Keeling, Salter.
Edward Norton.
Robert Weſt, a Counſellor.
William Hone, a Joiner.
Aaron Smith, a Sollicitor.
Andrew Barber.
Thomas Shepherd, Wine-Merchant.
John Rouſe.
Col. *John Rumſey*.
Lieutenant-Col. *Walcot*.

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Who, ſays the Reverend Hiſtorian, *had undertaken to reform the Church and State*: a ſtupid Jeſt of his, as if *John Rouſe* and the Lord *Ruſſel*, or *William Hone* and the Earl of *Eſſex*, could have enter'd into League for carrying on ſuch a wild Buſineſs. He would have us believe that the State, involv'd in the Confuſion and Guilt of ſo many Acts of Tyranny and Injuſtice, needed no Reform; and what a Compliment then has he made the Church by coupling them thus together? I do not doubt but thoſe Acts of Injuſtice and Tyranny occaſion'd much warm Diſcourſe, and perhaps ſome crude Schemes of Ways and Means to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberty againſt the Invaſions of the King and his Brother; ſuch as the keeping up a publick Spirit, and ſecuring an Intereſt, if the King ſhould find himſelf under a Neceſſity of calling a Parliament: But that an Aſſaſſination and an Inſurrection were determin'd by the Lords, Gentlemen, and others before-mention'd in concert, is as incredible as that the Pretender owes his Birth to a Bribe, which the Dutcheſs of *Modena* gave our Lady of *Loretto*.

I am apt to believe, that the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* himſelf makes the moſt of this Plot in his Account of it; and it is laid thick upon the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, for whom his Lordſhip ſeems to have no good liking.

" The Lord *Shaftesbury* had been making " uſe of the Heat the City was in, during the " Conteſt about the Sheriffs, and thought they " might have created great Diſturbance; and " he believ'd the firſt appearance of the " leaſt Diſorder, would have prevail'd on the " King to yield every thing. The Duke of " *Monmouth*, who underſtood what a Rabble " was, and what Troops were, look'd on this as a " mad expoſing of themſelves."

See *Echard*: *The Duke of* Monmouth *promis'd to riſe in ſome remote County, and give a Diverſion to the King's Troops.*

The Biſhop again; " The Earl of *Eſſex* and " the Lord *Ruſſel* were of the Duke of *Mon-* " *mouth*'s Mind; ſo Lord *Shaftesbury* ſeeing " they could not be engag'd into Action, flew " out againſt them." But their Friends made up the matter as well as they could; and to perfect the Reconciliation, the Duke of *Monmouth* conſented to meet Lord *Shaftesbury* at Mr. *Shepherd*'s the Merchant's Houſe in *Abchurch-Lane*, now well known by the Name of *Pontack*'s. The Night before this Appointment, Lord *Ruſſel* came to Town on the account of his Uncle's Illneſs. *Echard* ſays, 'twas on account of the riſing. The Duke of *Monmouth* went to Lord *Ruſſel* and told him of that Appointment, deſiring he would go thither with him; to which his Lordſhip conſented, the rather becauſe he intended to taſte ſome of that Merchant's Wine. At night they went with Lord *Grey* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*. When they came, they found none there but *Rumſey* and *Ferguſon*, two of Lord *Shaftesbury*'s Tools, whom he employ'd. The Marquiſs of *Wincheſter* is not nam'd in the Biſhop's Hiſtory, or in *Echard*'s and the common Writers: But he came to *Shepherd*'s Houſe, and looking thro' the Key-hole, ſaw *Rumſey* there, ſo he went away again, and would not be ſeen with him. The *Duke* of *Monmouth* and the other Lords ſeeing no better Company than *Ferguſon* and *Rumſey*, reſolv'd to go back immediately. But Lord *Ruſſel* call'd for a Taſte of the Wines, and while they were bringing it up to him, *Rumſey* and *Armſtrong* fell into a Diſcourſe of ſurprizing the Guards, as a thing practicable, not expedient, and much leſs agreed upon: For when *Rumſey* endeavour'd to ſhew

P. 686.

how

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how it might be done, *Armſtrong*, who had commanded them, ſhew'd him his Miſtakes. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, *This was no Conſultation about what was to be done, but only about what might have been done.* *Lord* Ruſſel *ſpoke nothing upon the Subject*; but as ſoon as he had taſted his Wines, they *went away*. And here is the utmoſt Extent of the Presbyterian *Plot*: Which the Jeſuit *Orleans* ſays is told by Biſhop *Sprat* from authentick Memoirs; ſo that we find the Jeſuit and the Archdeacon's Hiſtories of it have the ſame Authority. I would enter into the Detail of *Echard*'s Hiſtory, if there had been the leaſt ſhow of Truth, or even Probability in any Part of it: For tho' it is very probable that ſome of the inferior Perſons beforemention'd as Plotters, might at their Meetings have talk'd of Guards and Riſings, and ſeizing old *Rowley*, to oblige him to turn off the Duke of *York*, and ſave the Nation that Trouble; yet that the treaſonable Words *Sprat*, and *Orleans* and he ſpeak of, as expreſſing a Deſign to kill the two Brothers, were ſo ſpoken, is incredible beyond any *boyiſh* Romance, as that *Rumbald* ſhould bid *Ferguſon* conſecrate the Blunderbuſs with which he was to ſhoot them. *We will riſe, tho' we have nothing to fight with but our Claws*:

P. 679.

That the Lord *Ruſſel* and the Earl of *Eſſex* were to rob the Goldſmiths Shops in *Lombard-ſtreet*; that to *murder* the King, was to *keep the Commandments*; that the killing him, *was too good for the Papiſts to be concern'd in it*; and that theſe ſober Presbyterians, Independents and Baptiſts, as well as moderate and virtuous Churchmen, toaſted Confuſion to the King and his Brother over their Cups: With theſe abſurd, barefac'd and deviliſh Falſhoods are the Hiſtory of this Plot amplify'd and decorated. And all things being in a readineſs to begin the Carnage, the Perſons intended for Sacrifice being in hold, and the illegal Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen having prepar'd the way for it by a monſtrous Addreſs, Captain *Thomas Walcot* was brought to trial *July* 12th, before the Chief Juſtice *Saunders*. Mr. *Echard* is not aſham'd to name him, and other Judges. The Witneſſes againſt him were *Rumſey*, *Keeling*, *Bourne*, and *Weſt*. Among theſe, *Weſt* ſwore, That *Walcot* ask'd him whether he would have a Commiſſion under him, for he was to have a Regiment of Horſe. *Rumſey* ſwore, That *Walcot* was to attack the Guards, while others attack'd the King at *Ryehouſe*. *Bourne* depos'd, That *Walcot* propos'd to kill *Keeling* as well as the King, becauſe he had diſcover'd them. *Walcot* in his Defence flatly deny'd every word of the *Ryehouſe-Plot*. And tho' *Echard* tells us, that *Jenkins* had a Letter from *Walcot*, wherein he offer'd to make a further Diſcovery, *Walcot* alledg'd, *that what he had promis'd to diſcover, he had only heard from* Ferguſon. He confeſs'd he had been told of a Deſign amongſt ſeveral great Lords and Gentlemen, for aſſerting *Liberties* and *Properties*. The King's honeſt Counſel ſaid, it was High-Treaſon to hear talk of a Deſign to aſſert Liberties and Properties; and ſo the Jury in a very ſhort time brought him in guilty of *High-Treaſon*, he being one of the Perſons *reſolv'd on before-hand*, as Sir *John Hawles* obſerves.

Capt. Walcot *try'd.*

Convicted.

Hone *try'd.*

The ſame Day was try'd *William Hone* the Joiner. At this Tryal, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Anabaptiſt-Quack, made ſome time after a Privy-Counſellor, ſwore, *Hone* was the very Man who projected the taking off the King and Duke with Croſs-Bows from *Bow-Steeple*; of which he had given the King Information. This is the ſame Story we have already told. Sir *Robert Southwel* went to *Bow-Steeple* to find out the Plotter, and did indeed find a Rule under a Carpenter's Great-Coat, which he thought had been a Blunderbuſs; and groping for it under the Man's Coat, had like to have been taken up for a Pick-Pocket. And ſo the Caſe *appear'd ſo plain*, ſays *Echard*, that the Jury found him guilty of *High-Treaſon*, without going from the Bar.

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And convicted.

I muſt here pauſe a little, for the Remainder of this Day's bloody Work cannot but give one the Pain of a violent Struggle between Decency and Indignation. Hiſtory rejects all intemperate Thoughts and Expreſſions; but how can one ſee one of the moſt noble, moſt virtuous, moſt innocent, and moſt belov'd Lords that ever liv'd, brought a Priſoner before Judges too infamous to be remember'd, but that Remembrance with Horror is part of the Puniſhment of their Guilt; and it is with this View that I name the wretched Accomplices in this Murder.

Lord Ruſſel's *Trial.*

At the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Trial.

Preſent,

Lord Chief Juſtice *Saunders*.
Lord Chief Baron *Montagu*.
Judge *Windham*.
Judge *Charlton*.
Judge *Levins*.
Judge *Withens*.
Baron *Street*.
Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Attorney-General.
Mr. *Finch*, Sollicitor-General.
Sir *George Jefferies*, King's Sergeant.
Mr. *North*, King's Counſel.
Sir *Dudley North*, Sir *Peter Rich*, } Sheriffs.

Jury.

John Martin Foreman,	*William Butler.*
no Freeholder.	*James Pickering.*
William Rouſe.	*Thomas Jeve.*
Gervas Seaton.	*Hugh Noden.*
William Faſhion.	*Robert Brough.*
Thomas Short.	*Thomas Oneby.*
George Torriano.	

The whole Management of this Trial was with *much Art*, according to *Echard*; which is falſe, for the impious Proſecutors deſy'd the very Forms of Law, and in the moſt daring Outrage againſt Juſtice, harangu'd and rail'd this Great, this Good Man to death. Sir *John Hawles*'s Remarks on Lord *Ruſſel*'s Trial, prove him to be as much murder'd, as Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* was: The Reaſons and Proofs are as plain as Argument and Evidence can make a thing; but being of ſome length, I muſt refer to them, and repeat what that judicious Lawyer Mr. *Acherley* writes of it. "As to Lord *Ruſſel*, the Treaſon "charg'd on him was a Conſpiracy to compaſs "the death of the King; but the Proof of the "Overt-Fact of that Treaſon was, *That Lord* "Ruſſel *walk'd in a Room in* Shepherd's *Houſe* "*taſting Wine, when treaſonable Diſcourſes and* "*Conſultations paſs'd at a Table in that Room* "*between two other Men*, Rumſey *and* Ferguſon: But none of the Witneſſes could ſay, "*That Lord* Ruſſel *did by any Overt-Fact, either in ſpeaking or conſenting to, or approving, or abetting thoſe Proceedings or Diſcourſes, or ſo much as that he heard what paſs'd, but only that he might hear.* This Evidence "might have been ſufficient to prove Miſpriſion "of Treaſon, but not *High-Treaſon*; however "to reach this Great Man's Blood, in revenge "for his carrying up the Bill of Excluſion, the "*Proſecutors* Sawyer *and* Finch confounded the "very Species of Treaſons, and all Diſtinctions

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" between High-Treaſon and Miſpriſion of Trea-
" ſon. And the Judges, who pretended to be of
" Counſel for the Priſoner in Matters of Law,
" did not inform the Jury of that Diſtinction;
" and ſo this Great Man was, by a PACK'D
" *Jury*, compos'd of Tradeſmen, who had no
" Freeholds in *London* where this Lord was
" try'd, convicted, condemn'd by the Court, and
" by the King's Warrant executed." For which he will moſt certainly have his Reward, and ſo will all the perjur'd Accomplices in this moſt horrid Murder. The King ſaw the virtuous and lovely Lady *Ruſſel* weeping at his Feet, imploring but a ſhort Reprieve of a few Weeks for her condemn'd Lord, with dry Eyes and a ſtony Heart, tho' ſhe was the Daughter of the Earl of *Southampton*, the beſt Friend he ever had in his Life.

We muſt not omit an Accident which happen'd at the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Trial, tho' I do not think the Jury was influenc'd by it, as is ſaid by ſome ſober Writers, as well as by *Echard*; which is, that News being brought to the Court that the Earl of *Eſſex* had cut his Throat in the *Tower*, the King's Counſel dwelt much upon it as a Proof of the *Plot*. I am ſatisfy'd the Judges and Jury were determin'd, and they matter'd not Proofs or Circumſtances to reach this Great Man's Blood. And as to the Earl of *Eſſex*'s cutting his own Throat, 'tis an Inſult on People's Underſtandings to require belief of it, as the Archdeacon does, without any regard to his own. What Sir *John Hawles* ſays of the Murder of the Earl of *Eſſex*, is enough to ſatisfy any reaſonable Man. " My Lord of *Eſſex* was kill'd, or
" to be kill'd that Morning. They were ſenſible
" the Evidence againſt my Lord *Ruſſel* was
" very defective, and that Accident was to help
" it out, &c." Mr. *Coke* ſpeaks of it thus:
" Whether my Lord of *Eſſex* kill'd himſelf, or
" was to be kill'd, I muſt obſerve, the King
" and his Brother were both in the *Tower* when
" the Act was done; and immediately notice was
" ſent to the *Old-Baily*, that in the worſt ſenſe
" uſe might be made of it by the King's Coun-
" ſel *Sawyer* and *Finch*, againſt my Lord *Ruſ-*
" *ſel*. The Blaze of the Earl's having murder'd
" himſelf, had its deſign'd Effect upon my Lord
" *Ruſſel*'s Trial. The next Step was to ſatiſ-
" fy the Nation the *Earl* murder'd himſelf;
" and to this purpoſe the Coroner's Inqueſt
" muſt neceſſarily ſit, and give their Verdict:
" But ſo the Buſineſs was order'd, that before
" the Jury was impannel'd, the *Earl*'s Body was
" taken out of the Cloſet, where 'twas pretend-
" ed he murder'd himſelf, and ſtrip'd of his
" Clothes, which were carry'd away, and
" the Cloſet waſh'd; and when one of the
" Jury inſiſted upon ſeeing my Lord's Clothes
" in which he died, the Coroner was ſent for
" into another Room; and upon his return told
" the Jury, it was my Lord's Body, not his
" Clothes they were to ſit upon. The Jury be-
" ing inclin'd to make a ſtricter Inquiſition than
" the Coroner would have them do, mov'd for
" an Adjournment, to give my Lord's Relations
" notice, that if they had any thing to ſay on
" my Lord's behalf, they might do it." 'Twas anſwer'd, *The King has ſent for the Inquiſition, and will not riſe from the Council-Board till it is brought*. Let us add what the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* ſays of it, at leaſt as much of it as agrees with a Relation of this Matter by a Gentleman who examin'd the Boy and Girl very ſtrictly at the time when their Diſcovery was firſt talk'd of. He told me what the Biſhop tells us: A Boy and a Girl did report, that they heard great Crying in the Earl's Lodgings, and that they ſaw a bloody Razor flung out at Window, which was taken up by a Woman that came out of the Houſe where he was lodg'd. Theſe Children reported this confidently that very Day when they went to their ſeveral Homes, they were both about ten or twelve Years old. The Boy went backward and forward in his Story, ſometimes affirming it, and at other times denying it; but his Father had an Office in the Cuſtom-Houſe, ſo it was thought he prevail'd with him to deny it, but the Girl ſtood firmly to her Story. *The Simplicity of the Children inclin'd many to believe it*. And how could any one disbelieve it that heard them tell their Story after knowing to what wicked end the Murder was committed? We cloſe this Tragedy with the Account Foreigners give of it, *L'on apoſta des Gens de neant pour etre temoins d'une Conſpiration Proteſtante qu'on forgea, pour laquelle my Lord* Ruſſel, *Col.* Algernoon Sidney, *& l'Alderman* Corniſh, *furent executez, le Comte d'*Eſſex *fut egorge a la Tour*, &c. They ſuborn'd ſome of the Scum of the People to be Witneſſes of a Proteſtant Plot which they forg'd, and for which my Lord *Ruſſel*, Col. *Sidney*, and Alderman *Corniſh* were executed, and the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Throat was cut. *Echard*, to clear the King and his Brother of this tragical Incident, ſays there gradually roſe many ſcandalous Reports, which is falſe; for the Story of the Boy and Girl did not riſe gradually. My Lord of *Sarum* aſſures us it roſe immediately, *that very Day, as ſoon as the Children got home*. As to the noble Family's not proſecuting the Matter, 'tis plain they could hope for no Succeſs againſt the Perſons concern'd in the Murder; if they were not too high for Proſecution, they were ſure to be protected, and the Family was not ſure of Evidence ſufficient to convict them, or of a Jury if they could have got Evidence; and to ſtir in ſuch a Buſineſs without being able to go thro' with it, would have been fatal to thoſe who already lay too much at the Mercy of a mercileſs Court.

Earl of Eſſex *murder'd.*

Mr. G.

The Lord *Ruſſel* was with great difficulty perſuaded to make a ſort of Submiſſion to the two Brothers, who were implacably ſet againſt him. He offer'd in caſe of Pardon to live abroad, and never more to concern himſelf in the Affairs of *England*; but they were both deaf as the Winds in a Tempeſt, and the Duke of *York* deſcended ſo low in his Revenge, as to deſire that this innocent Lord might be executed before his own Door in *Bloomsbury Square*, an Inſult the King himſelf could not conſent to. The brave and generous Lord *Cavendiſh* offer'd two ways to reſcue him, the one was to change Clothes with him, and to remain in Priſon, while my Lord *Ruſſel* made his Eſcape; the other was for a choice Party of Horſe to attack the Guard, as the Coach paſt by the Street turning into *Smithfield*; while another Party did the ſame on the *Old Bailey* Side, to take my Lord out, and mounting him on a Horſe, make off with him, which it was ſuppos'd the People would have facilitated. But Lord *Ruſſel* would hear of neither of them, nor by any means conſent that his Friends ſhould risk their own Lives to ſave his; but ſubmitting himſelf patiently to his Fate, he prepar'd to receive the dreadful Stroke with the Meekneſs as well as the Innocence of a Lamb. Biſhop *Burnet* attended him, after he was condemn'd, in Priſon, and afterwards to the Scaffold, and gives this Account of his Chriſtian and Heroical Behaviour. " The laſt Week of his Life he was ſhut
" up all the Mornings, as he himſelf deſired; a-
" bout Noon I came to him, and ſtaid with him
" till Night, all the while he expreſs'd a very
" Chriſtian Temper, without Sharpneſs or Re-

Lord Ruſſel *refuſes to be reſcu'd.*

His Behaviour after Condemnation.

A. D. 1683.

" ſentment, Vanity or Affectation; his whole " Behaviour look'd like a Triumph over Death. " Upon ſome Occaſions, as at Table, or when " his Friends came to ſee him, he was decently " cheerful; I was by him when the Sheriffs " came to ſhew him the Warrant for his Execu- " tion; he read it with Indifference, and when " they were gone he told me, it was not decent " to be merry with ſuch a Matter, otherwiſe he " was near telling *Rich* (who, tho' he was now " of the other ſide, yet had been a Member of " the Houſe of Commons, and had voted for the " *Excluſion*) that they ſhould never ſit together " in that Houſe any more to vote for the Bill of " *Excluſion*. The Day before his Death he fell " a bleeding at the Noſe. Upon that he ſaid to " me pleaſantly, *I ſhall not now let Blood to di-* " *vert this, that will be done to-morrow.* At " Night it rain'd hard, and he ſaid, *ſuch a Rain* " *to-morrow will ſpoil a great Show, which is a* " *dull thing in a rainy Day.* He ſaid the Sins " of his Youth lay heavy upon him, but he hop'd " God had forgiven them, for he was ſure he had " forſaken them, and for many Years he had walk- " ed before God with a ſincere Heart. If in his " publick Actings he had committed Errors, they " were only the Errors of his Underſtanding, for " he had no private Ends, nor ill Deſigns of his " own in them. He was ſtill of Opinion that the " King was limited by Law, and that when he " broke thro' thoſe Limits, his Subjects might " defend themſelves, and reſtrain him; he " thought a violent Death was a very deſirable " way of ending one's Life; it was only to be " expoſed, to be a little gazed at, and to ſuffer " the Pain of one Minute, which he was confi- " dent was not equal to the Pain of drawing a " Tooth. He ſaid he felt none of thoſe Tranſ- " ports that ſome good People felt, but he had a " full Calm in his Mind, no Palpitation at " Heart, nor trembling at the Thoughts of " Death. He was much concern'd at the Cloud " that ſeem'd to be now over his Country, but " he hop'd his Death ſhould do more Service " than his Life could have done. *Tillotſon* was " oft with him the laſt Week. We thought *Re-* " *ſiſtance* in the Condition we were then in was " not lawful. He ſaid he had not Leiſure to en- " ter into Diſcourſes of Politicks, but he thought " a Government limited by Law was only a " Name, if the Subjects might not maintain " thoſe Limitations by Force, otherwiſe all " was at the Diſcretion of the Prince; that " was contrary to all the Notions he had liv'd in " of our Government, but he ſaid there was no- " thing among them but the Embrios of things " that were never like to have any Effect, and " that were now quite diſſolv'd." And there you have the Sum and Subſtance of the *Presbyterian Plot*.

A Scaffold being erected in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, the Lord *Ruſſel* was carry'd to the Place of Sacrifice, *Saturday* the 21ſt of *July*, attended by Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Burnet*, who aſſiſted him in his Devotions to the laſt Moment of Life. His Lordſhip declar'd there, *in the Words of a dying Man, that he knew nothing of a Plot againſt the King's Perſon or Government.* The ſame he atteſted in the Paper he left with the Sheriff, *That he had never any Deſign of changing the Government, and would have ſuffer'd any Extremity rather than have conſented to any Deſign to take away the King's Life, that he dy'd innocent of the Crime he ſtood condemn'd for*; and he repeated again, *as I never had any Deſign againſt the King's Life, or the Life of any Man whatſoever, ſo I never was in any Contrivance of altering the Government.* In the Letter he wrote to the King *he proteſted he was innocent as to all Deſigns againſt his Perſon or Government.* He ſaid on the Scaffold, *he imputed his preſent Sufferings to his being earneſt for the Excluſion Bill.* He forgave his Enemies, and charg'd his Friends to think of no Revenge, he concluded from the Heats that were in chooſing Sheriffs that Matter would end as it now did. How ſtupidly wicked muſt *North* and *Rich* look at that juſt Reproach! He added, *I am not ſurpriz'd to find it fall upon myſelf, and wiſh it may end in me. Killing by Forms of Law is the worſt ſort of Murder.* After theſe dying Words of ſuch an illuſtrious Martyr for the Proteſtant Religion, with what Indignation muſt the Reader find his ſincere Aſſertions term'd *enormous Falſhoods*, as *Sprat* wickedly calls them, in which he is faithfully copied by *Echard*, who adds, *Moſt were ready to think 'twas drawn up with more Art than was agreeable to his Lordſhip's known Simplicity and Sincerity, therefore others were ſuſpected to have the wording of it.* How do *Echard* and *Sprat* labour to murder his pious Memory, as their Judges and Jury murder'd his Perſon? Biſhop *Burnet* ſays of it, *He was three days employ'd for ſome time in the Morning, to write out his* Speech. *He order'd four Copies to be made of it, all which he ſign'd*; and Biſhop *Burnet* offered to take his Oath, *that the Speech was penn'd* by Lord *Ruſſel*, when he was afterwards examin'd before the King and Council. After Lord *Ruſſel* had deliver'd his Paper to the Sheriff, he pray'd by himſelf, then Dr. *Tillotſon* pray'd with him. After that he pray'd again by himſelf. He then undreſs'd, and laid his Head on the Block, without the leaſt Change of Countenance, and it was cut off at two Strokes.

And at the Place of Execution.

His laſt Paper.

I am in too much concern to reflect further on his Lordſhip's Sufferings; and I doubt not the Reader will do it ſufficiently, eſpecially on that impious Suggeſtion in the Archdeacon's Hiſtory, that his Death was a Judgment upon him for his *thirſting after the Blood of others.* The day before Lord *Ruſſel* was beheaded, Captain *Walcot*, Mr. *Hone*, and Mr. *Rouſe*, were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd at *Tyburn*, for the Plot. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *Walcot*, at his death, deny'd the whole Buſineſs of the *Rye-houſe* Plot, which proves it to be a deviliſh Invention of *Weſt*'s; for *Walcot*, according to *Echard*, was to have been a chief Agent in it; and the Biſhop ſays, it made *Weſt* appear ſo black, *the Court could make no more uſe of him. Hone* was a ſort of Madman fitter for *Bedlam* than a Trial. *Rouſe* deny'd he was ever in any Deſign againſt the King's Life. *Theſe Men dying as they did*, continues the Biſhop, was ſuch a Diſgrace to the Witneſſes, that the Court ſaw it was not fit to make any further uſe of them. *Echard* affirms, that the belief of the Plot was now general, and that the Diſcovery of it ſhew'd the Neceſſity of *Paſſive Obedience*, which he ſays to juſtify that Maſs of Nonſenſe and Impudence heap'd together in the deteſtable *Decree* now made at *Oxford*, *July* 21, wherein that Univerſity declar'd Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Jenkins* to be impious and heretical; Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Samuel Johnſon* to be blaſphemous and infamous, and Revolution Principles to be *damnable Doctrines*. Their Books were alſo to be burnt in the publick Court of the Schools; but their *damnable Decree* was burnt afterwards by the hands of the common Hangman. However, the reverend Hiſtorian extols it as an *acceptable Preſent* to the King, as well as the Cartloads of nonſenſical Addreſſes, with which his royal Ears were dinn'd; and, to add to the *general Exultation*, when there was not a ſenſi-

Oxford *Decree.*

ble,

A. D. 1683. ble, ſober Proteſtant in the Kingdom, who did not weep over the ſad Condition it was in, the King publiſh'd a *Declaration* of the Conſpiracy, and, to mock God as well as the World, order'd a day of *Thankſgiving* for his Deliverance from the imaginary Danger he had been in. The Hiſtorian is ſo fooliſh, as to commend the Papiſts for ſinging Maſs, and having ſome extraordinary Idolatry on the Thankſgiving-Day. Upon the 28th of *September*, the Princeſs *Anne* was marry'd to *George* Prince of *Denmark*; and ſix days after the King ſeiz'd the Franchiſes of the City of *London*, and turn'd out the Lord-Mayor Sir *William Pritchard*, to turn him in again by his Commiſſion. Theſe other Changes were alſo made.

City Franchiſes ſeiz'd.

Sir *George Treby* Recorder, was turn'd out, and that ſenſeleſs Tool Sir *Thomas Jenour* put in. Sir *Thomas Player*, Chamberlain, was diſplac'd, and in his room was put one *Aldworth*.

Aldermen turn'd out.	Put in.
Sir *Thomas Allen.*	Sir *Benjamin Newland.*
Sir *John Frederick.*	Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt.*
Sir *John Laurence.*	Sir *Benj. Thorowgood.*
Sir *Robert Clayton.*	Sir *Samuel Daſhwood.*
Sir *Patience Ward.*	Sir *John Buckworth.*
Sir *John Shorter.*	Mr. *Charles Duncomb.*
Sir *Thomas Gold.*	Mr. *Jacob Lucy.*
Henry Corniſh Eſq;	Mr. *Peter Pallavicine.*

The Lord-Mayor drank to *Peter Daniel*, and he was made Sheriff, being a Man of as mean Parts as Fortune. The other Sheriff was Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, but a *ſeaſonable* Man. Sir *Henry Tulſe* had a Commiſſion from the King to be Lord-Mayor, as long as the King pleas'd. So *that all Things*, ſays *Echard*, ſeem'd now to be in a quiet eaſy Condition, only the Rabble fell upon the *Dutch* Ambaſſador's Coach, and dangerouſly wounded his Lady, probably becauſe ſhe was a *Presbyterian*. *Echard* thinks the Court was too *dilatory* in the Proſecution of the Plot; but Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, "Great "pains were taken to find out more Witneſſes. Par- "dons and Rewards were offer'd very freely; but "none came in, which made it evident nothing "was well laid or brought ſo near Execution as "the Witneſſes had depos'd; otherwiſe People "would have been crowding in for Pardons. "All People were apprehenſive of very *black* "*Deſigns.*" *Echard* juſt now told us the *Exultation was general*, "when they ſaw *Jef-* "*feries* made Lord Chief Juſtice, who was "ſcandalouſly vicious, and was drunk every "day; beſides a Drunkenneſs of Fury in his "Temper, that look'd like Enthuſiaſm, he did "not conſider the Decencies of his Poſt. Nor "did he ſo much as affect to ſeem impartial, "as became a Judge, but run out upon all Oc- "caſions into Declamations that did not become "the Bar, much leſs the Bench. He was not "learned in his Profeſſion; and his Eloquence, "tho' viciouſly copious, yet was neither correct "nor agreeable. *Pemberton* was turn'd out of "the *Common-Pleas*, and *Jones* put in his "Place; and *Jefferies* had three Judges join'd "with him in the King's Bench, fit to ſit by "him."

Jefferies a Scoundrel.

We muſt now ſay ſomething of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who had abſconded ever ſince the Proclamation for apprehending the accus'd Perſons, and deſign'd to engage in the *Spaniſh* Service. The Marquis of *Hallifax* ſeeing Matters run ſo much further than he apprehended, thought nothing would ſtop that ſo effectually, as the bringing the Duke of *Monmouth* again into Favour. The Duke wrote ſeveral Letters to the King, penn'd with an *extraordinary* Force, according to Biſhop *Burnet*. The Lord *Hallifax* drew them all. The King was mollify'd by them, and reſolv'd to forgive and forget every thing in caſe the Duke would confeſs the Plot, which he refus'd to do. The King promis'd that no uſe ſhould be made of it; but he inſiſted upon it, that the Duke ſhould tell the whole Truth of the Matter. Upon which *Monmouth* conſented to ſatisfy the King, and confeſs'd ſome things in general, the *Embrio's*, as Lord *Ruſſel* term'd them. The Duke of *Monmouth* could not be brought to make any other Submiſſion to the Duke of *York* than to ask his Pardon in the way of Compliment. Lord *Hallifax* preſs'd him earneſtly, upon his firſt Appearance, to be ſilent, and for a while to bear the Cenſures of the Town. The King ſpoke nothing of the Reconciliation to the Duke of *York*, till the day before it was to be done. He was much ſtruck with it; yet the Duke's Creatures in the Cabinet-Council mov'd that for Form-ſake *Monmouth* ſhould be for ſome days put in the Tower. The King cut that off, by ſaying he had promis'd to pardon him. The Duke of *Monmouth*, as was agreed, made an humble Confeſſion of his Offences in general Words to the King, and a Compliment to the Duke, begging that he would intercede with his Majeſty to pardon him. The King receiv'd the Duke of *Monmouth* with a Fondneſs, which confounded all the Duke's Party. He us'd him more tenderly than he had done formerly. The Duke of *York* put on an outward Appearance of being very well pleas'd with it. The King ſaid next day, that *James*, for ſo he call'd him, had confirm'd all that *Howard* had ſworn, which being carry'd to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he deny'd that he had ever ſaid any ſuch thing, adding, that Lord *Howard* was a *Lyar* and a *Rogue*, which his Friends reported about Town, and the next *Gazette* mention'd the King had pardon'd him, upon his *confeſſing* the late *Plot*. The Marquis of *Hallifax* preſs'd the Duke of *Monmouth* to paſs this over, and to impute it to the Importunity of his Enemies, and to the King's Eaſineſs, but he could not prevail. The Duke of *Monmouth* had too much Honour to countenance a pretended Confeſſion of a pretended *Plot*; yet he ſaid little till his Pardon was paſt, and then he openly deny'd he had made the Confeſſion mention'd in the *Gazette*, which was a plain Contradiction to what the King had ſaid. Some were brought by the Duke of *York* to the King, who confirm'd they had heard the Duke of *Monmouth* ſay, *He had not confeſs'd the Plot*. Upon which the King order'd him to give a Confeſſion of it under his hand. Lord *Hallifax* endeavour'd to perſuade him to it, and at laſt prevail'd with him to write a Letter to that purpoſe, which he carry'd to the King, and the King was ſatisfy'd. But the Duke of *Monmouth* reflecting on what he had done, thought it a baſe thing. Tho' this was no Evidence, yet he was apprehenſive it might have Influence on Juries, to make them believe every thing that might be ſworn by other Witneſſes, when, from his Confeſſion, they were poſſeſs'd with a general Belief of the *Plot*. So he went, full of Uneaſineſs to the King, and deſir'd he might have his Letter again in the Terms of an Agony like Deſpair. The King gave it back, but preſs'd him vehemently to comply with his Deſire; and, among other things, the Duke of *Monmouth* ſaid, the King us'd this Expreſſion, *If you do not yield in this you will ruin me*, plainly intimating, Without you confirm *Howard*'s Evidence, I ſhall be charg'd

Reconcil'd to the King.

Duke of Monmouth

A. D. 1683.

charg'd with the Blood of the noble Perſons that have been, and will be murder'd upon it. The Duke of *Monmouth* remain'd firm; ſo the King forbad him the Court, and a few days after he went to *Holland*, where he appear'd publickly, and was treated by the Prince of *Orange* with a very particular Reſpect.

Baniſh'd.

We have mention'd that Prince's ſhort Tour into *England* after the *Oxford* Parliament. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, He had then much private Diſcourſe with his Majeſty at *Windſor*. The King aſſur'd him he would keep Things quiet, and not give way to the Duke's Eagerneſs as long as he liv'd. He added, *I am confident, whenever the* Duke *ſhall come to reign, he will be ſo reſtleſs and violent, that he cannot hold it four Years to an end.* The King ſhew'd the Prince one of his Seals, and told him, that *whatever* he might write to him, if the Letter was not ſeal'd with that Seal, he was to look on it as only drawn from him by Importunity. The King wrote ſome terrible Letters againſt the Countenance he gave to the Duke of *Monmouth*, but they not being ſeal'd with that Seal, the Prince inferr'd the King had a mind he ſhould keep him about him, and uſe him well.

Prince of Orange's Diſcourſe with King Charles.

Col. Sidney try'd.

All things being *prepar'd*, ſays *Echard*, on the 21ſt of *November* came on the Trial of Col. *Algernon Sidney*, Brother to the late Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Rumney*. This noble Perſon was murder'd after the ſame manner as Lord *Ruſſel* had been, by Forms of Law. Sir *John Hawles* demonſtrates it in ſeveral Inſtances, and by ſeveral Arguments, to which I refer. But Mr. *Acherley*'s Remarks being leſs known, I ſhall make uſe of them. The Murderers were as follow.

At Colonel *Sidney*'s Trial.

Preſent,

Sir *George Jefferies*, Lord Chief Juſtice.
Judge *Withens*.
Judge *Holloway*.
Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Attorney-General.
Mr. *Finch*, Sollicitor-General.
Mr. *Dolben*, King's Counſel.
Sir *Peter Daniel*, Sir *Samuel Daſhwood*, } Sheriffs.

Jury.

John Anger.	*Joſias Clark.*
Richard White.	*George Glisby.*
William Lewin.	*Nicholas Baxter.*
Laurence Wood.	*William Reeves.*
Adam Andrews.	*William Grove.*
Emery Arguiſe.	*John Burt.*

The Treaſon charg'd on Colonel *Sidney*, was *for compaſſing and imagining the Death of the King*; and the Overt-Fact of the Treaſon was, *That* Sidney *did compoſe and write a Libel, wherein he aſſerted thus:* The Power originally in the People of *England* is delegated to the Parliament. He, *innuendo* King *Charles*, is ſubject to the Law of God, as he is a Man; to the People that makes him a King, as he is a King, *&c.* The Indictment did not alledge one word of *publiſhing* the Libel. The Proof of it was made by one Witneſs only, who, by a Warrant from a Secretary of State, broke open *Sidney*'s Study, and found there this Libel; and then as to his writing it, that could not be prov'd but by Similitude of Hands. Let us repeat *Finch* the Sollicitor's Argument after *Acherley*, becauſe it worry'd this Great Man to death, and brought the Guilt of his innocent Blood on the Head of the Pleader. The *Sollicitor* ſaid, "That the Matter of this Libel, and the writing of it, was an imagining how to compaſs the Death of King *Charles* II. and the writing it was an Overt-Fact of that Treaſon and that *Scribere eſt Agere*. He urg'd with Vehemence, That imagining the Death of the King is a Fact of the Mind, and is Treaſon even while that Fact remains covert in the Mind, altho' no ſuch Treaſon can be puniſh'd, becauſe there is no way to prove that *Covert-Fact*. But when once there is an Overt-Fact, that is, any thing that does manifeſt and prove that Covert-Fact of the Mind, the Law takes hold of it, and puniſhes it as High-Treaſon." What is there in the World that a Man can ſet ſuch a Value on, as to think it equivalent to the Guilt of ſuch a Speech? I might have ſaid to the Nonſenſe and Impudence; but a Perſon may be impudent and nonſenſical, without being criminal. And what Crime can be greater, than to murder Law as well as Reaſon, to take away the Life of a noble and virtuous Gentleman? And it is remarkable, that *Finch*, or *Sawyer*, or both of them ſhew'd they were very capable of Nonſenſe by the Paſſage they pick'd out of *Sidney*'s Book, to put into their Indictment, which happen'd to have that Infirmity, tho' their Heads were not clear enough to find it out.

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Mr. *Acherley* tells us, *as to that Clauſe* which ſays, That a King is ſubject to the People that makes him a King, in as much as he is a King, *Sidney* inſiſted that the Clauſe was Nonſenſe; *for to ſay that a People ſhould make a King, or ſupream Governor to govern them, and yet to ſay*, That he muſt be ſubject to, or govern'd by them, *was a ſenſeleſs Contradiction in itſelf, and of no force, and ought to be treated as ſuch.*

Col. *Sidney* defended the firſt Sentence, *That the Power originally in the People was delegated to the Parliament*, with ſo much Strength of Reaſon and Eloquence, that none but a parcel of ſuch perjur'd mercenary Wretches, Judges, Counſel and Jury, could have heard him without Admiration and Conviction.

Col. Sidney defends the Conſtitution.

He ſaid, *the Aſſertion was evident*; for the Parliament conſiſted of the King, Lords, and Commons, and whatſoever Power was in the People, if they ever had any, was doubtleſs delegated to the Parliament; or however, if it were queſtionable, that Poſition was no more than what was written in the Law of *England*, for by the Statute 25 *Henry* VIII. *cap.* 21. it is declared, *That this Nation is free from any Man's Laws but ſuch only as had been devis'd by the People, and orignally ordain'd and eſtabliſh'd by their Conſent; which Conſent of the People could not be given but by their Repreſentatives, to whom they had* delegated *their Power to give it in Parliament.* And further, that this *Poſition* was prov'd by the common Form of Acts of Parliament, which runs thus: *Be it enacted, or made a Law, by the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame*, i. e. *the ſame Parliament of which the King is a Part:* for the word Authority naturally *imports a derivative Power proceeding from ſome Original.* And as to the Commons, their Authority is viſibly and literally deriv'd from their Conſtituents the People, who elect and impower them: For the original Writ of Summons, and the Law or Conſtitution, require the People to elect and impower their Repreſentatives to do ſuch things in Parliament, as ſhall be requiſite to be done touching the State of the Kingdom, and to pay them Fees for their Service. As to the King and the Lords, their Authority muſt therefore neceſſari-

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A. D. 1683. rily be deriv'd from the ſame Conſtitution, and the Law of the Land: for to derive one Part of *Joint-Authority* from one Original, and another Part of that *Joint-Authority* from another Original, is not conceptible.

There is much more in *Acherley* of Col. *Sidney*'s Defence, equally reaſonable and nervous, but it was thrown away on a proſtituted hireling Court, and a PACK'D Jury, as the Learned Lawyer terms them.

Col. *Sidney*'s Book was an Anſwer to *Filmer*'s *Patriarcha*; by which the latter aſſerted the Divine Right of Monarchy upon the eldeſt Son's ſucceeding to the Authority of the Father. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, *Filmer*'s *Patriarcha* was ſo *poorly writ*, that it was ſtrange *Sidney* beſtow'd ſo much pains in anſwering it. The only Witneſs againſt *Sidney* as to the Plot, was Lord *Howard*; and the Earl of *Clare*, the Earl of *Angleſey*, Dr. *Burnet*, Mr. *Howard*, and others depos'd, That the Lord *Howard* had told them, as he did with Aſſeverations, that he knew of no Plot: but he was poor, Col. *Sidney* us'd to lend him Money, and the Court having brib'd him to take a falſe Oath againſt his Benefactor, all Objections to his Evidence were over-born by the Court. Mr. *Blake* a Draper ſwore, That he having ask'd *Howard* when he was to have his Pardon, the latter reply'd, *Not till the Drudgery of ſwearing is over*. *Howard* came to *Sidney*'s Houſe and aſſur'd his Servants, there was nothing againſt their Maſter, deſiring them to bring his Goods to his own Houſe; and *Sidney* ſhew'd how improbable it was, that *Howard*, who could not raiſe five Men, and had not five Shillings to pay them, a fit Tool for the Court to work with, ſhould be taken into ſuch Conſultations. The execrable *Jefferies* often interrupted Col. *Sidney* with Rudeneſs to put him in a Paſſion, to which he was ſubject. The Jury did the Buſineſs for which they were pack'd, and brought in the Colonel *guilty*. Four or five Days after he reciev'd Sentence of Death, and the ſhameleſs and worthleſs *Withens*, one of the Judges, gave him the Lye in open Court, which he bore patiently. *Sidney* ſent to the Lord *Halliſax*, who was his Nephew by Marriage, to ſhew a Paper he had drawn to the King. It contain'd the Hardſhips he had ſuffer'd, and an Appeal to his Majeſty: upon which that Monſter *Jefferies* ſaid, either Sidney *muſt die, or I muſt die*. His Execution was reſpited for three Weeks, the Trial being univerſally cry'd out on as *a Piece of moſt enormous Injuſtice*. When he ſaw the Warrant for his Execution, he expreſs'd no Concern at it. He told the Sheriffs *Daniel* and *Daſhwood*, who brought it, he would not *expoſtulate upon any thing on his own account, for the World was now nothing to him; but he deſir'd they would conſider how guilty they were of his Blood, who had not return'd* a Fair *Jury, but one* Pack'd, *and as they were directed by the King's Sollicitor Finch*. He added, *I ſpeak this to you not for my own ſake, but for your ſake*. At which, one of the Sheriffs burſt out into Tears, probably *Daſhwood*, for *Daniel*'s Heart and Head were not capable of ſuch Emotions. He was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill* the 7th of *December*, and deliver'd the Sheriffs a written Paper. He excus'd his not ſpeaking, ſaying, *This is an Age* which makes Truth paſs for Treaſon. *He pray'd that the Nation might be preſerv'd from* Idolatry *and* Tyranny, *and rejoic'd that he ſuffer'd for the* Old Cauſe, *in which he was ſo early engag'd*. *Echard* ſays of it, *It was ſo enthuſiaſtical and ſhocking*, that his Death was much leſs *pity'd and lamented*. And Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *Theſe laſt Words furniſh'd much Matter to the* Scriblers. His Lordſhip adds, *He met Death with an Unconcernedneſs that became one who had ſet up* Marcus Brutus *for his Pattern*. His Head was cut off at one Blow.

Col. Sidney condemn'd. Beheaded.

On the laſt Day of *Michaelmas-Term*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, *John Hampden* Eſq; Mr. *Booth*, *John Trenchard* Eſq; Mr. *Charlton*, and Major *Wildman*, who had been impriſon'd for the Plot, were bail'd, there being but one Witneſs againſt them, but Mr. *Hampden* had Notice of Tryal next Term. The King's Counſel dropt the Treaſon, and he was then found guilty of a high Miſdemeanor, for which the Judges fin'd him 40000 Pounds. They alſo fin'd *Laurence Braddon* 2000 *l.* for endeavouring to find out the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Murder; the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnſon* 500 Marks, for writing *Julian* the Apoſtate; and Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* 10000 Pounds for being the Foreman of *Shaftesbury*'s Jury, tho' the Pretence was for writing News into the Country, which the Court did not like. *Sawyer*, who, as *Coke* obſerves, *took Money with both Hands*, fiſh'd for theſe unjuſt Cauſes, and was never without a Jury to give him a Verdict. *Fez* and *Turkey* were deſirable Countries for *Engliſhmen* to dwell in at this Juncture, when the Learned Lawyer makes this Exclamation: *Oh Conſtitution! into what a Degree of Contempt and Weakneſs, and into what an abject Degree of Slavery waſt thou and thy Conſtituents ſunk and fallen! as if thou hadſt no Exiſtence but what proceeded from one part of thy own Inſtitution, and that too dependent on his Will and Pleaſure*, &c. Acherley.

Honours and *Preferments* might now be crowded into the end of this Year's Hiſtory, but that of the Houſe of *Stuart* was not written for ſuch Purpoſes. The Compleat Hiſtorian informs us, *William Halford* of *Welham*, and *Edward Wigley* of *Scrapſoft* in the County of *Leiceſter*, were knighted; the Lord-Keeper *North* made Baron *Guildford*; Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, Knights of the Garter; *Charles* Earl of *Burford*, Duke of *St. Albans*; and the following Lawyers, Sergeants at Law.

Sergeants at Law.

Sir *Thomas Jenour*.	Sir *George Pudſey*.
John Wyndham Eſq;	*Henry Selby* Eſq;
Edwin Wyatt Eſq;	*John Jeffreſon* Eſq;
Edward Birch Eſq;	*Thomas Powell* Eſq;
Henry Bedingfield Eſq;	*Edward Lutwiche* Eſq;
Sir *Edward Nevile*.	*John Millington* Eſq;
Sir *Paul Barret*.	*Owen Wynne* Eſq;

Who gave Rings with this Motto, *à Deo Rex*, *à Rege Lex*, which ſhew'd the ſlaviſh Diſpoſition of thoſe Betrayers of the Laws and Liberties of *England*; and it muſt be ſaid that at this time, the Counſellors, as well as the Clergy, were ready to ſacrifice their Religion, Rights, and Properties to the fatal Favour of two *Popiſh* Princes.

Tangier demoliſh'd.

About this time *Tangier* was demoliſh'd. The Lord *Dartmouth* was intruſted with that important Commiſſion. The *Mole* was now brought near to Perfection, and the Place had been all along cry'd up as the Key of the *Mediterranean*. The *Portugal* Ambaſſador offer'd a vaſt Sum, if the King would reſtore it to his Maſter; but King *Charles* did not think it would be paid, and he wanted the Money which it coſt to keep, that he might ſtave off the ſitting of a Parliament, which both King and the Duke were very much afraid of, notwithſtanding the ranting Compliments they receiv'd from the *Addreſſers*. The *Engliſh* were this Year driven out of *Bantam* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the King

A. D. 1683. caus'd the Company to be preſs'd to demand Satisfaction, but they were very ſlow in it, fearing the Court intended to make an ill uſe of it.

1684.

HAving paſs'd with the Reader thro' ſo many Fields of Blood, ſo many Scenes of Cruelty and Oppreſſion, one might hope for a a cleaner Road to the End of our Journey; but the Paths are ſtill the ſame, and if they are not quite ſo bloody, they are as difficult and dangerous. *William Wright* Eſq; one of the Aldermen of *Oxford*, having defended the Privileges of that City, when the brib'd Majority of that Corporation offer'd to deliver them up, was in *April* thrown into Jayl, and not let out under 30000 Pounds Bail. Mr. *Langley Curtis* the Publiſher was fin'd 500 Pounds, and order'd to ſtand in the Pillory, for printing a Pamphlet call'd the *Lord* Ruſſel's *Ghoſt*. Mr. *Cawdron*, Steward to the Earl of *Clare*, was fin'd 100 Pounds, and order'd to ſtand in the Pillory, for ſpeaking ſomething againſt this excellent Government. *William Sacheverell* Eſq; *George Gregory* Eſq; *Charles Hutchinſon* Eſq; all of *Nottingham*, and about 18 other Perſons, were found guilty of a Riot, for oppoſing the Surrender of the Charter of that Town. The Duke of *York* ſu'd *John Dutton Colt* Eſq; of *Herefordſhire*, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, for ſaying the Duke was a *Papiſt*, &c. and the Jury gave that bigotted Papiſt 100000 Pounds Damages. *Samuel Packer*, Depury to *Richard Goodenough* when he was Under-Sheriff of *London* and *Middleſex*, was fin'd 50 Marks, and order'd to ſtand in the *Pillory*, for publiſhing ſomething which *Jefferies* call'd a *ſcandalous* Libel. And Mr. *Francis Smith* before-mention'd, was fin'd 500 Pounds, and order'd to ſtand in the Pillory for publiſhing the *Raree-Show*. But theſe Proſecutions were little Amuſements to keep the Judges and Juries in play, till ſome more agreeable Buſineſs offer'd, and more Blood was to be ſpilt. In the two next Murders the Judges took it all upon themſelves, and would not give the Sheriffs the trouble to impannel Juries.

Tyrannical Acts.

Mr. Holloway *hang'd.*

The firſt whom they deliver'd to the *Hangman*, was Mr. *James Holloway*, Citizen and Linen-Draper of *Briſtol*; who being nam'd among the reſt of the Plotters, and knowing that little Mercy or Juſtice was to be expected from the Court and their Creatures, tranſported himſelf to the *Leward-Iſlands*, where he was ſeiz'd, and from thence ſent in Chains to *England* under an *Outlawry* for Treaſon. The Attorney-General offer'd him a Trial, if he deſir'd it; but he was prevail'd on by the hope of a Pardon, to ſubmit, and confeſs all he knew; which was, that he and two more had undertaken to manage a Deſign for ſeizing on *Briſtol*, but he ſaid they had never made any progreſs in it. He ſaid alſo at the Meetings at *London*, *Rumſey* and *Weſt* were often talking of *Lopping*, and he did not believe that above five Perſons approv'd of it. *Echard* very falſely avers, he confirm'd moſt of the Particulars that had been open'd at the Trials of the Perſons executed: For here he ſays, there were only three Perſons acquainted with the Riſing in the *Weſt*, and only five with the *Ryehouſe-Plot*, and even of thoſe five, *Holloway* names *Rumbald* and his Brother to be two: Whereas Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *Rumbald* at his Death deny'd the Truth of that pretended Plot, tho' he own'd *Weſt* and *Rumſey* had talk'd of *Lopping*, but nothing was either laid, or ſo much as reſolv'd on. *Holloway* was thought by the Court not to have ſpoken all he knew, but the Man's Conſcience was not of their make, and he would not have ly'd before God to have ſav'd a thouſand Lives. My Lord of *Sarum* tells it thus: "So ſince what he had acknowledg'd "made himſelf guilty of enough to hang him, he "was executed, and died with a firm Conſtan-"cy. He ſhew'd great Preſence of Mind; he "obſerv'd the Partiality that was evident in "managing this Plot, different from what had "appear'd in managing the *Popiſh Plot*. The "ſame Men who were call'd *Rogues* when "they ſwore againſt *Papiſts*, were look'd on as "honeſt Men when they turn'd their Evidence "againſt *Proteſtants*. In all his Anſwers to the "Sheriffs *Daniel* and *Daſhwood*, who at the "Place of Execution troubled him with many "impertinent Queſtions, he anſwer'd them with "ſo much Life, and yet with ſo much Temper, "that it appear'd he was no ordinary Man. His "Speech was ſuppreſs'd for ſome Days, but it "broke out at laſt. In it he expreſs'd a deep "Senſe of Religion. His Prayer was an excel-"lent Compoſure. The Credit of the *Rye-*"*Plot* receiv'd a great Blow by his Confeſſion. "All that Diſcourſe about an Inſurrection, in "which the Day was ſaid to be ſet, appear'd "now to be a Fiction." *Echard* again very falſely affirms, he *declar'd his Belief of the Plot, and that he was* concern'd in it. Whereas he declar'd, they had never made any Progreſs in the Inſurrection, and that the *Rye-Plot* was only Talk, well deſcrib'd by Biſhop *Burnet*. *So that it was plain, after all the ſtory they had made of the Plot, it had gone no farther, than that a Company of inconſiderable Perſons were framing Schemes among themſelves that were never like to come to any thing, and that* Rumſey *and* Weſt *had puſh'd on the Deſign of the Aſſaſſination, to which tho' few agreed, yet too many were ſo fooliſh as not to diſcover it.*

A. D. 1684.

They are not yet ſatiated with Slaughter and Blood; as yet the Manes of *Coleman*, *Green*, *Berry*, *Hill*, *Plunket*, and the five Jeſuits are not appeas'd: And Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* being bought of the *Scout* at *Leyden* in *Holland*, by Sir *Chudleigh* King *Charles*'s Envoy, was ſent to *London*, and executed *June* the 20th, ſome time after the Execution of *Holloway*, without the Formality of a Trial. And I can't but ſay, I am better pleas'd with this, than with any of the other Murders committed by Judges and Juries, becauſe the Law is not ſo much mock'd, tho' Juſtice is as much injur'd. *Echard* opens this tragical Scene with telling us, he was an *ungovernable Gentleman*, that the King had been very *kind to him, and therefore he muſt expect no favour; that the Judges had nothing to do, but to appoint Execution.* Which is falſe, if Sir *John Hawles* the Learned Sollicitor-General knew any thing of the matter. And he aſſures us, that no outlaw'd *Perſon ever was deny'd his Trial*; and it was the only Pretence to hang Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, that he was *outlaw'd* for Treaſon. He ſays, *It was Injuſtice to deny the Favour or Right of a Trial to Sir* Thomas Armſtrong, *which was never deny'd any Perſon before nor ſince; and if there was any doubt in the Caſe, as it cannot be deny'd there was, the* Outlawry *ought to have been wav'd. It was a vain and unjuſt Reaſon, and only intended to incenſe the King, aſſign'd by the Attorney* Sawyer, *that the Priſoner was one who was actually engag'd to go, upon the King's haſty coming to Town, to deſtroy him by the way; whereas the Priſoner offer'd to prove his Innocence in that and other Matters, and even that Objection againſt him was an Invention of the Attorney* Sawyer *for any thing appears, but that it was re-*

Sir Thomas Armſtrong *hang'd without Trial.*

Sir Thomas Armſtrong *unjuſtly put to death.*

A. D. 1684. *reſolv'd to ſtop at nothing.* Fitzharris *and* Colledge *had hard Meaſure, and their Quarters were bury'd, but Sir* Thomas Armſtrong*'s were expos'd, tho' the Proceedings againſt him were equally as unjuſtifiable as in the other two Caſes. Echard* places thoſe Quarters with particular Pleaſure, "His Head was ſet up on *Weſtminſter-Hall* between thoſe of *Cromwell* and *Bradſhaw*, one of his Quarters upon *Temple-Bar*, two others at *Alderſgate* and *Aldgate*, and the fourth was ſaid to be ſent down to *Stafford*, for which Town he had been a Burgeſs in Parliament." And becauſe the Reader may not think I accuſe the *Popiſh* Faction and their Abettors, when I obſerve that theſe Sacrifices were made to the Manes of the Prieſts and Jeſuits who ſuffer'd for *Oates*'s Plot, ſee what *Echard* ſays on the Execution of *Armſtrong*: "He was executed on *Friday* the 20th of *June*, which was obſerv'd to be the ſame Day of the ſame Month, and the ſame Day of the Week, on which the five *Jeſuits* were executed in the ſame manner, at the ſame Place, juſt five Years before." Does not this inſinuate that his Death was an Effect of divine Vengeance for the Execution of the Popiſh Plotters? Sir *Thomas* aſſerted very poſitively, and upon his Death, *That he never had any Deſign againſt the King's Life.* What then did *Sawyer* deſerve for that falſe Suggeſtion mention'd by *Hawles*? The Archdeacon tells us how kind the King had been to *Armſtrong*, but would not tell us that Sir *Thomas* was Nephew by Marriage to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and that was Merit enough to entitle him to Juſtice.

Scotland. The Proceedings againſt Conventicles in *Scotland* were carry'd on by the Earl of *Aberdeen* Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of *Queensbury* Lord Treaſurer, with the utmoſt Severity, which drove the People into Church indeed, but out of Religion; for Biſhop *Burnet* informs us the Enemies to all Godlineſs obſerving the Ill-Nature on the one ſide, and the Timorouſneſs on the other, pleas'd themſelves in cenſuring them both, *and by this means an impious atheiſtical Leaven began to corrupt moſt of the younger Sort*, and the Beginnings of it were reckon'd from the Duke's *Stay among them, and from his Court.*

Duke of York *corrupts* Scotland.

One *Home* was condemn'd and executed for being at *Bothwell-Bridge*; the Evidence was his Kinſman, who ſwore falſely againſt him, and there was no other Witneſs; great Applications were made to the Duke of *York* for ſaving his Life, but, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *he was not born under a pardoning Planet.* Mr. *Weir* of *Blakewood*, Steward to the Marquis of *Dowglaſs*, was condemn'd to be hang'd for entertaining a Perſon who was only ſuſpected of having been at *Bothwell-Bridge*, but the Marquis obtain'd a Reprieve for him. The Tyranny was now become ſo intolerable in *Scotland*, that the Lord *Cardroſs*, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality, with great Numbers of other People of the Presbyterians reſolv'd to remove to *Carolina*, to which end Agents were ſent to *London*, to treat with the *Patentees* of that *Colony*, and thoſe Agents falling into Converſation with ſome Malecontents, ſeveral *Scottiſh* Gentlemen were brought into the *Rye* and the *Presbyterian* Plots, and clap'd up in Priſon, as the Earl of *Tarras*, who had marry'd the Dutcheſs of *Monmouth*'s eldeſt Siſter, the eminent Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerviſwood*, and others. Mr. *Baillie* after twenty Months inhuman Treatment in Priſon, both in *England* and *Scotland*, was condemn'd and executed, when his blood-thirſty Proſecutors were afraid he would die under it. He deny'd any Plot againſt the King, Duke, or Government; and my Lord of *Sarum* ſays, *The only Excuſe that was ever pretended for this infamous Proſecution was, that they were ſure he was guilty.*

His Cruelty.

A. D. 1684.

The Duke of York's *unparallel'd Cruelty.*

What a Part the Duke of *York* acted in theſe Proſecutions, eſpecially when he was in *Scotland*, appears by what follows out of *Burnet*. "When any are ſtruck in the *Boots* it is done in the Preſence of the Council, and upon that occaſion almoſt all offer to run away, the Sight is ſo dreadful, that without an Order reſtraining ſuch a Number to ſtay, the Board would be forſaken; but the Duke while he had been in *Scotland* was ſo far from withdrawing, that he look'd on all the while with an unmov'd Indifference, and with an Attention, as if he had been to look on ſome curious Experiment; this gave a terrible Idea of him to all that obſerv'd it, as of a Man that had no Bowels nor Humanity in him." This is the Prince of whom *Echard* ſays, *The Morning of his Reign ſeem'd every way to promiſe a ſerene and happy Seaſon.*

Ireland. The Duke of *Ormond* kept things in pretty good Order in *Ireland*, but he could not hinder the Papiſts encreaſing in Strength and Intereſt, by the Countenance and Encouragement they had from the Court, as is thus related by Biſhop *Burnet*.

The Earl of *Clancarty* dying, left his Lady Guardian of his Children, it was one of the nobleſt and richeſt Families of the *Iriſh* Nation, which had always been *Papiſts*, but the Lady was a *Proteſtant*; and ſhe being afraid to truſt the Education of her Son to *Ireland*, tho' in Proteſtant Hands, conſidering the Danger he might be in from his Kindred of that Religion, brought him over to *Oxford*, and put him into the Hands of Dr. *Fell* Biſhop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Chriſt's-Church*, where ſhe reckon'd he would be ſafe. Lord *Clancarty* had an Uncle Col. *Maccarty*, who both to pervert his Nephew, and make his own Court, got the King to write to the Biſhop of *Oxford* to let the young Lord come up, and ſee the Diverſions of the Town in the *Chriſtmas* Time, to which the Biſhop did too eaſily conſent: When he came to Town they marry'd him to one of the Lord *Sunderland*'s Daughters, ſo he broke thro' all his Education, and ſoon after turn'd *Papiſt*. Dr. *King*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, informs us, that to ſhew the Sincerity of his Converſion he murder'd a Proteſtant Butcher at *Mayallo*, by toſſing him in a Blanket. My Lord of *Sarum* proceeds, "Thus the King ſuffer'd himſelf to be made an Inſtrument in one of the greateſt of Crimes, the taking an Infant out of the hand of a Guardian, and marrying him ſecretly, againſt which the Laws of all Nations have taken Care to provide very effectually."

King Charles *acts againſt the Laws of all Nations.*

At the latter end of this Reign the Earl of *Rocheſter* obtain'd by the Duke's means to be nam'd Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The King ſeem'd to be ſo uneaſy with him, that he was glad to ſend him away from the Court; and to mortify him, reſolv'd to put a General over the Army in *Ireland*, which us'd to be a Branch of the Lord Lieutenant's Commiſſion. Lord *Rocheſter* ſaid he could not be anſwerable for the Peace of the Kingdom, if the Army was not in a Dependance upon him, which had no Effect on the King, who ſeem'd to be the more pleas'd with it, becauſe it affected him ſo much. Col. *Maccarty* above-mention'd was to have a Regiment in the *Iriſh* Army, and Lord *Halliſax* expoſtulated that Matter with the King, who told *Maccarty* every word Lord *Halliſax* ſaid, and the *Iriſhman* expoſtulated the Matter with *Halliſax*; which ſufficiently proves the Countenance and En-

A. D. 1684. Encouragement the *Iriſh* Papiſts had from the King, and his Brother countenanc'd and encourag'd them much more, as we are inform'd by the late Archbiſhop of *Dublin* before-mention'd.

P. 22. We do not expect to find Matters mend in *England*, and if we ſtop'd here to conſider what a deſpicable Figure this once brave and renown'd Nation made in *Europe* at this time, it will require a good deal of Patience to preſerve Decency towards the two Princes that were the occaſion of it. *If Foreign Affairs could have awaken'd the King*, Biſhop *Burnet* ſays it, *the* French *did enough this Summer in order to it*, by bombarding and attacking the beautiful City of *Genoa* very *unjuſtly and unreaſonably*; *ſuch an Aſſault that look'd liker the Violence of a* Robber *than the Attack of one that would obſerve Forms in his Conqueſts, ought to have provok'd all Princes, eſpecially ſuch as were powerful at Sea, to have join'd againſt a Prince, who by theſe Practices was become the common Enemy of Mankind*; *but we were now purſuing other Deſigns, from which it was reſolv'd that nothing from beyond Sea ſhould divert us.*

French *Kingwarr'd like a Robber.*

However mean and contemptible we look'd abroad, the two Royal Brothers, for the Duke had now more of the Government than the King, were as terrible to the three Nations, as if they had conquer'd and enſlav'd them, which is hinted by the Archdeacon: *The City of* London *ſeem'd in effect ſubdu'd, and was forc'd to ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure.* Dr. *Oates* had been long in Diſgrace at Court, his Lodging, his Guard, and a great Part of his Penſion were taken from him, and on the tenth of *May* he was publickly arreſted at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-Houſe in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the Duke of *York* for calling him *Traytor*. He was hurry'd away to *Wood-ſtreet* Counter, and ſuffering Judgment to paſs by default in *Trinity Term*, the Jury gave the Duke 100,000 *l.* Damage. On *May* the ſixth a Trial was had at *Guildhall* before *Jefferies*, upon an Action brought by Sir *William Pritchard* late Lord Mayor of *London* againſt Mr. *Papillon* and Mr. *Dubois* for arreſting him, and another ſeaſonable Jury gave *Pritchard* 10,000 *l.* Damages. Mr. *Elias Beſt* was fin'd 1000 *l.* and order'd to ſtand thrice in the Pillory for ſpeaking againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power. *Oates*'s two Men, *Dalby* and *Nicholſon*, were alſo convicted of ſpeaking ſomething like it, and puniſh'd accordingly. Mr. *Butler* of *Northamptonſhire* was proſecuted for preſenting and reading to the laſt Repreſentatives of that County, *Michael Fleetwood* Eſq; and *John Park* Eſq; an Addreſs from the Freeholders, for which he was fin'd 500 Marks; and to mingle ſome Blood with theſe pecuniary Puniſhments, two innocent Men, Mr. *Roſwell* a Presbyterian Miniſter, and Mr. *Hayes* a Banker were try'd for High Treaſon. Take the Account of Mr. *Roſwell*'s Tryal from Dr. *Calamy*.

Dr. Oates *proſecuted by the Duke.*

Tyrannical Acts.

On the 23d of *September* Mr. *Thomas Roſwell*, who was Miniſter of a diſſenting Congregation in *Redriff* was impriſon'd in the *Gatehouſe* at *Weſtminſter* by a Warrant from *Jefferies* for High Treaſon. A Bill was found againſt him at the Quarter Seſſions at *Kingſton* in *Surrey*, upon which he was arraign'd *October* the 15th, and try'd *November* the 18th following at the *King's Bench Bar* by a *Surrey* Jury, before *Jefferies* and three other Judges *fit to ſit by him*, *Withens*, *Holloway*, *Walcot*. The *High Treaſon*, as laid in the Indictment, and ſworn by the Witneſſes, was, that in a Sermon which he preach'd *September* the 14th he ſaid theſe Words, *That the People*, meaning the Subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King, *make a flocking to our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, upon Pretence of healing the King's Evil, which he*, meaning our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, *could not do*; *but that we*, meaning himſelf, and other traitorous Perſons, *are Prieſts and Prophets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours and Griefs of the People. We*, meaning the Subjects of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, *have had two wicked Kings*, meaning the moſt ſerene *Charles* the Firſt, late King of *England*, and our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King that now is, *whom we can reſemble to no other Perſon but to the moſt wicked* Jeroboam; *and that if they*, meaning the ſaid evil diſpoſed Perſons, then and there ſo as aforeſaid with him unlawfully aſſembled and gathered together, *would ſtand to their Principles, he*, meaning himſelf, *did not fear but they*, meaning himſelf and the ſaid evil diſpoſed Perſons, *would overcome their Enemies*, meaning our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King and his Subjects, *as in former Times, with Rams Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sling*. The Witneſſes were three Women, who ſwore to the Words as they ſtand without the *Innuendo's*; the Trial laſted about ſeven Hours, Mr. *Roſwell* made a moſt full and clear Defence of himſelf, very modeſtly, yet ſtrenuouſly vindicating his Innocence to the Satisfaction of thoſe that were preſent, and ſo as to gain the Applauſe of many Gentlemen of the Long Robe. *Convicted.* The Jury however, after they had been out about half an Hour, brought him in *guilty*. The Women who were the Witneſſes were infamous Perſons, laden with the Guilt of many Perjuries, which had been eaſily prov'd upon them all before the the Trial, could Juſtice have been had, but they were ſcreen'd by the Recorder *Jenour*, who was the Perſon that laid the whole Scheme of the Buſineſs, and patch'd up the Indictment in Terms ſuited to his *known Abilities*, ſays the Doctor very modeſtly. For it is no Breach of good Manners to ſay of ſuch a Tool, that none but ſuch a Blockhead could have drawn ſuch an Indictment, and none but a worſe Wretch ſtill would have proſecuted a Miniſter of the Goſpel even to Death upon ſuch a Charge, and ſuch Evidence. The Impudence of the Judges, Proſecutors, and Jury in this Caſe is without Example. There is not the leaſt Poſſibility in the World that the thing could be true. Mr. *Roſwell* propos'd at his Trial to put the whole upon this Iſſue, he would pronounce a Period as long as that which the Evidences had ſworn, with his uſual Tone of Voice with which he preached, and then leave it to them to repeat it if they could. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, "As "for the Sermon in which the Witneſſes ſwore "he deliver'd thoſe Words, he ſhew'd what his "Text was, which the Witneſſes could not re- "member, as they remember'd nothing elſe in "his Sermon beſides the Words they had de- "poſ'd. That Text, and his Sermon upon it, "had no relation to any ſuch Matter, ſeveral "Witneſſes who heard the Sermon, and ſome "who writ it in Short-hand declar'd he ſaid no "ſuch Words, nor any thing to that Purpoſe; "he offer'd his own Notes to prove this further, "but no regard was had to them. The Wo- "men could not prove by any Circumſtance that "they were at his Meeting, or that any Perſon "ſaw them there on that Day; the Words they "ſwore againſt him were ſo groſs, that it was "not to be imagin'd that any Man in his Wits "would expreſs himſelf ſo, were he ever "ſo wickedly ſet before a mix'd Aſſembly; "yet the Blood-hound *Jefferies* urg'd the Mat- "ter with his ordinary Vehemence, he laid it "for a Foundation that all Preaching in Conven- "ticles

Unheard of Injuſtice and Cruelty.

Mr. Roſwell.

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" ticles was Treaſon," my Lord of *Sarum* ſpeaks it, " and that this ought to diſpoſe the " Jury to believe any Evidence whatſoever up- " on that head." His Lordſhip adds, *There was a ſhameful Rejoycing upon this. It was thought now Conventicles would be all ſuppreſs'd by it, ſince any Perſon, who would witneſs that treaſonable Words were deliver'd at them, would be believ'd, how improbable ſoever.* Further, *I ſet down all this Defence more particularly, that it may appear what a Spirit was in that Time, when a Verdict could be brought in upon ſuch Evidence, and againſt ſuch a Defence.* This Affair, foul as it is, is ſlurr'd over by the *compleat Hiſtorian* and the Archdeacon. The former does not give us a hint of the Injuſtice of the Sentence; and the latter takes occaſion to extol his Majeſty's *Grace* in not ſuffering the Sentence to be executed, tho' in ſo doing he had committed Murder. Such of the Witneſſes as could be met with, were afterwards convicted of Perjury; and *Smith* the chief Witneſs was pillory'd before the *Exchange*. Sir *John Talbot*, who was preſent at the Trial, repreſented to King *Charles* the State of the Caſe, and the King order'd *Jefferies* to find an Evaſion, upon which Counſel was aſſign'd Mr. *Roſwell*, and Mr. *Pollexfen*, Mr. *Wallop* and Mr. *Bampfield* pleaded to the Inſufficiency of the Indictment in Arreſt of Judgment; but the Matter was cut ſhorter by a *Pardon*. *Jefferies*, ſtill on a Blood-ſcent, caus'd one Mr. *Hayes*, a Banker in *London*, to be proſecuted for *High Treaſon* becauſe there was found a Letter writ by him in *Armſtrong*'s Pocket, directed to another Name, which was ſuppos'd to be a feign'd one. 'Twas a Letter of Credit on *Hayes*'s Correſpondent in *Holland*. Much pains was taken on *Hayes*, both by Perſuaſion and Threatning, to induce him to make Diſcoveries, the Court imagining there was a Joint Purſe to ſupply the *Engliſh* Refugees in *Holland*; and if they could know who were *Monmouth*'s Friends, they would attaint them all, or at leaſt fine them all ſeverely. *Hayes* would or could confeſs nothing, ſo he was try'd for High-Treaſon, in abetting a Man that was out-law'd for it; he made a ſtrong Defence, as well he might do, *Armſtrong*'s Name or Concern in the Credit no where appearing. He was a Banker, and examin'd into no Perſons Concerns that gave him Money for Credit or Bills. *Jefferies*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *preſs'd the Jury in his impetuous way, to find him guilty of* High-Treaſon, *for the King's Life and Safety depended upon it; ſo that if they did it not, they expos'd the King to a new* Rye-Plot, *with other Extravagancies with which his Fury prompted him; but a Jury of Merchants could not be wrought up to this Pitch, ſo he was acquitted, which mortify'd the Court a little; for they had reckon'd, that now Juries were only to be a Point of Form in a Trial, and that they were always to find Bills as they were directed.*

Bad Times.

He is pardon'd.

Mr. Hayes try'd.

Acquitted.

About this time a young Gentleman happening to be in Company of two Gentlemen more, when a Quarrel roſe, Swords were drawn, and one kill'd; he and the other ſurviving Gentleman were indicted upon it, tho' 'twas not certain by whoſe hand the Deceas'd fell. But the young Gentleman being a Son of one of the Knights of Shires, who petition'd for a Parliament, he was threaten'd with the Rigour of the Law if he did not confeſs, and promis'd a Pardon if he did, ſo he pleaded *guilty*, and was condemn'd. Inſtead of a Pardon he was told he muſt pay 16000 *l.* or ſuffer Execution. Accordingly the Money was paid, 8000 Pounds to the King, and 8000 Pounds to two Favourite Ladies. Lord Biſhop of *Sarum* reflects upon it thus: " It is a very ill thing for Princes to ſuf- " fer themſelves to be prevail'd on by Importu- " nity, to pardon Blood which cries for Ven- " geance, *a terrible Reflection for this Court and their Creatures!* " Yet an Eaſineſs to Importu- " nity is a Feebleneſs of Good Nature, and ſo is " in itſelf leſs criminal; but it is a monſtrous per- " verting of Juſtice, and a deſtroying the chief " End of Government, which is the Preſerva- " tion of the People, when their Blood is ſet " to Sale, and that not as a Compenſation to the " Family of the Perſon murder'd, but to the " Prince himſelf, and ſome who are in favour " with him upon unworthy accounts."

A Baſe Act.

Tho' ſuch Cruelty was exercis'd towards the Proteſtants, there was found Clemency for the *Papiſts* and their Abettors. The Lord *Petre*, one of the Popiſh Lords impriſon'd in the Tower for the Popiſh Plot, died there, and the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, and Lord *Powis* were let out upon Bail, as was alſo the Earl of *Tyrone* out of the *Gate-houſe*. None of the Judges, till *Jefferies* was preferr'd to the King's-Bench, would venture to bail them, even *Saunders*, otherwiſe Tool enough, refus'd it. But *Jefferies* made no difficulty, nor of diſcharging the Earl of *Danby* upon Bail. The Duke of *Beaufort*, and Earl of *Peterborough*, taking the Advantage of ſuch Judges and Juries, brought their Actions of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt thoſe who had ſpoken ſome bold Truths of them, and had vaſt Sums given them for Damages.

Popiſh Lords bail'd.

William Williams Eſq; Speaker of the laſt two Parliaments, having licens'd the Votes, which had in them Matters of Scandal relating to ſome Lords, an Information was brought againſt him, and he upon it demurr'd to the Juriſdiction of the Court; but he was over-rul'd, and fin'd 10000 Pounds. This was drawn on by the Popiſh and Tory Faction, to cut off the Thoughts of another Parliament. The reverend Hiſtorians, the *compleat one*, and *Echard*, inform us, that Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, had long pray'd his Majeſty to permit him to reſign that Place, and that his Majeſty was at laſt pleas'd to grant it, tho' with much Unwillingneſs, becauſe of the great Satisfaction his Majeſty always had in his Services. This Man, who had really no Merit but his readineſs to do dirty Work, has the good Word of theſe Men, on account of his implacable Malice to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and Proteſtant Patriots. Biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks of his being turn'd out, thus: " *Jenkins* had now " done all the Drudgery the Court had occaſion " for from him; and being capable to ſerve " them in nothing elſe, he was diſmiſs'd from " being Secretary, and *Godolphin*, one of the " Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſucceeded " him. The Earl of *Rocheſter* hoped to be " made Treaſurer, tho' the whole Court hated " him, and the Treaſury was therefore continu'd " in Commiſſion, notwithſtanding the Duke of " *York* and Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, like Patron, " like Patroneſs, were for giving the white Staff " to *Rocheſter*." Mr. *Godolphin* was made a Lord, and firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. The Earl of *Radnor* was remov'd from his Place of Preſident of the Council, and Lord *Rocheſter* put in his Place, which being a Poſt ſuperior in Rank, but much inferior both in Advantage and Credit, Lord *Hallifax* ſaid, *He had heard of many kick'd down Stairs, but never of any that was kick'd up Stairs before.* The Earl of *Middleton*, Son to him who govern'd *Scotland*, was made

Speaker Williams *proſecuted.*

Sir Lionel Jenkins *diſplac'd.*

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Lord Hallifax's *Jeſt upon Lord* Rocheſter.

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made Secretary of State. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, he had not much Religion, and truly much was not wanted, conſidering what Company he was to keep at Court, where even ſome of the Biſhops could not be ſaid to have any to ſpare. Sir *Thomas Thynne* and *North* the pretended Sheriff of *London*, were put into the Treaſury Commiſſion, and it was to ſecure a Seat for his Brother at that Board, that the Lord-Keeper *North* labour'd ſo hard to keep the white Staff from *Rocheſter*, whom Lord *Hallifax* oppos'd vigorouſly, inſomuch that he complain'd in Council, that there were many Raſures in the Treaſury-Books, out of which ſeveral Leaves were cut; and he mov'd the King to go to the Treaſury-Chamber, that the Books might be laid before him, and he might be Judge of the Matter upon ſight: ſo the King nam'd next *Monday*, and it was then expected that the Earl of *Rocheſter* would be turn'd out of all, if not ſent to the Tower. A Meſſage was diſpatch'd to Mr. *May*, a great Favourite of the King's, but a great Enemy to his Counſels, to come immediately from *Windſor* to *London*, that he might be there on the *Monday*, which it was expected would prove a critical Day; and it prov'd to be ſo indeed, tho' in a different way, as we ſhall obſerve in the Sequel.

And Complaint againſt him as to the Treaſury.

Among other Honours and Preferments, the compleat Hiſtorians tell us, The King, without any farther Scruple, made his good Brother Lord High Admiral of *England*, and reſtor'd him to his Seat at the Council-Table. The Earl of *Murray* and Earl of *Middleton* were alſo made Privy-Counſellors, and the following Perſons Knights.

Simon Taylor and *John Turner* Eſqs; two Aldermen of *Lynn-Regis*; Dr. *Weatherley*, Capt. *John Clark* of *London*, Mr. *Edmund Warcup* of *Oxfordſhire*, *William Creagh* and *Henry Brabant* of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*.

John Drummond Eſq; was made a Privy-Counſellor, and *William Bridgman Philip Muſgrave* Eſqs; Clerks of the Council, and Sir *Robert Wright* Sergeant at Law, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. Theſe things were not done all in one day, but all within the Year, and a Journal of them is exactly recorded in the *compleat Hiſtory*, being a Copy of the *Gazette*.

Biſhop *Burnet* tells us of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, as of the Tranſlation of Dr. *Peter Mew*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, to *Wincheſter*, on the death of Dr. *Morley*. He adds,

Biſhop Mew's Riſe and Character.

Mew *had been a Captain during the Wars, and had been* Middleton's *Secretary, when he was ſent to command the Inſurrection, which the* Highlanders *attempted* to make for the King in *Scotland. After that he came into Orders, tho' he knew very little of Divinity, or of any other Learning, and was weak to a childiſh degree, yet Obſequiouſneſs and Zeal* without Knowledge, and I might add, without Virtue, *rais'd him, by ſeveral Steps, to this great See.* I knew him, and could ſay a great deal more of him, but I do not think it is worth the while. His Succeſſor at *Bath* and *Wells* was Dr.

And Biſhop Ken.

Ken, of whom Dr. *Burnet*: "He was a Man of "an aſcetick Life, too hot and ſudden. He "had an edifying way of preaching, more apt "to move the Paſſions than to inſtruct. The "Papiſts hoped, that by him a great Progreſs "might be made in gaining, or at leaſt delu-"ding *the Clergy*;" who, in his own Dioceſe, idoliz'd him, without knowing any thing of this his true Character. *Perſecution*, the greateſt Fury that Hell ever produc'd, rag'd all this while againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, and none more forward in promoting that inhuman Work, than the laſt mention'd Biſhop *Ken* and his Clergy. The Proſecution of the Diſſenters was carried very high that Year, *ſays my Lord of Sarum:* "They were not only proceeded a-"gainſt for going to Meetings, but for not go-"ing to Church, and for not receiving the Sa-"crament. The Laws made againſt Papiſts, "with reſpect to theſe Particulars, being now "apply'd to them." Some of the pious Miniſters ſunk under the Severity of their Perſecutors, and particularly Mr. *Jenkins*, who hazarded his Life for this King before the Reſtoration, did now die in *Newgate* but a few days before him. There alſo died Mr. *Bampfield* and Mr. *Ralphſon*, and the King himſelf follow'd ſoon after, to give an account of all theſe things at that Bar, where the whole Race of Mankind are accountable.

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Perſecution.

Some ſhort time before the King's laſt Sickneſs and Death, there was certainly a Scheme forming by him, to *make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his Life*, which he was over-heard to ſay by a Gentleman, who told it me. The King had given him two *Spaniſh* Plays, call'd *Ne pudeſer*, or *It cannot be*, for him to give them an *Engliſh* Caſt in one. Three Acts and more were finiſh'd, before the King was taken ill, and his Majeſty oblig'd the Author to bring it to him, Scene by Scene, as he wrote it. The Courtiers knowing what his Errand was at *Whitehall*, made his way eaſy to the King's Cabinet, to which he once approach'd ſo near, that he could hear the King ſay diſtinctly, *Brother, you may travel if you will, I am reſolv'd to make myſelf eaſy for the reſt of my Life.* At which Words the Door opening, the Author made off, and the Duke of *York* paſs'd haſtily by him as in a Paſſion. This Play is the famous *Sir Courtly Nice*, which the King highly approv'd of, only he ſaid it wanted a little more of what *Collier* calls *Smut* in his View of the Stage. The Poet told me this ſo often, and was ſo little given to romancing in ſuch things, that I ſee no reaſon to disbelieve him.

Mr. C.

The King's intended new Scheme.

The Biſhop of *Salisbury* gives us a hint of this Scheme. "There was at this time a new "Scheme form'd, that very probably would "for ever have broken the King and the "Duke; but how it was laid, was ſo great a "Secret, that it could not be penetrated. The "Duke of *Monmouth* came over ſecretly, and "tho' he did not ſee the King, yet he went "back very well pleas'd with his Journey. Mr. "*May* told Biſhop *Burnet*, He knew by the "King's way things were not quite ripe. That "with which they were to begin was, the ſend-"ing the Duke of *York* to *Scotland*. And it was "generally thought, that if the two Brothers "ſhould be once parted, they would never "meet again. The King ſpoke to the Duke "concerning his going to *Scotland*; he anſwer'd, "*There's no occaſion for it.* The King re-"ply'd, *Either you muſt go, or I will go my-"ſelf thither.* The King was obſerv'd to be "colder and more reſerv'd to the Duke than "ordinary; but what was ſtill under all this, "was a deep Secret."

The King had parted with ſo much of his Power to the *Duke*, that he had not enough left to recover it again, without the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Party, which, in oppoſition to the Papiſts, conſiſted of the beſt part of the Kingdom, tho' not many of them were diſpos'd to favour his Succeſſion. The Papiſts were in haſte to have a Popiſh King, who was bigotted to their Idolatry, and would put all to the Venture to re-eſtabliſh it. They ſaw plainly, if there was a Breach between the King and the

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the Duke, they had no other Hope left. Things could not be carry'd ſo ſecretly in a Court, where the Duke of *York* had ſo many Spies, but they muſt have ſome Knowledge of it; and if the *Critical Day* was ſet for the opening of the new Scheme, 'tis no wonder the King was taken ſick to death on that very day, as the Biſhop of *Salisbury* informs us; and from what he ſays of that Death, there is no room left to doubt that he was not poiſon'd, of which more when we have further prov'd, that King's Intention to recall the Duke of *Monmouth*; to prevent which, the Papiſts would, doubtleſs, have ſacrific'd what and whomſoever lay in their way. I impute this Reſolution of the King's to his Timorouſneſs and Indolence, as well as to his Underſtanding, which was much better than his Brother's. He knew that the Infatuation the Nation lay under by the Practices and Preachments of the minor Clergy, would vaniſh on the firſt Allarm they took againſt Popery, and when ever they rous'd out of the preſent Lethargy, brought on them by the Deluſion of *Ken* and ſuch Prelates, they would call for a ſtrict Reckoning for the noble and innocent Blood which had been ſpilt, and the Invaſions that had been made on the Conſtitution, and the Duke of *York* and his Emiſſaries would certainly be made to feel the Weight of an injur'd Peoples Diſpleaſure. This Foreſight, his Fears in conſequence of it, and his Love of Eaſe and Pleaſure, prevail'd over the little Religion he had, which was Popery, and made him reſolve to put his new Scheme in execution, and that made the Papiſts reſolve to put it out of his power. I think this is plain, but it will appear ſtill more plain by what follows.

P. 606.

King Charles's Motives to a Change.

When the Duke of *Monmouth* was taken after the Fight at *Sedgemore*, there was found about him a Pocket-Book, wherein were written ſeveral Paſſages concerning his laſt Reconciliation with the King, at the cloſe of it is an Account of the Deſign to recall him. I ſhall inſert the Letter entire.

Duke of Monmouth's Account of it.

" *November* 25, I render'd myſelf. At " night 29, *the King*, could not diſſemble his " Satisfaction, preſs'd my Hand, which I re- " member not he did before, except when I " return'd from the *French* Service. 29, *the* " *King*, acted his Part well, and I too. 39, *the* " *Duke*, and *D.* ſeem'd not ill pleas'd.

" 26 *November*, 29, *the King*, took me aſide, " and falling upon the Buſineſs of L. *R.* Lord " *Ruſſel*, ſaid he inclin'd to have ſaved him, but " was forc'd to it, otherwiſe he muſt have broke " with 39, *the Duke*; Bid me think no more " on't. Coming home L. told me he fear'd 39, " *the Duke*, began to ſmell out 29's Carriage to " me. That——ſaid to 39 that Morning, that " all that was done was but ſham.

" 27. Several told me of the Storm that was " brewing. *Rumſey* was with 39, and was ſeen " to come out crying, that he muſt accuſe a " Man he lov'd.

" *December* 19. A Letter from 29, bidding " me ſtay till I heard from him.

" *January* 5. I receiv'd a Letter from L. " mark'd by 29 in the Margin, to truſt entirely " to 10, and that in *February* I ſhould certain- " ly have Leave to return. That Matters were " concerted towards it, and that 39 had no Suſ- " picion notwithſtanding of my Reception " here.

" *Feb.* 3. A Letter from L. that my Buſineſs " was almoſt as well as done, but muſt be ſo " ſudden, as not to leave room for 39's Par- " ty to counterplot. That it is probable he " would chuſe *Scotland* rather than *Flanders* or " this Country, which was all one to 29.

" 16. The ſad News of his Death by L. " *O cruel Fate!*" *A. D.* 1684.

As it was almoſt impoſſible for the Duke's Party not to ſmell out this Deſign, ſo 'twas impoſſible for them to prevent it by any other way than the King's Death. And *Sheffield*, late Duke of *Buckingham*, gives one good ground to believe he was poiſon'd, at the end of his Character. " I would not ſay any thing " on ſo ſad a Subject, if I did not think that " Silence itſelf would in ſuch a Caſe ſignify too " much; and therefore as an impartial Wri- " ter, I am oblig'd to obſerve, that the moſt " knowing, and the moſt diſcerning of all his " Phyſicians, did not only believe him poiſon'd, " but thought himſelf ſo too for having declar'd " his Opinion a little too boldly."

Duke of Buckingham ſuppoſes the King was poiſon'd.

So does Dr. Short, a Papiſt.

The Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* coming to *England* in the Year 1699, talk'd as if the King had been *poiſon'd*, as was affirm'd by *Anthony Henly* Eſq; of the *Grange* in *Hampſhire*, a Gentleman of great Honour and Wit, who had the following Relation from the Dutcheſs herſelf. " She " ſaid ſhe was always preſſing the King to make " both himſelf and his People eaſy, and to " come to a full Agreement with his Parlia- " ment; and he was come to a final Reſolu- " tion of ſending away his Brother, and calling " a Parliament, which was to be executed the " next day after he fell into that Fit of which " he died. She was let into the Secret, and " ſpoke of it to no Perſon but her Confeſſor. " But the Confeſſor, ſhe believ'd told it to " ſome, who ſeeing what was to follow, took " that wicked Courſe to prevent it" My Lord of *Sarum* reports, that ſome of the Dutcheſs's own Servants gave him the Poiſon, ſuppos'd to be convey'd in *poiſon'd Snuff*; for ſo many *of the ſmall Veins of the Brain were burſt, that the Brain was in great Diſorder.*

And the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

If any one has the curioſity to ſee what can be ſtarted in objection to ſuch Evidence, he will find the moſt made of it in *Welwood's* Memoirs, whoſe Reaſons have juſt ſo much Weight as an Ounce would have againſt a Pound, eſpecially after the additional Weight of our Evidence is put into the Poiſon-Scale.

The King's Sickneſs and Death.

On *Sunday*, the firſt of *February*, he eat little all day, and had an unquiet Night. In the Morning *Doctor*, afterwards Sir *Edmund King*, a Phyſician and Chymiſt, came, as he had been order'd, to wait on him. All the King's Diſcourſe to him was ſo broken, that he could not underſtand what he meant. And the *Doctor* concluded he was under ſome great Diſorder either in his Mind or in his Body: Amaz'd at this, he went out, and meeting with Lord *Peterborough*, told him the King was in a ſtrange Humour, for he did not ſpeak one word of Senſe. Lord *Peterborough* deſir'd he would go in again to the Bed-chamber, which he did, and he was ſcarce come in, when the King, who ſeem'd all the while to be in great Confuſion, fell down, all of a ſudden in a Fit like an Apoplexy; he look'd black, and his Eyes turn'd in his Head. The Phyſician, who had been formerly an eminent Surgeon, ſaid, It was impoſſible to ſave the King's Life, if one Minute was loſt, ſo he would rather venture on the Rigour of the Law, than leave the King to periſh. Accordingly he let him blood; the King came out of that Fit The Phyſicians approving of what Dr. *King* had done, the Council order'd him 1000 Pounds; but King *James* never took care to ſee it paid. Tho' the Fit was over, yet the Effects of it hung ſtill upon his Majeſty, and he was much oppreſs'd; and the Phyſicians apprehending another Fit, gave him over: The

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the Biſhops came to him, Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, the Biſhop of *London*, and Biſhop *Ken*, and all ſpoke to him as the occaſion requir'd, but he took no notice of that or them, which was imputed to an Inſenſibility, of which, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, "Too viſible an Inſtance appear'd, ſince "Lady *Portſmouth* ſat in the Bed, taking care "of him, as a Wife of a Husband." Mr. Archdeacon aſſures us, the *pious* Nonjuring Biſhop *Ken* was ſo far from ſuffering the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* to ſit in the Bed, that he would not let her ſtay in the Room. He prevail'd with his Majeſty to *have her remov'd*. The pious Biſhop *Ken* again induc'd his Majeſty to ſend for her Majeſty, and he asking Pardon of her, had *the Satisfaction of her particular Forgiveneſs*. Biſhop *Burnet* affirms, *He ſaid nothing of the Queen*. On *Thurſday* a ſecond Fit return'd, and then the Phyſicians told the Duke, that the King was not like to live a day to an end; ſo Father *Huddleſton* was ſent for to do the Prieſt's Work in the Popiſh way. He gave the King the Hoſt, and the Wafer ſticking in his Throat, the Earl of *Feverſham* call'd for Water to waſh it down. Biſhop *Ken* preſs'd him to receive the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*; he made him no Anſwer. However, *Ken* gave him Abſolution: for which, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *he was blam'd, ſince the King expreſs'd no ſenſe of Sorrow for his paſt Life. It was thought to be a Proſtitution of the Peace of the Church, to give it to one, who, after a Life led as the King's had been, ſeem'd harden'd againſt every thing that could be ſaid to him.* Ken *was alſo cenſur'd for another piece of Indecency, He preſented the Duke of* Richmond, *Lady* Portſmouth's *Son, to be bleſt by the King.* Upon which ſome that were in the Room cry'd out, *The King is our common Father*, and they all kneel'd down for his Bleſſing, which he gave them. But in what a Condition he was to bleſs, or to be bleſs'd, appears by what Biſhop *Burnet* ſays: "He recommended Lady *Portſmouth* to the "Duke of *York*, over and over again. He ſaid "he had always lov'd her, and he lov'd her "now to the laſt, and beſought his Brother, in "as melting Words as he could fetch out, to be "very kind to her and to her Son. He recom-"mended his other Children to him, and con-"cluded, *Let not poor* Nelly *ſtarve*, meaning "Mrs. *Gwyn*." He continued in the Agony till *Friday* 11 a-clock in the Forenoon, *Feb.* 6, 1684-5, and then died, in the 54th Year of his Age, after he had reign'd 24 Years, 8 Months and 9 Days, reckoning from the Reſtauration; and from the Death of his Father, 56 Years and 8 Days.

Ken *blam'd for abſolving him.*

The King's Death.

The Biſhop of *Salisbury* adds, There were many apparent Inſtances of his being *poiſon'd*; for tho' the firſt Acceſs look'd like an *Apoplexy*, yet it was plain in the Progreſs of it, that it was no Apoplexy. "When his Body was open'd, "the Phyſicians who view'd it were, as it were "led by thoſe who might ſuſpect the Truth, "to look upon the Parts that were certainly "ſound. But both *Lower* and *Needham*, two "famous Phyſicians, told the Biſhop, they plain-"ly diſcern'd two or three blue Spots on the "out-ſide of the Stomach. *Needham* call'd twice "to have it open'd, but the Surgeons ſeem'd "not to hear him. And when he mov'd it the "ſecond time, he, as he told Biſhop *Burnet*, "heard *Lower* ſay to one that ſtood next to him, "Needham *will undo us by calling thus to have* "*the Stomach open'd, for he may ſee they will* "*not do it*. They were diverted to look on "ſomething elſe, and when they return'd to "look upon the Stomach, it was carry'd away,

By Poiſon, *according to* Burnet.

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"ſo that it was never view'd." Thus did Foreigners ſpeak of it, *Ce fut dans ce temps que* Charles *mourut apres trois jours de maladie non ſans ſoupçon que l'on eut contribue a ſa mort*. At that time dy'd *Charles* II. of a Sickneſs which held him three Days, not without ſuſpicion that his Death had been help'd forward. *Echard* after having ſeen ſome of theſe ſtrong Proofs, is ſo ſupercilious as to ſay, *After the beſt and ſtricteſt Enquiries, we never could enter far enough into thoſe dark Receſſes, as to make any juſt Diſcovery*. But our Inquiries have had better Succeſs, and no Fact can be better prov'd by Hiſtorical Evidence, than King *Charles*'s being poiſon'd is in this. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Biſhop *Burnet* clear his Brother King *James* of the Guilt of it, which I cannot do; for tho' it is granted that he was not an Accomplice in the Murder of his Brother, yet he could not but know more than is ſaid here of his being poiſon'd; and his making no Inquiſition after his Brother's Blood, brings him in for a ſufficient Share of the Guilt of it, unleſs it can be imagin'd that he never heard of any of the Circumſtances here related, and of the Care which was taken, that the Phyſicians *Lower* and *Needham* ſhould not examine the ſuſpected Parts at the Diſſection; nor ever heard that Dr. *Short*, one of his own Religion, declar'd, not only that the late King was poiſon'd, but that he himſelf was alſo poiſon'd for declaring it. *Echard* and all of them expatiate on the general Sorrow for the Death of this King, and their Panegyricks follow him to the Grave, purely on account of his breaking his Oath with the *Scots* Presbyterians, in his abjuring the *Covenant*, and his breaking his Word and Promiſe with the *Engliſh Presbyterians* in the ſtinging Acts againſt them: For otherwiſe what good Quality had he to deſerve the Eulogies of Proteſtant Divines? As to the Earl of *Mulgrave*'s, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, Character of him, I have a word or two to ſay to it preſently. *Echard*, who on all ſuch Occaſions runs away with the common Vogue, takes that Lord to be a great Wit, and a great Orator, as well as a great Man, and has therefore printed that Character: And I have nothing to object againſt his good Opinion of the Lord *Mulgrave* in this place, but I have ſome Objections to his Lordſhip's Characteriſticks, when I have obſerv'd after Mr. *Acherley*, why it was that the People were ſo ſorrowful at his Death: "The "immediate Proſpect of the Duke of *York*'s "Succeſſion added to the King's Life a vaſt "Value, in regard his Life was believ'd to be "the only Barrier againſt the immediate En-"trance of Popery." *Again*; "And now the "time was come that King *Charles* muſt taſte "the Fruit of his own Incredulity, and the Na-"tion the Fruit of that Interruption he gave to "the Parliament's making Proviſion, and a *De-"fence* to preſerve to him his Life, and to the "Kingdom *Safety* from *Popery* and *Slavery*: "For the *Popiſh-Plot* was executed on him, "and he *periſhed* on the 6th of *February* 168$\frac{4}{5}$ "by violent Means, and *Popery* and *Slavery* "with his Succeſſor ruſhed in upon the Na-"tion.

Some Account of King Charles *out of* Acherley.

"It was wonderful, conſidering this King's "Breach of the *Triple-Alliance*, and his Treat-"ment of his Parliaments for ten Years toge-"ther, his artful and even obſtinate evading the "making neceſſary Alliances and Wars, and o-"ther Proviſions to *defend* the Nation againſt "the exceſſive Power of *France* and the juſt "Fears of Popery; I ſay, 'tis wonderful that "this Reign paſs'd without Tumults, and even

"a

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" a *general Revolt.*" The Learned Lawyer might have added, and conſidering too his throwing 2 or 3000 pious worthy Miniſters out of their Churches into common Jayls, and his ſuffering the very Scum of his Kingdom Eccleſiaſticks and Layicks, to harraſs, oppreſs, and ruin the moſt ſober and induſtrious of his Subjects for Conſcience-ſake: And his cauſing the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, and ſo many innocent Perſons to be murder'd under pretence of the Forms of Law; conſidering alſo his vicious Life and Converſation, his Contempt of all Religion, his Profuſion on ſome Occaſions, and his Sordidneſs on others: I ſay again, *It is wonderful that his Reign paſs'd without Tumults, and even a* general Revolt. *Echard* and the other Reverend and Compleat Hiſtorian repreſent this very Reign, as Halcyon Days, and a ſecond Golden Age.

Earl of Mulgrave's *Character of King* Charles II. *examin'd.*

The Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, begins his Character of King *Charles* with his *Religion*, which he thinks was *Deiſm*; and in praiſe of it adds, which is *vulgarly, tho' unjuſtly, accounted none at all.* This Opinion very much confirms that of his own *Deiſm*, expreſs'd in the Epitaph he wrote for himſelf. A Man who lives in defiance of all Chriſtian Principles, may well be reckon'd of any Religion rather than of the Chriſtian: and ſo far it may be juſtly ſaid King *Charles* was a *Deiſt*, as not being a true Chriſtian in his Practices; but moſt ſure it is, that he was a *Papiſt:* and that the Libertiniſm of Deiſm agreeing very well with Popery, his Lordſhip choſe rather to make him of his own Religion, than of his Brother the Duke of *York*'s. Again, *He threw himſelf into the Arms of a* Roman *Catholick Party, being tired out with the bold Oppoſitions in Parliament.* We have prov'd and it is known that he was a *Papiſt* before the Reſtoration, and conſequently this fine Argument is left extremely naked. *The* Papiſts *are ſo remarkable for their Loyalty*, witneſs the Reigns of *Henry* VIII. *Edward* VI. Queen *Elizabeth*; Witneſs the Gun-Powder-Treaſon Plot in King *James*'s Reign, the Rebellion in *Ireland* in the Reign of King *Charles* I. Father *White*'s Vindication of *Oliver Cromwel*, &c. *He was ſurely inclin'd to Juſtice*; witneſs the many Inſtances which are given of it in the Adminiſtration of *Scotland:* Witneſs again the Deaths of the Lord *Ruſſel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, &c. in *England*; but his Lordſhip's Reaſon for it is more merry than convincing. He ſhew'd his Love of Juſtice, by his Injuſtice to the Nation in ſticking ſo cloſe to his Brother's Succeſſion. I am weary of it, and ſhall only add that part of the Panegyrick, which one would take Lord *Mulgrave* to be the moſt competent Judge of, it relating to Wit: *He was witty in all Converſations, and telling a Story ſo well, that not out of Flattery, but for the Pleaſure of hearing it, we uſed to ſeem ignorant of what he had repeated to us ten times before.* P. 613. Quite contrary to this, Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *He went over his Stories ſo often and ſo copiouſly, that all thoſe who had been accuſtom'd to them grew weary of them, and when he enter'd on them they uſually withdrew.* Nay, his Story-telling occaſion'd this Repartee from *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*; *I wonder to ſee a Man have ſo good a Memory as to repeat the ſame Story without loſing the ſame Circumſtances, and yet not remember he had told it to the ſame Perſons the very Day before.* Lord *Mulgrave*, *He was of a merciful Diſpoſition.* Biſhop *Burnet*, P. 612. *He ſeem'd to have no Bowels, or Tenderneſs in his Nature.* Enough ſure to ſhew what the Earl of *Mulgrave*'s Character of him is, as finely as it is introduc'd by the Archdeacon, *drawn by the ingenious Pen of the Earl of* Mulgrave, *a Perſon of ſufficient Skill and Acquaintance.* One might be very pleaſant with both of them upon it, but it is not a place for it: I ſhall conclude all concerning this Prince with the Character given of him by the ſeveral Parties in *England*, copy'd from the *Introduction* to Lord *Mulgrave*'s Character of him.

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Printed by Baldwin 1696. *The* Papiſts *Character of King* Charles.

" The *Roman Catholicks* cannot deny his ma-
" ny good Offices to them and their Church;
" yet they accuſe him of Cowardice and Diſſi-
" mulation, as having play'd faſt and looſe with
" them, and they were therefore impatient to
" have his Brother on the Throne.

High-Church *Character of him.*

" The *high-flown Churchmen* did mightily
" admire him, Mr. Archdeacon *knows whom the Author means perfectly well*, " becauſe he re-
" ſtor'd them to their ancient Dignities, and
" made them Lords Paramount to all other Par-
" ties; ſo that they would neither ſee any of
" his Faults when he was alive, nor will they
" hear of them now he's dead, *for the* perſecu-
" ting *Acts he paſs'd in their favour.*

The Cavaliers *Character of him.*

" The *Cavaliers* were ſome of them very well
" pleas'd, and others of them as highly diſguſted
" with his Conduct, according as he anſwer'd or
" diſappointed their Expectations. And it was
" very obſervable, that his Couſin Prince *Rupert*
" the Cavalier-General, with many of thoſe who
" had fought for his Father, did at laſt grow
" diſſatisfy'd with his Adminiſtration.

Tories *Character of him.*

" The *Tories* ador'd him for advancing the
" Prerogative, and giving them the Aſcendant
" over the *Whigs*, whom they proſecuted for
" their Lives, Reputations and Eſtates.

Whigs *Character of him.*

" The *Whigs*, tho' many of them had a Per-
" ſonal Eſteem for him, were never contented
" with his Adminiſtration, and generally enter-
" tain'd this Character of him: That he gave
" himſelf up to all ſenſual Pleaſures without
" Controul, and was irreconcilable to any who
" interrupted his Luſts. That he debauch'd the
" Nation more in its Manners, than ever any
" other King did before him. That he ſquan-
" der'd away the ancient Revenues of the Crown,
" which were eſteem'd ſacred, and left ſuch a
" Debt upon it as was never before heard of.
" That he proſtituted his Majeſty, by being a
" Penſioner to *France*, and advanc'd the Power
" of that Monarch to the endangering of the Li-
" berties of *Europe*. That he imbroil'd his own
" Subjects in inteſtine Feuds, and did ſo viciate
" all publick Offices both ſacred, civil, and mi-
" litary with Bribery and Corruption, as it will
" be hard to reform them. That he was un-
" grateful to the Nation for their Loyalty and the
" incredible Sums which they pour'd upon him.
" That he leſſen'd the Reputation and Strength
" of the Kingdom, over-turn'd the Laws, and
" invaded the Properties of his Subjects.

The Diſſenters *Character of him.*

" The *Diſſenters* again ſcarcely afford him one
" good word, but attribute all the Corruption of
" our Morals to the ill Conduct of his Reign
" and his own bad Example. They charge him
" with advancing the Intereſt of the *Church of*
" *Rome*, and as having been an open Fautor of
" *Hobbiſm*, *Deiſm*, &c. They charge him alſo
" with the greateſt Perjuries that ever were
" heard of; as the Breach of the *Solemn League*
" and *Covenant*, and his Declaration from *Bre-*
" *da*. They complain of his having weaken'd
" the Proteſtant Intereſt in the Nation, by ſet-
" ting one Party of Proteſtants to deſtroy the
" other, and expoſing all Piety and Seriouſneſs
" to Ridicule. They upbraid his Memory with
" his Whoredoms, which has ſo much infected
" the Youth of the Nation, and is attended by
" ſuch diſmal Conſequences."

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, During the REIGN of King JAMES II.

A. D. 1685.

MR. Acrchdeacon begins this Reign with a very falſe flattering Character of the King, which is eaſily prov'd, by comparing it with Biſhop *Burnet*'s, and it will be found to agree with the Biſhop's, as his Account of the King's being proclaim'd agrees with my Lord of *Sarum*'s. Echard, *The* Proclamation *was read and ſolemniz'd in all the moſt uſual Places in the City of* London; *all People began now to wipe their Eyes, and to dry up thoſe Tears they had ſo plentifully ſhed; and all Heats and Prejudices againſt the late Duke of* York *ſeem'd to have been loſt and ſwallow'd up amidſt the loud Acclamations of the People.* Biſhop *Burnet*, "The *Proclamation* was a heavy So- "lemnity, few Tears were ſhed for the former, "nor were there any Shouts of Joy for the pre- "ſent King; a dead Silence follow'd it thro' "the Streets." The *Archdeacon*'s Hiſtory of King *James*'s Reign, is all much of a piece with this for Sincerity and Truth. When the Privy-Counſellors return'd from proclaiming him, he made a Speech to them, *That he was reſolved to* defend *and* maintain *the* Church of England, *and to preſerve the Government in Church and State as eſtabliſh'd by Law:* Which, ſays *Echard*, gave *great Satisfaction.* And, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, "The Pulpits of *England* were full of it, and "of Thankſgivings for it. It was magnify'd as "a Security far greater than any that Laws could "give. The common Phraſe was, *We have now the "Word of a King, and a Word never yet broken.*" He had broken his Word to God in abjuring the Proteſtant Religion, in which he was baptized and bred; yet *Echard* will have it, *the ſtrict Obſervance of his Faith* acquir'd him the Title of *James the Juſt*, the Beauty of which is only in the jingling of the *Initials*. I ſhall not dwell much on Matters in this Reign, the Remembrance of which I ſtill keep with Abhorrence. Hints only muſt do for Facts, that there may be the more room for Reflections.

King proclaim'd.

His Speech.

The King was proclaim'd at *Edinburgh* and *Dublin*, as he had been at *London*. All Officers were by Proclamation continu'd in their Offices: And then comes the Archdeacon's pompous Account of the Funeral of the late King, of which, and of his Corpſe, I beg leave to repeat ſome things after the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, to ſhew the *Gratitude* and Piety of *James the Juſt*. *He did not lie in State, no Mournings were given, and the Expence of it was not equal to what an ordinary*

King Charles's Funeral and Corpſe.

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nary Nobleman's Funeral will riſe to. Many upon this ſaid, that he deſerv'd better from his Brother, than to be thus ungratefully treated.

King James ungrateful to him.

Fulſome Addreſſes were every Day, and almoſt every Hour of the Day, preſented to the new Monarch; two of them were very remarkable ones, that from the *Middle Temple* thank'd his Majeſty for taking the Cuſtoms contrary to Law, It was preſented by that upright Perſon Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, Son of Col. *Mackworth*, who ſhut the Gates of *Shrewsbury* againſt the late King, and Mr. *Bartholomew Shower*, Brother to Mr. *John Shower*, the noted diſſenting Miniſter.

He ſeizes the Cuſtoms.

Addreſſes.

The other moſt remarkable Addreſs came from the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who promis'd to obey the King *without Limitations or Reſtrictions*; but Thanks be to Heaven, they were not as good as their word. The King's Promiſe paſt for a thing ſo ſacred, that they were look'd on as ill bred who put in their Addreſs our Religion *eſtabliſh'd by Law*, which look'd like a Tie on the King to maintain it, whereas the Stile of the more courtly was to put all our Security upon the King's Promiſe. The Clergy of *London* added a Word to this in their Addreſs, *Our Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law, dearer to us than our Lives.* This had ſuch an Inſinuation in it as made it very unacceptable; ſome follow'd their Example, but this was mark'd to be remember'd againſt thoſe that had ſo menacing a Form.

The reverend Clergy of *London* began early to bear their Teſtimony againſt the Advances which Popery was making; but the Country Clergy of the minor Orders continu'd their Rage againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters, which made them blind to any Danger from the Papiſts. Soon after the late King's Death, the new King caus'd *Huddleſton* the Prieſt to declare and publiſh that his Brother King *Charles* dy'd a Papiſt, and had receiv'd the *extreme Vunction*, *Euchariſt*, and all the Popiſh *Viaticums*. There were alſo found in his *ſtrong Box* two Papers, which King *James* and the Duke of *Ormond* witneſs'd were the King's own Hand-writing. The noble Argument was to prove the Neceſſity of an infallible *viſible Church-Guide*, which could be no other than the Church of *Rome*, which is handled as merrily as in *Mouſe Montagu*'s Anſwer to *Bays*'s *Hind* and *Panther*, as for the *Nonſenſe*, tho' the Air is more grave and ſolemn: The King publiſh'd them himſelf, as if his pious Brother had written them by his own Study, tho' the Impoſture appear'd plainly by the Quotations out of Scripture, which Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us *he never read, but to make a Jeſt of it; all who knew him did without any ſort of doubting conclude that he never compos'd them.* This is *James* the *Juſt*, who deals ſo treacherouſly with the Memory of his Brother; this is the King of his Word. The *ſecond Sunday* after he came to the Throne, he, to the Surprize of the whole Court, went openly to Maſs, and ſent *Caryl* to *Reme* with Letters to the Pope, but without a Character.

King Charles a Papiſt prov'd by King James.

The ſtrong Box.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* was made Lord Treaſurer. This is the ſame Earl of whom the Marquis of *Hallifax* complain'd, that there were Raſures and Leaves cut out in the Treaſury-Books when he was in that Employment, as Commiſſioner, before. The Earl of *Clarendon* his Brother was made Lord Privy Seal. The Biſhop adds, *Rocheſter* on his Advancement became ſo violent and boiſterous, that the whole Court join'd with the Queen, *Mary* of *Modena*, to ſupport the Earl of *Sunderland* as a proper Ballance to him; accordingly he was made Secretary of State, Lord *Godolphin* was made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Marquis of *Hallifax* Preſident of the Council.

Promotions.

The Duke of *Ormond* Lord Steward of the Houſhold.
The Lord Viſcount *Newport* Treaſurer.
The Lord *Maynard* Comptroller.
Henry Savil Eſq; Vicechamberlain.
Henry Bulkeley Eſq; Maſter of the Houſhold.
Sir *Stephen Fox*, Sir *William Boreman*, Sir *Winſtan Churchil*, } Clerks of the Green Cloth.
The Duke of *Beaufort* Lord Preſident of *Wales*.
Thomas Vernon of *London* Eſq; *Marmaduke Dayrel* Eſq; And a Scandal to all Chivalry, *Roger L'Eſtrange*, were made Knights.

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Echard defiles his Hiſtory again with the Merit of this Knighthood, *In Conſideration of his eminent and unſhaken Loyalty to the Crown in all Extremities, and as a Mark of ſingular Satisfaction his Majeſty has in his preſent, as well as paſt Services, with repeated Declarations of his royal Grace and Bounty towards him.* The very Wretch this, of whom the Lord *L*—— ſaid in the Houſe of Peers, *He's one of the greateſt Villains upon Earth, a Rogue beyond my Skill to delineate, he deſerves, of all Men, to be hang'd, and I believe I ſhall live to ſee that be his Fate.* Indeed never Villain was ſo often ſo near the Gallows as he, and yet ſo often eſcap'd it.

S. H. Vol. III. p. 85.

One cannot without Mirth read what *Echard* tells us about this King and his Queen's Coronation on the Day of St. *George* for *England*, *April* 23. *Of the Beauty of the Spectacle of a beautiful Queen*, and of the Medals that were ſtruck upon the King's Victories and Trophies, and of the Crown's tottering on the King's Head; inſomuch, that the Honourable *Henry Sidney* Eſq; Brother to Col. *Sidney*, in whoſe Murder the Duke of *York* was ſo much concern'd, once kept it from falling off, ſaying, *This is not the firſt time that our Family have ſupported the Crown.* The Coronation Oath was now alter'd by Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, as it had been done by Archbiſhop *Laud* for this King's Father. I ſay it notwithſtanding I have *Echard* before me, who pretends to prove that *Laud* made no ſuch Alteration, and his Proof is that King *Charles* the Firſt refuted it, and that as to King *James* II. 'twas only an Aſperſion thrown upon him by Sir *Robert Atkins*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, in an eloquent Speech he made to Sir *William Aſhurſt*, Lord Mayor of *London*, when he was in that Court; and then having put his own Credit into the Scale againſt the Lord Chief Baron, he makes this bold but ſenſeleſs Reflection, *Only we may ſay thus much, that when a known Falſity*, which by the way, is a known Truth, *is join'd with a great Improbability, the latter may as well be ſuppos'd to be a Miſtake as the former is without Doubt and Queſtion.* What a Head he has! becauſe the one Aſſertion is not true, ſuppoſing it as he aſſerts, therefore the other is falſe.

Coronation.

State-Tracts.

The Parliament met in *Scotland* the 28th of *March*, and I ſhall inſert a Paſſage or two of the King's Letter, to ſhew the Delicacy of Thought and Expreſſion. *I am reſolv'd to maintain my Power in its greateſt Luſtre, that I may be the better enabled to defend your Religion againſt phanatical Contrivances, Murtherers, and Aſſaſſins.* Whoever has a mind to ſee the Duke of *Queensbury* the Lord Commiſſioner's Speech, or the Lord Chancellor's the Earl of *Perth*, may find them in the Archdeacon's Book, as alſo the Parliament's Addreſs, promiſing to extirpate all *Fanaticiſm*: And an Act anent *That all ſuch Perſons as being cited in Caſes of High Treaſon, Field or Houſe Conventicles, or Church Irregularities, ſhall refuſe to give Teſtimony, ſhall be liable to be puniſh'd, as guilty of thoſe Crimes reſpectively,*

Scots Parliament. P. 756.

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ſpectively, in which they refus'd to be Witneſſes. Thus, ſays *Echard*, *all things appear'd calm and quiet in* Scotland.

An Hiſtorian muſt have more Temper than I boaſt of, to read the Archdeacon's Relation of *Oates*'s Trial, without wiſhing him ſome Part of his Puniſhment; for tho' he was not butcher'd as *Colledge* was, yet the Infernal Cruelties that were unjuſtly inflicted on him, I am about to prove they were Unjuſt as well as Infernal, make a Man to reflect with Horror on a Writer that could ſpeak of them with Applauſe; and indeed it is very great Pity that other Notice has not, or cannot be taken of it. *This Man*, ſays he, *who had been call'd a Doctor of Divinity, and the Saviour of the Nation, was now look'd upon as a vile wretched Cheat, his Conviction did ſenſibly ſtrike at the Credit of the* Popiſh Plot; *he was ty'd to a Cart, where he made hideous Bellowings, and ſwooned ſeveral Times with the Greatneſs of the Anguiſh; the ſecond Day he was not able to go or ſtand, he was then dragg'd upon a Sledge, where he became a diſmal Spectacle to the People.* To this *Echard* adds ſomething which ſhews the great Delight he took in it, *who could better judge of his Puniſhment than his Crimes.* The infamous *L'Eſtrange* ſaid *Oates* was *ſcandalouſly drunk*, and that was the Reaſon he could not ſtand, and *Echard* copies him. I am ſure the Reader will have need of all his Patience on this occaſion. The Perjury pretended to be prov'd upon *Oates* was twofold, for ſwearing to the Conſult *April* the 24th, when the *St. Omers* Boys ſwore he was in their *College*; and again that *Ireland* was in Town between the 8th and 12th of *Auguſt*, *whereas in Truth*, quoth *Echard*, *he was at that Time, and for ſeveral Days before and after in* Staffordſhire. I have elſewhere prov'd this to be as falſe as ever any thing came from the Father of Falſhood, to which I muſt add another Proof, that *Oates* was in Town the 24th of *April* was prov'd by Sir *Richard Barker*, Mr. *Walker* a Miniſter, Mr. *Page*, Mr. *Clay* a *Romiſh* Prieſt, Mrs. *Mayo*, *Sarah Ives*, Mr. *Smith*, *Oates*'s Schoolmaſter, and *Butler*, Sir *Richard Barker*'s Coachman.

Oates's *unjuſt and cruel Puniſhment.*

Coke, *p.* 328.

That *Ireland* was in Town between the 8th and 12th of *Auguſt* was ſworn by *Sarah Payne*; and Mr. *Jeniſon* hearing *Ireland* deny'd his being then in Town, when the other knew that he was, it ſo diſguſted him at a Religion that allow'd lying with a Man's laſt Words, that he who was before a Papiſt turn'd Proteſtant, and declar'd it upon Oath at Lord *Stafford*'s Trial, which he confirm'd when he was dying. Of theſe Things, Hints have been already given, what follows is new Evidence.

P. 330. One Mr. *Hinton*, a Goldſmith in *Lombard-ſtreet*, was *Ireland*'s Caſhier: and Mr. *Hinton* going out of Town between the 8th and 12th of *Auguſt* 1678. met *Ireland* at or about *Barnet*, coming from *London*, when *Ireland* told him he had extraordinary occaſion for Money, urging *Hinton* to go back with him; but *Hinton* ſaid his Man could do *Ireland*'s Buſineſs as well as himſelf, and his Affairs would not permit him to go back. Mr. *Coke* ask'd Mr. *Hinton* the Truth of this, to which he evaded giving a direct Anſwer; but it is enter'd in *Hinton*'s Caſh-Book, paid to Mr. *Ireland*'s own Hands, whereas the other Entries are paid to his Order; and Mr. *Hinton*'s Man offer'd to ſwear he paid thoſe Moneys to *Ireland* himſelf. *Hinton* afterwards failing, a Commiſſion of Bankrupt was ſued againſt him, and his Books of Account were deliver'd, and kept at *Vernon*'s Coffee-Houſe behind the *Exchange*, where any one might have ſeen the Entry paid to *Ireland* himſelf. Mr. *Coke* adds, *I am ſure* Hinton *was in Court to have teſtify'd this at* Oates's *Trial, but was terrify'd from it for fear of being undone.*

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Echard, on the Evidence of Popiſh perjur'd Wretches, and contrary to all this, repeats again, *He who was ſtil'd* the Saviour of the Nation, *was now treated as the moſt vile and profligate Impoſtor.* The infamous *Jefferies*, carefully copied by him, told the Jury, *There does not remain the leaſt Doubt but that* Oates *is the blackeſt and moſt perjur'd Villain that ever appear'd upon the Face of the Earth*; he would have excepted himſelf, if his Impudence had not been equal to his Villainy. Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Henry Pollexfen*, Lords Chief Juſtices, Sir *Robert Atkins* Lord Chief Baron, with ſix Judges more, being all that were then in the Houſe of Lords, unanimouſly declar'd to their Lordſhips, *May* the 25th 1689. *That the Judgments againſt* Oates *were contrary to Law and antient Practice, and therefore erroneous, and ought to be revers'd*; inſtead of which, *Echard* tells us, *The Lords could not be prevail'd on to blanch his Reputation*, it is all the Wit he has, *or reſtore him to the Capacity of being an Evidence*; but he would not tell us that

Lords for Oates.

The Duke of *Bolton*,
The Earl of *Macclesfield*,
The Earl of *Bridgwater*,
The Earl of *Bolingbroke*,
The Earl of *Stamford*,
The Earl of *Bath*,
The Earl of *Oxford*,
The Lord *Wharton*,
The Lord *Grey*,
The Lord *Cornwallis*,
The Lord *Herbert*,
The Lord *Vaughan*,
The Lord *Eure*,

were for *blanching his Reputation*, and among other Reaſons had theſe: "Becauſe the ſaid "Judgments are barbarouſly inhuman and un-"chriſtian, and there is no Precedent to war-"rant the Puniſhment of whipping, and com-"mitting to Priſon for Life, for the Crime of "Perjury, which yet were but one Part of the "Puniſhments inflicted upon him, becauſe the "principal Matters upon which theſe Indict-"ments were founded, were the Points objected "againſt Mr. *Oates*'s Teſtimony in ſeveral "Trials, in which he was allow'd to be a good "and credible Witneſs, tho' teſtify'd againſt him "by moſt of the ſame Perſons who witneſs'd a-"gainſt him upon theſe two Indictments, *&c.*"

Danger-field whip'd and murther'd.

In the Puniſhment of Mr. *Thomas Dangerfield* there was the ſame diabolical Cruelty as in *Oates*'s Caſe; 'twas for writing and publiſhing that very Narrative, which was printed by Order of the Houſe of Commons. The Court will be brought to a Reckoning for theſe things before we have done with them, ſo we may ſpare Reflection. The compleat Hiſtorian, who was a greater Dignitary than even Mr. Archdeacon, writes thus of *Dangerfield*, *In his Return from* Tyburn *towards* Newgate *after his whipping, being in a Coach he had reproachful Words given him by one* Robert Francis, *a virulent Papiſt, and was run by him into the Eye with a Tuck at the End of a* Cane, *of which he dy'd ſoon after.* Francis hang'd for it.

'Tis true *Francis* was hang'd for it, but *Echard* does what he can to *blanch* his Reputation; inſtead of a *virulent Papiſt*, he atteſts, *he was an obedient Son of the Church of* England; inſtead of a Tuck at the End of a Cane, he ſays 'twas a *ſmall Bambow*, and a Stroak *over the Eye*; but he is forc'd to correct that, and own 'twas into the Eye, becauſe it affected his Brain. Biſhop *Burnet* calls *Francis* a *brutal Student of the Law*, inſtead of which the Archdeacon ſays, *he led a quiet inoffenſive Life.* 'Tis very plain that this Action was very grateful to him, or he would not have falſify'd the Story in favour of ſuch a Villain as *Francis*.

About

A. D. 1685. About the ſame time, the latter end of *May*, the pious, reverend, learned and eminent Mr. *Richard Baxter* was a brought to a Trial on an Information againſt him in the King's Bench before that deteſtable Monſter *Jefferies*, for whoſe Infamy there is nothing in the Dregs of Language too foul. He was thrown into Jail the 28th of *February*, and kept there till the 30th of *May*, when he was brought to the King's Bench Bar, accompany'd by Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*. His Counſel having before mov'd for Time, *Jefferies* cry'd out in a Fury, *I will not give him a Minute's time more to ſave his Life. We have had to do with other ſorts of Perſons, but now we have a Saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners; yonder ſtands* Oates *in the Pillory, and he ſays he ſuffers for the Truth, and ſo ſays* Baxter; *but if* Baxter *did but ſtand on the other ſide of the Pillory with him, I would ſay two of the greateſt* Rogues *and* Raſcals *in the Kingdom ſtood there.* The *Cerberus! Jefferies* no ſooner came into Court, than he ſate down with great Indignation in his Face. A ſhort Cauſe being call'd and try'd, the Clerk began to read the Title of another. *You Blockhead you,* cries Jefferies, *the next Cauſe is between* Richard Baxter *and the King.* The Paſſages mention'd in the Information were pick'd out of Mr. *Baxter*'s *Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament* by *Roger L'Eſtrange.* And as we read in Dr. *Calamy*, a *certain noted Clergyman put into the hands of his Enemies ſome Accuſations out of* Romans 13, *as againſt the King, to touch his Life, but no uſe was made of them.* The great Charge was, that in theſe ſeveral Paſſages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and ſo was guilty of Sedition, *&c.* The King's Counſel open'd the Information at large, with its Aggravations. Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Rotheram*, Mr. *Phipps*, and Mr. *Atwood* were Mr. *Baxter*'s Counſel, and had been feed by Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*. Mr. *Wallop* ſaid, " I conceive the Matter de-
" pending being a Point of Doctrine, it ought to
" be refer'd to the Biſhop his Ordinary: But if
" not, I humbly conceive the Doctrine is inno-
" cent and juſtifiable, ſetting aſide the *Innuen-*
" *do's*, for which there is no colour, there being
" no Antecedent to refer to; *i. e.* no Biſhop or
" Clergy of the Church of *England* nam'd.
" The Book accus'd, *i. e.* the Comment on the
" New Teſtament, contains many eternal Truths,
" but they who drew the Information are the
" Libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the
" Church of *England* thoſe ſevere things which
" were written concerning ſome Prelates, who
" deſerv'd the Characters which he gave. My
" Lord, I humbly conceive the Biſhops Mr.
" *Baxter* ſpeaks of, as your Lordſhip, if you
" have read Church-Hiſtory, muſt confeſs,
" were the Plagues of the Church and of the
" World." *Jefferies* then interrupted him thus, *Mr.* Wallop, *I obſerve you are in all theſe dirty Cauſes; and were it not for you, Gentlemen of the Long Robe, who ſhould have more Wit and Honeſty, that ſupport and hold up theſe* factious Knaves *by the* Chin, *we ſhould not be at the Paſs we are.* " My Lord, ſays Mr. *Wallop*,
" I humbly conceive, that the Paſſages accus'd
" are natural Deductions from the Text." *You humbly conceive*, ſays *Jefferies*; *and I humbly conceive, ſwear him, ſwear him.* Mr. *Wallop*,
" Under Favour I am Counſel for the Defen-
" dant; and if I underſtand either *Latin* or
" *Engliſh*, the Information now brought againſt
" Mr. *Baxter*, upon ſuch a ſlight Ground, is a
" greater Reflection upon the Church of *Eng-*
" *land*, than any thing contain'd in the Book
" he's accus'd for." *Jefferies* cut him ſhort,

Mr. Baxter's Trial.

Sometimes you humbly conceive, and ſometimes you are very poſitive: you talk of your Skill in Church-Hiſtory, and of your underſtanding Latin *and* Engliſh; *I think I underſtand ſomething of them as well as you; but, in ſhort, muſt tell you, That if you don't underſtand your Duty better, I ſhall teach it you.* Upon which Mr. *Wallop* ſat down. Mr. *Rotheram* urg'd, That if Mr. *Baxter*'s Book had ſharp Reflections upon the Church of *Rome* by Name, but ſpake well of the Prelates of the Church of *England*, it was to be preſum'd, that the ſharp Reflections were intended only againſt the Prelates of the Church of *Rome*. *Jefferies* ſaid, *Baxter is an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and Perſons of Biſhops.* Mr. *Rotheram* added, Mr. *Baxter* frequently attends Divine Service, goes to the Sacrament, and perſuades others to do ſo too, as is certainly and publickly known, and has in the very Book ſo charg'd, ſpoken very moderately and honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Baxter* ſpoke, *My Lord, I have been ſo moderate, with reſpect to the Church of* England, *that I have incurr'd the Cenſure of many of the* Diſſenters *upon that account.* Baxter *for Biſhops*, cries *Jefferies*, *That's a merry Conceit indeed! Turn to it, turn to it.* Mr. *Rotheram* turn'd to a Place, where 'tis ſaid, *That great Reſpect is due to thoſe truly call'd to be Biſhops amongſt us*, or to that purpoſe. Ay, ſays *Jefferies*, *This is your* Presbyterian Cant, *truly call'd to be Biſhops*; that is, himſelf and ſuch Raſcals *call'd to be Biſhops of* Kidderminſter, *and other ſuch Places, Biſhops ſet apart by ſuch factious, ſniveling Presbyterians as himſelf. A* Kidderminſter *Biſhop he means, according to the Saying of a late learned Author, and every Pariſh ſhall maintain a Tithe-Pig Metropolitan.* Mr. *Baxter* beginning to ſpeak again, *Jefferies* ſaid, " *Richard*,
" *Richard*, doſt thou think we'll hear thee
" poiſon the Court, *&c. Richard*, thou art
" an old Fellow, an old Knave; thou haſt
" written Books enough to load a Cart, every
" one as full of Sedition, I might ſay of Trea-
" ſon, as an Egg is full of Meat. *The dull Beaſt!* " Hadſt thou been whipp'd out of thy
" writing Trade forty Years ago, it had been
" happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a Preacher of
" the Goſpel of Peace; and thou haſt one foot
" in the Grave, 'tis time for thee to begin to
" think what account thou intendeſt to give.
" But leave thee to thyſelf, and I ſee thou'lt go
" on as thou haſt begun. I know thou haſt a
" mighty Party, and I ſee a great many of the
" Brotherhood in Corners waiting to ſee what
" will become of their mighty Don, and a
" Doctor of the Party, *looking to Dr.* Bates, at
" your Elbow; but by the Grace of Almighty
" God, I'll *cruſh you all.*" Mr. *Rotheram* ſitting down, Mr. *Atwood* began to ſhew, that not one of the Paſſages mention'd in the Information ought to be ſtrain'd to that Senſe, which was put upon them by the *Innuendo's*; they being natural when taken in a milder Senſe. Nor could any one of them be apply'd to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, without a very forc'd Conſtruction. To evidence this, he would have read ſome of the Texts; but *Jefferies* cry'd out, *You ſhan't draw me into a Conventicle with your Annotations, nor your ſniveling Parſon neither.* My Lord, ſays *Atwood*,
" I conceive this to be expreſsly within *Roſwell's*
" Caſe, lately before your Lordſhip." *You conceive*, cries Jefferies, *you conceive amiſs.* Mr. *Atwood* went on, " My Lord, that I may uſe
" the beſt Authority, permit me to repeat your
" Lordſhip's own Words in that Caſe." *No, you*

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ſhan't, ſays Jefferies, *you need not ſpeak, for you are an Author already, tho' you ſpeak and write impertinently.* Says *Atwood*, "I can't help "that, my Lord, if my Talent be no better; "but it is my Duty to do my beſt for my Cli- "ent." Then *Jefferies* bellow'd againſt *Atwood*'s Writings; and *Atwood* juſtify'd what he had written to be in Defence of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, declaring he had never diſown'd any thing he had written. *Jefferies*, ſeveral times, order'd him to ſit down, but he ſtill went on, ſaying, "My Lord, I have a Matter of Law to "offer for my Client, &c. he cited ſeveral Caſes "wherein it had been adjudged, That Words "ought to be taken in the milder Senſe, and "not to be ſtrain'd by *Innuendo's*." *Well*, cries *Jefferies*, when he had done, *you have had your Say.* Mr. *Williams* and Mr. *Phipps* ſaid nothing, for they ſaw 'twas to no purpoſe. At length Mr. *Baxter* himſelf ſaid, "My Lord, I think I can "eaſily anſwer all that is laid to my Charge, "and I ſhall do it briefly; the Sum is contain'd "in theſe few Papers, to which I ſhall add a "little by Teſtimony." But he would not hear a Word, and proceeded to direct the Jury in a long railing Harangue, which would have been a Scandal to *Whitechapel* Court, where this Brute was once a bawling, ſtarving Petty-Fogger. *'Tis notoriouſly known, there has been a Deſign to ruin the King and the Nation, the old Game has been renew'd, and this has been the main Incendiary. He is as modeſt now as can be. But Time was, when no Man was ſo ready at*, Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron; and *to your Tents*, O Iſrael. *Gentlemen, for God's ſake, don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age*, &c. He told the Jury in the Concluſion, That if they in their Conſciences believ'd he meant the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, in the Paſſages which the Information referr'd to, they muſt find him *guilty*, and he could mean no Man elſe; if not, they muſt find him *not guilty*. When he had done, Mr. *Baxter* ſaid, *Does your Lordſhip think any Jury will pretend to paſs a Verdict on me upon ſuch a Trial? I'll warrant you, Mr.* Baxter, ſaid he, *don't you trouble yourſelf about that.* The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar, and found him *guilty*. As he was going away, Mr. *Baxter* told *Jefferies*, *A Predeceſſor of yours had other Thoughts of me. Jefferies* reply'd, *There is not an honeſt Man in* England *but what takes you for a great Knave.* He had *ſubpœna'd* ſeveral Clergymen, who were in Court, but were of no uſe to him thro' the Rage of the wicked unjuſt Judge. The Trial being over, Sir *Henry Aſhurſt* led Mr. *Baxter* thro' the Croud, and convey'd him away in his Coach. On the 29th of *June* Judgment was given againſt him to pay 500 Marks, and to lie in Goal till he paid it. *Echard* ſays, in excuſe of this Injuſtice and Violence, *There were Reaſons and Provocations for it*, to puniſh an innocent Man.

Mr. Baxter *found guilty.*

And fin'd 500 Marks

We have ſeen how *Echard* magnifies King *James* for being a *King* of his Word, *James the Juſt*. Was the following Inſtance out of Biſhop *Burnet* a Proof of it? Some days after his coming to the Crown, he promis'd the Queen and his Prieſts, that he would ſee his Concubine Mrs. *Sidley* no more: This juſt Monarch living in a Courſe of Adultery with Sir *Charles Sidley*'s Daughter, whom he had debauch'd. Orders were ſent to Mrs. *Sidley* to leave her Lodgings in *Whitehall*, yet he ſtill continu'd a ſecret Commerce with her.

The King not a King of his Word.

A Parliament call'd

The King having ſummon'd a Parliament to meet the 19th of *May*, the Archdeacon introduces it with an account of the Elections, which is, to Aſtoniſhment, full of Falſhood. "Peo- "ples Minds were fill'd with Expectations and "Longings for the Meeting of the Parliament, "and the Fate of the Nation ſeem'd to depend "on that Aſſembly, which was to ſupport it "in this difficult Juncture. In order to this "grand Buſineſs, the Elections were generally "carry'd on and compleated with the moſt un- "common Coolneſs, Diſcretion and Unanimity; "and notwithſtanding the unjuſtifiable model- "ling ſo many Corporations ſince the laſt Par- "liament, there never was a Houſe of Commons "more able and more induſtrious in preſerving "the Happineſs of the King, the Nation and "the *Church*." 'Tis for the ſake of the laſt, directly contrary to Truth, he gives us this Account of the Elections. Now read Biſhop *Burnet*: "All Arts were us'd to manage Elec- "tions, ſo that the King ſhould have a Parlia- "ment to his mind. Complaints came up from "all the Parts of *England* of the Injuſtice and "Violence us'd in Elections, beyond what had "ever been practiſed in former Times; and "this was ſo univerſal over the whole Nation, "that no Corner of it was neglected. In the "new Charters that had been granted, the E- *Irregularly choſen.* "lection of the Members was taken out of the "hands of the Inhabitants, and reſtrain'd to the "Corporation-Men, all thoſe being left out, who "were not acceptable to the Court. In ſome "Boroughs they could not find a number of "Men to be depended on, ſo the neighbouring "Gentlemen were made the Corporation-Men; "and, in ſome of them, Perſons of other Coun- "ties, not ſo much as known in the Borough, "were nam'd. This was practis'd in the moſt "avow'd manner in *Cornwal* by the Earl of "*Bath*, who put the Officers of the Guards "Names in almoſt all the Charters of that Coun- "ty, which ſending up forty-four Members, they "were for the moſt part ſo choſen, that the "King was ſure of their Votes on all Occaſions. *Echard* again, "It conſiſted, for the moſt "part, of the richeſt and wiſeſt Men of the King- "dom." Biſhop *Burnet* again, "They were "neither Men of Parts nor Eſtates." *Echard*, "There were 55 of noble Families, 95 Baro- "nets, 96 Knights; the reſt were commonly "Gentlemen of the beſt Intereſt, Credit and "Knowledge in their Countries." Biſhop *Burnet*, "Having neither Riches nor Parts, there "was no hope left, either of working on their "Underſtandings, or of making them ſee their "Intereſt. This gave all thinking Men a me- "lancholy Proſpect. *England* now ſeem'd loſt, "unleſs ſome happy Accident ſhould ſave it. "All People ſaw the way for packing a Par- "liament." Further, as to *Echard*'s carrying the Elections with *uncommon Coolneſs, Diſcretion and Unanimity*, ſee what as good a Churchman as himſelf, Sir *Edward Seymour* ſaid in a Speech about the *Petitions*. "The Complaints *Not a true Repreſen-* "of the Irregularities in Elections are ſo great, *tative.* "that many doubt whether this is a true Re- "preſentative of the Nation or not? Little E- "quity is expected upon Petitions, where ſo "many are too guilty to judge juſtly and impar- "tially. It concerns us to look to theſe." *Coke* ſays, *The King told the Members, ſuch as they were.* And again, *The Parliament of King James*, if it be worthy to be call'd ſo; yet does Mr. Archdeacon give a Liſt of fifty or ſixty of them, as a Sample of their Wiſdom; as *Robert Brady*, M. D. Parliament-Man for *Cambridge*; Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, Parliament Man for *Oxford*; Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, Sir *Peter Rich*, Sir *William Pritchard*, Sir *John Moor*, Mr. *Theophilus*

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lus Ogletborp, Sir *John Fenwick*, Mr. *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, Lord *Huntingtour*; but he omits ſeveral others, as Sir *Roger Strickland*, Mr. *Edward Yard*, Mr. *William Weſtbrook*, Sir *Dudley North*, Mr. *Richard Anderſon*, Mr. *John Baſſet*, Mr. *John Loader*, Mr. *Lemuel Kingdon*, Mr. *Edward Warring*, Mr. *Humphry Nicholas*, Mr. *James Griffin*, Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Mr. *Hugh Hodges*, Mr. *Thomas Chaffin*, Mr. *Roger Pope*, Sir *Richard Crump*, Mr. *Thomas Hacket*, Mr. *Thomas Webb*, Mr. *Henry Lee*, Mr. *Hugh Longford*, Mr. *Robert Welden*, Mr. *George Gunter*, Sir *Dennis Hampſon*, Mr. *Edward Baldwyn*, Mr. *Roger Pomeroy*, Mr. *Arthur Farewel*, Mr. *Robert Clarges*, Mr. *Daniel Laurence*, Mr. *Charles Fox*, Mr. *Walter Grubb*, Mr. *Edward Miller*, Mr. *William Chapman*, Mr. *Roger North*, Mr. *James Walker*, Sir *Thomas Higgons*, Mr. *Simon Smith*, Sir *George Woodroſe*, Sir *George Vernon*, Mr. *John Eldred*, Mr. *Thomas Geers*, Mr. *Thomas Lambert*, Sir *Edward Philips*, Mr. *Henry Criſp*, Mr. *John Conock*, Mr. *William Snead*, Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon*, Mr. *Robert Holmes*, Sir *Simon Leach*, Mr. *George Legg*, Mr. *Thomas Coates*, Mr. *Thomas Craddock*, Mr. *John Parſons*, Mr. *John Pepys*, Sir *Richard Haddock*, Sir *Benjamin Newland*, Sir *Peter Daniel*, Mr. *John Sandford*, Mr. *John Bere*, Mr. *William Coleman*, Mr. *Joſeph Sawle*, Mr. *John Holloway*, Mr. *John Stone*, Mr. *George Reeves*, Mr. *Charles Bonithon*, Mr. *Charles Hanſes*, Mr. *Richard Graham*, Mr. *William Cheffinch*, Mr. *John Friend*, Mr. *John Wagſtaffe*. Men, ſays *Echard*, of the beſt Intereſt, Credit and Knowledge in their Countries. The King's Speech to them was much the ſame as that he had made to the Privy-Council, only he requir'd them to ſettle the Cuſtoms and temporary Exciſe upon him, but he had taken both before they gave them, and call'd them by that Title, *His Revenue. And this Parliament, if they were worthy to be call'd a Parliament*, ſays *Coke*, *being made to his hand, he might do and ſay to them what he pleas'd.* Which he did, aſſuming the ſame Airs as a *Boris*, or an *Abdelmelek* would have done on the ſame occaſion, if there had ever been a Parliament at *Morocco* or *Moſcow*, and probably the Senators would have been juſt ſuch another Repreſentative. Sir *John Trevor* was choſen Speaker, the ſame who was afterwards expell'd the Houſe of Commons for Bribery. The King told them in his Speech, he had heard of *Argyle*'s landing in *Scotland*, and that he would take care the *Rebellion ſhould meet with the Reward it deſerv'd.* The Commons thank'd the King for his moſt gracious Speech, and immediately order'd a Bill of his Revenue to be brought in by Mr. *Finch*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf at Lord *Ruſſel*'s Trial by *ſcribere eſt agere*, and ſome People call'd him ſo ever after. This Money-Bill encreas'd the Revenue to above two Millions a Year, according to *Echard*, whoſe Informations were very imperfect. His Revenue was much more. The Cuſtoms alone were 800000 Pounds a Year, and the other Branches of his Revenue amounted to 1600000 Pounds a Year, which with his own Revenue as Duke of *York*, being 150000 Pounds *per Ann.* roſe the whole annual Receipt to 2550000 Pounds a Year, three times as much as ever any King of *England* had before *Charles* II. The Houſe of Lords order'd the Impeachments againſt the Earl of *Tyrone*, the Earl of *Danby*, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, to be annull'd, four Lords only diſſenting, the Earls of *Radnor*, *Angleſea*, *Clare* and *Stamford*. There was alſo a Bill brought into the Houſe of Peers, to reverſe the Attainder of the Lord *Stafford*; againſt which the Earls of *Angleſea* and *Radnor* and other Peers proteſted, and gave ſo good Reaſons for it, that 'tis ſtrange it ſhould ever have paſt through that Houſe to the Houſe of Commons, as *Echard* tells us it did. But Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, *It ſtuck with the Lords, and would not go down.*

The King's great Revenue.

Coke, *p.* 337.

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The Houſe of Commons, if, as *Coke* ſays, they deſerve to be ſo call'd, were readier to give Money than the King to ask it; and to make the moſt of ſuch an Aſſembly, the Courtiers projected many Laws to ruin all that oppos'd their Deſigns. The moſt important of theſe was, an Act declaring *Treaſons* during this Reign, by which Words were made to be Treaſon, and the Clauſe was ſo drawn, that any thing ſaid to diſparage the King's Perſon or Government, was made Treaſon, within which, every thing ſaid to the Diſhonour of the King's Religion, would have been comprehended, as Judges and Juries were then modell'd. This was chiefly oppos'd by Sergeant *Maynard*, who, in a very grave Speech, laid open the Inconvenience of making Words Treaſon, and what he ſaid made ſome Impreſſion. But it is thought, if the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing had not ſhorten'd the Seſſion, that and every thing elſe, which the Courtiers were projecting, would have paſs'd. *Never was greater Harmony*, ſays *Echard*, *between the King and the People; never were more fair Promiſes on one ſide, nor greater Generoſity on the other.* A ſlaviſh Submiſſion to the imperious Commands of an arbitrary Prince, he calls *Harmony*; a vile Profuſion of the Nation's Treaſure, without the leaſt Appearance of Neceſſity or Reaſon, he calls *Generoſity*; and all for the ſake of this odious Vote, *May* the 27th, *That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to deſire him to iſſue forth his Royal Proclamation, to cauſe the Penal Laws to be put in Execution againſt* Diſſenters *from the Church of* England. As long as there is any ſuch Faction alive, ſo long are they ſure of his Applauſe, and this King will have his beſt Word. Let him do what he will with every one and every thing elſe, provided *Perſecution* has ſtill her Claws on *Proteſtant* Diſſenters. Biſhop *Burnet* ſaw what this fatal Agreement between King *James* and his pack'd Parliament would come to, and tells us, 'twas happy for *England* that they ſat no longer in the firſt Seſſions; for the King doing every thing to provoke a Proteſtant and Free Parliament, even this Parliament grew at laſt a little reſty.

A tyrannical Act offer'd.

But while they were in extaſy for the Bleſſings they expected from him, they gave him new Duties on *Sugars* and *Tobacco*, which he ſaid he would only make Trial of, and if he found them injurious to his Plantations, he would not take them; contrary to which, this King of his Word, had perpetual Complaints from the Plantations, that thoſe Duties would ruin them, yet he made uſe of that Money as long as he had a Penny of the publick Treaſure to receive. Of this I am my ſelf a Witneſs, and know as much of the Matter as any other Perſon can.

Earl of Argyle's Expedition in Scotland.

Having mention'd the Earl of *Argyle*'s being in *Scotland*, I ſhall obſerve, that his Lordſhip had offer'd to join with any powerful Body that would appear in *Scotland* or *England* againſt the Tyranny of the Times, two Years before this, if he could be advanc'd 8000 Pounds, and 1000 Horſe were ſent to *Scotland*; but as all Motions of that kind were Embrio's, ſo nothing came of it; and King *Charles* II. met with his Death from thoſe very hands that murder'd his Proteſtant Subjects for *conſpiring* it, as was pretended.

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My Lord *Argyle* remain'd quiet in *Friesland*, and came not to reside at *Amsterdam* till after King *James*'s Accession to the Throne, where he met with his Countrymen, who lay conceal'd there. The chief of them were the Lord *Melvill*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, and Sir *John Cockran*. A rich zealous Widow having furnish'd him with 10000 Pounds, he laid it out in Arms and Ammunition, which was dexterously manag'd by one that traded to *Venice*, as intended for the Service of that Republick. The Lord *Argyle* and Sir *Patrick Hume* had some difference about the Place of landing in *Scotland*, which was made up by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who would gladly have gone to *Scotland* with them; but the Earl of *Argyle* was willing to keep that Command himself, and that the Duke of *Monmouth* should make a Diversion in *England*, for which he had made no Preparations. On his Father's Death he retir'd to *Brussels*, the Prince of *Orange* supplying him with Money. Lord *Grey*, and Lady *Henrietta Wentworth*, who was desperately in Love with him, follow'd him thither. The Lady, as well as the Duke, fancy'd that he being marry'd to his Dutchess before he was of Age capable of a *free* Consent, the Marriage was null; so they liv'd together, and thought they did not break any Commandment. So apt is Passion to misguide Reason and Virtue! Major *Wade* and *Ferguson* press'd the Duke of *Monmouth* to land in *England*, so did Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoune* in *Scotland*, a Man of great Parts and Virtues; who not liking Lord *Argyle*'s Scheme, resolved to run Fortunes with the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was flatter'd by the *English* Refugees, that all the *West* of *England* would be for him; which he was the more easily induc'd to believe, because when he was there in his Progress four or five Years before, Multitudes of People crowded from all Parts to welcome him, and follow'd him with Acclamations of Joy. His Counsellors reckon'd there would be no fighting, but that the Guards and others who adher'd to the King, would melt to nothing before him. They fancy'd the City of *London* would be in such a Disposition to revolt, that if he should land in the *West*, the King would be in great Perplexity. He could not have two Armies, and his fear of Tumults near his Person, would oblige him to keep such a Force about him, that he would not be able to send any against *Monmouth*: so they reckon'd he would have time to form an Army, and in a little while be in a Condition to seek out the King, and fight him on equal Terms. The Duke of *Monmouth* himself, and Mr. *Fletcher* thought they were in no Condition to make such an Attempt, for want of Money and Officers, and an Interest secur'd in the Country; but Lord *Grey* said *Henry* VII. landed with a smaller Number, and succeeded. Colonel *Danvers* gave them great Hopes of a Rising in or about *London*, and promis'd a Body of no less than 3000 Horse, and Horsemen were certainly engaged to be ready at an Hour's warning. Major *Wade* seem'd sure of *Bristol*; Mr. *Dore* of *Limington*, afterwards Col. *Dore*, was in the Secret, to act in those Parts either by rising or securing a Retreat upon occasion. All which Considerations turn'd the Duke's Head to those desperate Counsels, and pawning his Jewels, he bought Arms, which were put aboard a Ship freighted for *Spain*.

And the Duke of Monmouth's *in* England.

The Lord *Argyle* was first ready, and *May* 2d set sail from the *Vlye* in *Holland* with three small Ships, which arriv'd at *Orkney* in three Days. He sent out a Boat to get Intelligence, and to take Prisoners, which serv'd only to give Intelligence where he was himself; thence he sail'd round to the West Highlands, and landed at a Place call'd *Dunstansnage*, a Castle of his own, which he garrison'd. He found at his Landing that the early Notice the Council had of his Designs had spoil'd his whole Scheme, for they had summon'd all the Gentlemen of his Country to *Edinburgh*, yet he got near 3000 Men about him; and if with these he had immediately gone over to the Western Counties of *Air* and *Renfrew*, he might have given the Government much Trouble, but he linger'd too long, hoping still to have brought more of his *Highlanders* together; but all the Country being call'd out against him, he cross'd an Arm of the Sea, and landed in the Isle of *Bute*, where he waited still for the coming in of the *Highlanders*. His Lordship left his Arms in a Castle, with such a Guard as he could spare, but they were routed by a Party of the King's Forces, and with this the Bishop of *Sarum* says, he lost both Heart and Hopes. He gave every thing for gone, put himself into a Disguise, and had almost escap'd, but he was taken. A Body of Gentlemen that had follow'd him forc'd their Way thro' the Enemy; the rest, which was the greater Part, fell into his hands, as Sir *John Cockran*, Mr. *John Ayloffe*, and Mr. *Richard Rumbald* the Maltster; these two last were *Englishmen*, and yet rather chose to go with *Argyle* to *Scotland*, than with *Monmouth* to *England*. I believe out of some Resentment of the Duke's Behaviour on his Reconciliation with his Father, or because they thought Lord *Argyle* a Republican. The latter express'd even a cheerful Calm under all his Misfortunes, he justify'd all he had done, for he said he was unjustly attainted, which had dissolv'd his Allegiance, and therefore 'twas Justice to himself and his Family to endeavour to recover what was so wrongfully taken from him; he complain'd of the Duke of *Monmouth* much, for delaying his coming so long after him, and for assuming the Name of King, both which he said were contrary to their Agreement at parting. *Thus*, says Bishop *Burnet*, *he died pitied by all*, except Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, who, as if he had been the Dispenser of the tremendous Judgments of the Almighty, pours down Vengeance upon him in this foolish as well as impious Observation; *That the late Earl of* Argyle *was taken in the same Month of the Year, in the same Week of the Month, in the same Hour of the Day, and was carry'd thro' the same Gate with the Marquis of* Montrose, *to display the retaliating Justice of Heaven.* Lord *Argyle* was beheaded the 30th of *June*.

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Lord Argyle *lands.*

And is taken.

Earl of Argyle's *Behaviour*

Beheaded.

Colonel *Ayloffe* had a mind to prevent the Insolence and Barbarity of his Enemies, who, he was sure, would not spare him, tho' he was the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*'s Nephew. My Lord of *Salisbury* tells us, that having got a Penknife into his Hands, he gave himself several Stabs, and thinking he was certainly a dead Man, he cry'd out, *Now I defy my Enemies.* His Lordship proceeds:

Col. Ayloffe *stabs himself.*

" *Rumbald* was he that dwelt in *Ryehouse*, " where it was *pretended* the Plot was laid for " murdering the late King and present King." *Echard* affirms, it was not a *pretended*, but a true Plot. *Rumbald* deny'd *the Truth of that Conspiracy* at the Place of Execution; but said, *He did not believe that God had made the greater Part of Mankind with Saddles on their Backs and Bridles in their Mouths, and some few booted and spurr'd to ride the rest.*

Rumbald *executed.*

His Saying.

Colonel *Ayloffe* was brought to *London*, the King examin'd him, and could draw nothing from him but one severe *Repartee*. He being sullen, and refusing to discover any thing, the King

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Col. Ayloffe's Saying to the King.

King ſaid to him, *Mr.* Ayloffe, *you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore ſay what may deſerve it.* He anſwer'd, *Tho' it is in your power, yet it is not in your Nature to pardon.* Sir *John Cockran*'s Father, the Earl of *Dundonald*, brib'd the popiſh Prieſts, and for 15000 Pounds got his Son's Pardon.

Duke of Monmouth's Expedition.

The Buſineſs was over in *Scotland* before it began in *England*; for the Duke of *Monmouth* ſail'd not from *Holland* till the 24th of *May*, and met with ſuch bad Weather and Winds, that he was 19 Days at Sea. He had with him one Man of War, and two Tenders, aboard which were Arms for about 5000 Men, Horſe and Foot. He had alſo with him about 100 Officers and Gentlemen, and on the 11th of *June* he came into the *Cobb* at *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*. As ſoon as he and his Men were landed, he commanded Silence, fell upon his Knees, and implor'd the Protection of Heaven in a ſhort Prayer. Then drawing his Sword, he led his Men up into the Town, where he muſter'd his little Company, and ſet up his Standard. Being ask'd *whom they were for*, they declared for the *Proteſtant Religion*. The chief Perſons who accompany'd the Duke were, *Ford* Lord *Grey*, a *German* Count, Colonel *Holmes*, Colonel *Matthews*, Colonel *Foulks*, Sir *Joſeph Tyley*, Major *Perrot*, Major *Wade*, Captain *Anneſley*, Dr. *Temple*, Dr. *Oliver*, Dr. *Gaylard*, &c. The two *Hewlings*, Mr. *Speak*, Mr. *Bettiſcomb*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Col. *Joſhua Churchill*, and others came in to him after his Landing. He publiſh'd his Declaration, which was long, and ill penn'd, ſuppoſed to be drawn by *Ferguſon*. It charged the King with the burning of *London*, the Popiſh-Plot, Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*'s Murther, the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Death, with poiſoning his Brother, and many more Crimes. It ſet forth, that the King's Religion made him incapable of the Crown, that three ſubſequent Houſes of Commons had voted his Excluſion. It further charg'd him with the taking away the old Charters, and all the tyrannical Acts of the laſt Reign. The Elections of the preſent Parliament were exclaim'd againſt, and the People appeal'd to when met in a free Parliament. This Declaration brought in great Numbers of the middling and ordinary ſort of People, who ſoon wanted more Arms than he had for them. Above 14000 Men tender'd their Service to him before he went from *Lyme*, and about 6000 of them were regimented, tho' not compleatly arm'd.

I do not think it is worth while to copy *Echard*'s Account of the Parliament's Uſage of the Duke of *Monmouth*, as ſoon as the King had told them he was landed. The News was brought to *London* by *Thorold* Mayor of *Lyme*, and *Doſſel* a Cuſtom-Houſe Officer, who were both examin'd in the Houſe of Commons, who voted to ſtand by King *James*, and to attaint the Duke. The Bill was diſpatch'd in leſs than two Days by the Commons; and being ſent up to the Lords by Sir *John Fenwick*, who was afterwards executed for High-Treaſon, it was read in that Houſe three times in one Day. The Commons alſo addreſs'd the King to give 5000 Pounds to any one who would aſſaſſinate the Duke of *Monmouth*, which they call'd *bringing of him dead or alive*. And on a ſmall Hint from him, that this Tumult would put him to ſome Charge, they without heſitation gave him 400000 Pounds to beat *Monmouth*, who had not 400000 Pence in his military Cheſt. On the 2d of *July*, all the various Kinds of Money-Bills having been paſs'd, the Parliament was adjourn'd to the 4th of *Auguſt*.

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Echard, whoſe Manuſcripts are juſt ſuch Authenticks as that about *Oliver Cromwel* and the Devil, brags of one of *Ferguſon*'s relating to the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Proceedings in the *Weſt*; and he makes *Ferguſon* tell us, that one of the Duke's Followers, who accompany'd him from *Holland*, was kill'd ſoon after their landing by another, whom he does not name, who was alſo one of his Companions, and who indeed was Mr. *Fletcher* of *Saltoune*; but the Man he kill'd was one of *Taunton*, or the Neighbourhood, who brought a great Body of Men from thence to join the Duke. The manner of it was thus: The Duke deſign'd to give *Fletcher* the joint Command of the Horſe with the Lord *Grey*, who was order'd out towards *Bridport* with a ſelect Party of Foot to obſerve the Militia of *Dorſetſhire*. *Fletcher* not yet furniſh'd with a Horſe, took the *Taunton* Man's without asking him leave, he being not in the way, and *Fletcher* thought that all things were to be in common amongſt them which could advance the Service. When *Fletcher* return'd from the Enterprize he was ſent upon, the Owner of the Horſe, a rough ill-bred Man, reproach'd him in very injurious Terms for taking his Horſe without asking his leave. Mr. *Fletcher*, who was naturally haſty and paſſionate, bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his Temper; but the other perſiſting in giving him foul Language, and offering a Switch or a Cane, *Saltoune* diſcharg'd a Piſtol at him, and ſhot him dead. It was not poſſible for the Duke of *Monmouth* to keep *Fletcher* about him after this, without diſguſting and loſing the Country People, who were coming in a Body to demand Juſtice; ſo he adviſed him to go aboard a Ship that was bound for *Spain*. *Ferguſon* in *Echard*'s Manuſcript ſays, The Gentleman kill'd the Man with a Piſtol he ſnatch'd into his Hand for no other end, but to preſerve himſelf from being caned by the Perſon whom he ſhot. *Ferguſon* makes this unhappy Accident to be after Lord *Grey*'s Retreat from *Bridport*. Biſhop *Burnet*, who probably had the Adventure from *Saltoune*, makes it before it, when *Grey* was ſent out with a ſmall Party, and coming near ſome Militia, ran away at ſight of them, but his Men ſtood. Lord *Grey* brought a falſe Alarm, which was ſoon found to be ſo; for the Men whom he had abandon'd came back in good order, after a warm Skirmiſh with the Enemy, whom they forc'd into *Bridport*, and kill'd ſeveral of them; as Captain *Courtney Crocker* of *Devonſhire*, and Mr. *Strangeways* of *Dorſetſhire*. The Duke of *Monmouth*, after *Grey*'s cowardly Behaviour, ſaying to Colonel *Matthews*, *What ſhall I do with him?* *Matthews* reply'd, *There is not a General in* Europe *that would ask ſuch a Queſtion but yourſelf*, intimating that the leaſt he deſerv'd, was to have had his Command taken from him.

Fletcher of Saltoune kills a Man.

Four days after he landed, the Duke march'd to *Axminſter* in *Devonſhire*, four Miles from *Lyme*. *Chriſtopher Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*, Son of General *Monk*, and Dr. *Clarges*'s Siſter, if the Evidence in the Trial of the Caſe between *Bath* and *Montagu Temp. William* III. was not true, had then with him about 4000 Militia Men of the County of *Devon*, and intended to quarter in the ſame Town that Night: But the Duke enter'd the Place before him with part of his Army, lin'd the Hedges, planted his four little Field-Pieces, and prepar'd for an Engagement, *Monk* being ſuperiour to him in number. Inſtead of which, Duke *Chriſtopher* march'd off in great Diſorder and Confuſion. It was a falſe ſtep that the Duke took,

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in not purſuing that Run-away; for he had certainly made himſelf Maſter of *Exeter*, and of moſt of the Arms of thoſe Militia Men, who were no Enemies to his Cauſe; but he was of opinion not to fight till his Men were a little better diſciplin'd.

On the 18th of *June* he arriv'd at the great and populous Town of *Taunton*, where he was received with ſuch general Exultation, that one would have thought the People's Wits were flown away in the flights of their Joy. The Houſes and Doors were adorned with green Boughs, Herbs and Flowers, and there was hardly a Hat to be ſeen without a *Green Bough*, the Mark of Diſtinction uſed by the Duke's Men. The next day 20 young Gentlewomen, with Colours ready made at the Charge of the Townſmen, preſented them, ſays *Echard*, to *his Grace with particular Solemnity*. The Captain their Schoolmiſtreſs, went before them with a naked Sword in one hand, and a ſmall curious Bible in the other, which ſhe alſo preſented with a ſhort acceptable Speech. In anſwer to which, the Duke ſaid, with an Air of great Satisfaction, *I come now into the Field with a Deſign to defend the Truths contain'd in that Book*, and to ſeal it with my Blood, if there *is occaſion for it*. Here he was prevail'd with by evil Counſellors to aſſume the Title of *King*. I have been aſſured by Perſons who were with him, and in his Confidence, that he never thought of it till after he landed, and was put upon it by that Arch-Traytor and Villain *Ferguſon*, whoſe treaſonable Practices ſince may very well make us ſuſpect he was a Spy on him, and a ſecret Agent for the King. It is certain he had given his Word to the Earl of *Argyle*, Colonel *Holmes* and others, that he would pretend to no more than to act as General of the Forces that ſhould join him againſt *James* Duke of *York*. He renew'd this Promiſe at *Lyme* to Mr. *Lark* the Baptiſt Miniſter there, who took the Command of a Troop of his Horſe, and to the Republicans who came in to him, and who were the major Part of his Followers. The malicious Turn the Jeſuit *Orleans* gives the Prince of *Orange*'s Zeal on this occaſion, ſhews us how much his Memoirs are the more authentick for their being given him by King *James*; which is, that the Duke of *Monmouth* having broken his Word with the Prince of *Orange*, and proclaim'd himſelf *King*, that Prince immediately diſpatch'd Mr. *Bentinck* to King *James* to offer him his Service, both with his Perſon and all his Forces. I deſire the Reader to remember that *Orleans*'s Book is recommended by *Echard*, who ſays of him, he writes *like a Man, true in Hiſtory*. Orleans affirms the Duke of *Monmouth* had promis'd to *inthrone* the Prince of *Orange*; and upon his hearing the Duke had caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King, he diſpatch'd *Bentinck*, &c. Now the Duke was proclaim'd King at *Taunton* the 20th of *June*, according to *Echard*, and it was on the 20th of *June* that *Bentinck* had his Audience at *Whitehall*; ſo that it was impoſſible for the Prince of *Orange* to hear the Duke of *Monmouth* had proclaim'd himſelf King, till many Days after King *James* had refus'd to accept Aſſiſtance from his Son-in-law.

Duke of Monmouth *proclaim'd King.*

Ferguſon *a Traytor.*

The Jeſuit Orleans's *lying Book recommended by* Echard, Orl. *p.* 277, 280.

At *Taunton* the *Duke* (as *King*) publiſh'd three Proclamations, one treating King *James* as he had been treated by him, ſetting a Price on his Head. Another, declaring the Parliament of *England* a ſeditious Aſſembly. The third proclaim'd the Duke of *Albemarle* a Traytor. I have ſeen the Copy of a Summons he ſent that *High-born Prince*, as *Durfey* call'd him, to ſurrender; but Duke *Chriſtopher* defy'd his Summons, and wrote him a Letter, in which he told *Monmouth*, he had *better have let his* Rebellion *alone*.

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Here the Reverend Hiſtorian is ſo ſupercilious as to queſtion the Truth of what I have ſaid, in the *Secret Hiſtory*, of *Monmouth*'s ſummoning the Lord *Churchill*, who lay at *Chard* with ſome regular Troops, Sir *William Portman*'s Regiment of *Somerſetſhire* Militia, and a Regiment of *Devonſhire* Militia. Tho' he deſerves no ſuch Compliance from me, yet to gratify him, I here let him know, that Mr. *Henry Evans* the Meſſenger, whom probably he has heard of, was then at *Chard* on a Meſſage to Lord *Churchill*; that he ſaw the Duke's Summons, and Lord *Churchill*'s making a Jeſt of it. This Lord harraſs'd the Duke's Army more than all the reſt of the King's Forces, which were indeed commanded by very ſorry Generals, as the Prince of *Orange* obſerv'd to King *James* by Mr. *Bentinck*.

What Wonders *Albemarle* perform'd with the *Devonſhire* Trainbands, have been ſeen already. The Duke of *Beaufort* commanded the *Glouceſterſhire* Militia at *Briſtol*. The Duke of *Somerſet* Part of the Militia of that County at *Bath*. The Earl of *Pembroke* the *Wiltſhire* Trainbands at *Chippenham*: but all thoſe *Militia* Men were no more to be depended on, than thoſe of *Somerſetſhire*, whoſe red and yellow Liveries were the Ornament of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Army. A Regiment of *Somerſetſhire* Militia advancing to join thoſe of *Devon*, and oppoſe the Duke of *Monmouth*'s marching eaſtward, had no ſooner enter'd a narrow Lane in their way, than obſerving the Mouths of 2 or 3 hollow Trees unluckily pointed to their Front, they immediately turn'd tail, and fled every Man to his own Home, except ſuch as ſtaid for the Duke of *Monmouth*'s coming, and then went in to him.

The Duke, after he was proclaim'd King at *Taunton*, march'd to *Bridgwater*, eight Miles diſtant. He had then with him the greateſt Number of Men that ever were for him together, near 6000 tolerably well arm'd. He was proclaim'd in this Town at the High Croſs by the Mayor Mr. *Alexander Popham*, and his Brethren in their Formalities. Here his Declaration was read, and the Inhabitants with a ſort of Emulation who ſhould do moſt, ſent all kinds of Proviſions to the Soldiery in a rude ſort of Camp in *Caſtlefield* near the Town, where ſix Regiments of Foot appear'd, diſtinguiſh'd by their Colours, and had the Face of an Army. He had then about 1000 Horſe, Mares, Geldings and Colts, a Life-Guard of 40 young Men well mounted and arm'd, and maintain'd at their own Charge. Out of his Horſe were pick'd two very good Troops, commanded by Captain *Hewling*, and Captain . . . . . The Duke's Quarters were in the Caſtle, where King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. at ſeveral times had alſo their Quarters. Here he rais'd more voluntary Contributions than in any other place, by the Management of Mr. *Roger Hoar*, Mr. *William Coleman*, and other Inhabitants, great Friends and great Sufferers for this Cauſe, a very unaccountable one indeed at that time. From hence the Duke march'd to *Glaſtonbury*, and thence to *Wells*, where he was again proclaim'd King, and his Declaration again read. He was now adviſ'd to take to *Mendip-Hills*, and march directly to *Briſtol*. I have a Contempt for the IF's in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, and the Archdeacon's Hiſtory, becauſe theſe IF's are the Foundation of their noble Fabricks: But IF he had been prevail'd with by Maj. *Wade*, Mr. *Row*, and the *Briſtol* Men to have attack'd that

A. D. 1685. that City, the moſt important in *England* next to *London*, there is very great reaſon to believe he would have carry'd it; for there was a Conſpiracy form'd in the City to receive him, and on a falſe Alarm only of his approach, a Ship was ſet on fire in the River, to draw the Militia that way, while his Friends admitted him. Biſhop *Burnet* condemns his Conduct in neglecting *Briſtol*, where he would have found much Wealth, and have gain'd ſome Reputation. The Duke's Soldiers thinking ſome of the Cathedral Men at *Wells* a little too impertinent, were ſomewhat free with their Appurtenances, which I think was all the Damage done by them. It ſeems the Duke, while he was in *Holland*, had thoughts of poſſeſſing himſelf of *Briſtol*, or he would not have order'd a Veſſel, aboard which he had a good Quantity of Arms, to have ſail'd round Land up the *Severn* Channel to meet him there, which Veſſel was intercepted by one of the King's Men of War, Capt. *Trevanion* Commander. Another ill Step.

From *Wells* the Duke march'd towards *Bath*, came in ſight of, and ſummon'd it, but receiv'd an Anſwer of Defiance; ſo he halted at *Cainſham*, in the Road between *Briſtol* and *Bath*, as well to refreſh his Men, as to conſider what to do. Here his Men were alarm'd by a Party of the King's under the Lord *Newburgh*, who advanc'd to *Cainſham-Bridge*, and were receiv'd with ſo much Gallantry by *Monmouth*'s Officers and Soldiers, that they retir'd with loſs, tho' they gave out that they had a Victory. From *Cainſham* the Duke, ſtill too diffident of Succeſs at *Briſtol*, wheel'd about to *Philipſnorton*, in expectation of Deſertion from the ſeveral Bodies of *Militia* of *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, who were certainly well inclin'd towards him; and I have heard ſome of their Officers declare, that they believ'd moſt of thoſe Trainbands would have gone in to him, if they had had an Opportunity; ſure I am, many of them wiſh'd him heartily well. At *Philipſnorton* his Forlorn was attack'd by the King's Troops under the Duke of *Grafton*, who advancing to a Lane where the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Men had planted one of his Cannon, loſt ſeveral Troopers, and eſcap'd himſelf with difficulty. The Lord *Newburgh* was mortally wounded in this Action, as were ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction. From hence the Duke of *Monmouth* march'd to the large Town of *Froom*, where he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations of Applauſe and Joy univerſal and unaffected. Here alſo he was proclaim'd King, and receiv'd the unwelcome and unexpected News of the Defeat of the Earl of *Argyle*; a very great Balk to him, which gave a ſudden Damp to his Hopes, and put him upon another ill Step moſt fatal to his Enterprize: And that was to return to *Bridgwater*, and there expect the King's Forces, who haſten'd their March after him, and ſhut him up in that Town *Saturday* the 4th of *July*. Preparations, ſuch as they were, had been made by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Men, to ſtand the Enemy's Attack. One *Silver*, an Inhabitant of the Place, Brother to Captain *Silver* Maſter-Gunner of *England*, invented a Machine, which would diſcharge many Barrels of Muſquets at once. Theſe were to be play'd at ſeveral Paſſes inſtead of Cannon; but the Noiſe of great Guns, and the Terror of Bombs, ſoon oblig'd the Duke to concert other Methods: and a Council of War being held, it was reſolv'd to attack the King's Troops in their Camp on *Weſton-Moor*, three Miles from *Bridgwater*. Their Cavalry lay in *Weſton*, and their Artillery defended the Paſs in the direct Road to *Bridgwater*. *Sunday* about three a-clock in the Afternoon, the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Grey*, and the chief Officers went up into the Tower of *Bridgewater* Church, to take a View of the King's Camp in the *Moor* by the help of Perſpective Glaſſes; and the Duke obſerving that Lord *Dunbarton*'s Regiment of Foot Guards, which he had once been Colonel of, and by which he had been once extremely belov'd, were poſted on that Side of the Camp that was propos'd to be attack'd, he expreſs'd ſome Concern at it, ſaying, *I know thoſe Men will fight, and if I had them I would not doubt of Succeſs.* A. D. 1685.

The King's General the Earl of *Feverſham*, and the King's Soldiers were very remiſs, and the Country People, who heartily hated them, gave the Duke of *Monmouth* Information of it, who ſaid, *We ſhall have no more to do, than to lock up the Stable-Doors, and ſeize the Troopers in their Beds.* About ſeven a-clock the Drums beat in *Bridgewater* for a Rendezvous in the *Caſtle-Field*, and ſeveral Meetings were privately held, where the Officers went to Prayers for a Bleſſing on their Undertaking; ſome of them praying in red Coats and Jack-Boots, a Sight that had not been ſeen in *England* before ſince the Reſtoration. After the Army was put in a proper Diſpoſition, Orders were given for a March, without beat of Drum. About eleven a-clock at Night, I ſaw the Duke of *Monmouth* ride out, attended by his Life-Guard of Horſe; and tho' then but a Boy, obſerv'd an Alteration in his Look, which I did not like; for not being able to judge of the Goodneſs or Badneſs of his Cauſe, I ran down with the Stream, and was one of its Well-wiſhers. All his Soldiers were forbid to fire a Piſtol till they enter'd the Enemy's Camp. Their Guide *Benjamin Newton*, who promiſed to lead them thither a By-way, conducted them thro' *Chedſey*, to a Place where the *Royne* or Ditch, behind which the King's Troops were encamp'd, was fordable: And tho' *Newton* knew the Way, and every Inch of the Way, by Day or by Night, as well as it was poſſible for a Man to know it, and tho' he lov'd the Duke of *Monmouth* as well as it was poſſible for a Man to love him; yet ſuch was his Concern on that important Occaſion, that it confounded him, and he led the *Monmouthians* above the Ford: which otherwiſe would have open'd a Way for them into the Enemy's Camp, where the Soldiers were aſleep in their Tents, and might have been cut to pieces by the *Scythemen*, of which the Duke had 500, and the Terror of the Weapon added to the Slaughter and Horror of the Night, would have given the reſt of the Duke's Forces an eaſy Victory, as far as the Reaſon of a Thing can carry it without Experience. Captain *Hucker* of *Taunton* having receiv'd ſome Diſguſt, on account, as was ſaid, of the Duke's refuſing to make him Governour of that Town, tho' he could not ſpare him Men for a Garriſon, fir'd a Piſtol, while the *Monmouthians* were looking out for the Ford, which gave the Alarm to *Dunbarton*'s Regiment, who put themſelves into as good Order as they could to receive their Enemies. *Monmouth*'s Men got over the Ditch with ſome difficulty, fell furiouſly on the King's Forces, took two Pieces of Cannon, and turn'd them on *Dunbarton*'s and other Troops, which put the latter into diſorder. The Alarm reach'd *Weſton*, where *Feverſham* was ſafe a-bed, and made not ſo much haſte into the Field, as to forget ſetting his Cravat-ſtring at a little paltry Looking-Glaſs in one of the Cottages. *Monmouth*'s Men began the Engagement with a Volley of Shot and Shouts; and their firſt Fire ſo confounded their Enemies, Weſton Fight.

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that thoſe who were neareſt *Weſton* ran into the Town; thoſe who were in *Weſton* ran to *Middleſey*, and thro' that Place above a Mile from the Moor; ſo that had the Duke's Horſe, or even the two Troops he had ſent with Capt. *Hewling* to *Minehead* for Cannon, made any Oppoſition to the King's Cavalry, the Rout had been entire; for never did Infantry perform better than the Duke's did. *Echard* makes the Advantage the King's Horſe had over *Monmouth*'s owing to the Activity of *Oglethorp*, a ſilly piece of Flattery on an inſolent Bravo, who had no other Advantage over them than what was owing to the badneſs of the Enemies Troops, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, who could not get the Horſe into a right Poſture for fighting, moſt of them would hardly ſtand fire, and thoſe conſequently diſorder'd the reſt; upon which *Grey* rode up to the Duke, crying, *All is loſt, and it is time for you to ſhift for* yourſelf. His Grace was then charging at the head of his Foot, with his wonted Gallantry, and the Stand they made was very extraordinary and promiſing, but his Carriages, with the Ammunition, drawing towards the Moor, met ſome of *Grey*'s Horſe upon the ſcamper, and theſe telling the *Carters* the Duke's Army was routed, the latter drew away their Carriages with the Ammunition in them, and ſtopt not till they got to *Ware* and *Axebridge*, 12 Miles off, where they or the Country People plunder'd them. In the mean time the King's Forces rally'd, and *Mew*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was fitter for a Bombardier than a Biſhop, I knew him well, and can ſay a great deal more of him, but I omit it out of Veneration to his Order, very officiouſly put his Coach-horſes to the Artillery that was planted in the direct Road from *Weſton* to *Bridgwater*, and cauſing thoſe Guns to be drawn down againſt the Duke's Foot, the latter were gall'd by it extreamly, yet ſtill they ſtood their Ground, crying out, *Ammunition, Ammunition, for the Lord's ſake Ammunition*, which not coming, and the Duke and *Grey* being gone with the Horſe, the Foot fled after them, and the King's Horſe purſuing them, kill'd twice as many as were ſlain in the Fight. I was upon the Spot before the Dead were buried, and, young as I was, obſerv'd the Slain to be more on the King's Part than on the Duke's, as they were diſtinguiſh'd to the Perſon who carry'd me thither, by one of the King's Soldiers; that Perſon was a Papiſt, and I was therefore put under his Protection, and he acted very generouſly and kindly on that Occaſion. For after the Defeat, every body expected military Execution, except ſuch as were of the Popiſh and Tory Factions. About 4 a-clock *Monday* Morning, the Run-aways began to come into *Bridgwater*, and I ſaw many of them ſo wounded, that I wonder'd how they could reach ſo far; one Fellow, particularly, had ſcarce lain himſelf down on a Bulk, when he dy'd away of his Wounds. Not above 300 of the Duke's Men were kill'd in the Action, and about 400 of the King's. Of the Duke's, as many were taken Priſoners as the King's Officers could find Places to confine them in. The chief were, Col. *Holmes*, Major *Perrot*, Capt *Madders* of *Crookern*; one *Williams*, a Domeſtick of the Duke's who had his Maſter's Cloak, and 200 Guineas, and Captain *Adlam*, who had about 100 broad Pieces quilted in his Buffcoat. He was ſo mortally wounded, that he could not have ſurviv'd it; but *Feverſham* would not truſt to that, ſo he order'd him to be hang'd the next day, and he was the firſt whom he hung up in Chains on the Moor between *Weſton* and *Bridgwater*, where was a Range of Gibbets ſo decorated to a good length. The Duke of *Monmouth*, with about 30 Horſe, made off on the Gallop, and by 5 a-clock in the Morning was 20 Miles from the Moor. Dr. *Oliver*, late Phyſician of *Greenwich* Hoſpital, was one of his Company, and the beſt mounted of any of them. He rode up to the Duke, and ſaid, Sir, *This is the fartheſt you can go, without throwing yourſelf into the hands of your Enemies, who are waiting for you all over the Country* Eaſtward. *No body has yet heard of our ill Succeſs in theſe Parts, let us turn off to the Sea Coaſt over-againſt* Wales, *ſeize one of the Paſſage-Boats at* Uphill, *and get over to the other ſide, where I know you have Friends, among whom you will be ſafe till you can retire elſewhere.* I had this from the Doctor himſelf. The Duke inclin'd to hearken to him; but the Lord *Grey* check'd *Oliver* for offering to give ſuch fooliſh Advice, as he call'd it, and the Duke going away with him, *God bleſs you, Sir*, ſaid the Doctor, with Tears in his Eyes, *I ſhall never ſee you more*, ſo ſetting Spurs to his Horſe, he rode off to *Briſtol*, about 12 Miles from that Place, and coming there ſome time before News came of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Defeat, he found means to get into the City, and into a Friend's Houſe, who knew nothing of his having engag'd with the Duke, where he lay ſo long conceal'd, that he return'd to *London* in Company of Judge *Jefferies*'s Clerk, to whom his Friend, who was a rank Tory, recommended him.

A. D. 1685.

Dr. Oliver's Advice to the Duke of Monmouth.

The Duke of *Monmouth*'s Fate afterwards, is too well known to need enlarging upon. The Lord *Grey* was taken at *Holtbridge* in *Dorſetſhire*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* at *Ringwood*, not far off, by ſome Troopers of Lord *Lumley*'s Horſe. He made a Submiſſion to the King, who inſulted him in the Audience he gave him, at the Deſire of Queen Dowager. He repented afterwards that he had ſhewn ſuch Meanneſs, and prepar'd himſelf for Death with a Firmneſs of Soul worthy the Character of a Hero, which he had juſtly acquir'd. He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the 15th of *July*, after 3 or 4 Strokes; The Executioner, who, it is ſaid, wiſh'd him well, once threw down the Ax, crying, *I cannot do it*. He was very much teaz'd at his Death by *Turner* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Ken* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, who told him, He could not be a *Proteſtant of the Church of* England, *unleſs he own'd the Doctrine* of the *Oxford* Decree. Their Words were the Point of *Non-reſiſtance*; but that was not the only thing in which they *did very ill*, to uſe Biſhop *Burnet*'s Words. Dr. *Teniſon*'s manner of treating him was more Chriſtian-like and perſuaſive; *he left thoſe Points*, in which he ſaw he could not convince him, to his own Conſcience, and turn'd to other Things fit to be laid before a dying Man. The King refus'd to grant him a day longer on his earneſt Requeſt, tho' upon what acccount is not known. His laſt Words were, *I repent of all my Sins in general, of the Blood ſpilt on my account, and I fear the ill Conſequence of my Enterprize. I die in the Faith of this, that God will work a Deliverance for his People, and then will be diſcover'd the great, horrid, and ſcarcely to be parallel'd Villanies our Enemies have been guilty of*; adding, *you ſee my Caſe is deſperate, yet know I die a* MARTYR *for the People*; the very Words of his Grandfather King *Charles* the Firſt, at his Execution.

Duke of Monmouth taken and beheaded.

Duke's laſt Speech.

Biſhop *Burnet* informs us how the Lord *Grey* eſcap'd. "He had a great Eſtate, that by his "Death was to go to his Brother *Ralph Grey*

Lord Grey pardon'd.

A. D. 1685.

" *Grey* Eſq; whom the Court look'd on with an ill " Eye, ſo they reſolv'd to preſerve him till he " ſhould be brought to compound for his Life. " The Earl of *Rocheſter* had 16000 Pounds of " him; others had ſmaller Shares." He was alſo oblig'd to tell all he knew; and the Lord *Brandon Gerard*, and Mr. *John Hampden*, were proſecuted on his Evidence.

Cruelties in the Weſt.

From the Character of this King, one might have expected every thing that was ſanguinary and cruel. The Biſhop writes, " The Army " was kept for ſome time in the *Weſtern* Coun- " ties, where both Officers and Soldiers liv'd " as in an Enemy's Country, and treated all who " were believ'd to be ill affected to the King, " with great Rudeneſs and Violence. *Kirk*, " who had commanded long in *Tangier*, was " become ſo ſavage by the Neighbourhood of " the *Moors* there, that ſome days after the " Battle he order'd ſeveral Priſoners to be " hang'd up at *Taunton*, without ſo much as " the Form of Law, he and his Company look- " ing on from an Entertainment they were at; " at every new Health another Priſoner was " hang'd up; and they were ſo *brutal*, that " obſerving the ſhaking of the Legs of thoſe " whom they had hang'd, it was ſaid among " them they were *dancing*, and upon that Mu- " ſick was call'd for. This was both ſo illegal " and inhuman, that it might have been ex- " pected ſome notice would have been taken of " it; but *Kirk* was only chid for it, and that " for Form-ſake only." Col. *Foulks*, who was with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and afterwards commanded a Regiment in King *William*'s Service, upbraiding *Kirk* with his Cruelty, he proteſted his Commiſſion went further, and that he had put a Reſtraint on the Power and the Inſtructions which were given him; and tho' it is not to be attributed to his Humanity, but to his Avarice, 'tis certain many Perſons eſcap'd by his pretended Pardons, which he ſold for 20, 30, and 40 *l.* a piece; and tho' they were not good in Law, yet they gave thoſe that bought them time to ſettle their Affairs and get to *London*, *Holland*, and other Places of Shelter. One thing muſt be remember'd of this *Kirk*, which ſhews he was apprehenſive that King *James* would make ſuch an ill Uſe of his Victory, as to occaſion a more ſucceſsful Attempt againſt him in a few Years. For when he took Leave of a Gentleman, Mr. *Harvey* of the Caſtle in *Bridgwater*, who had been very civil to him, he ſhook him by the Hand, and ſaid, *I believe it will not be long before I ſee you again*; and by his Motions gave him to underſtand it would not be on the ſame ſide.

The Campaign was finiſh'd by *Jefferies* and four other Judges, ſupported by ſome Troops of Horſe, and theſe Judges were ſtill more cruel and mercileſs than *Kirk*, *Oglethorp*, or any of the Officers. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, " *Jeffe-* " *ries*'s Behaviour was beyond any thing that was " ever heard of in a civiliz'd Nation; he was " perpetually either drunk or in a Rage, liker " a Fury than the Zeal of a Judge. He re- " quir'd the Priſoners to plead guilty; and in " that caſe he gave them ſome hope of Favour " if they gave him no trouble; otherwiſe, he " told them, he would execute the Letter of " the Law upon them in its utmoſt Severity. " This made many plead guilty, who had a " great Defence to make in Law. But he ſhew'd " no Mercy, he order'd a great many to be " hang'd up immediately, without al owing " them a Minute's time to ſay their Prayers. " He hang'd in ſeveral Places about ſix hundred " Perſons. The Impieties with which he " treated them, and his Behaviour towards " ſome of the Nobility and Gentry that were " well affected, but came and pleaded in fa- " vour of ſome Priſoners, would have amaz'd " one if done by a *Baſhaw* in *Turkey*."

A. D. 1685.

Jefferies *more cruel than a* Turk.

Lord *Ralph Stawel*, tho' a ſtaunch Abhorrer, was ſo ſhock'd at the Report of his Cruelty and Brutality, that he would not ſee him, tho' then in the *Zenith* of his Grandeur; and *Jefferies*, in Reſentment, order'd Col. *Bovet* of *Taunton* to be hang'd at *Cotholſtone*, a Pariſh which belong'd to Lord *Stawel*, contrary to that Lord's good Liking, tho' *Bovet* had been one of the *Sequeſtrators* of that and other Eſtates of the *Stawels*.

Orleans's *a Lying Book.*

I have ſaid that the Jeſuit *Orleans*'s Revolutions of *England*, notwithſtanding the Recommendation of Mr. Archdeacon *Echard*, is a Book full of Lyes, and I am about to give another Proof of it. The *French* Prieſt is ſpeaking of *Jefferies*'s bloody Aſſizes, *The King was inform'd of thoſe Diſorders too late; but as ſoon as it came to his Ears, he expreſs'd his Diſpleaſure, and tho' the Services perform'd by thoſe that were accus'd, prevail'd with him to ſpare them, he, as far as in him lay, made amends for their Injuſtice.* The Father of Lyes never told a greater. Read my Lord of *Sarum*, " The King had a particular " Account of all *Jefferies*'s Proceedings writ to " him every day. He took pleaſure to relate " them in the Drawing-Room to Foreign Mi- " niſters, and at his Table, calling it *Jefferies*'s " *Campaign*, ſpeaking of all he had done in a " Style that neither became the Majeſty nor " the Mercifulneſs of a King. *Dyckvelt* was " at that time in *England*, one of the Ambaſ- " ſadors whom the States had ſent to congra- " gratulate the *King*'s coming to the Crown. " He told me, that the King talk'd ſo often " of theſe Things in his hearing, that he won- " der'd to ſee him break out into thoſe Inde- " cencies; and, upon *Jefferies*'s coming back, " he was created a Baron and Peer of *England*;" *which is all the Amends* King *James* made for his Injuſtice. *Echard* has inoculated this falſe Aſſertion of *Orleans*'s into his own Hiſtory.

K. James's *Cruelty.*

I ſhall refer for the main of *Jefferies*'s bloody *Aſſizes* to a Book ſo call'd, which, for the moſt part, is fairly tho' poorly writ. The Villain began his Villany, I beg the Reader to bear with this Language, when I am upon ſuch Subjects, at *Wincheſter*, where he try'd Mrs. *Alicia Liſle*, Widow of *John Liſle* Eſq; Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, ſo often already mention'd, whom the Cavaliers aſſaſſinated in *Swiſſerland*. *Sunday* Night, after the Action in *Weſton* Moor, Mr. *Hicks*, a diſſenting Miniſter, Brother to the Nonjuror Dr. *Hicks*, once Dean of *Worceſter*, came to Mrs. *Liſle*'s Houſe in *Hampſhire*, with Mr. *Nelthorpe* in his Company. She knew Mr. *Hicks*, and treated him very civilly, not asking from whence he came; but *Hicks* told what brought him thither, for he and *Nelthorpe* had been with *Monmouth*, upon which ſhe went out of the Room immediately, and order'd her chief Servant to ſend an Information concerning them to the next Juſtice of Peace, and in the mean while to ſuffer them to make an Eſcape. But before this could be done, a Party came about the Houſe, and took both them and her for harbouring them. *Jefferies* reſolv'd to make a Sacrifice of her, and obtain'd of the King a Promiſe that he would not pardon her, which the King own'd to the Earl of *Feverſham*, when he, upon the Offer of 1000 Pounds if he could obtain her Pardon, went and begg'd it. No legal Proof was brought at her Trial, that ſhe knew they were Rebels. The Names of the Perſons found in her Houſe were in no Proclamation, ſo

Lady Liſle *murder'd.*

A. D. 1685.

there was no notice given her to beware of them. *Jefferies* affirm'd to the Jury upon his Honour, *Monſtrum Horrendum!* That the Perſons had confeſs'd they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This was to turn Witneſs againſt her, after which he ought not to have judg'd in the Matter. And tho' it was inſiſted on as a Point of Law, that till the Perſons found in her Houſe were convicted, ſhe could not be found guilty, yet *Jefferies* charg'd the Jury in a moſt violent manner, to bring her in guilty. All the Audience was ſtrangely affected with ſo unuſual Behaviour in a Judge, only the Perſon moſt concern'd, the Lady herſelf, who was then paſt Seventy, was ſo little mov'd at it, that ſhe fell aſleep. The Jury brought her in *Not Guilty*; but the execrable Judge, in great Fury, ſent them out again, yet they brought her in a ſecond time *Not Guilty*. Then he ſeem'd, as in a Tranſport of Rage, threatning them with an Attaint of Treaſon. Thus, overcome with Fear, they at the third time brought her in Guilty. The King, he has had his Reward, ſhew'd no other Favour, but that he chang'd the Sentence from burning to beheading. She dy'd with great Conſtancy of Mind, and expreſs'd a Joy that ſhe ſuffer'd for an Act of Charity and Piety. The chief of the Priſoners, whom *Jefferies* butcher'd, were, Col. *Holmes*, *Chriſtopher Bettiſcomb* Eſq; *Charles Speke* Eſq; Mr. *Benjamin Hewling*, Mr. *William Hewling*, Col. *Bovet*, Capt. *Madders*, Col. *Anneſley*, Capt. *Larke*, Mr. *Matthew Bragg*, Capt. *John Hucker*. Mr. *Roger Hoar* is put down in the Liſt printed in the *Bloody Aſſizes*, but he was repriev'd a few hours before the time ſet for Execution, and was afterwards a Member of ſeveral Parliaments. Mr. *Hicks* the Miniſter was hang'd at *Glaſtonbury*; and *Echard* prints his Speech, becauſe he fancy'd there's a Word or two in it in favour of his darling Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*. *It is not warrantable for any Subject to reſiſt lawful Sovereigns*. Did he ever meet with a Mortal ſo ſtupid or ſo mad, as to think it lawful to reſiſt Princes governing by the Laws they had ſworn to maintain? *Hicks* the *quondam* Dean being ſpoken to in his Brother's behalf, ſaid, *He would not ſpeak for a Fanatick*, tho' he had been Chaplain to one of the greateſt Fanaticks in the World, Duke *Lauderdale*.

Mr. Hicks *the Miniſter hang'd.*

Before *Jefferies* had ſhut up his Slaughter-houſes in the Weſt, died the Lord-Keeper *North, a crafty deſigning Man*, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*: "He had no mind to part with the "Great Seal, yet he ſaw he could not hold it. "An Appeal againſt a Decree of his had been "brought before the Lords in the former Seſ-"ſions, and it was not only revers'd with many "ſevere Reflections on him that made it; but "the Earl of *Nottingham*, who hated him, "becauſe he had endeavour'd to detract from "his Father's Memory, had got together ſo "many Inſtances of his ill Adminiſtration of "Juſtice, that he expos'd him ſeverely for it; "and it was believ'd that gave the Criſis to the "Uneaſineſs and Diſtraction of Mind he was "labouring under." He languiſh'd for ſome time, and died deſpis'd and ill thought of by the whole Nation. The Seal was kept for *Jefferies*, and given to him at his Return from the Field of Blood and Bribery, for he glutted his Avarice as well as his Cruelty, taking between 14 and 15000 Pounds of *Edmund Prideaux* Eſq; of *Ford-Abbey* in *Somerſetſhire*, to ſtop a Proſecution, with which Money he bought a Manor, I think, in *Leiceſterſhire*; but be it where it will, 'tis no more in his Name, which dy'd with his Son, except as much of it as lives in the Infamy of the Father.

Lord-Keeper North's Death and Character.

Generally deſpis'd and ill thought of.

Sir *Thomas Jones*, who was made Chief Juſtice in his place, ſhew'd immediately that he was his moſt worthy Succeſſor, and initiated himſelf in the ſame bloody Rites. *A. D.* 1685.

On the 13th of *October*, Alderman *Corniſh* was on a ſudden taken up for High-Treaſon, while he was following his Merchandize in great Security and Innocence; and on the 19th of *October* he was indicted at the *Old Bailey*.

Alderman Corniſh *try'd.*

At Mr. *Corniſh*'s Trial,

Preſent,

Jones Chief Juſtice.
Attorney-General, *Roger North*.
Sollicitor-General, *Oliver Mountague*.
King's Counſel, Mr. *Phipps*.
Sir *Benjamin Thorowgood*, } Sheriffs.
Sir *Thomas Kenſey*, }

Jury.

Thomas Rawlinſon.	*Richard Holford.*
Thomas Langham.	*William Longboat.*
Ambroſe Iſted.	*Stephen Coleman.*
John Grice.	*Robert Clavel.*
Thomas Oneby.	*William Long.*
William Clowdeſley.	*Thomas Pendleton.*

Of theſe *Kenſey* the Sheriff, *Rawlinſon* the Foreman, and *Clowdeſley*, were Tavern-Men. Sir *John Hawles* has ſo learnedly ſet forth the Injuſtice and Cruelty of this Gentleman's Treatment, that I muſt refer to his Remarks, and add what Biſhop *Burnet* tells us of it. "*Good-*"*enough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *Lon-*"*don* when *Corniſh* was Sheriff, offer'd to ſwear "againſt *Corniſh*, and that *Rumſey* had not "diſcover'd all he knew. So *Rumſey*, to ſave "himſelf, join'd with *Goodenough* to ſwear *Cor-*"*niſh* guilty of that for which the Lord *Ruſſel* "had ſuffer'd; and this was driven on ſo faſt, "that *Corniſh* was ſeiz'd on, try'd and executed "within the Week. If he had got a little time, "the Falſhood of the Evidence would have "been prov'd from *Rumſey*'s former Diſpoſi-"tion, which appear'd ſo clearly ſoon after "*Corniſh*'s Death, that his Eſtate was reſtor'd "to his Family, and the Witneſſes were lodg'd "in remote Priſons for their Lives. Mr. *Cor-*"*niſh*, at his Death, aſſerted his Innocence with "great Vehemence, and with ſome acrimony "complain'd of the Methods taken to deſtroy "him. Upon which it was given out, that he "died in a Fit of Fury: But *Pen*, the Quaker, "who ſaw the Execution, ſaid, that there ap-"pear'd nothing but a juſt Indignation that In-"nocence might very naturally give. He ad-"ded, the King was much to be pitied, who "was hurry'd into all this effuſion of Blood by "*Jefferies*'s impetuous and cruel Temper." But what ſays my Lord of *Sarum*? *If his own Inclinations had not been byaſs'd that way, and if his Prieſts had not thought it the Intereſt of their Party to let that* BUTCHER *looſe, by which ſo many Men that were like to oppoſe them, were put out of the way; it is not to be imagin'd there would have been ſuch a Run of barbarous Cruelty.*

The King govern'd by Jeffe-ries.

K. James *thirſts after Blood.*

This Murder, in Defiance of eternal Juſtice, and the dreadful Vengeance of Heaven, does *Echard* impute to *Corniſh*'s concerning himſelf ſo much about hanging inſtead of beheading the Lord *Stafford*. He will have it to be a Judgment, a *Retaliation from Heaven*. Pray God the dreadful Judgments he has call'd down on ſo many innocent Perſons, be not *retaliated* on his own Soul.

About

A. D. 1685.

Mrs. Gaunt try'd.

About the ſame time, Mrs. *Elizabeth Gaunt*, a Widow in or near *Wapping*, was brought to a Trial. Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of it is the beſt. She was a *Baptiſt*, who ſpent a great part of her time in Acts of Charity, viſiting the Jayls, and looking after the Poor of what Perſuaſion ſoever they were. One of *Monmouth*'s Men, *James Burton*, found her out, and ſhe harbour'd him in her Houſe till ſhe might have an Opportunity to ſend him abroad. He went about in the Night, and having heard that the King ſhould ſay, *He would ſooner pardon the Rebels than thoſe that harbour'd them*, he, by an unheard of Baſeneſs, went and deliver'd himſelf, and accus'd her that harbour'd him. There was no Witneſs to prove that ſhe knew the Perſon ſhe harbour'd was a Rebel, but the Rebel himſelf; yet the Judge charg'd the Jury to bring her in *guilty*: which they did, and ſhe was condemn'd and burnt. She died with a Conſtancy even to a Chearfulneſs, which ſtruck all that ſaw it. She ſaid, *Charity was a part of her Religion as well as Faith, and ſhe only fed an Enemy. So ſhe hoped ſhe had her Reward with him for whoſe ſake ſhe did this ſervice, how unworthy ſoever the Perſon was that made ſo ill a Return for it. She rejoic'd that God had honour'd her to be the firſt that ſuffer'd by Fire in this Reign, and that her Suffering was a* Martyrdom *for that Religion which was all Love.* Mr. *Pen* told the Biſhop of *Salisbury* he ſaw her die. She laid the Straw about her for her burning ſpeedily, and behav'd herſelf in ſuch a manner, that all the Spectators melted into Tears. Such indeed was the Behaviour of all that ſuffer'd at this time. "Moſt of them, ac- "cording to Biſhop *Burnet*, expreſs'd ſuch a "calm Firmneſs at their Death, and ſuch a Zeal "for their Religion, which they believ'd was "then in danger, that it made great Impreſſions "on the Spectators." But is ſo far from making any Impreſſion on *Echard*, *Their Behaviour was ſtrange*, ſays he. I am not at all ſurpriz'd at it, that ſuch pious Sentiments as Mrs. *Gaunt*'s are ſtrange things to him. Their *Words in their dying Speeches were ſhocking to the King's Party.* The Words of the murder'd innocent Perſons were ſhocking to their Murderers, very likely indeed!

Condemn'd and burnt.

Her laſt Words.

Mr. Fernly, Col. Ayloffe, and Mr. Nelthorp executed.

One Mr. *John Fernly* was hang'd at *Tyburn* for harbouring the ſame *James Burton*. Now alſo were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, Colonel *Ayloffe* and *Richard Nelthorp* Eſq; before-mention'd; the latter before *Gray's-Inn-Gate* in *Holborn*, the former before the *Temple-Gate* in *Fleet-ſtreet*. All which bloody and barbarous Executions *gave a general Horror*, to uſe my Lord of *Sarum*'s Words, *to the Body of the Nation, and it let all People ſee what might be expected from* a Reign that ſeem'd to delight in *Blood. Some of the faireſt of the* Tories *began to relent a little, and to think they had truſted too much, and gone too far. The King had raiſed new Regiments, and given Commiſſions to Papiſts.* 'Tis no matter for all this, "King "*James*'s Affairs, according *to the Archdeacon*, "ſeem'd now in the greateſt Height and Splen- "dor, and to promiſe a firm and ſettled Feli- "city. The late dangerous Storms appeas'd, "*&c.*"

A Proclamation was publiſh'd againſt *George Speke* Eſq; *Francis Charlton* Eſq; *John Wildman* Eſq; and *John Trenchard* Eſq; who all kept out of the way. *John Speke* Eſq; Son of *George Speke* of *Whatlackington* in the County of *Somerſet*, who had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*, made his eſcape beyond Sea, and ſpent this Reign of Tyranny in Travel. The Lord *Brandon Gerrard* was try'd for *High-Treaſon* at the King's-Bench Bar, convicted and condemned. *John Hampden* Eſq; expecting no Favour, ſays *Echard*, pleaded *guilty*. Says Biſhop *Burnet*, "He was told he muſt expect no "Favour, unleſs he would plead *guilty*; which "he did, and begg'd his Life with a Meanneſs "which gave his Spirits ſuch a Depreſſion and "Diſorder, that he could never quite maſter it, "and in concluſion hurry'd him on to cut his "own Throat."

A. D. 1685.

Lord Brandon Gerrard and Mr. Hampden condemn'd.

England is now an *Aceldema*, the Country for 60 Miles together, from *Briſtol* to *Exeter*, had a new and terrible ſort of Sign-Poſts and Signs, Gibbets, and Heads and Quarters of its ſlaughter'd Inhabitants. Every Soul was ſunk in Anguiſh and Terror, ſighing by day and by night for Deliverance, but ſhut out of all Hope by Deſpair.

The Miſery of England.

On the 9th of *November* the Parliament met, and the King made a Speech to them. He told them how happy his Forces had been in reducing a dangerous Rebellion, in which it had appear'd how weak and inſignificant the Militia was, and therefore he ſaw the Neceſſity of keeping up an Army for all their Security. He had put ſome in Commiſſion, of whoſe Loyalty he was well aſſur'd, and they had ſerv'd him ſo well, that he would not put that Affront on them and on himſelf to turn them out. Thus he fell upon the two moſt exceptionable Points, a *Standing Army*, and a Violation of the Teſt-Act. There were ſome Debates in the Houſe of Lords about thanking the King for his Speech. It was preſs'd by the Courtiers as a piece of Reſpect that was always paid. The Earl of *Devonſhire* ſaid, he was for giving Thanks, becauſe the King had ſpoken out ſo plainly. The Courtiers carry'd it, and the King was thank'd after a rate.

A Parliament.

Arbitrary Acts.

The Earl of *Middleton* mov'd in the Houſe of Commons for an Increaſe of Forces, which was warmly oppos'd by the Country Party. However, they voted a *Supply*, but rejected the Words towards the *Support of the additional Forces*, and order'd a Bill to be brought in *to make the Militia uſeful*. Yet the Spirit of Slavery prevail'd ſtill ſo much amongſt them, that they gave the King 700000 Pounds, hoping it would have made way for their Addreſs againſt his diſpenſing with the Laws in favour of Popiſh Officers. *The King told them he did not expect it from them; but however they proceeded on their part, he would be ſteady in all his* Promiſes, *and be juſt to his* Word. On the Report of the King's Anſwer, even this Houſe of Commons was ſtruck dumb with Indignation; Fear and Reſentment ſhut up every Mouth for a while: And when *John Coke* Eſq; Burgeſs for *Derby*, ſaid, *He hop'd they were all true* Engliſhmen, *and not to be frighted out of their Duty by a few hard Words*, he was immediately ſent to the *Tower*. When the Houſe of Lords began to debate the King's Speech, they were told, that by giving thanks for it, they had precluded themſelves from finding fault with any part of it. The Lords *Halliſax*, *Nottingham*, and *Mordaunt* oppos'd this; ſo did the Biſhop of *London*, who ſpoke often not only his own Senſe, but the Senſe of the whole Bench of Biſhops, who at laſt began to awake out of their Lethargy, to look about them, and ſee the Torrent of Popery and Slavery threatning to break in upon them. *Jefferies* began to argue with his rough manner, but he was ſoon taken down; it appearing, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, "That how furiouſly ſoever he "rav'd on the Bench, yet where others might "ſpeak with him on equal Terms, he was a "very

A. D. 1685. " very contemptible Man, and he receiv'd as " much Mortification as ſuch a brutal Man as he " was capable of."

Earl of Stamford *petitions the Lords.*

The Earl of *Stamford*, who had been committed to the *Tower* for *High-Treaſon* in *July* laſt, had been deny'd Pen, Ink, and Paper, petition'd the Lords that he might be heard in Parliament. He was brought to their Bar *November* the 17th, where he complain'd of his long and ſtrict Confinement. The Houſe of Peers order'd that he ſhould have Pen, Ink, and Paper, and be try'd in *Weſtminſter-Hall* the firſt of *December*; before which time the Parliament was prorogu'd, and the Earl accepted of the King's general Pardon. Lord *Delamere* preſenting the like Petition to that moſt Honourable Houſe, ſetting forth that he had lain a Priſoner in the *Tower* ever ſince the 26th of *July* for *High-Treaſon*, the Lords were told by *Jefferies*, that Preparations were making for the Trial of that Lord, and if he was not try'd accordingly, he might be bail'd. But try'd he was, and *Jefferies* was Lord High Steward on that Occaſion. There was one Witneſs only to prove he intended a Riſing in *Cheſhire*; and that Witneſs *Saxon* was ſo profligate a Raſcal, and ſo inconſiſtent in his Evidence, that the Lords acquitted the Lord *Delamere*, tho' it was believ'd there was ſomething true in the main of what he ſwore. Biſhop *Burnet* ſpeaks again of Mr. *Finch* the Sollicitor-General; " Purſuant " to the Doctrine he had maintain'd in former " Trials, he made a violent Declamation, to " prove that one Witneſs, with preſumption, " was ſufficient to convict one of High-Treaſon: " but it ſignify'd nothing, he had been con- " tinu'd in his Employment only to lay the Load " of this Judgment on him, and he acted his " part with his uſual Vehemence."

Lord Delamere *try'd and acquitted.*

Finch *Sollicitor-General his Behaviour.*

The Pardon before-mention'd had ſo many Exceptions and Intricacies in it, that it was hardly worth accepting, and ſeem'd rather deſign'd to betray People, than to ſave them. Among others was excepted *John Webber* Gent. the preſent Town-Clerk of *Bridgwater*, which I mention for that he is ſtill living, about 45 Years after, and tho' excepted, was very far from deſerving it for his Affection to the Duke of *Monmouth* or his Cauſe The Court was ſo unmerciful, that they exepted the poor Girls of *Taunton*, who gave *Monmouth* Colours, out of their pretended Pardon; and every one of them was forc'd to pay as much Money as would have been a good Portion to each, for particular Pardons. This Money, and a great deal more, was ſaid to be for the Maids of Honour; whoſe Agent *Brent* the Popiſh Lawyer, had an Under-Agent one *Crane* of *Bridgwater*, and 'tis ſuppos'd that both of them paid themſelves very bountifully out of the Money which was rais'd by this means; ſome Inſtances of which are within my Knowledge.

1686.

A. D. 1686. WE have mention'd the Prorogation of the Parliament in *November* laſt, and when it was to have met again, *February* 10th, 'twas prorogu'd to the 10th of *May*, then to the 22d of *November*, then to the 15th of *February*, and then to the 28th of *April* 1687; but they never met more, and it had been well for *England*, if they never had had a Being. The King reſolv'd to have no Parliament, till he could be ſure of a Majority to take off the Penal Laws and Teſt, that he might deſtroy the Church of *England*, and eſtabliſh a Tyranny over Men's Bodies and Souls. He could not accompliſh theſe things without getting the remainder of the Charters into his hands, and modelling Corporations; in which, he employ'd thoſe vile Wretches *Brent*, *Graham*, and *Burton*; which *Graham*, a ſtarving Pettyfogger of *Clifford's-Inn*, he impos'd as a Burgeſs on the Borough of *Windſor*, in *Echard*'s Wiſe and Rich Parliament: which like a ſudden Storm blew over impetuouſly, made great waſte, and was no more heard of. While there was an Appearance of Courts of Juſtice, and the Forms of Law, there muſt be Judges; and to bring them to his Lure, the King cloſetted thoſe that then ſate in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to bargain with them for their Seats, which they were to keep only on condition they would ſell him their Conſciences, and declare for his Power of diſpenſing with thoſe Laws of which they were the Diſpenſers. He began with Sir *Thomas Jones*, who, ſtain'd as he was with the Blood of *Corniſh*, could not bring himſelf to lye ſo all at once to God, the King, and the Kingdom, as to declare that the King's Will was the Law. *Jones* ſaid plainly, *I cannot do it.* The King reply'd, *I will have twelve Judges of my Opinion.* *Jones* reply'd, *Poſſibly you may find twelve Judges of your Opinion, but you will ſcarce find twelve Lawyers to be ſo.* His ill Succeſs with this and other Judges, made him turn out the Tools which he had hitherto work'd with, to take away the Lives and Properties of the beſt Men in the Kingdom, and put other Tools ſtill more wicked and more worthleſs in their Places; which was done againſt *Eaſter-Term*, *April* 21.

A. D. 1686.

Judges cloſetted.

And turn'd out.

Judges turn'd out.	Put in their Places.
Sir *Thomas Jones*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas.*	Sir *Henry Bedingfield.*
Will. Mountague, Lord Chief Baron.	Sir *Edward Atkins.*
Sir *Job Charlton*, a Judge.	Sir *Edward Lutwiche.*
Sir *Edward Neville*, a Baron of the *Exchequer.*	*Richard Heath* Eſq;

And put in.

There was alſo a Call of Sergeants.

Sir *John Holt*, Recorder of *London.*
Sir *Ambroſe Philips*,
Sir *William Rawlinſon*,
Sir *George Hutchins*,
Sir *John Powell*,
Hugh Hodges Eſq;
Thomas Geers Eſq;
John Tate Eſq;
William Killingworth Eſq;
Chriſtopher Milton Eſq;

} Who were diſgrac'd by the Company they kept.

A Call of Sergeants.

Their Motto was *Deus, Rex, Lex.* The King before the Law.

The latter, *Chriſtopher Milton*, was an unworthy Brother of the great Poet *John Milton.* He ſtarv'd by his Practice, and to mend his Market, turn'd Papiſt. He was one of the dulleſt Fellows that ever appear'd with a Bar-Gown upon his Back in *Weſtminſter-Hall.* But being of the *King's Religion*, a Phraſe now us'd at Court and elſewhere, he was thought fit to be made a Knight and a Judge, as was ſoon after *Richard Alibone* of *Gray's-Inn* Eſq; And on *July* 17, the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellaſis*, the Lord *Dover*, and *Richard Talbot*, now made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, all rank Papiſts, were ſworn of the Privy-Council.

Parliament diſſolv'd.

Popiſh Judges made and Privy-Counſellors.

The Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall* being ſo well fill'd, Work is ſoon found for them. *Miles Prance*, Evi-

A. D. 1686. Evidence againſt *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, who murder'd Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, was indicted for *Perjury*, having been perſuaded to plead *guilty*, and Sentence was formally paſs'd on him as againſt *Oates*, but it was never executed. This Farce over, the next Proſecution to the ſame Tendency was againſt Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, who had the Courage to write an *Addreſs to the* Engliſh Proteſtants *in King* James's *Army*; for which he was try'd and condemn'd, as *Prance* had been, to be whipp'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and the Sentence was executed upon him with a Barbarity exceeding any thing we read of *Pagan* Tormentors. Such were the Effects of the King's Religion and his Temper. *Crew* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Sprat* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *White* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, perform'd the Drudgery of degrading this Reverend and Learned Divine; and *Crew* and *Sprat* drudg'd on as long as they hop'd to get, or to ſave themſelves by it.

Mr. *Edward Whitaker* was fin'd a thouſand Marks for juſtifying the Parliament of *Forty-One*, which was juſtify'd by the Parliament of 1660.

George Speke Eſq; before-mention'd, was fin'd two thouſand Marks for aſſiſting his Friend Mr. *Trenchard*, afterwards Secretary of State, in making his eſcape.

I ſhall not enlarge on the Arguments for and againſt the King's diſpenſing Power, which chang'd the Conſtitution from a limited to an unlimited Monarchy, from a Free Government to a Tyranny; for the Leſſon we learnt at the *Revolution*, and the reſtoring of the Conſtitution at that time, have made all Arguments for diſpenſing Power abſurd and ridiculous: but that the Reader may have one clear View of it in a few Words, I will ſtate the Caſe after Mr. *Acherley*.

The King's future Steps were gaz'd at as ſo many Emanations of his arbitrary Will, until the Meaſures of his Miſgovernment became full; for the King avowedly *departed* from the known Laws, and aſſumed a Power above them, making his *Will* his *Law* in Government.

He then ſpeaks of his making Father *Petre* and the Popiſh Lords Privy-Counſellors, and the Popiſh Lawyers Judges. To enable the Judges and Privy-Counſellors to execute thoſe Offices and Places, the King granted them Diſpenſations and *Powers* to break the *Laws*, which made them incapable to hold thoſe Places and Offices, and alſo incapacitated all Military as well as Civil Officers. The common Doctrine induſtriouſly ſpread at Court was, *That the King's Power to* diſpenſe *with*, i.e. to unmake *and vary the Laws was Law*, meaning the Imperial or Civil Law; for it muſt be own'd, that by that Law, in Countries where it preſides, the King is the ſole Legiſlator, and has in him the whole Power to make new Laws, and to alter old ones, there being no difference between the Power that makes the New, and the Power that alters the Old. The Law itſelf hath enacted the Incapacity of the Officer to hold and enjoy the Office, and the Penalty impos'd on the Perſon who preſum'd to hold or execute an Office, of which he was made incapable, contrary to this Law; therefore the Penalty is but part of the Law.

Wherefore to have this *diſpenſing* Power paſs for Law, King *James* did as the King his Father had before done in the Buſineſs of Ship-Money. *Is not this another Proof of the Deſign of the* Stuartine *Princes to introduce Arbitrary Government, which is what I took upon me to prove?*

Further, the King in the ſame manner irregularly and prepoſterouſly engag'd the Judges to prejudge the Caſe, and agree the Judgment, that the King might by Law diſpenſe with, that is, alter and unmake all the Penal Laws; which Opinion was ſubſcrib'd by all the twelve Judges, except Sir *Thomas Street*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*: And in order to eſtabliſh this *Diſpenſing Power*, as a ſtanding Rule of Law to bind all Men, a *mock Cauſe* was fram'd for one *Godden* a Coachman, againſt his Maſter Sir *Edward Hales*, a Popiſh Colonel, wherein *Godden* brought his Action of Debt upon the *Teſt-Act*, for the Penalty of 500 *l.* as a Forfeiture for the Colonel's holding his Office without qualifying himſelf by receiving the Sacrament. To which Action, Sir *Edward* pleaded the King's Diſpenſation under the Great Seal of *England*. *Hales* had deny'd his Apoſtacy to Dr. *Burnet*, and upon his now denying his Denial, the Doctor ſays, *I was led from thence to ſee there was no Credit to be given to* Papiſts, *where their Church or Religion was concern'd.* Further, "When *Hales*'s Trial was to be brought on, the "Judges were ſecretly ask'd their Opinions, "and ſuch as were not clear to judge as the "Court directed were turn'd out; and upon "two or three Canvaſſings, the Half of them "were diſmiſs'd, and others of more pliable "and obedient Underſtandings were put in their "Places. Some of theſe, as *Milton*, and *Allibone*, "and *Holloway*, and *Heath*, &c. were weak and "ignorant to a Scandal." Even Sir *Edward Herbert* Chief Juſtice, was but an indifferent Lawyer. The Counſel for *Godden* the Coachman were feed on purpoſe to expoſe and betray his Cauſe. This is a moſt melancholy Conſideration, that Gentlemen of ſo generous and uſeful a Profeſſion ſhould be prevail'd with to ſacrifice their Learning, their Honour and Underſtanding to the Pleaſure of the Court. And tho' the Bench of Judges, and the Inns of Court, ſince the Revolution, have for the moſt part been fill'd with excellent and upright Judges, with able and worthy Counſellors; yet when I daily ſee ſome of the ſame Profeſſion affecting to diſtinguiſh themſelves in factious dirty Cauſes, I am not without Fears, that whenever a Miniſtry have bad Work to do, they will never want Inſtruments. After a few ſenſeleſs and cold Arguments on both ſides, Judgment was given for the Defendant *Hales*. Upon which Mr. *Acherley* writes thus: "The Wildneſs of "the Judges Poſitions for the King's *Diſpenſing* "*Power* need not be expos'd in worſe Colours "than the mercenary Reſolutions themſelves do "expoſe them: For if the giving this Judg-"ment, and the Reaſons on which it was foun-"ded, were not High-Treaſon, in endeavouring "to alter and ſubvert the fundamental Form "of this Government, which the Conſtitution "had made unalterable, then there never was "any ſuch Endeavour, nor can be, neither hath "*Britain* any Conſtitution or any Laws to be "ſubverted, but ſuch Laws only as depend on "the King's Will." And now after all *Echard*'s Panegyricks on this King, his Royal Virtues and Qualites, does he at laſt drop him in ſome meaſure, and own, *That by the Breath of a few of his mercenary Judges in effect, the Laws of* England *were baſely given up at once into the Power and Will of the King.* A Truth which is extorted from him by his Reſentment of the King's putting a ſtop to all Perſecution of Diſſenters, and dealing a little roughly with the Church of *England*. Let not any one think I judge uncharitably, for I have prov'd, that from the beginning of that Perſecution to the end of it,

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Ach. *p.* 632. *Sir* Edward Hales's *Caſe.*

Judges give it for Diſpenſing Power.

High-Treaſon.

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it, he has been in a continual Rapture in Contemplation of the Bleſſings of the Government under King *Charles* and King *James*. But now the latter, tho' with a very ill Deſign, is about to do a very good Act, and take off the Perſecutors, who had been worrying the Proteſtant-Nonconformiſts, the King and Court have few good Words from him, and in him dwells the Spirit of his Party. He tells us the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who wrote againſt *Popery*, *gain'd immortal Honour with their Pens, while the* Proteſtant Diſſenters *of all kinds appear'd to the World almoſt like unconcern'd Spectators.* And Biſhop *Burnet* here miſrepreſents them alſo; *The Clergy began generally to preach againſt Popery, which the Diſſenters did not.* Dr. *Nichols* is as ſevere as *Echard* in this Charge againſt the Nonconformiſts, which is thus animadverted upon by Dr. *Calamy*. "It ſhould be conſider'd, that the *Diſſenters* had written againſt "the *Romaniſts* very freely before, and had the "leſs reaſon to do it at this time; that they "did not find their People ſo much in danger, "as many that were educated in the Church "of *England*; that both in City and Country "they preach'd with great Freedom againſt *Po-*"*pery*, which ſhew'd that if they wrote leſs a-"gainſt it than others, it did not ariſe from "Fear; that many of them thought it not ſo "proper to take this Work out of the hands of the "Divines of the Church of *England*, who not "only did it well, but who were in duty bound "to do the more in oppoſition to the common "Danger, becauſe they had done ſo much to "haſten and occaſion it; and who ſo viſibly im-"prov'd in Light, and in the Largeneſs of their "Notions, by being neceſſitated to ſupport ſome "Principles in theſe Debates, which they had "ſlighted before, and ſeem'd willing to diſcard." *Again*, "Several of the *Diſſenters* did at that "time attempt to publiſh ſome Tracts againſt "*Popery*, but met with Diſcouragement when "they ſent them to the Preſs, becauſe they "came from ſuch as were not of the Church of "*England*, who ſeem'd deſirous to engroſs "the Management of this Controverſy at this "time wholly to themſelves. This actually "was the caſe as to ſome Treatiſes then writ-"ten by Nonconformiſts. And it need not ſeem "ſtrange if this, being generally known, ſhould "hinder others from making the like Attempts."

Clergy defend the Church *againſt Popery.*

Diſſenters Reaſons for not writing.

Still perſecuted.

It muſt be remember'd that even when the common Enemy was threatning common Ruin, the Diſſenters were proſecuted in the wonted manner. Their Meetings were frequently diſturb'd both in City and Country. Fines were levy'd upon them. The Informers broke in upon Mr. *Fleetwood*, Sir *John Hartop*, and others at *Stoke-Newington* to levy Diſtreſſes 6 or 7000 *l. upon them* by virtue of the *Stinging* Acts. Many were excommunicated, and had *Capias's* iſſu'd out againſt them. Dr. *Calamy* does juſtice to the Church of *England* Clergy in the following Words: *A noble Sett of Controverſial Writings were now publiſh'd by the Divines of the Church of* England, *againſt the Errors of the Church of* Rome; *and it muſt be own'd they ſignaliz'd themſelves, and gain'd immortal Honour by their Performances.* It would be baſe and ungrateful not to do Homage to the Memory of thoſe illuſtrious Champions for the Proteſtant Religion, *Tillotſon* and *Sharp*, afterwards Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*; *Patrick*, *Stillingfleet*, *Williams*, afterwards Biſhops of *Ely*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*; *Tenniſon*, the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: To the great Names of *Sherlock*, *Clagget*, *Gee*, *Whitby*; and tho' *Atterbury* deſerted the Proteſtant Cauſe afterwards, and lives now in Baniſhment, he at that time bore his Teſtimony againſt Popery; ſo did *Hooper*, late Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; *Aldrich*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church*; *Burnet*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*; *Fowler* of *Glouceſter*; and in a very particular manner, his Grace Dr. *Wake*, the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Theſe Reverend and Learned Fathers and Doctors of the Proteſtant Church of *England* were eſteem'd, belov'd, and reverenc'd at home and abroad, as the Bulwarks of the Proteſtant Religion, and their Names and Memories are ſtill precious in the Minds of all good Proteſtants and good *Engliſhmen*. Theſe Divines, and others of their Chriſtian and Charitable Principles and Practices, and their Adherents, are what we always do, and always ſhall underſtand to be the Church of *England*; and for thoſe who abuſe that Name, abetting Superſtition, Perſecution and Arbitrary Power, we never look upon them as true Sons of our Proteſtant Church, and have treated and ſhall treat them accordingly. Tho' Dr. *South* did before and after this behave with great Bitterneſs and Indecency towards our Proteſtant Brethren, and waſte many Jokes and Puns upon them in and out of the Pulpit, he now prov'd a good Churchman in the true Acceptation of the Word. He boldly oppos'd the Progreſs of Popery; and being offer'd the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, he refus'd to accept of it, when he underſtood it was expected he ſhould thank Father *Petre* for it, who recommended him to the King.

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Dr. South *a good Proteſtant.*

Happy had it been for *England*, if the common Intereſt of Religion and Liberty had then ſo united the Hearts of both Churchmen and Diſſenters, that all odious Diſtinctions had been laid aſide for ever; and there had no other Emulation remain'd among us, but who ſhould be the beſt Chriſtians and the beſt Subjects to the Kings and Queens, King *James's* Succeſſors, who had a juſt Claim to our *Active* Obedience, and then *Paſſive* became Nonſenſe.

Mr. *Acherley* informs us, That King *James* exceeded the Proceedings of his Royal Father, by erecting a High Commiſſion-Court in *April*, but the Commiſſion was not open'd till *Auguſt*. This was in direct defiance of the Acts of Parliament by which that Power was aboliſh'd; and by that Commiſſion he brought the People under more *Preſſures* from this new-erected Court, than they had ſuffer'd under the old one before its Suppreſſion.

High Commiſſion-Court.

The Commiſſioners were,

George Lord *Jefferies*, Lord-Chancellor.

Laurence Hyde, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord-Treaſurer.

Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord-Preſident of the Council.

Nathaniel Lord Biſhop of *Durham*.

Thomas Lord-Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

John Earl of *Mulgrave*.

Sir *Edward Herbert*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*.

Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*.

Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*.

Sir *Thomas Jenour*, Recorder of *London*.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was nam'd in the Commiſſion, but he refus'd to act. The Biſhop of *Durham* was lifted up with the Honour done him: *His Name would now be recorded in Hiſtory.* And it was ſuch a Conſideration that made *Eroſtratus* ſet fire to the Temple of *Epheſus*. *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was flatter'd with the Hopes of ſucceeding Dr.

Dolben

A. D. 1686. *Dolben* in the See of *York*. This was unqueſtionably an Attempt to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and to lay waſte all its Fences againſt *Popery*. For, according to *Acherley*, the King obſerving that the Proteſtant Clergy were at laſt *rouzed*, and *courageouſly met and from the Pulpit engag'd the Torrent of Popery, his Majeſty ſent out his Order by way of a Letter*, directed *to the Biſhops*, prohibiting *the Clergy to preach on controverted Points of Religion*, as his Predeceſſor and Pattern the Popiſh Queen *Mary* had done before. The King reſolv'd to proceed ſeverely againſt thoſe who offended againſt this Order; and the Storm fell firſt on Dr. *Sharp*, the learned and pious Rector of St. *Giles*, who receiv'd, one day, as he was coming out of the Pulpit, a Paper ſent him, as he believ'd, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of Challenge upon ſome Points of Controverſy touch'd by him in ſome of his Sermons. Upon this he, not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an Anſwer, preach'd an Anſwer to it in a Sermon. And after he had confuted it, he concluded, ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their Religion on ſuch Grounds. This was carry'd to Court, and repreſented as a Reflection on the King for changing on thoſe Grounds. The Information as to the Words pretended to be ſpoken, was falſe; but without enquiring into that, the Earl of *Sunderland* ſent an Order to the Biſhop of *London*, in the King's Name, to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp* immediately, and then to examine the Matter. The Biſhop ſaid, he had no power to proceed in ſuch a ſummary way: But if an Accuſation was regularly brought into his Court, he would proceed to ſuch a Cenſure as could be warranted by the Eccleſiaſtical Law; yet he would, in the mean time, do what was in his power, and deſire *Sharp* to abſtain from officiating, till the Matter ſhould be better underſtood. He wrote thus to Lord *Sunderland*, and ſent it by Dr. *Sharp*, who alſo behav'd with great Submiſſion, but it had no effect. The King being reſolv'd that the Biſhop of *London* ſhould be proceeded againſt, for not obeying his Orders, which, according to Law, could not be obey'd; he was cited to appear before the High Commiſſion-Court, and many Perſons of Quality accompany'd him, as Sir *Francis Compton*, Sir *Thomas Clarges*, Sir *John Lowther* of *Lancaſhire*, Sir *John Nicholas*, *&c.* which gave new Offence. *Jefferies* treated him in that brutal way that was now become natural to him. The Biſhop ſaid, *Here was a new Court, of which he knew nothing, ſo he deſir'd a Copy of their Commiſſion.* Jefferies cry'd, *You may ſee it in every Coffee houſe.* He had ſome days allow'd him to prepare for his Defence, in which time he ſecretly endeavour'd, by any decent Submiſſion, to have the Matter compromis'd; but that being in vain, he excepted to the Authority of the Court, as being not only founded on no Law, but contrary to the expreſs Words of the Statute that put down the *High Commiſſion*: but it was intimated, that if he ſhould inſiſt upon that, it would draw a much heavier Indignation on him. He then urg'd as before, that he could not cenſure Dr. *Sharp* without a Proceſs, than which nothing can be plainer, according to Law, Reaſon, and the conſtant Practice of Eccleſiaſtical Courts. However, *Jefferies* and his Brother Judges proceeded to Sentence of Suſpenſion; three of them were at firſt againſt it, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, ſo that the Sentence could not paſs, unleſs one of thoſe three were brought over. The King ſpoke of it roundly to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who was ſo anxious about the Church's *Danger*, and ſo zealous for its Grandeur, Riches and Power, when he put the Dedication to his Father the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory: But now, ſays my Lord of *Sarum*, *Seeing he muſt either concur in the Sentence, or part with the white Staff, he yielded*; and my Lord of *London* was ſuſpended *ex Officio*. Nor were *Crew* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Sprat* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *White* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, aſham'd to enter upon his Office. But Biſhop *Burnet* aſſures us, *His Clergy, for all the Suſpenſion, were really more govern'd by the ſecret Intimations of his Pleaſure, than they had been by his Authority before.* Having ſtruck this bold Stroke, the Court was willing to ſee how it would be born with before they ſtruck another; ſo Dr. *Sharp* was admitted to offer a general Petition, importing how ſorry he was to find himſelf under the King's Diſpleaſure, upon which, and a gentle Reprimand, he was ſuffer'd to return to the Exerciſe of his Function. Six Months after the Suſpenſion, in *February* the next Year, the Biſhop of *London* petition'd to have it taken off; but making no Acknowledgment of any Fault, it lay ſtill upon him tho' there were no further Proceedings in it.

Proceedings againſt Dr. Sharp.

And the Biſhop of London.

A. D. 1686.

He is ſuſpended.

An Accident happen'd at this time, which gave the Queen great Offence, and put the Prieſts much out of Countenance. The King continu'd to go ſtill to Mrs. *Sidley*, and ſhe gain'd ſo much on him, that at laſt ſhe prevail'd to be made Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*. As ſoon as the Queen heard of this, ſhe gave order to bring all the Prieſts that were admitted to a particular Confidence into her Cloſet, and when ſhe had them about her, ſhe ſent to deſire the King to come and ſpeak to her; when he came, he was ſurpriz'd to ſee ſuch a Company there, but much more when they fell all on their Knees before him; and the Queen broke out into a bitter Mourning for this new Honour, which they expected would be follow'd with the ſetting her up openly as Miſtreſs. The Queen was then in an ill Habit of Body, and had an Illneſs which, as was thought, would end in a Conſumption. It was believ'd her Sickneſs was of ſuch a nature, that it gave a melancholy Proſpect that, if ſhe ſhould live, ſhe could have no Children. The Prieſts told the King, a Blemiſh in his Life blaſted their Deſigns; and the more it appear'd, and the longer it continu'd, the more ineffectual all their Endeavours would prove. The King was mov'd, and out of Countenance for what he had done; but to quiet them all, he promiſed to ſee the Lady no more. He indeed ſent her to *Ireland*, but ſhe return'd after a ſhort Stay, and his ill Commerce with her was ſtill continu'd.

The King's Amours.

The Queen and her Prieſts mourn for it.

About this time *Samuel Parker*, already mention'd, was made Biſhop of *Oxford*; he had been ſo rigid a Fanatick, that he refus'd Conformity a good while after the Reſtauration. His Father was a thorow-pac'd Independent Republican and Sequeſtrator; and he himſelf, without one Epiſcopal Qualification, was a Scandal to that Holy Order. All the Biſhops of this King's making were of the ſame Merit, as if he intended to bring the Church into Diſgrace by the Characters of her Governors.

Parker *Biſhop of* Oxford.

The *Diſpenſing Power* being a Point gain'd, a *Toleration* was forthwith granted to all ſorts of Diſſenters, but the Papiſts had the chief Benefit of it, they being not only tolerated, but careſs'd, advanc'd and enrich'd. The free and open Exerciſe of their Religion was ſet up every where, and Jeſuits Schools and Seminaries erected, not only in *London*, but alſo in the moſt conſiderable Towns in the Kingdom. The Church

Toleration.

A. D. 1686.

Church of *England*, ſays *Echard*, *had now a precarious* Title *to the National Church, and began to ſee the impending Dangers*, which ſo great a Part of that Body ſhut their Eyes againſt in the days of *Abhorring* and *Addreſſing*. *Romiſh* Candidates had already ſwallow'd up Eccleſiaſtical Preferments and Dignities in their Hopes and Expectations. Four *Popiſh* Biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the Royal Chapel, and diſpatch'd into the Country under the Title of *Vicars Apoſtolical*, to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Functions in their reſpective Dioceſſes. Monks and Fryars appear'd in their Habits at *Whitehall* and *St. James's*, and made no ſcruple to tell the Proteſtants, *They hop'd, in a little time, to walk in Proceſſion thro'* Cheapſide. A mighty Harveſt of new Converts was now expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, whole Flocks of *Prieſts* and *Regulars* were ſent from beyond Sea to reap it. But what ſort of Miſſionaries they were, will be ſeen by this account of them in Biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory.

Popery flouriſhes.

The Ignorance of Popiſh Prieſts.

The Earl of *Middleton* had married into a Popiſh Family, and probably by that Intereſt had been preferr'd to be Secretary of State. He was a Man of Parts and Generoſity, but of looſe Principles in Religion. A Prieſt being ſent to inſtruct him, he began with *Tranſubſtantiation*, of which he ſaid he would convince him immediately, ſaying, *You believe the Trinity. Middleton* ſtopp'd him, and ſaid, *Who told you ſo?* At which he ſeem'd amaz'd. The Earl told him, he expected he ſhould convince him of his Belief, but not queſtion him of his own; with this the Prieſt was ſo diſorder'd, that he could proceed no farther.

Ridicul'd by the Earl of Middleton.

The Earl of *Mulgrave* Lord Chamberlain, was apt to comply in every thing that he thought might be acceptable; for he went with the King to Maſs, and kneel'd at it; and being look'd on as indifferent to all Religions, the Prieſts made an Attack on him. He heard them gravely arguing for *Tranſubſtantiation*, telling them he was willing to receive Inſtruction. He had taken much pains to bring himſelf to believe in God, who made the World, and all Men in it. But it muſt not be an ordinary Force of Argument that could make him believe, that Man was quits with God, and made God again. *Kirk* was alſo ſpoken to, to change his Religion, and reply'd briskly, *I am already preengag'd, for I promis'd the King of* Morocco, *that if ever I chang'd my Religion, I would turn* Mahometan. One day the King gave the Duke of *Norfolk* the Sword of State to carry before him to Chapel, and he ſtood at the door, upon which the King ſaid to him, *My Lord, your Father would have gone further.* To which the Duke anſwer'd, *Your Majeſty's Father was the better Man, and he would not have gone ſo far.*

Kirk's *Repartee.*

Duke of Norfolk's.

Earl of Salisbury *turns.*

The Earl of *Salisbury* was gain'd over by the King or his Prieſts; but his Character does no Credit to neither them nor their Religion, otherwiſe than as he was a Nobleman.

Earl of Rocheſter *refuſes.*

The Earl of *Rocheſter* had more pains taken with him, tho' all was to no purpoſe. The King himſelf ſpoke to him, and deſir'd he would ſuffer himſelf to be inſtructed in Religion. He anſwer'd, He was fully ſatisfy'd about it. But the King ſtill preſſing him to hear his Prieſts, he ſaid, he deſir'd then to have ſome of the *Engliſh Clergy* preſent, to which the King conſented, only he excepted to Dr. *Tillotſon* and Dr. *Stillingfleet*. Lord *Rocheſter* told him, He would take thoſe who ſhould happen to be in waiting, for the Forms of the Chapel were ſtill kept up, and Dr. *Patrick* and Dr. *Jane* were the Men.

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Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, his Ill-Willers had another Story. He had notice given him that he would ſhortly loſe the white Staff, upon which his Lady, who was then ſick, wrote to the Queen, and begg'd ſhe would honour her ſo far, as to come and let her have ſome Diſcourſe with her. The Queen came, and ſtaid above two hours. Lady *Rocheſter* complain'd of the ill Offices that were done them. The Queen ſaid, *All the Proteſtants are now turning againſt us, and we know not how we can truſt any of them*; upon which the Lady ſaid, *My Lord is not ſo wedded to any Opinion, as not to be ready to be better inſtructed.* And it was ſaid, that this gave the Riſe to the King's propoſing a Conference. The Earl deny'd he knew any thing of it: And his Lady died not long after. It was ſaid further, That the day before the Conference, he had an Advertiſement from a ſure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his Place; and that the King had engag'd himſelf to put the Treaſury in Commiſſion, and bring ſome of the Popiſh Lords into it. The Popiſh Prieſts *Gifford* and *Godden* began the Conference; and when they had done, the Earl ſaid, *If you have nothing ſtronger to urge, I will not trouble theſe learned Gentlemen to ſay any thing, for I am ſure I can anſwer all I have heard*; and ſo he did, with much Life and Warmth, not without Scorn, ſaying, *Are theſe Grounds to perſuade Men to change their Religion?* This he urg'd over and over again with great Vehemence. The King ſeeing in what Temper he was, broke off the Conference, charging all that were preſent to ſay nothing of it: But he took from him the *white Staff*, allowing him 4000 Pounds a Year for Life; and beſides the 16000 Pounds out of Lord *Grey*'s Eſtate, he had another Grant valu'd at 20000 Pounds. In the Treaſury were put *John* Lord *Bellaſis*, *Sidney* Lord *Godolphin*, *Henry* Lord *Dover*, Sir *John Ernle* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir *Stephen Fox*. *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* was made Lord Privy-Seal in the room of the Earl of *Clarendon*, about the end of *December*. King *James*, who was more forward to reſtore Popery in *England*, than even the Pope himſelf would have had him to have been, ſends now a formal Embaſſy to *Innocent* XI. who did not approve of his Counſels, as being in an Intereſt, which he hated, that of *France*. The Perſon pitch'd on for this Embaſſy was *Roger Palmer*, whoſe Wife King *Charles* took away from him, and in exchange for her made him Earl of *Caſtlemain*. He was furniſh'd with moſt ſumptuous Equipage, and had a magnificent Train. His Inſtructions were to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* to the Holy See. The Pope receiv'd this Ambaſſador, as one that ſaw farther than thoſe that ſent him. He and the Cardinals gave him a gave cold Reception, except Cardinal *Howard*, and thoſe of the *French* Faction. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd on by Noiſe and Shew, and knew the World too well to expect great Matters from ſuch haſty ill-tim'd Advances. *Caſtlemain* met with nothing but Mortifications at *Rome*, which occaſion'd his making as ſhort a Stay as was poſſible. He had ſeveral Audiences of the Pope, but to little purpoſe; for whenever he began to talk of Buſineſs, the Pope was ſeaſonably attack'd with a Fit of Coughing, which broke off the Ambaſſador's Diſcourſe for that time. Theſe Audiences and Fits of *Coughing* continu'd from time to time, whilſt *Caſtlemain* continu'd at *Rome*, and were a Subject of Diverſion to all but the *French* Faction

A. D. 1686.

A Conference about it.

Earl of Caſtlemain *Ambaſſador at* Rome.

A. D. 1686. Faction at that Court. At length he was advis'd to come to Threats, and to give out that he would be gone, ſince he could not have an opportunity to treat with his Holineſs about the Buſineſs he came for. *Innocent* was ſo little concern'd at the Ambaſſador's Reſentment, that when he was told of it, he anſwer'd with his ordinary Coldneſs, *Well, let him go, and tell him, it were fit he riſe early in the Morning, that he may reſt himſelf at Noon; for in this Country 'tis dangerous travelling in the heat of the day.* He could only obtain of the Pope two trifling Requeſts, which could hardly have been deny'd to an ordinary *Courier*; the one was, *A Licence for the Mareſchal* d'Humieres's *Daughter to marry her Uncle*; the other was, *A Diſpenſation of the Jeſuits to Father* Petre, *to enjoy a Biſhoprick.* The want of which was the reaſon that the Archbiſhoprick of *York* was kept vacant ſo long. *Welwood* is miſtaken here, for he alſo got a Cardinal's Cap for *Rhinaldi* of *Eſte*, the Queen's Uncle. The *Engliſh* Jeſuits at *Rome* were at a great Expence of Money, Flattery, Fuſtian and Painting to entertain the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. I ſhall only repeat one *Latin* Diſtich, as a Sample of the reſt, and a Prophecy of the Succeſs of the Dutcheſs of *Modena*'s Negotiation with the Lady of *Loretto*.

Pro natis, Jacobe, gemmis, Flos candida regum,
Hos natura tibi ſi neget, Aſtra dabunt.

" If, Flow'r of Kings, a Son is in thy Pray'rs,
" Tho' thou'rt too old, thou'lt have one from the Stars.

Caſtlemain's going to *Rome* was High-Treaſon by Law, and *Jefferies* himſelf was uneaſy at it. The Pope probably had the greater Diſliking to *Caſtlemain*, becauſe it was thought he was a Jeſuit, and *Innocent* hated that Order. He was unhappy in every Step of his Embaſſy. He diſputed with a nice ſort of Affectation every Punctilio of the Ceremonial. *Welwood* is alſo miſtaken as to the *Coughing Fits*; for *Caſtlemain* had an Audience of the Pope, after his Conferences with Cardinal *Cibo*, then Cardinal *Patron*, whom he preſs'd much to put an end to the Differences between *Innocent* XI. and *Lewis* XIV. in the Matter of the Franchiſes, that it might appear that the Pope had a due Regard to a King who had extirpated Hereſy, and to another King who was endeavouring to bring other Kingdoms into the Sheepfold. What muſt the World ſay, if two ſuch Kings, like whom, no Ages had produc'd any, ſhould be neglected and ill us'd at *Rome* for ſome Punctilio's? He added, That if theſe Matters were ſettled, and if the Pope would enter into Concert with them, they would ſet about the deſtroying Hereſy, and would begin with the *Dutch*, upon whom, he ſaid, they would fall without any Declaration of War, treating them as a Company of Rebels and Pirates, who had not a Right as Free-States and Princes have, to a formal Denunciation of War. *Cibo* was amaz'd at this, and gave notice of it to the Imperial Cardinals; they ſent it to the Emperor, and he ſignify'd it to the Prince of *Orange*, which, doubtleſs, put the States General and the Prince of *Orange* upon concerting Meaſures for their Preſervation. And it is ſaid that Mr. *Sidney*, afterwards Earl of *Rumney*, being then at *Rome*, was admitted to ſeveral Audiences in the Pope's Cloſet, when *Caſtlemain* could hardly procure one in the Hall of Audience. *Sidney* had no publick Character, but was entruſted by the Prince of *Orange* with ſome Secrets to be communicated to the Pope;

Dutch to be deſtroy'd.

and ſome People have fancy'd, that even the *Revolution* was one of them; but perhaps that's too viſionary. The Ambaſſador ſeeing his Remonſtrances to *Cibo* were ineffectual, demanded the above-mention'd Audience of his Holineſs, to whom he lamented the little Regard that was had to two ſuch great Kings. He reflected on the Pope, as ſhewing more Zeal about Temporal Concerns than Spiritual, which, he ſaid, gave great Scandal to all Chriſtendom. He concluded, that ſince he ſaw the Interceſſions made in his Maſter's Name were ſo little conſider'd, he would make haſte home. To which the Pope only ſaid, *Lei e padrone*, He might do as he pleas'd: But he ſent one after the Ambaſſador as he was withdrawing, to let him know how much he was offended with his Diſcourſes; that he receiv'd no ſuch Treatment from any Perſon; and that the Ambaſſador was to expect no other private Audience. Cardinal *Howard* did what he could to ſoften Matters; but *Caſtlemain* was ſo entirely in the hands of the Jeſuits, that he had little regard to any thing the Cardinal ſuggeſted to him.

A. D. 1686.

Caſtlemain ſends the Pope.

In the mean time the King and his Prieſts were indefatigable in their Endeavours to make Converts, among whom 'tis reported the Earl of *Sunderland* was one; he certainly went aſſiduouſly to the Popiſh Chapel, and perform'd his Cringes with more than ordinary Ceremony; but I do not find he was formally *reconcil'd*, as the Cant then was; and Father *Petre*, after he had extoll'd the Earl's Obedience at a Meeting of the Jeſuits, added, *It is neceſſary for him as yet to appear a* Proteſtant, *for weighty Reaſons of State.* The King caus'd his Army to encamp this Summer on *Hounſlow-Heath*, where a Chapel was erected at his Head Quarters, and *Maſs* publickly ſaid there every day, but ſo few went to it, and thoſe few were treated by the reſt with ſo much Scorn, that it was not eaſy to bear it. 'Twas viſible ſuch an Army was not to be truſted in any Quarrel, in which Religion was concern'd, ſo a Reſolution was form'd to make Recruits in *Ireland*. This Standing Army conſiſted of 15000 Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, which number was increas'd afterwards; and beſides the few Popiſh Officers mention'd by *Orleans*, and copy'd by *Echard*, as *Berwick*, *Dunbarton*, *Dover*, *Montgomery*, *Hamilton* and *Sackville*, were commanded by *Sarsfield*, *Lutterel*, *Gage*, *Peterborough*, *Carne*, *Butler*, *Wachop*, *Forbes*, *Mac Ellicut*, *Douglas* and *Bouchan*, all Popiſh Officers, with many others of the ſame Stamp.

Earl of Sunderland affects Popery.

At this time a great Diſcovery was made of the Intentions of the Court by the Jeſuits of *Liege*, who, in a Letter they wrote to their Brethren at *Friburgh* in *Switzerland*, gave them a long Account of the Affairs of *England*. They told them the King was receiv'd into a Communication of the Merits of their Order; that he expreſs'd great Joy at his becoming a Son of the Society, and profeſs'd he was as much concern'd in all their Intereſts as in his own. He wiſh'd they could furniſh him with many Prieſts, to aſſiſt him in the Converſion of the Nation, which he was reſolv'd to bring about, or to die a MARTYR in endeavouring it; and that he would rather ſuffer Death for carrying on that Work, than live ever ſo long and happy without attempting it. He ſaid, he muſt make haſte in it, otherwiſe, if he ſhould die before he had accompliſhed it, he would leave them worſe than he found them. They added, among many Particulars, That when one of them kneel'd down to kiſs his Hand, he took him up, and ſaid, *Since you are a Prieſt, I ought rather*

The Letter of the Jeſuits of Liege.

K. James a Son of the Jeſuits.

A. D. 1686.

His Weakneſs and Bigotry.

to kneel to you and kiſs your hand; and when another of them was lamenting that his next Heir was an Heretick, he ſaid, *God would provide an Heir*; another Fore-runner of the *Pretender*. The Jeſuits of *Friburgh* ſhew'd the Letter about; one of the Miniſters, on whom they were taking ſome pains, and of whom they had ſome hopes, had got a ſight of it, and obtain'd Leave to take a Copy of it, pretending he would make good uſe of it, and he ſent it to Mr. *Heidegger*, the famous Profeſſor of Divinity at *Zurich*, whoſe Son is the famous Profeſſor of *Opera's* and *Maſquerades* at *London*. Other Copies of it were ſent both from *Geneva* and *Switzerland*. One of theſe came to *Dyckvelt* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, who told King *James* of it; and that his Prieſts were full of Deſigns and Hopes, which gave Jealouſies that could not be eaſily remov'd. The King read the Letter, and promis'd to let him ſee 'twas an Impoſture invented to make him more odious; but he never ſpoke of it to him afterwards, from whence *Dyckvelt* concluded the Letter was no Forgery.

The King being very intent upon having the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts* repeal'd, declar'd, that none ſhould ſerve him but thoſe who would vote for it. He ask'd the Marquis of *Hallifax* if he would do ſo, and the Marquis frankly reply'd, *Never*; adding, *He thought the keeping up thoſe Laws was neceſſary even for the King's Service, ſince the Nation truſted ſo much to them, that the publick Quiet was chiefly preſerv'd by that means.* The King ſaid, *Tho' I will never forget paſt Services, yet ſince you cannot be prevail'd on in that particular, I am reſolv'd to have all of a piece*; ſo he was turn'd out, and Lord *Sunderland* made Preſident of the Council, keeping ſtill his Place of Secretary of State.

King talks with Lord Hallifax about the Teſt.

When Archbiſhop *Sancroft* had receiv'd Articles from ſome Biſhops againſt *Cartwright* and *Parker*, two new nominated Prelates, he promis'd Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, that he would not conſecrate them, till he had examin'd the Truth of the Articles; but being afraid of a *Præmunire*, he did it without ſuch Examination.

Maſſey a Papiſt made Dean of Chriſt-Church.

The Deanery of *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford* was given to one *Maſſey*, a new Convert, tho' he had neither the Gravity, the Learning, nor the Age, ſuitable to ſuch a Dignity. Not long after this, the Preſident of *Magdalen College* died, and the King ſent the Fellows a *Mandamus*, requiring them to chooſe one *Farmer*, an ignorant, vicious Perſon, who had no other Merit than his Apoſtacy, and turning Papiſt. *Mandamus* Letters had no legal Authority in them; but all the great Preferments of the Church being in the King's diſpoſal, thoſe who pretended to Favour, were not apt to refuſe his Recommendation, leſt that ſhould afterwards be remember'd to their prejudice. But now ſince it was viſible in what Channel Favour was like to run, leſs regard was had to ſuch a Letter; and the Fellows of that Houſe choſe the reverend and worthy Dr. *Hough*, one of their Body, who was in all reſpects a ſtatutable Man. They carry'd their Election according to their Statutes, to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* their Viſitor, who confirm'd it, which was a legal Settlement of that Matter, but the Court highly reſented it. Biſhop *Burnet* writes, "It was much obſer-
"ved, that this Univerſity, that had aſſerted
"the King's Prerogative in the higheſt Strains
"of the moſt abject Flattery poſſible, both in
"their Addreſſes, and in a wild Decree they
"had made three Years before this, in which
"they had laid together a Set of ſuch high-
"flown Maxims, as muſt eſtabliſh an uncon-
"troulable Tyranny, ſhould be the firſt Body of
"the Nation that ſhould feel the Effects of it
"moſt ſenſibly." The Cauſe was brought before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; the Fellows were firſt ask'd why they had not choſen *Farmer*, in Obedience to the King's Letter? They anſwer'd by offering a Liſt of many juſt Exceptions againſt him, the Subject was fruitful, and the Scandals he had given were very publick. The Court was aſham'd of him, and inſiſted no more on him; but they ſaid the Houſe ought to have ſhewn more Reſpect to the King's Letter, than to have proceeded to a Choice in Contempt of it. The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion declar'd the Election of Dr. *Hough* null, and put the Houſe under Suſpenſion. Then *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford* was recommended by the King, and the Fellows were commanded to proceed to a new Election in his favour. They excus'd themſelves, ſince they were bound by their Oaths to maintain their Statutes; and having made a legal Election, legally confirm'd, they could not proceed to a new Choice, *College* Preferments being Free-Holds could only be judg'd in a Court of Record. The King in his Progreſs next Year came to *Oxford*, ſent for the Fellows, and order'd them to go preſently and chuſe *Parker* for their Preſident in a Strain of Language ill ſuited to the Majeſty of a crown'd Head; for he ſpoke to them very coarſely, and in a very angry Tone, yet it had no Effect upon them: They inſiſted ſtill on their Oaths, tho' with a Humility and Submiſſion, which they hop'd would have mollify'd him; and they continuing thus firm, a ſubaltern Commiſſion was ſent from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners to finiſh the Matter. Biſhop *Cartwright* was the Head of this Commiſſion, Sir *Charles Hedges* the King's Advocate to manage it. *Cartwright* acted in ſo rough a manner, that it ſhew'd he was reſolv'd to ſacrifice all things to the King's Pleaſure. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "'Twas an afflicting thing, which
"ſeem'd to have a peculiar Character of Indig-
"nity in it, that this firſt Act of Violence, com-
"mitted againſt the legal Poſſeſſions of the
"Church, was executed by one Biſhop, and
"done in favour of another."

Fellows of Magdalen College proſecuted.

Oxford for Tyranny, according to Biſhop Burnet.

The new Preſident was turn'd out, and becauſe he would not deliver the Keys of the Houſe, the Doors were broken open, and *Parker* forcibly put in Poſſeſſion. The Fellows were requir'd to make their Submiſſion, to ask Pardon for what was paſt, and to accept of the Biſhop for their Preſident; they ſtill pleaded their Oaths, and were all turn'd out, except two that ſubmitted. The Nation as well as the Univerſity look'd on all this with a juſt Indignation. It was thought an open Piece of Robbery and Burglary, when Men authoriz'd by no legal Commiſſion came, and by Force turn'd Men out of their Poſſeſſion and Freehold. It agreed ill with this King of his Word's Profeſſions ſo often repeated to maintain the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſh'd; for this ſtruck at the whole Eſtate, and all the Temporalities of the Church, and could not but inflame the Church Party and the Clergy. From this Time the Meſſages to the Prince of *Orange* were very preſſing, all the pretended Notions of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* were univerſally exploded, recanted and renounc'd, even by the Biſhops, the Prieſts and Deacons, by the two Univerſities, by even the Addreſſers and Abhorrers; thoſe Doctrines which *Echard* ſaid were ſo neceſſary, are now diſown'd and deteſted. The King gave himſelf great Liberties in Diſcourſe

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courſe againſt the Church, and it was plain all the Services that Party had done him, both in oppoſing the Excluſion, and upon his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, were forgotten.

Perſecution in King Charles the Second's Time.

Jerry White collected the Names of 60,000 Perſons, who were proſecuted on a religious Account, from the *Reſtoration* to the *Revolution*, 5000 of whom died in Priſon; he told Lord *Dorſet* that King *James* offer'd him 1000 Guineas for the Liſt, as far as he had carry'd it in his Time, to expoſe the *Church*, but *Jerry* would not part with it.

Cambridge had ſome time before this felt the Weight of the King's Diſpleaſure. He ſent his *Mandamus* to order F. *Francis*, an ignorant *Benedictine* Monk, to be receiv'd a Maſter of Arts, as a Way to let Monks into the Degrees of the Univerſity. The *Mandamus* was refus'd with great Unanimity and Firmneſs, which the Court had not expected from them. New and repeated Orders full of ſevere Threatnings in caſe of Diſobedience were ſent to them. Some feeble or falſe Men of the Univerſity try'd to compound the Matter by granting this Degree to F. *Francis*, but enacting at the ſame time that it ſhould not be a Precedent for any other of the like nature. This was not given way to, and the Vice-Chancellor Dr. *Peachel* was ſummon'd before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to anſwer this Contempt. Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, *He was a very weak Man, and made a poor Defence, and it was no ſmall Reflection to that great Body, that their chief Magiſtrate was ſo little able to aſſert their Privileges, or to juſtify their Proceedings.* *Echard* takes no notice of this, and indeed he's very cautious of letting us be acquainted with any of the *Foibles* of either of our Univerſities, or any of their Doctors. *Jefferies* treated *Peachel* with great Contempt, and the Court turning him out of his Place, the Univerſity choſe Dr. *Balderſton*, Maſter of *Emanuel* College, Vice-Chancellor; who in his Speech which he made of courſe on his Election, promis'd that during his Magiſtracy neither Religion, nor the Rights of that Body ſhould ſuffer by his means.

Cambridge *University in Diſgrace.*

Dr. Peachel *Vice-Chancellor inſulted by* Jefferies.

The King was not contented with invading the Rights and Properties of thoſe Seminaries of Learning, he endeavour'd to break in upon the Charities of generous Founders of Hoſpitals; and the *Charter-Houſe* at *London* being the greateſt Endowment in *Europe* for the Uſes intended by the Founder, an Attempt was made againſt his Statutes, in favour of *Andrew Popham* a Papiſt, whom he recommended for an Out-Penſioner's Place in *Sutton*'s Hoſpital, by a Letter dated the 17th of *December* this Year; which Letter was not deliver'd to the Maſter, the celebrated Dr. *Burnet*, Author of the *Theory of the Earth*, but to the Regiſter at his Houſe in the City, who came not to acquaint the Maſter with the Contents of it, but ſent *Andrew Popham* to him to be admitted with a Certificate in the uſual Form. The Maſter ask'd *Popham* where his Letter of Nomination was, and to whom it was directed? He ſaid it was directed to the Governors of the Hoſpital, and he had left it in the Regiſter's hands. The Maſter told him if it was directed to the Governors, it muſt be delivered to them before he could act upon it; and ſo telling him when there would be a Meeting of the Governors, he diſmiſs'd him without Admiſſion. The Meeting was about a Month after, *Popham* appear'd, and his Buſineſs was heard. The King's Letter being read, *Jefferies* Lord Chancellor preſently mov'd that they ſhould immediately, without any Debate, proceed to vote whether *Andrew Popham* ſhould be admitted or no according to the King's Letter; and it was put upon the Maſter as *Junior* to vote firſt, but the Maſter told them he thought it was his Duty to acquaint their Lordſhips with the State and Conſtitution of that Hoſpital before they proceeded to vote. This was oppos'd by ſome, but after a little Debate the Maſter was heard, and acquainted their Lordſhips that to admit a Penſioner into that Hoſpital without taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, was not only contrary to the Conſtitutions of the Houſe, but alſo to an Act of Parliament provided in that Caſe, which he nam'd, and repeated the Clauſe relating to the *Charter-Houſe*. When the Maſter had done, one of the Governors ſaid, *What's this to the Purpoſe?* The Duke of *Ormond* reply'd, *I think it is very much to the Purpoſe, for an Act of Parliament is not ſo ſlight a thing, but that it deſerves to be conſider'd.* Upon which, after ſome Diſcourſe, the Queſtion was put whether *Andrew Popham* ſhould be admitted or no, and it was carry'd in the *Negative*. The Governors intended to return an Anſwer in writing forthwith to the King's Letter; but as ſoon as the Vote was paſt *Jefferies* flung away, and ſome others following him, there was not a Number left to act as an Aſſembly. The Archbiſhop attempted ſeveral times to have another Aſſembly in order to write that Letter, but could not get a full Number till *Midſummer-Day*.

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The Attempt againſt the Charter-Houſe.

While the Buſineſs was hanging thus, there happen'd an Accident which the Governors thought would have put an end to the Controverſy. Another Perſon appear'd with a Letter of Nomination from the King of a Date antecedent to *Popham*'s, and it was a Perſon qualify'd for the Place, one *Cardonel*, a *French* Proteſtant naturaliz'd; this they thought had been a ſoft Method invented by the Court to ſuperſede *Popham*'s Letter, and ſo let the Controverſy fall without noiſe: but it prov'd otherwiſe, for when this Man's Pretenſions came to be made known at Court, the King ſent another Letter to exclude *Cardonel*, and to reinforce his former Order for *Popham*. Thus there were two Letters under the Signet, and there wanted only a Broad Seal, that all the Forces of the diſpenſing Power might be employ'd in this Attack againſt the *Charter-Houſe*. At length a Broad Seal was ſent to compleat and ratify *Popham*'s Diſpenſation for not taking the Oaths, and Witneſſes came to prove the Delivery of it. The King's ſecond Letter to the Governors was read at their *Midſummer* Meeting, as was alſo the Diſpenſation for *Popham*; upon which a Letter was drawn up to give Reaſons to his Majeſty why they could not comply with his Pleaſure as to the Admiſſion of *Andrew Popham* into that Hoſpital. This Letter was ſign'd by eight Governors.

Oppos'd by the Governors.

W. CANT.	DANBY,
ORMOND,	NOTTINGHAM,
HALLIFAX,	H. LONDON,
CRAVEN,	T. BURNET.

When it was read to the King he gave it to *Jefferies*, ſaying, *Find out a Way that I may have Right done me at that Hoſpital*; and the *Charter-Houſe* was threaten'd with a *Quo Warranto*, and Dr. *Burnet* the Maſter with a Proſecution before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; but the Governors were of ſo great Character, ſo much conſider'd by the Nation, and ſo well able to defend their Cauſe, that the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, who were the Support of the *Diſpenſing Power*, had no mind to meddle with them; beſides, they had their Hands full of other Buſineſs, they being at the ſame time quarrelling with the two Univerſities on the ſame Point.

We

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We are now to look into the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, where Popery appears more bare-fac'd even than in *England*, eſpecially in *Ireland*, where inſtead of a Toleration for themſelves, the Papiſts begin to threaten the Proteſtants that it will be a very great Favour if they are tolerated.

Scotland.

Mention has been made of the ſevere Act paſt in the *Scots* Parliament, and the Conſequences of it were ſuch as made the Tyranny in *Scotland* intolerable. *Perth* the Chancellor had behav'd well at his firſt Appearance in the World, but to advance himſelf in Poſts and Honours, he engag'd deeply in the *fouleſt and blackeſt of Crimes*, to uſe Biſhop *Burnet*'s Expreſſion. The Duke of *Queensbury*, the King's Commiſſioner, gave very full Aſſurances in the point of Religion, that the King would never alter it, but would maintain it as it was eſtabliſh'd by Law; and in Confirmation of them he propos'd the Act enjoining the Teſt, which was paſt, and was look'd on as a full Security, tho' it was very probable that all the Uſe the Council would make of the diſcretional Power lodg'd with them, would be only to tender the Teſt to the Covenanters, and not to the Papiſts. They had a Power by another Act to require all Perſons, under Pain of Treaſon, to anſwer ſuch Queſtions as they ſhould put to them; upon which it was eaſy to have grafted an Inquiſition, as ſoon as the King pleas'd. The Parliament did not ſit long, but they did a great deal of Miſchief, and gave the King for Life all the Revenue that had been given to his Brother, with ſome additional Taxes.

Mr. *Carſtairs*, who had been put to the Torture in the late King's Time, having drop'd ſome Words in his Confeſſion, which touch'd Sir *Hugh Campbell* and his Son, then Priſoners in *London*; the Earl of *Melfort*, *Perth*'s Brother, got the Promiſe of his Eſtate, about 1000 *l.* a Year, as ſoon as he ſhould be convicted of Treaſon; upon which, an Act was brought into the *Scots* Parliament, which was to laſt only ſix Weeks, and enacted, that if within that Time any of the Privy Council would depoſe that any Man was prov'd guilty of High Treaſon, he ſhould upon ſuch Proof be attainted; upon which, as ſoon as the Act was paſt four of the Privy-Council ſtood up and affirm'd that the *Campbells* were prov'd by *Carſtairs*'s Depoſition to be *guilty*; then were both Father and Son brought to the Bar to ſee what they had to ſay why Sentence ſhould not be executed. The old Gentleman near eighty, ſeeing the Ruin of his Family was determin'd, and that he was condemn'd in ſo unuſual a manner, took Courage, and ſaid the Oppreſſion they had groan'd under had driven them to Deſpair, and made them think how they might ſecure their Lives and Fortunes; he own'd he had ſome Meetings with *Baillie* in *London*, and that one was ſent to *Scotland* to hinder all Riſings; that an Oath of Secrecy was indeed offer'd, but was never taken; upon all this. What he ſaid was term'd a Confeſſion, and he was condemn'd, but out of a Shew of Mercy pardon'd; the Earl of *Melfort* poſſeſſing his Eſtate, the old Gentleman died ſoon after, and very probably his Death was haſten'd by his long and rigorous Impriſonment, and this unexampled Concluſion of it, which, according to the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, was ſo univerſally cry'd out againſt, that when the News of it was writ to Foreign Parts, it was not eaſy to make People believe it poſſible.

And can any thing be more monſtrous and incredible than that the Repreſentative of a Chriſtian Nation ſhould make a Law to laſt ſix Weeks only, on purpoſe to deſtroy an antient Member of their Body, and put another Man in Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate? *Melfort* to deſerve it turn'd Papiſt, as his Brother *Perth* did, who came to Court upon ſome Difference with *Queensbury* to complain of him; but when his Complaints were heard, they were ſo ſlight that the King was aſham'd of them, and all the Courtiers juſtify'd the Duke of *Queensbury*. The Earl of *Perth* ſpeaking of it to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and expreſſing ſome Concern about what might happen upon it, Lord *Hallifax* ſaid, *Fear nothing, your* Faith *will make you whole*, and ſo it prov'd; the Duke of *Queensbury* was ſoon after turn'd out of the Treaſury, and the Earls of *Perth* and *Melfort* had the Management of *Scotland*. *Perth* prevail'd with his Lady to turn Papiſt as ſhe was dying, and a few Weeks after her Death very indecently marry'd the Duke of *Gordon*'s Siſter, his firſt Couſin: They did not ſtay for a Diſpenſation, and Cardinal *Howard* could not without great difficulty obtain one. In return for this, *Perth* ſet up a Chappel for Maſs in the Palace, the Rabble of *Edinburgh* broke into it, and defac'd the Chappel, and if *Perth* had not been convey'd off in Diſguiſe he had probably been torn to pieces. The Guards diſpers'd the Mob, ſome were taken, and the Ring-leader hang'd, who at his Execution told Mr. *Macom* a Miniſter, he was offer'd his Life if he would accuſe the Duke of *Queensbury* as the Perſon that had ſet on the Tumult, but he would not ſave his Life by ſo falſe a Calumny. *Macom* did not call any of thoſe that were preſent to bear Witneſs of it, but being an honeſt Man, went in the Simplicity of his Heart to the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, and told him what had paſt; the Archbiſhop acquainted the Duke of *Queensbury* with it, and he writ to Court and complain'd of it. The King order'd the Matter to be examin'd, and the poor Miniſter having no Witneſs to atteſt what the Criminal had ſaid, was declar'd the Forger of the Calumny, upon which he was turn'd out. My Lord of *Sarum* reflects thus, "How ſeverely "ſoever thoſe in Authority may handle a poor "incautious Man, yet the Publick is apt to "judge true; and in this Caſe as the Miniſter's "Weakneſs and Misfortune was pitied, ſo the "Earl of *Perth*'s Malice and Treachery was as "much deteſted." Such were the Converts the King made to his Religion! ſuch were the Fruits of their Converſion!

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In the Summer 1686, the Earl of *Murray*, another new Convert, was ſent the King's Commiſſioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and to try if it would be more compliant than the *Engliſh* Parliament had been. The King by his Letter recommended to them in very earneſt Words the taking off all Penal Laws and Teſts relating to Religion, and all poſſible Methods were us'd to prevail on a Majority; but two Accidents happen'd before the opening of the Parliament, which made great Impreſſions on the Minds of many.

We muſt not forget with what Applauſe Mr. *Echard* brings off the Murderers of Dr. *Doriſlaus*, and we will now ſee what was the Behaviour of one of them in his laſt Moments, when he apprehended himſelf about to appear before that Tribunal, at which thoſe who have diſpens'd the Judgments of the Almighty without his Warrant, will be call'd to a ſtrict Account, and receive everlaſting Doom.

Whitford *in Deſpair.*

Whitford, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, "Son to "one of their Biſhops, before the Wars had "turn'd Papiſt, he was the Perſon that kill'd "*Doriſlaus* in *Holland*; and that he might "get out of *Cromwel*'s reach, he had gone into

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" into the Duke of *Savoy*'s Service, and was " there when the laſt Maſſacre was com- " mitted on the *Vaudois*. He had himſelf " committed many barbarous Murders, and " had a ſmall Penſion given him after the " Reſtoration. He died a few Days before the " Parliament met; he declar'd to ſome Mi- " niſters his forſaking of Popery, and his Ab- " horrence of it for its Cruelty. He ſaid he had " been guilty of ſome execrable Murders in " *Piedmont*, both of Women and Children, " which had purſu'd him with an intolerable " Horror of Mind ever after that; he had gone " to Prieſts of all Sorts, the ſtricteſt as well as " the eaſieſt, and they had juſtify'd him in his " Maſſacres, and had given him *Abſolution*; " but his Conſcience was ſo ſtung, that he died " as in Deſpair, crying out againſt that bloody " Religion."

Sir Robert Sibbalds *recants Popery.*

The other Accident was the Remorſe and Recantation of Sir *Robert Sibbalds*, a Doctor of Phyſick, and the moſt learned Antiquary in *Scotland*, who had liv'd in a Courſe of Philoſophical Virtue, but in great Doubts as to Reveal'd Religion, and was prevail'd on by the Earl of *Perth* to turn Papiſt, which he had no ſooner done than he began to be aſham'd that he had made ſuch a Step upon little Enquiry: Upon which he went to *London*, and retir'd for ſome Months from all Company; he went into a deep Courſe of Study, by which he came to ſee into the Errors of Popery with ſo full a Conviction, that returning to *Scotland* ſome Weeks before the meeting of the Parliament, he could not be at quiet till he had publiſh'd his Recantation in the Church. The Biſhop of *Edinburgh* was ſo much a Courtier, that apprehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at Court, he ſent him to do it in a Church in the Country; but the Recantation of ſo learned a Man, upon ſo much Study, had a great Effect on many.

Scots *Biſhops for the* Papiſts, *and againſt the* Presbyterians.

The two governing Biſhops, *Roſſe* and *Paterſon*, reſolv'd to let the King ſee that their Submiſſion was as abſolute as his Power, and procur'd an Addreſs to be ſign'd by ſeveral of their Bench, offering to concur with the King in all he deſir'd, with relation to thoſe of his own Religion, provided the Laws might ſtill continue in force, and be executed againſt the *Presbyterians*. With this *Paterſon* was ſent up to Court. He communicated the Matter to the Earl of *Middleton*, who adviſ'd him never to ſhew that Paper, for it would be made uſe of againſt them, and render them odious. The King and all his Prieſts were ſo ſenſible of it, that they were reſolv'd to have a *general Toleration*, or none, ſo the Addreſs was never preſented; but it ſhew'd that the *Scots* Biſhops, who are in ſuch high Eſteem with the Archdeacon, were more eager to promote Popery and deſtroy Presbytery than even the King and his Prieſts. When the next Seſſions of Parliament was open'd, Duke *Hamilton* was ſilent in the Debate about the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, having promiſ'd not to oppoſe the Motion, tho' he would not be active to promote it. The Duke of *Queensbury* was alſo ſilent, and the King was made to believe he managed the Oppoſition under-hand. *Paterſon* and *Roſſe* did ſo entirely forget what became their Characters as Proteſtant Biſhops, that they us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade the Parliament to comply with the King's Deſire. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* oppos'd it fearfully, the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Dunkeld* made a reſolute Oppoſition: The reſt were ſilent, but were reſolv'd to vote for the Continuance of the Laws, yet ſuch was the Meanneſs of moſt of the Nobility, and of the other Members, that few of them did ſo much as hope for an effectual Reſiſtance to the Court-Meaſures. However the major Vote was againſt the Repeal, and for a Suſpenſion of thoſe Laws during the King's Life. The King deſpis'd this, ſo the Seſſion was put off, and the Parliament quickly diſſolv'd. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, and the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* were immediately turn'd out by the King's expreſs Command. The worthleſs *Paterſon* was made Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, and one *Hamilton*, noted for Prophaneneſs and Impiety, which ſometimes broke out into Blaſphemy, was made Biſhop of *Dunkeld*. No Reaſon was aſſign'd for turning out theſe Biſhops, but the King's Pleaſure. This Proceeding provok'd the Nation in general, and they began to return to their old Zeal againſt Popery. Few Proſelytes were made, and tho' the *Presbyterians* were freed from the great Severities they had long ſmarted under, yet, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, they expreſs'd on all occaſions an unconquerable Averſion to Popery, and the Court was ſoon convinc'd they were not to be depended on; notwithſtanding which, the King began his formal Proclamation of Toleration in *Scotland*, with aſſerting his *Sovereign Prerogative*, *Authority Royal and Abſolute Power, which all his Subjects were to obey without* RESERVE: he us'd the Phraſe, *Moderate Presbyterians*, which left the Conſtruction of their Moderation in the *Council* ſtill, but the *Papiſts* were allow'd their Religion in the full Extent of it, and all the Laws that prohibited it were at once vacated and annull'd by the King's Royal Edict, which was to paſs now as the Edicts paſs in *France*, and Parliaments were either to be nothing, or no more than the Parliaments in *France*, Tools of the King's Will and Pleaſure.

The King erects a Tyranny.

No ſooner was King *James* ſettled in the Throne, than he ſent Orders to the Duke of *Ormond* to come to *England*. The Duke foreſeeing that the new Hoſpital, a ſtately Fabrick near *Dublin*, erected for poor Soldiers, would infallibly fall into *Popiſh* Hands, he ſate ſeveral Days with the Council and Judges privately in the Caſtle to conſult how to prevent it, and they went as far as they could in it; but whatever Proviſion they made againſt it, was no Fence againſt ſuch a Tyrant as *Tyrconnel*, under ſuch a King as *James* II. His Grace appointed a Dinner at the Hoſpital for all its Officers, and the Officers of the Army then in *Dublin*, which being over, he took a large Glaſs of Wine in his Hand, bid the Servant fill it up to the Brim, then ſtood up, and ſaid, *Look here, Gentlemen, they ſay at Court I am now become an old doating Fool, you ſee my Hand does not ſhake, nor does my Heart fail, nor doubt but I will make ſome of them ſee their Miſtake.* Upon his Arrival at Court he ſoon ſaw how the King was breaking down all the Barriers of the People's Liberties and Properties, and preparing the Way for Popery and Slavery. An Attempt was made to charge him with imbezzling the Publick Money, under pretence of the Charge of the Hoſpital; but they were aſham'd of it, and it came to nothing.

Ireland.

The Lord Primate and the Earl of *Granard* were appointed Lords Juſtices, who were very vigilant and prudent in the Exerciſe of that important Truſt. The *Iriſh* pretended daily to diſcover Plots, and their Grandees appear'd to ſupport their Evidence, preſſing the Lords Juſtices for Orders of Council to impower Papiſts and Mongrel Proteſtants, ſuch as *Worth* before-mention'd to examine them, and to commit without Bail any Perſon impeach'd. The Lords

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Juſtices and Council would not agree to this Arbitrary Power, yet were ſo inſulted by them, that they iſſu'd out ſuch Orders of Council, but they were always directed to Proteſtants, which made the *Iriſh* weary of that Stratagem. Several Privy-Counſellors had been turn'd out by Command from *England* for their Zeal and Activity in their Country's Cauſe; but as yet no Papiſts were put in, however it will not be long before there will be ſcarce any one elſe. They grew daily more and more inſolent, and began to affront and bully the Proteſtants before Lord *Clarendon* came over. The Lord *Clanrickard*, Sir *Valentine Brown*, (made a Viſcount by King *James*) Col. *Moor*, and ſome others being at *Leſlip*, ſeven Miles from *Dublin*, fell on their Knees, and drank Confuſion to all Proteſtants and their Religion. This made a noiſe, and to ſtifle it, ſuch as were Eye Witneſſes of the Fact, and threaten'd for not pledging the Health, were ſeiz'd with Warrants, and menac'd to have their Throats cut if they did not deny it. Sir *Standiſh Hartſtong*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was given to underſtand he ſhould loſe his Employ, if he did not take off his Son-in-law, who was one of thoſe that reported it. Theſe repeated Inſolences made the Lords Juſtices weary, and one of them, the Lord *Granard*, writ to *England* to be diſmiſs'd: But the Papiſts repreſenting that he had a great Intereſt among the Presbyterians, his Lady being one, he was continu'd, the King writing him a Letter with his own Hand, containing great Promiſes and Aſſurances, that nothing ſhould be acted prejudicial to the Proteſtant Intereſt, for which this Lord was then thought ſo very zealous, that ſome were apt to believe he inclin'd to declare for the Duke of *Monmouth*. The *Iriſh* were perpetually teaſing the Lords Juſtices with falſe Informations againſt the *Engliſh*, as if they had Night-Meetings to plot the Deſtruction of the *Iriſh*. Examinations were taken before Juſtices of the Peace put in Commiſſion for ſuch Purpoſes; and as falſe and irrational as they were, yet Complaints were ſent to the King, that the *Engliſh* were not proſecuted, and he ſent private Inſtructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords-Juſtices about this Affair, upon which they iſſu'd a Proclamation, forbidding all Night-Meetings, tho' the Lords knew well there was no ſuch thing. This Contrivance was in order to make way for greater Miſchief, by preparing Evidence to bring the moſt conſiderable of the *Engliſh* into Plots.

They began with one *Moor* of *Clonmel*, who was indicted for High-Treaſon before Sir *John Mead* in the *Palatinate* of *Tipperary*. *Moor* had a vaſt Eſtate, and they bent their whole Force againſt him. To countenance the Buſineſs, the Earl of *Tyrconnel* and *Juſtin Maccarty* came to the Trial at *Clonmel*, and in the publick Court preſum'd to reproach the Judge and the Jury. *Maccarty* call'd him *Fanatick*, and both he and *Talbot*, now *Tyrconnel*, aſpers'd him and the Duke of *Ormond* for employing him, calling him *Rogue*, and uſing other ſuch foul Language, as, ſays my Author, *was only fit for ſuch Bloodhounds to* expreſs. Notwithſtanding which, *Moor* and ſome others that were impeach'd were acquitted. But ſuch an extravagant partial Account of the Matter was ſent over to the King, that he queſtion'd the Duke of *Ormond* how he came to employ ſuch a *Fanatick*. The Duke anſwer'd, *I did it in duty to your Majeſty, as believing I could not intruſt a better Man than one of your Majeſty's Servants*; for ſo he was when Duke of *York*, being his Attorney-General in *Ireland*.

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Tyrconnel then began to model the Army; but before he ventur'd on that bold Step, he thought it convenient to diſarm the Proteſtants. In order to this, the King and Council wrote over to the Lords Juſtices, that there was reaſon to believe the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had been of ſuch ſpreading Contagion, as to infect many, wherefore it was not ſafe to have the *Militia* Arms diſpers'd abroad. They would be in a greater readineſs both for the *Militia* and their own Defence, if they were depoſited in the ſeveral Stores of each County. A Proclamation was iſſu'd purſuant to this Order, and, as has been obſerv'd, the Papiſts found Proteſtants who refus'd not to do their Work for them. *Boyle* the Primate, and one of the Lords Juſtices, ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, and in a florid Speech magnify'd their unſhaken Loyalty in the worſt of Times, adding that their ready Obedience and prevalent Example would be of great Service to the King and Kingdom; and in the cloſe he told them, it was expected they ſhould bring their Arms, which ſhould be always ready for their Service. The City was ſenſible of their Condition, but not knowing how to help it, their Arms were brought in, and the Country did the ſame. To render the Deſign more effectual, the *Iriſh* gave out, that if any Arms were reſerv'd in Proteſtant Hands, ſuch would be interpreted as diſaffected to the King and Government, and that it would be no Excuſe to ſay they were their own Arms, and not belonging to the *Militia*. This frighted many, and operated ſo powerfully, that great Numbers of People deliver'd in their Arms bought with their own Money. The Proteſtants being thus diſarm'd, *Tyrconnel* proceeds to deſtroying the Army then about 8000 Men, and began with the Officers in the ſame Method which was deſign'd in King *Charles*'s time, and that was to diſplace all Officers who had been in the Parliament or *Oliver*'s Army, or were the Sons of any ſuch. The Duke of *Ormond* had had Directions to do this, but he made no Progreſs in it, under pretence of gaining time to find them out, for he foreſaw it was to make room for Papiſts.

When *Tyrconnel* had turn'd out two or three hundred Officers, he went for *England* to receive new Inſtructions, and took with him one *Neagle*, a cunning *Iriſh* Lawyer, afterwards knighted and made Secretary of War, whoſe Character however was ſuch, as the King would not at firſt ſee him, he being a furious inſolent Man, very obnoxious to the *Engliſh*, and even to the moſt generous Papiſts. The Lords *Bellaſis* and *Powis* were for having him ſent back to *Ireland* immediately: But the Queen, Father *Petre*, and the moſt bigotted Catholicks ſav'd him from that Diſgrace, tho' he was not now much hearken'd to. *Tyrconnel*'s Deſign in coming over was to get the *Lieutenancy*, if poſſible; but things were not yet ripe enough for that. At a Conſult upon the Subject of the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, he was mention'd with Tenderneſs. He was ſo hated and dreaded by the *Engliſh*, that it was not then thought ſeaſonable to bring him upon the Stage in that Quality: So Lord *Bellaſis* was propos'd, but being infirm, it was thought he would not be able to carry on their Deſigns; and till they could come to other Reſolutions, it was reſolv'd that the Earl of *Clarendon* ſhould be Lord Lieutenant, and *Tyrconnel* return Lieutenant-General of the Army, to be a Check on the other, who, tho' well diſpos'd, had it not in his power to do the Proteſtants Juſtice, and had the Court thought otherwiſe, they would not have ſent him. My Lord of

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of *Sarum* writes thus of it: "The King re-
" ſolv'd alſo to model *Ireland*, ſo as to make
" that Kingdom a Nurſery for his Army in *Eng-*
" *land*, and to be ſure at leaſt of an Army there,
" while his Deſigns were to go on more ſlowly
" in *Britain*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was de-
" clar'd Lord Lieutenant, but the Army was put
" under the Command of *Talbot*, who was made
" Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and he began very ſoon
" to model it a-new. The Archbiſhop of *Ar-*
" *magh* had continu'd Lord Chancellor of *Ire-*
" *land*, and was in all Points ſo compliant to
" the Court, that even his Religion came to be
" ſuſpected on that account; yet it ſeems he
" was not thought thorough-pac'd, ſo Sir *Charles*
" *Porter*, who was a zealous Promoter of every
" thing that the King propos'd, and being poor,
" was thought a Perſon fit to be made a Tool of,
" was declar'd Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*. To
" theſe the King ſaid he was reſolv'd to main-
" tain the Settlement of *Ireland*. They had
" Authority to promiſe this, *from* Echard's *King of his Word*, " and to act purſuant to it;
" but as both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter*
" were poor, it was hop'd that they would un-
" derſtand the King's Intentions, and ſee thro'
" thoſe Promiſes which were made only to lay
" Men aſleep, and that therefore they would
" not inſiſt too much on them, nor purſue them
" too far.

" However, the Earl of *Clarendon*, upon his
" firſt coming over, gave publick and poſitive
" Aſſurances, that the King would maintain
" their *Act of Settlement*. He did it very often
" and very ſolemnly, and proceeded accordingly.
" In the mean while the Earl of *Tyrconnel* went
" on more roundly: He not only put *Iriſh* Pa-
" piſts in ſuch Poſts in the Army as became
" void, but upon the ſlighteſt Pretences he broke
" the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Officers, to make room
" for the others: And in concluſion, without ſo
" much as pretending a Colour for it, he turn'd
" them all out. And now an Army paid by vir-
" tue of the *Act of Settlement* to ſecure it, was
" wreſted out of legal Hands, and put into the
" Hands of thoſe that were engag'd both in
" Religion and Intereſt to deſtroy the Settle-
" ment, and thoſe concern'd in it, which was
" too groſs a Violation of Law to be in any ſort
" palliated. So the *Engliſh* Proteſtants of *Ire-*
" *land* look'd on themſelves as at Mercy, ſince
" the Army was now made up of their Enemies.
" And all that the Lord Lieutenant, or the
" Lord Chancellor could ſay, did not quiet their
" Fears."

They were indeed too well grounded to be blown away by good Words. The Tyranny of *Tyrconnel*, countenanc'd by his Maſter King *James*, is hardly to be parallel'd in any Hiſtory antient or modern. The *Iriſh* Papiſts in all parts of the Kingdom proceeded in their Stratagem to impeach Proteſtants for Plots; but theſe were generally ſo ridiculouſly contriv'd, and made up of ſuch palpable Contradictions and Incongruities, that they ſerv'd only to demonſtrate the Innocence of the Proteſtants, and the horrid Perjuries and implacable Malice of the Papiſts, who, failing in this, apply'd themſelves to other Courſes. Many of them went out *Tories*, and robb'd upon the Highway. They broke open Houſes, ſtole Cattle, kill'd them in the Field, and cut out the Tongues of Sheep alive, with innumerable Barbarities all acted upon the *Engliſh*; who were ſo diſmay'd and diſcourag'd with theſe Tragedies, that Thouſands deſerted the Kingdom and came for *England*, under as great Fears and Jealouſies as if there had been an open Rebellion. Five hundred together tranſported themſelves to *Virginia*, *Carolina*, *Penſilvania*, *New-England*, and the *Weſt-Indies*; which ſtill weakening the *Engliſh* Intereſt in *Ireland*, was extremely grateful to the *Iriſh*: who, to uſe Biſhop *King*'s Words, "openly declar'd that they lik'd
" no Government but that of *France*; that they
" would make the King as abſolute as the *French*
" King was: and they publickly and privately
" affirm'd with many Oaths, that they would in a
" ſhort time have the Eſtates and Churches of
" the Proteſtants; and if they ſuffer'd them to
" live, they would make them *Hewers of Wood,*
" *and Drawers of Water*: That *Ireland* muſt
" be a Catholick Country whatever it coſt, and
" as for the *Engliſh*, they would make them as
" poor Devils as when they firſt came into *Ire-*
" *land*."

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Biſhop *King* gives numberleſs Inſtances of Facts, to prove that this was the Deſign of King *James* and his *Iriſh* Miniſtry, and *Tyrconnel*'s modelling the Army was alone a ſufficient Proof of it. In the room of my Lord *Shannon*, Captain *Robert Fitzgerald*, Captain *Richard Coote*, and Sir *Oliver St. George*, he put in *Kerney*, one of the Fellow Conſpirators with *Pickering* and *Grove* to murder King *Charles* II. *Anderſon* a mean Fellow, *Sheldon* a profeſs'd Papiſt, and one *Graham*. *Tyrconnel* himſelf, by the Name of *Richard Talbot*, was nam'd by *Oates* in his *Narrative* for this very Employment of modelling the Army: Upon which, many who before did not believe his *Plot*, gave credit to it now, ſaying, *If* Oates *was an ill Evidence, he was a good Prophet*; and his way of proceeding in his Model, was as barbarous and provoking as 'twas unjuſt and dangerous. See Biſhop *King*. " He exercis'd at the ſame time ſo much
" Falſhood and Barbarity that if the Army had
" not been the beſt principled with Loyalty
" and Obedience of any in the world they
" would have mutiny'd, or at leaſt diſpatch'd
" him. In the Morning he would take an Offi-
" cer into his Cloſet, and with all the Oaths,
" Curſes and Damnations, that were never wan-
" ting to him, he would profeſs Friendſhip and
" Kindneſs, and promiſe him the Continuance
" of his Commiſſion, and in the Afternoon ca-
" ſhier him with all the Contempt he could
" heap on him; nay, perhaps while he was
" thus careſſing of him, he had actually given a-
" way his Commiſſion. As for the Soldiers and
" Troopers, his way with them was to march
" them from their uſual Quarters to ſome diſ-
" tant place, where he thought they were leaſt
" known, and would be put to greateſt Hardſhips;
" there he ſtripp'd them of their Clothes, for
" which they had paid; and from the Troopers
" took their Horſes, Boots and Furniture, bought
" with their own Money, and ſet them to walk
" bare-footed 100 or 150 Miles to their Homes,
" or their Friends, if they had any. Sometimes
" he would promiſe them ſomething for their
" Horſes, but then he told them they muſt come
" to *Dublin* for it; and if any came to demand
" that ſmall Pittance, he contriv'd it ſo, that
" they ſhould be oblig'd to wait till they had
" ſpent twice as much as they expected, and
" moſt of them, after all, got nothing. In the
" mean time, the new-rais'd Forces and Officers
" being put into Arms and Command to which
" they were ſtrangers, into good Clothes, and
" mounted on Horſes for which others had paid,
" behav'd themſelves with all the Inſolence
" common to ſuch ſort of Men when unworthily
" advanc'd. They every where inſulted over
" the *Engliſh*, and had their Mouths continually
" full of Oaths, Curſes, and Imprecations a-
" gainſt them. They rail'd on them, and gave

" them

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" them all the opprobrious Names they could ; " and if any chaſtiſed them for their Saucineſs, " tho' ever ſo much provok'd, they had the " Judges and Juries on their ſide. They might " kill whom they pleas'd without fear of Law, " as appear'd from Capt. *Nangle*'s murthering " his disbanded Officer in the Streets of *Dublin* ; " but if any kill'd or hurt them, they were ſure " to ſuffer, as Captain *Aſton* found to his Coſt, " who was hang'd for killing a Papiſt, upon his " abuſing the Captain's Wife in the Street."

Let it not be pretended that King *James* knew nothing of this Tyranny and Cruelty. Can any one ſuppoſe that he was unacquainted with the Character of *Tyrconnel*, or that he did not like it from the Semblance it had with his own ?

What little Regard the Lieutenant-General had for the Lord-Lieutenant, appears from the following Story.

The Earl of *Clarendon* going to Church upon a *Sunday* Morning, perceiv'd an *Iriſh* Officer he never ſaw before, commanding the Guard of Battle-Axes that attended his Perſon, which exceedingly ſurpriz'd him. He ſtopp'd and demanded who he was, and who put him there. The *Iriſhman* was as much frighted as the Lord Lieutenant was diſturb'd ; but with ſome difficulty, and with broken Expreſſions, occaſion'd by Fear, he ſaid, *He was a Captain put in by the Lord* Tyrconnel. The Earl of *Clarendon* ask'd *when* ? The Fellow reply'd, *This Morning*. Lord *Clarendon* bid his Attendants call the former Captain, and diſmiſs'd *Tyrconnel*'s, whom he ſent for the next day, and queſtion'd him for this Action. *Tyrconnel* reply'd, *I did nothing but by the King's Orders*. To which the Lord Lieutenant return'd Anſwer, *While his Majeſty intruſts me with the Government, I will not be diſpos'd by the Lieutenant-General*. Complaints on both ſides were made to the King, and ſo it ended.

A Conſult of the Papiſts at the Savoy.

Some time after *Tyrconnel* went to *England* to aſſiſt at a general Meeting of the Catholicks, which was held at the *Savoy*, in order to conſult what Method was fitteſt to be purſu'd for the Promotion of the Catholick Cauſe. They were afraid of the King's Weakneſs or Timorouſneſs. They were ſenſible that he advanc'd in Years, and thought their carrying the main Point, the changing Religion, to be ſo impracticable, that ſome of them were for moving the King to procure an Act of Parliament for the Security of their Eſtates, and only Liberty for Prieſts in their own private Houſes, and to be exempted from all Employments. Father *Petre* oppos'd this as too terreſtrial, and founded upon too anxious a Solicitude for the Preſervation of their ſecular Intereſts. Others of the Papiſts were for addreſſing the King to have Liberty to ſell their Eſtates, and that his Majeſty would intercede with the *French King* to provide for them in his Dominions. At laſt it was agreed to lay both theſe Propoſals before his Majeſty, and ſome of their number to receive his Anſwer, which was, *That he had, before their Deſires came to him, often thought of them, and had provided a Sanctuary and Retreat for them in* Ireland, *if all thoſe Endeavours ſhould be blaſted in* England, *which he had made for their Security, and of whoſe Succeſs he had not yet reaſon to deſpair*. This Encouragement to the Papiſts in *England* was attended with the moſt zealous Expreſſions of his ardent Love to the Catholick Church, for which he ſaid he was ready to be a *Martyr*. Then freſh Conſults were ſet on foot, relating to the Government of *Ireland*, which, by accident, came to the knowledge of the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord-Treaſurer, who immediately acquainted the King with it, and he abſolutely deny'd there was any Intention of changing the chief Governor, but, on the contrary, aſſur'd him of his great Satisfaction in the Lord-Lieutenant there. Within a few days the Earl of *Rocheſter* receiv'd the ſame Intimations from his Brother *Clarendon*, which he inform'd the King of, who diſown'd the whole Matter as poſitively as before ; and to remove the Jealouſies of the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote a Letter to him with his own Hand, aſſuring him there were yet no Thoughts, and he believ'd never would be in him, whilſt both liv'd, to remove him from the Government of *Ireland*. Notwithſtanding which, the Papiſts in *Ireland* confidently affirm'd, that the day before the King wrote the Letter, he had given Aſſurances to Father *Petre*, that *Tyrconnel* ſhould be Lord Lieutenant. This is *Echard*'s King of his Word ; and it was not long before the King himſelf, in Council, pretended, tho' he had before reſolv'd, to ask their Advice, who was fit to be plac'd in the Government of *Ireland*, and himſelf at laſt nam'd *Tyrconnel*, who was oppos'd by all but *Sunderland*. *Powis*, whom the King had once, in a Paſſion, call'd both a Coward and a Fool, was conſider'd as a Perſon of moderate Carriage, and being naturally covetous, his Friends adviſ'd him to agree with *Sunderland*, as the Lord *Berkley* did with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, and the Bargain was made for 4000 *l.* a Year. But whatever the bottom of the Deſign was, *Sunderland* never forſook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-Board ; and ſome conjectur'd, that having acquained the King of his Bargain with *Powis*, the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the ſame. The News of his being preferr'd to the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, threw all the Proteſtants there into the moſt terrible Conſternation. Every one lamented the deplorable Condition they were fallen into ; almoſt all that could, deſerted the Kingdom. Every thing diſcover'd a gloomy and melancholly Proſpect. At laſt he arrives, and the Lord *Clarendon* deliver'd up the Sword to him at the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*'s Palace, where he made a Speech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, *We of the Church of* England *can brag, that when Rebellion overſpread the three Kingdoms, not one orthodox Member of our Church was engag'd againſt the Crown*. His Lordſhip would not allow the Archbiſhop of *York* to be Orthodox, for he did engage againſt the Crown. But this occaſion of *Bragging* has occaſion'd the frequent printing of this Speech, which has nothing in it more remarkable.

A. D. 1686.

State-Tracts, Vol. III. p. 635.

In February 168⅚.

The Duke of *Ormond*, the Lords Juſtices, and the Earl of *Clarendon*, by their wiſe Adminiſtration, had brought the Affairs of *Ireland* into a good Method of Management, till the Ruffian *Tyrconnel* had the Sword put into his Hands ; Trade encreas'd, Lands were improv'd, and *Ireland* was a flouriſhing Kingdom, as may be ſeen by the State of the Revenue for the Years

1683	—	300297 *l.*
1684	—	319168 *l.*
1685	—	318961 *l.*

Which not only maintain'd the Army and Civil Liſt, but enabled that Government to make Remittances to *England* to the Value of 100000 *l per Ann.* But this fair Proſpect darken'd on *Tyrconnel*'s being made chief Governor. The thriving Inhabitants fled to *England*, *Scotland*, the *Iſle of Man*, and *America*. For there was nothing but Ruin, Slavery and Death, to be expected from his intolerable Tyranny. Sir *Charles*

A. D. 1686. *Charles Porter* was turn'd out, and the Seal given to one *Fitton*, whom King *James* afterwards made a Lord. He had been detected of Forgery, not only at *Weſtminſter* and *Cheſter*, but alſo fin'd by the Houſe of Lords. This vile Fellow was taken out of Goal, *and ſet on the higheſt Court of the Kingdom to keep the King's Conſcience.* He did not ſtick to ſay publickly, that all the *Proteſtants* were *Rogues*, and amongſt 40000 *there was not one who was not a* Traytor, *a* Rebel *and a* Villain. One *Nugent*, the Son of an attainted Popiſh Rebel, was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench. *Rice*, a Gameſter and Sharper, was made Lord Chief Baron. Beggarly *Kerns* were made Juſtices of the Peace, and Sheriffs; one of them, *Turlogh Donelly*, Sheriff of *Tyrone*, liſted himſelf for a Soldier, to avoid paying a Debt of 16 *l.* upon Bond. Having fill'd the Courts of Juſtice with proper Inſtruments, *Tyrconnel* took away the Charter of *Dublin*, and the other Corporations in *Ireland*. The firſt Proclamation he iſſu'd was in breach of an Act of Parliament to take off the Duty upon Iron, to encourage the Importation of *Spaniſh* Iron, in hopes that Silver would come along with it; which was ſo ill lik'd in *England*, that the King put forth a contrary Proclamation, and *Tyrconnel's* Folly was ſo much condemn'd in Council, that Lord *Bellaſis* ſwore, *That Fellow in* Ireland *is Fool and Madman enough to ruin ten Kingdoms.* Father *Petre* reprimanded him for it in a Letter, and ſaid, *If you do not act with greater Caution, it will be impoſſible for the King to preſerve you in that Government.*

1687.

A. D. 1687. TYranny being thus eſtabliſh'd in *Scotland* and *Ireland* under *Perth*, *Melfort*, *Tyrconnel*, and the Petty-Tyrants, King *James* the more ſtrenuouſly endeavour'd its Eſtabliſhment in *England*; the Diſpenſing Power had been declar'd to be a Part of our Law, by hireling Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and in the Exerciſe of it, the King declar'd to the Privy-Council, he reſolv'd to iſſue out his Declaration *for a general Liberty of Conſcience to all Perſons*, which Declaration came forth the 25th of *April*, and contain'd, among other things, *That it had been a long time his conſtant Senſe and Opinion, That* Conſcience *ought not to be reſtrain'd, nor* People *forc'd in Matters of mere Religion, and that it was contrary to* his Inclination, *as he thought it to be the Diſintereſt of the Government, by ſpoiling Trade, and depopulating Countries*, &c. *Coke's* Reflection upon this is not amiſs: "Sure "no Power ever acted ſo in extremes, yet his "Actions ſo diametrically oppoſite to his Pro-"feſſion. Here you ſee a jeſuited Prince plead-"ing for *Liberty of Conſcience*, to the breaking "down the Laws which before he had ſo often "profeſs'd to maintain, and for ſuch a ſort of "Men whom but a little before he had ſlaugh-"ter'd, baniſh'd, and impriſon'd, as if he had "deſign'd to extirpate the whole Race of them. "If to reconcile theſe to Truth or Reality be "not as great a Miracle as is in any of the *Po-"piſh* Legends, I'll believe them all, and be "reconcil'd to the Catholick Church how incon-"ſiſtent ſoever the Terms be."

The general Toleration.

Echard's Hiſtory and Reflection upon it are here falſe and malicious to Aſtoniſhment. I am ſenſible of the Reſpect a Writer owes to his Readers, and that he ought no more to appear in paſſion before them, than before his Superiors; but one cannot, without Indignation, ſee a Trifler inſult great Bodies of ſober religious Men, and one in whoſe Writings, with regard to Religion, there is a Coldneſs, Deadneſs, and Inſenſibility enough to quench all Fervour in a devout Mind, abuſe with frigid Raillery Men of Conſcience and Piety. He ſays the Diſſenters receiv'd this Declaration *with Joy and Satisfaction: They were ſo tranſported, that they caught greedily at the Bait, without the leaſt diſcerning the Hook in it*; which is directly contrary to the Truth. *Coke* abovemention'd ſays, *the Diſſenters did both dread and deteſt it*, of his knowledge, and I can ſay the ſame of mine. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, *The wiſer Men among the Diſſenters ſaw thro' all this, and perceiv'd the Deſign of the Papiſts was now to ſet on the Diſſenters againſt the Church. Tho' they return'd to their Conventicles, yet they had a juſt Jealouſy of the ill Deſigns that lay hid under all this ſudden Grace and Kindneſs.* Again, *Some few of the hotter Diſſenters anſwer'd the Expectations of the Court; angry Speeches and virulent Books were publiſh'd, yet theſe were diſ-ſy'd as to own'd by the wiſer Men amongſt them.* *Echard* then, with very mean Malice, repeats Paragraphs in ſome of their Addreſſes, and reflects particularly on the late Learned and Reverend Mr. *Alſop* of *Weſtminſter*, who having had a Son in *Monmouth's* Buſineſs, or ſome other ſuch Peril, he was pardon'd by King *James*, and it is excuſable, if his Son's Life, and his own Liberty, produc'd ſome lively Expreſſions of Gratitude in a generous Mind. Why could not *Echard* have told us as my Lord of *Sarum* does? *Some of theſe Addreſſes were penn'd by Perſons whom the Court had gain'd; few concurr'd in them, and the Perſons that brought them up were mean and inconſiderable.* Why could not ſome ſuch Thoughts as theſe, taken from Dr. *Welwood*, have enter'd into the Archdeacon's Head?

Conduct of the Diſſenters juſtified as to the Addreſſes.

"The Diſſenters were not ſo fond of Perſe-"cution and ill Uſage, as to refuſe a Liberty "that was frankly offer'd them, which neither "their Prayers nor Tears could obtain before; "nor did they think it good Manners to enquire "too narrowly how that Liberty came about, "as long as they were ſhelter'd thereby from "the Oppreſſions they lay under."

Dr. *Calamy* writes of it thus: "As thankful "as they were for their Eaſe and Liberty, they "were fearful of the Iſſue:" *Echard told us, they did not in the leaſt diſcern it*; "neither can "any Number of them, of any Conſideration, "be charg'd with hazarding the publick Safety, "by falling in with the Meaſures of the Court, "of which they had as great a dread as their "Neighbours. I am not the Perſon that would "undertake to vindicate all the Addreſſes which "were made by the Diſſenters after their Li-"berty, but I ſhould think their Brethren of the "Church of *England* ſhould tread ſoftly when "they lay them to their Charge, conſidering "that ſome of the Churchmen concurr'd with "King *James* to over-turn the legal Eſtabliſh-"ment."

Five of the Biſhops, *Crew* of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Cartwright* of *Cheſter*, *Wood* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and *Watſon* of *St. David's*, prevail'd on ſome of their Clergy to ſign Addreſſes; but *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford* was not ſo ſucceſsful, his Clergy refuſing to ſign one. In the mean time the King continu'd increaſing his Army, and the Soldiers grew intolerably inſolent. The Officers whenever they pleas'd pretended to be exempt from the Civil Power; and tho' the King was in perfect Peace, yet an old obſolete Act of Parliament that made it Death for Soldiers to deſert their Colours, was now made to extend to the new-rais'd Army on *Hounſlow-Heath*. And becauſe the worthy Re-

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corder of *London*, Sir *John Holt*, would not expound that Law according to the King's Decree, he was put out, and Sir *Bartholomew Shower*, a Renegado Presbyterian, was put in his Place. Sir *Edward Herbert* was alſo remov'd from being Chief Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, to make room for Sir *Robert Wright* to hang a Soldier on that obſolete Statute. *Wythens*, who had charg'd himſelf with the Guilt of ſo much Blood in the laſt and this Reign, was turn'd out, and Sir *Richard Allibone*, an angry Papiſt, put in his Place on the *King's-Bench*. *Milton*'s Brother *Chriſtopher*, whom he ſcorn'd even to take notice of, was remov'd from the *Exchequer* to the ſame Court of *King's-Bench*.

Parliament.

Echard ſpeaks ſtill of the *Parliament*, as if it had been ſuch a Senate as the two laſt Parliaments at *Oxford* and *Weſtminſter*; *there were great Expectations to ſee them meet.* My Lord of *Salisbury* ſays, *It would not have been eaſy in all* England *to have found* 500 *Men ſo weak, ſo poor, and ſo devoted to the Court.* Richeſt and Wiſeſt, ſays *Echard*. The King diſſolv'd them the 2d of *July*, and then he and his Creatures ſet themſelves to work, by Cloſettings, Promiſes, and Threats, by *Quo-Warranto's*, and altering Magiſtrates and Officers, indeed by all the Arts and Artifices they could think of, to get the People to chuſe ſuch Members for the next Parliament, as would take off the Penal Laws and Teſt.

Pen *the Quaker ſent to the Prince of* Orange.

Pen the Quaker was ſent to *Holland* to perſuade the Prince of *Orange* to come into the King's Meaſures concerning it. He had two or three long Audiences of his Highneſs, who readily conſented to a Toleration of Popery, as well as of the Diſſenters, provided it were propos'd and paſs'd in Parliament; and he promis'd his Aſſiſtance, if there was need of it, to get it to paſs: But for the *Teſts*, he would enter into no Treaty about them. He ſaid it was a plain betraying the Security of the Proteſtant Religion to give them up.

Pope's Nuntio's *Audience.*

The Day after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the Pope's *Nuntio* Seignor *Dada* had a publick Reception at *Windſor*. He was very civil in all his Deportment, but it did not appear that he was a Man of great Depth, nor had he Power to do much. It was by Law High-Treaſon for any one to aſſume the Character of the Pope's *Nuntio*, yet was he admitted to Audience with more than ordinary Ceremony and Magnificence. But the People could not help ſhewing their Indignation at ſeeing him in his *Pontificalibus*, preceded by a Croſs-Bearer, and a Herd of Prieſts and Monks in their Habits. His Grace the Duke of *Somerſet*, as illuſtrious for his Love to his Country, as for his high Birth and Rank, being then the Lord of the Bed-Chamber in waiting, the King order'd him to attend the *Nuntio* at his Audience. But his Grace deſir'd his Majeſty to excuſe him from an Office which the Laws of the Land made criminal. The King reply'd, *Don't you know I am above the Law?* His Grace anſwer'd, *If the King is, I am not.* The King reiterated his Orders; and my Lord Duke perſiſting in his Denial, his Majeſty told him in a Paſſion, *I will trouble you no more with any Commands, and therefore I expect you will reſign your Places of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber and Colonel of Dragoons.* To which the Duke was obedient, without the leaſt Concern, as being content to preſerve his Conſcience and Honour, while he loſt nothing but the King's Favour. The Duke of *Graſton* obey'd that Command which the Duke of *Somerſet* refus'd. A Court-Biſhop was leſs ſcrupulous, and made part of the *Nuntio*'s Train; tho' his Coachman, a ſturdy Proteſtant, refus'd to drive him: of which the Biſhop might have been aſham'd, if he had had any ſhame in him. The *Nuntio* wanted an Opportunity to appear publickly at *London*, and therefore it was projected that he ſhould be invited to come with the King himſelf to dine in *Guild-Hall* with the Lord-Mayor, and he was accordingly receiv'd very ceremoniouſly at *Temple-Bar* by Sir *John Parſons* and Sir *Baſil Firebraſs*, the two Sheriffs, both ſtaunch Churchmen: Which I ſhould not have taken notice of, if *Echard* had not remember'd that Sir *John Shorter* the Lord-Mayor was a profeſs d Diſſenter. The King knighted the two Aldermen who were deputed to make this Invitation, Sir *John Bawdon* and Sir *William Aſhurſt*, who were both Diſſenters. *Jenour*, who was then Recorder, and the Mouth of the Deputation, was order'd to invite the Princeſs *Anne* and Prince *George* of *Denmark*. The Princeſs pretended Indiſpoſition, but it is thought it was only a pretence to avoid being ſeen with the *Nuntio*; and I remember it was then reported, that *Jenour*, that Blunderer and Bigot, ſhould ſay to the Princeſs, *If your Royal Highneſs cannot come yourſelf, will you pleaſe to let the Prince come?* To which her Royal Highneſs anſwer'd, *The Prince will do what he thinks fit*; which was alſo to avoid giving any Countenance to *Dada*.

Jenour's Blunder.

Duke of Somerſet *in Diſgrace about him.*

There were great Hopes that thoſe open avow'd Acts of Arbitrary Power, and in favour of Popery, would have ſo united all *Britiſh* Proteſtants, that we ſhould never more have heard of *Fanaticiſm*, and *Conventicles*, and *Schiſm*, and *Forty-one*, and the *Jargon* in the *Hiſtory* of the *Rebellion*, and the Archdeacon's Hiſtory. We were promis'd it by the Marquis of *Halliſax* in his *Declaration* in behalf of the Church Party, an admirable Piece equally rational, nervous, elegant and polite. He declares, *That all their former Haughtineſs was for ever extinguiſh'd, and that the Spirit of Perſecution was turn'd into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and Condeſcenſion; that the Church of* England *was convinc'd of its Error in being ſevere to them, and all thinking Men were come to a general Agreement, no more to cut ourſelves off from the Proteſtants abroad, but rather enlarge the Foundations upon which we are to build our Defences againſt the common Enemy.*

Baſe Practices to get a Parliament.

We have mention'd the Tricks and Contrivances of the Court to procure ſuch a Parliament as would enter into the *King's Meaſures*, which, and the *King's Religion*, were the Courtiers Cant at this time. The Judges were directed to feel the Pulſe of the Gentry in their Circuits, commiſſion'd in the Militia, or in the Peace, and where they found any averſe to thoſe Meaſures to turn them out of all Offices and Employments: The Practices of this kind were ſo mean and unwarrantable, that a Man, and much more a King, of any Spirit and Honour would have ſcorn'd it. 'Tis ſaid in a Memorial ſent to the Prince of *Orange*, "His Majeſty has perſonally "ſollicited and attack'd ſo many of the Electors "for Parliament by his Frowns and Smiles in "ſecret to accept of ſuch for their Deputies in "Parliament as will comply with his Intention, "that his cloſetting Electors is become a By-word "among People; he has made them conſent to "be barr'd of their Freedom in electing for Par-"liament, and in voting therein if they be cho "ſen, to be a Teſt of their Fitneſs to hold their "Offices or Employments of Profit and Truſt, "and to have a Place in the Magiſtracy." Dr. *Welwood* makes this Obſervation upon it in a Diſcourſe about calling a new Parliament in the Year

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Year 1690. " What woful Breaches have been " made of this our native Privilege, we have " had too many Experiences in the laſt Reigns, " when Letters, Promiſes, and Threats from " Court were made uſe of to promote Elections, " and when few durſt venture to ſerve their " Country, if not recommended by thoſe at " the Helm. But in order to ſet our preſent Con- " dition in a better Light, it may be perhaps not " amiſs to give a Letter communicated to me " from a noble Perſon, to whom it was wri[t]ten " in King *James*'s Reign, by a great Miniſter " of State, upon a Deſign of calling King " *James*'s Parliament."

My Lord,

It being his Majeſty's Royal Intention to render all his Subjects, of whatever Perſuaſion in Religion, happy and eaſy under his Government, and for that great End to call a Parliament to meet at Weſtminſter *on* ——— *next; it is expected of your Lordſhip, and I am commanded by his Majeſty to acquaint you, that it is his Pleaſure you make uſe of your Intereſt in the County of* ——— *for getting,* [here are two Perſons nam'd] *duely Elected Knights of the ſaid County in the enſuing Parliament, as Perſons of whoſe Loyalty and good Affection his Majeſty has receiv'd ſufficient Information. And I am to aſſure your Lordſhip, that as your hearty Compliance herein will be eſteem'd ſingular good Service done to his Majeſty, and incline him to put ſome Mark of his Favour upon you for ſo doing; ſo a Neglect herein will be look'd upon by his Majeſty with Diſpleaſure, which will be more than enough to ruin you in the preſent Circumſtances your Lordſhip is in. I put no Doubt in your Lordſhip's hearty Compliance in this Matter, and am,*

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's Humble Servant.

Welwood thinks very juſtly upon it. *I queſtion after all, whether the Parliament, which King* James *was thus labouring to model, would have anſwer'd his Expectation, had they come to ſit, for Men's Eyes were open'd more and more every day, and the noble Principles of* Engliſh *Liberty began to kindle afreſh in the Nation.* He proceeds, " Tho' the Diſſenters who might be " choſen into Parliament upon this new Model, " would probably have made Terms for them- " ſelves to prevent their falling under any fu- " ture Perſecution; yet being as averſe to *Po-* " *pery* as any others whatſoever, it is not to be " imagin'd that they would have unhing'd the " Conſtitution of *England* upon that Conſidera- " tion, to enable the *Roman* Catholicks to break " in upon the eſtabliſh'd national Church, which " in the End might have inevitably ruin'd both " it and themſelves." And if one might gueſs at the Sentiments and Intentions of the Electors all over *England*, by the Characters of the four Citizens that were talk'd of for *London*, Sir *Robert Clayton*, *William Love* Eſq; Sir *John Eyles*, and Sir *John Bawdon*, it is more than probable that King *James*'s intended Parliament would have been of the Opinion of Mr. *Love* before-mention'd, who, when a Member, told the Houſe of Commons, *That tho' he was a* Diſſenter *he did not deſire any Favour for themſelves, if it was to make way for the favouring of* Papiſts.

King James's Miſtake as to a Parliament.

A little before this there fell out an Accident which help'd mightily to buoy up the ſinking Spirits of the Nation, and which was occaſion'd by the forward Zeal of ſome about the King, contrary to their Intentions. While the Project was going on to take off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, King *James* was ſet upon making a Trial of the Inclinations of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* in that Matter; their Highneſſes had look'd on with a ſilent Regret, and obſerv'd all the irregular Steps that were making in *England*. They were unwilling to publiſh their Opinion of them, ſince they knew it could not but be diſpleaſing to King *James*. To know the Mind of the Prince and Princeſs concerning the Teſt and Penal Laws was a thing the moſt deſir'd by the Proteſtants; but it would hardly have been poſſible for them to come to this Knowledge, if King *James* himſelf had not help'd them to it.

There was one Mr. *James Stewart* a Lawyer, afterwards Sir *James*, who had given over the Practice of the Law, becauſe all that were admitted to the Bar in *Scotland* were requir'd to renounce the *Covenant*, which he would not do; this recommended him to the Confidence of the Covenanters, who made great uſe of him, and truſted him entirely. The King had long conſider'd him as the chief Manager of all the Deſigns againſt him, more particularly of *Argyle*'s, and one of *Pen*'s Errands to *Holland* was to engage him to come over, upon Promiſe not only of Pardon, but Favour, which was made good to him; before he croſs'd the Seas he came to the Prince of *Orange*, and aſſur'd him of an inviolable Fidelity to him, and to the common Intereſts of Religion and Liberty. He had been often with Penſioner *Fagel*, and had a great meaſure of his Confidence. Upon his coming to Court he was careſs'd to a degree that amaz'd all who knew him. He either believ'd the King was ſincere in the Profeſſions he made, that he deſign'd only a full Liberty of Conſcience, or he thought that it became a Man who had been ſo long in Diſgrace not to ſhew any Jealouſies at firſt, when the King was ſo gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his Majeſty's Deſigns in *Scotland*, and to repreſent his Intentions ſo at the *Hague*, as might incline the Prince to a better Opinion of them, which he endeavour'd to do in ſeveral Letters to the Penſioner, and preſs'd him vehemently in the King's Name, and by his Direction to perſuade the Prince to concur with the King in procuring the Laws to be *repeal'd*. He laid before him the inconſiderable Number of the Papiſts, ſo that there was no reaſon to apprehend much from them; he alſo enlarg'd on the Severities which the Penal Laws had brought on the Diſſenters, which Laws the King was reſolv'd ſhould not be repeal'd, unleſs the *Teſts* were taken away with them, and the refuſing to conſent to this, might at another time bring them under another ſevere Proſecution. *Stewart*, after he had witten many Letters to this purpoſe without receiving any Anſwers, try'd if he could ſerve the King in *Scotland* with more Succeſs than it ſeem'd he was like to have at the *Hague*; but he found there that his old Friends were much alienated from him, looking on him as a Perſon entirely gain'd by the Court.

Mr. Stewart *brought over from* Holland *by* Pen.

Stewart writes to Penſioner Fagel *about the Teſt.*

Penſioner *Fagel* laid all his Letters before the Prince, they were alſo brought to Dr. *Burnet*, then marry'd and naturaliz'd in *Holland*. The Prince thought upon this, that a full Anſwer made by *Fagel* in ſuch a manner, as that it might be publiſh'd as a Declaration of his Intentions, would in many reſpects be a Service to him, eſpecially in *Popiſh* Courts, which were on civil Accounts inclin'd to an Alliance againſt *France*, but were now poſſeſs'd with an Opinion of the Prince, and of his Party in *England*, as deſigning nothing but the Ruin and Extirpation

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tirpation of all the Papiſts in thoſe Kingdoms; ſo the Penſioner wrote a long Letter in *French* to *Stewart*, and Dr. *Burnet* put it into *Engliſh*.

Fagel's *Letter about it to* Stewart.

He began it with great Aſſurances of the Prince and Princeſs's Duty to the King. They were both of them much againſt all Perſecution on the account of Religion, they freely conſented to the covering Papiſts from the Severities of the Laws made againſt them on the account of their Religion, and alſo that they might have the free Exerciſe of it in private, they alſo conſented to grant a full Liberty to Diſſenters; but they could not conſent to the Repeal of thoſe Laws that tended only to the Security of the Proteſtant Religion; ſuch as thoſe concerning the *Teſts*, which imported no Puniſhment, but only an Incapacity of being in publick Employments, which could not be complain'd of as great Severities. This was a Caution obſerv'd in all Nations, and was now neceſſary, both for ſecuring the publick Peace and the eſtabliſh'd Religion. If the Numbers of the Papiſts were ſo ſmall as to make them inconſiderable, then it was not reaſonable to make ſuch a Change for the ſake of a few; and if thoſe few that pretended to publick Employments would do all their own Party ſo great a Prejudice, as not to ſuffer the King to be content with the Repeal of the Penal Laws, unleſs they could get into the Offices of Truſt, then their Ambition was only to be blam'd, if the Offers now made were not accepted.

The Letter was carry'd by *Stewart* to the King, who brought it to the Cabinet Council, but nothing follow'd upon it: The King order'd *Stewart* to write back, *He would either have all or nothing*. It is ſaid the main Body of the Papiſts were for what was offer'd, that the Emperor of *Germany* was fully ſatisfy'd with it, and promis'd to uſe his Intereſt at *Rome* to get the Pope to write to the King to accept of this as as a Step to the *Teſt*; but the Jeſuits and the *French* Embaſſador were for Extremities, and the King was in all Points govern'd by them.

Father Petre's *ill Conduct chaſtiz'd.*

Father *Petre* affected great Modeſty, when it was propos'd to make him a Privy Counſellor, and Lord *Sunderland* ſeem'd to meet with much Difficulty in prevailing with him to conſent to it. It was given out, that the King reſolv'd to obtain a Cardinal's Cap for him, and make him Archbiſhop of *York*. If this Pope continued firm in his Reſolution againſt it, it was hoped the next would be more complying. This Jeſuit was very officious in ſerving the King which way he pleas'd, whether to the Prejudice of Proteſtant or Papiſt; and the Colony of *Maryland* being under a Popiſh Proprietor, Lord *Baltimore*, who conſidering the Intereſt of his Propriety more than that of the Prieſts, was very kind to his Proteſtant Tenants; it was reſolv'd, to take it into the King's hands, and put the Papiſts there, in Poſſeſſion of the Government. In order to this, *Petre* was very earneſt with his Lordſhip to part with it for a Sum of Money: and one time in Diſcourſe with him about it, uſing ſome hard Words, which his young Son, the late Lord *Baltimore*, took to be an Affront to his Father, he ran immediately to the Jeſuit, pull'd off his Cap or Wig, and flung it into the Fire, which frighted this *Petre* ſo heartily, that he made off as faſt as he could, and never again mention'd *Maryland* to the Lord *Baltimore*.

Popiſh Biſhops confirm.

There was then a Faction between the ſecular Prieſts and the Jeſuits, which was ſometimes near breaking out into a Rupture; but the King was ſo partial to the Jeſuits, that the Prieſts found they could maintain no Competition with them. Biſhop *Leybourn*, and three other Biſhops, who had been conſecrated in *England*, were ordered to make a Progreſs all over the Kingdom, confirming and doing other epiſcopal Offices wherever they came, and great Numbers gather'd about them.

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The Confidence of the Jeſuits.

The Jeſuits thought all was ſure, and that their Scheme was ſo well laid, it could not miſcarry, as appear'd by the Behaviour of their *contemptible Tool* Albeville, at the *Hague*. It is fit to give ſome Account of that miſerable Wretch: he was an *Iriſh* Man, his true Name *White*, and he had been long a Spy for the *Spaniards*, who not paying his Appointments well, he accepted of the Title of Marquiſs d'*Albeville* from them, in part of Payment. He then turned to the *French*, who paid their Spies and Emiſſaries more punctually; Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, he was a moſt deſpicable ridiculous Creature, who had not *the Appearances either of Decency or Truth*. Such Inſtruments as theſe were made uſe of, by both King *Charles* and King *James*; and the Work they had to do, would not admit of better.

Albeville's *Character.*

Lord *Sunderland* had a vaſt Genius, but his Conſcience was of a like Extent, and by thoſe Qualifications, he became ſo intimate a Favourite, that nothing could be got at Court, but by his Intereſt, and when the King was told, he got all the Money, his Anſwer was, *he deſerves it*. Nay, his Intereſt at laſt was become ſo remarkable, that his Majeſty himſelf would ask, when any Grant was given, *Have they ſpoke with* Sunderland? *Fagel*'s Letter was communicated to him and *Melfort*, by *Stewart*, and we ſhall ſee preſently, how complying both his Conſcience and his Honou was in that Affair.

Lord Sunderland's.

Chudleigh, who was the *Engliſh* Envoy in *Holland* at this King's Acceſſion to the Throne, behav'd ſo inſolently to the Prince of *Orange*, that he would not ſee him, and his Succeſſor, *Skelton*, manag'd Matters with ſo little Senſe, and ſuch an univerſal Diſlike, that the King thought fit to ſend him to *France*, where there was little to do, *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, having all that Buſineſs in his hands.

Albeville was ſuch a Fool, that he did nor ſtick to ſpeak out, what was not fit to be ſpoken, tho' he had known it to be true. One day, when the Prince of *Orange* was talking of the King's Promiſes, and the Oath he had taken to maintain the Laws, and the eſtabliſh'd Church; inſtead of pretending, the King had ſtill kept his Word, this blundering *Iriſhman* ſaid, *Kings muſt upon ſome Occaſions forget their Promiſes*. And when the Prince ſaid, the King ought to have more Regard for the Church of *England*, which was the main Body of the Nation; *Albeville* reply'd, *The Body* you *call the Church of* England, *will not have a Being two Years to an end*. He thus talk'd too plainly and too openly, and at the ſame time behav'd in all other Reſpects ſo poorly, that he became the Jeſt of the *Hague*. The Foreign Miniſters, Monſ. d'*Avaux* the *French* Ambaſſador not excepted, did not know how to excuſe or bear with his Weakneſs, which appear'd on all Occaſions, and in all Companies.

Albeville *juſtifies the King's forſwearing himſelf.*

What he wrote to *England* upon his firſt Audiences in *Holland*, was not known; but it was ſoon ſpread about the Kingdom, that the Prince and Princeſs had now conſented to the Repeal of the *Teſts*, as well as of the *Penal Laws*. His Highneſs, to prevent the ill effects which might follow on ſuch Reports, gave Orders to print the Penſioner's Letter to *Stewart*, which was ſent to all Parts of *England*, and received with univerſal Joy.

Fagel's *Letter printed by the Prince of* Orange's *Order.*

The Diſſenters ſaw themſelves now ſafe in the Prince's Intention towards them. The Church-Party was confirm'd in their Zeal for maintaining the *Teſts*; and the Lay-Papiſts ſeem'd alſo

A. D. 1687. alſo to be ſo well pleas'd with it, that they complain'd of thoſe ambitious Prieſts and hungry Courtiers, who were reſolv'd, rather than lay down their Aſpirings and other Projects, to leave them ſtill expos'd to the Severities of the Law, tho' a Freedom from theſe was now offered them. But it was not eaſy to judge, whether this was ſincerely meant by them, or whether it was only a popular Art to recommend themſelves under ſuch a moderate Appearance. The Court ſaw the Hurt this Letter did them, and hop'd at firſt to have ſtifled it by calling it an *Impoſture*. This is Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of it, and the Way they took to ſtifle it was a Piece of impudent Falſhood, A. *of* N-t. which the greateſt *Chicaneur* in the Kingdom might have been aſhamed of; for there was a Pamphlet publiſh'd, intitled, *Parliamentum Pacificum*, another healing Parliament being expected to take off the *Penal Laws*, wherein it was affirmed, that Penſioner *Fagel*'s Letter was not only ſuppoſitious, but alſo that the Author miſrepreſented the Sentiments of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*. This Pamphlet with this ſtaring Lye in it, was licens'd by the Earl of *Sunderland* principal Secretary of State, and Preſident of the Council; upon which, Mr. *Fagel* wrote a Letter to *Albeville*, which he cauſed to be printed with ſome of *Stewart*'s Letters. In that to *Albeville*, the Penſioner tells him, *His Majeſty and all the Court knew the Letter to be genuine*; That Albeville *knew* Fagel *had own'd it to him*; That *the Earl of* Sunderland *knew as well as any body, that the Letter to* Stewart *was not ſuppoſititious*; That *Albeville* himſelf knew and *had often own'd it*; That *their Highneſſes, and particularly Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs, had ſeveral times told the Envoy their Opinion concerning the Teſt, as he had expreſt it in the Letter to* Stewart: notwithſtanding all which, the Court got a Pamphleteer to aver 'twas an Impoſture, and obliged Mr. *Stewart* to deny that he ever wrote to Mr. *Fagel*, tho the latter had the Originals of his Letters by him.

Earl of Sunderland *licenſes what he knew to be falſe.*

Fr. Hiſt. Rev. *p.* 120. After this unſucceſsful Attempt, the King took a large Progreſs, and one of his Cloſet Attendants was *William Pen* the Quaker. His Intention was ſaid to be to view *Portſmouth* and other Ports and Harbours, but the ſecret Deſign was to influence and prepare the Electors of every Corporation thro' which he paſt, to make ſuch a Choice of Members for the next Parliament, as would anſwer his Ends. The People receiv'd him every where with Shouts and Acclamations, and dutiful Acknowledgements were paid him at *Portſmouth*, *Bath*, *Glouceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewsbury*, *Cheſter*, where *Tyrconnel* met him from *Ireland*, and receiv'd Encouragement to go on in the Project of deſtroying the Proteſtants in that Kingdom.

His Majeſty was receiv'd in the ſame manner at *Newport*, *Litchfield*, *Coventry*, *Banbury* and *Wincheſter*; and I think we ſhould not forget that he kill'd a Dog at *Banbury*, that Action being celebrated in the *State-Poems*. But theſe Acclamations and Shouts did him more miſchief than the free Speeches of thoſe that dreaded and hated his Meaſures. He thought they proceeded from the *Heart*, whereas they were the Breath of the Multitude; and he found by ſad Experience ſoon after, that he depended upon them to his ruin——as he might have foreſeen, if his Foreſight had been but equal to his Zeal: For having on *Sunday*, *December* 11, declar'd in Council, that he would have no Lord-Lieutenants, nor Deputy-Lieutenants, nor Juſtices of the Peace in the ſeveral Counties, but ſuch as ſhall concur with, and aſſiſt him to have his Toleration paſs'd into a Law; the Lord-Lieutenants by his Order, and in his Name, ſummon'd the Chief Officers and Gentlemen in their reſpective Shires, and laid the Caſe before them, ſo as to flatter or terrify them out of their Freedom in the Election of Parliament-Men, as the *Regulators* did in Corporations. But notwithſtanding all theſe Wiles and Weapons, the King found himſelf diſappointed in his hopes of having a Parliament at his devotion. In ſome Counties almoſt all the Gentry diſappear'd on a ſudden to avoid the Summons of the Lords-Lieutenants. The Gentlemen of *Dorſetſhire* being aſſembled by the Earl of *Briſtol*, were no ſooner acquainted with the King's Intentions, than they anſwer'd, That an Affair of ſo great Importance deſerv'd to be diſcuſs'd in the great Council of the Nation, to which they would ſend their Repreſentatives when his Majeſty ſhould think fit to call a Free Parliament. The like Anſwer was made in ſeveral other Counties; and in *Cheſter*, of about 700 Perſons, there were only 17 who could be made to promiſe a Conſent to the repealing of the Penal Laws.

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The Counties modell'd for Elections.

The Opinion of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* having gone a great way towards the ſpreading of it in the Nation, the King in his Reſentment order'd *Albeville* to demand the ſix Regiments, three *Engliſh* and three *Scots*, in the *Dutch* Service: but the States refus'd to ſend them, alledging, they were not oblig'd by Treaty to do it, unleſs *England* was in War; that they were levy'd at their Charge, and by frequent filling up, moſt of thoſe Troops were now natural *Hollanders*, or of other Provinces, or *Germans*. However, they order'd Paſſports for all *Engliſh* and *Scots* Officers who were willing to quit their Service, and about 40 took them; at which the Prince of *Orange* was not diſpleas'd, for thoſe Officers having been corrupted by *Chudleigh* and *Skelton*, were very inſolent and troubleſome.

The King in his Progreſs viſited the Queen at the *Bath*, where he ſtaid only a few Days, two or three at moſt, and ſhe continu'd on in her Courſe of Bathing. Many Books were now writ for Liberty of Conſcience; and ſince all People ſaw what Security the Teſts gave, ſome of theſe ſpoke of an *Equivalent* to be offer'd, that ſhould give a further Security beyond what could be pretended from the *Teſts*. It was never explain'd what was meant by this. But the Marquis of *Hallifax* ſufficienly explain'd, it could mean nothing, in his *Anatomy of an Equivalent*. People took it to be an artificial Method to lay them aſleep with a high-ſounding Word. Some talk'd of new Laws to ſecure civil Liberty, which had been ſo much ſhaken by the Practices of theſe laſt Years, ever ſince the *Oxford* Parliament: Nay, we are told by Biſhop *Burnet*, that a very extravagant thing was given out upon it, how the King was reſolv'd to ſet up a ſort of *Commonwealth*; and the *Papiſts* began to talk very high every where for publick Liberty, trying by that to recommend themſelves to the Pepole.

An Equivalent.

King James *a Republican.*

When the King came back from his Progreſs, he reſolv'd to change the Magiſtracy in moſt of the Cities of *England*. He began with the City of *London*, where he not only chang'd the Aldermen, but the Government of many of the Companies. Among other Diſſenters, he made Mr. *William Kiffin*, a *Baptiſt* Preacher, an Alderman. He did all this by virtue of the great Powers reſerv'd in the new Charters. Thoſe who had ſtood up for the King during the Debate about the Excluſion, were now turn'd out with Diſgrace. And thoſe who had appear'd moſt violently againſt him, were put into the

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Changes the Magiſtracy of London.

Magiſtracy. My Lord of *Sarum* adds, "All "this turn'd upon the King, who was ſo given "up to the Humours of his Prieſts, that he ſa-"crific'd both his Honour and Gratitude as they "dictated; and the new Men that were brought "in, ſaw this too viſibly to be much wrought "upon by it. The King threw off his old Party in "too outragious a manner ever to return to them "again. But he was much ſurpriz'd to find the "new Mayor and Aldermen took the Teſt, and "order'd the Celebration of *Gunpowder-Trea-ſon-day*."

Nuntio not invited into the City by the Lord-Mayor.

We have mention'd the *Nuntio*'s being invited to dine at *Guild-hall* when the King din'd there, but we ſhould have remember'd, that the Mayor and Aldermen diſown'd the Invitation, and made an Entry of it in their Books, that the *Nuntio* came without their knowledge: Which the King took very ill, and ſaid, *I ſee the Diſſenters are an ill-natur'd ſort of People that cannot be gain'd.* He ſignify'd to the Lord Mayor that he might uſe what Form of Worſhip he lik'd beſt in *Guildhall-Chapel*, deſigning by this to engage the Diſſenters to make the firſt Change from the eſtabliſh'd Worſhip. And if a *Presbyterian* Mayor ſhould do this in one Year, a *Popiſh* Mayor might do it in another. But the Mayor put the Deciſion of the matter upon thoſe to whom the governing of the Dioceſe of *London* was committed during the Biſhop's Suſpenſion, and ask'd their Opinion in it, which three Biſhops could not but give in behalf of the eſtabliſh'd Worſhip. So the Church-Service was kept up in *Guildhall-Chapel*, and the Room where now is the Receipt of the Bank in *Grocers-Hall*, where Sir *John Shorter* kept his Mayoralty, was made a Place for Worſhip in the Presbyterians way.

Steps towards the Revolution.

In this languiſhing deſperate Condition *Great Britain* caſt her mournful Eyes on *Holland*, where only ſhe was in hopes of finding a Deliverer in the midſt of her Diſtreſs and Deſpair; and it is very certain his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* had his Eye as much upon *Britain*, to watch for her Preſervation and Safety. King *James*'s ill and arbitrary Government, and his Deſign to eſtabliſh Popery and Slavery, awaken'd in him a lively Concern for our Religion and Liberties, long before he receiv'd a perſonal Provocation, by an attempt to impoſe a pretended Heir on the Nation, and to deprive his Conſort the Princeſs and himſelf of their Right of Succeſſion to the Crown.

In the Years 1685 and 1686, the Prince often took occaſion to ſpeak of the Affairs of *England*, which he did very freely. He was highly diſſatisfy'd with the King's Conduct, apprehending he would give the People ſuch Jealouſies of him, as would throw him into a *French* Management, and force violent Remedies. He had very faithful and large Accounts of all Proceedings at Court, in the City and Country, from Perſons of good Intelligence, by word of Mouth, and by Letter: And upon ſetting up of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, ſome from *England* preſſed the Prince and Princeſs to write over againſt it; but he did not think fit to intermeddle at that time, waiting for further Advices and Inſtances from his Friends: of which he had enough, upon the Proceedings againſt the Univerſities: The breaking in upon the Statutes of *Magdalen-College*, and turning out Dr. *Hough* the Preſident, and the Fellows by force, was thought an open piece of *Robbery* and *Burglary*, when Perſons authoriz'd by no legal Commiſſion came and forcibly turn'd Men out of their Poſſeſſion and Freehold. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, "This highly inflam'd the *Church Party*

Addreſſes to the Prince of Orange.

"and the Clergy, who ſent over very preſſing "Meſſages upon it to the Prince of *Orange*, de-"ſiring he would interpoſe and eſpouſe the Con-"cerns of the *Church*, and that he would break "upon it, if the King would not redreſs it." His Highneſs did not think fit to ſhew ſuch Letters as theſe; but he often ſaid he was preſs'd by many of thoſe, who were afterwards his bittereſt Enemies, to engage in their Quarrel. The firſt thing he reſolv'd on, was to ſend Monſieur *Dykvelt* to *England*, with Directions how to talk to all ſorts of People, to the King, to thoſe of the Church, and to the Diſſenters. Dr. *Burnet* drew his Inſtructions, which he follow'd very cloſely.

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Dykvelt *ſent into* England.

He was order'd to expoſtulate decently, but firmly, with the King upon the Methods he was purſuing both at home and abroad, and to try, if poſſible, to bring him to a better Underſtanding with the Prince.

He was to aſſure the Church Party, that the Prince would ever be firm to the Church of *England*, and to all our national Intereſts. The Clergy, by the Biſhop of *London*, had deſir'd him to uſe all his Credit with the Diſſenters, to keep them from going into the Meaſures of the Court; and ſent over very poſitive Aſſurances, That in caſe they ſtood firm now to the common Intereſt, they would in a better time come into a Comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into a Conjunction with the Church. How theſe Aſſurances agreed with the Behaviour of *Jane*, *Aldrich*, and the Convocations, after the Prince of *Orange* had done their Buſineſs; how with the *Schiſm* Bill and Occaſional Bill, after *Sacheverell*'s Tumult, is too well known to need remembring here. Nay, the Clergy were ſo complying at this time, that they deſir'd the Prince to ſend over ſome of the Diſſenting Preachers, whom the Violence of the former Years had driven to *Holland*, and to prevail effectually with them to oppoſe any falſe Brethren, ſuch as *Lob*, &c. whom the Court might have gain'd to deceive the reſt. The Prince did this. Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Shower*, and many others return'd to *England*, to ſeveral of whom his Highneſs gave ſuch Preſents, as enabled them to pay their Debts, and undertake the Journey. *Dykvelt* was order'd to perſuade all to ſtand off, and not to be drawn in by any Promiſes the Court might make them to aſſiſt in electing ſuch Members as would repeal the Teſt and Penal Laws. Dr. *Calamy* tells us, "he gave "the Nonconformiſts great Aſſurance, that they "ſhould find Reſpect from the Prince, when "Opportunity offer'd, and that they might be "ſatisfy'd he was no Friend to Rigour and Se-"verity in religious Matters, but a great Friend "to Liberty of Conſcience." He was to try all ſorts of People, and to remove the ill Characters that had been given them of his Highneſs.

Clergy promiſe the Diſſenters a Comprehenſion.

Albeville did all he could to divert this Journey; for he knew well *Dykvelt*'s way of penetrating into Secrets, he himſelf having been often employ'd by him, and well paid for ſeveral Diſcoveries made by his means. He aſſur'd the Prince and the States, that the King was firmly reſolv'd to maintain his Alliance with them; that his Naval Preparations were only to enable him to preſerve the Peace of *Europe*: For he ſeem'd much concern'd to find that the States had ſuch Apprehenſions of theſe, that they were putting themſelves in a Condition not to be ſurpriz'd. *Albeville* in his ſecret Negociations with the Prince and Princeſs, poſitively aſſur'd them, the King intended never to wrong them in their Right of Succeſſion: That all he was now engag'd in, was only to aſſert the Rights of the

Albeville Dykvelt's *Spy.*

Albeville's *Diſcourſe with the Prince of* Orange.

A. D. 1687. Crown, of which they would reap the Advantage in their turn. That the *Teſt* was a Reſtraint on the King's Liberty, and he was therefore reſolv'd to have it repeal'd, as well as all Penal Laws in Matters of Religion. They ſaw too well the Advantages *Holland* had by Liberty of Conſcience among them, to oppoſe the King in this Particular. His Majeſty could not abandon Men, becauſe they were of his Religion, had ſerv'd him well, and ſuffer'd only on his account, and on account of their Conſcience.

King James condemns the French King. He told their Highneſſes how much the King condemn'd the Proceedings in *France*, and that he ſpoke of that King as a poor Bigot, who was govern'd by the Archbiſhop of *Paris* and Madam *de Maintenon:* Whereas he knew *Pere de la Chaiſe* had oppos'd the Perſecution as long as he could, but his Maſter hated thoſe Maxims; and therefore he receiv'd the Refugees very kindly, and had given Orders for a Collection of Charity over the Kingdom for their Relief.

I have been the longer upon this, becauſe it was not only the Subſtance of what *Albeville* ſaid to the Prince and Princeſs, but what the King ſaid to *Dykvelt*, who return'd a like Anſwer to the King, as their Highneſſes did to *Albeville*.

The Prince and Princeſs of Orange's Anſwer to Albeville. That they were fix'd in a Principle againſt Perſecution in Matters of Conſcience, but they could not think it reaſonable to let *Papiſts* in to fit in Parliament, or to ſerve in publick Truſts. The reſtleſs Spirit of ſome of that Religion, and of their Clergy in particular, ſhew'd they could not be at quiet till they were Maſters. And the Power they had over the King's Spirit, in making him forget what he had promis'd upon his coming to the Crown, gave but too juſt a ground of Jealouſy. It appear'd they could not bear any Reſtraints, nor remember paſt Services, longer than thoſe who did them could comply in every thing with that which was deſir'd of them. They thought the Prerogative, as limited by Law, was great enough, and they deſir'd no ſuch exorbitant Power as ſhould break thro' all Laws. They thought the ſureſt as well as the beſt way was to govern according to Law. The Church of *England* had given the King ſignal Proofs of their Affection and Fidelity, and had comply'd with him in every thing, till he came to touch them in ſo tender a Point, as the legal Security they had for their Religion. Their ſticking to that was very natural; and the King's taking that ill from them, was liable to great Cenſure. His Majeſty, if he pleas'd to improve the Advantages he had in his Hand might be both eaſy and great at home, and the Arbiter of all Affairs abroad; but he was prevail'd on by the Importunities of ſome reſtleſs Prieſts to embroil all Affairs to ſerve their End. They could never conſent to aboliſh thoſe Laws, which were the beſt, and now the only Fence of that Religion, which they themſelves believ'd to be true. *Albeville* ſaid the Princeſs was more intractable than the Prince; *Dykvelt* argu'd often with the King on theſe Topicks, but found him obſtinately fix'd in his Reſolution.

The King's Diſcourſe with Dykvelt. The King ſaid, *I am the Head of the Family, and the Prince ought to comply with me, but he always ſets himſelf againſt me.* *Dykvelt* reply'd, *The Prince cannot carry his Compliance ſo far as to give his Religion to your Pleaſure; but in all other things he has ſhew'd a ready Submiſſion to your Will. The Peace of* Nimeguen, *of which your Majeſty is Guarantee, is openly violated in the Article relating to the Principality of* Orange; *yet ſince you do not think fit to eſpouſe the Prince's Intereſts in that Matter, he has been ſilent, and has made no Proteſtations upon it: Thus you ſee he is ready to ſacrifice his own Concerns rather than diſturb your Majeſty's.* To this the King made no Reply; but the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the reſt of the Miniſtry preſs'd *Dykvelt* mightily, to endeavour to bring the Prince to concur with the King, they engaging to him, that if that were once ſettled, his Majeſty would go into cloſe Meaſures with his Highneſs againſt *France*. The Embaſſador put an end to all thoſe Propoſitions, by ſaying, *The Prince will never be brought to hearken to them.* Thus his Negotiation at *London*, and *Albeville*'s at the *Hague*, had no Effect on either ſide. *Dykvelt* ſucceeded much better with thoſe whom he had Inſtructions to apply to, as the Marquis of *Halliſax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Danby*, the Lord *Mordaunt*, the Lord *Lumley*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, who were the Perſons chiefly truſted, and upon the Advices that were ſent over by them, the Prince govern'd all his Motions.

Lords conſult with Dykvelt.

This Year Dr. *Burnet*, to whoſe Memoirs we are ſo much indebted, fell under a ſevere Proſecution for the many admirable Pieces he wrote abroad in Defence of our Religion, Rights, and Liberties, which were carefully diſpers'd, and greedily read by the well-affected of all Denominations. He had finiſh'd his Travels in *France*, *Italy*, *Swiſſerland*, and *Germany*, and was ſettled in the *United Provinces*, where he was about to be marry'd to a conſiderable Fortune; and with a ſpiteful Intent to prevent it, the King's Advocate in *Scotland* was order'd to cite him before the Parliament, to anſwer a Charge of High Treaſon for holding Correſpondence with the Earl of *Argyle*, *James Stewart*, then in the King's Favour, *Robert Ferguſon*, Chaplain to the late Earl of *Shaftesbury*, as it is ſaid in the Citation; but is an impudent Falſhood, for he was never *Shaftesbury*'s Chaplain, the Earl being no Diſſenter, and *Ferguſon* a *Cameronian*, *&c.* The Witneſſes whoſe Names were put to this Citation, according to the Cuſtom in *Scotland*, were Sir *John Cockran*, *John Cockran* Eſq; his Son, Mr. *Robert Weſt*, the perjur'd Evidence in the pretended *Presbyterian* Plot, Mr. *Zachary Bourn*, another ſuch Evidence, Mr. *William Carſtairs*, Miniſter, Mr. *Robert Baird*, Merchant in *Holland*, and Mr. *Richard Baxter*, the two latter at leaſt were no doubt put in without their knowledge. The Appearance was to be the 27th of *June*, and the Doctor publiſh'd a full Anſwer to the Charge the 17th of *May*, at what time he wrote alſo an elegant Letter in his own Vindication to the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State.

Dr. Burnet proſecuted.

In his Anſwer he ſets forth that he had not ſeen the Earl of *Argyle* in nine Years before his Condemnation, that he had had no Correſpondence with *James Stewart* in twenty Years paſt, that he had not ſeen Sir *John Cockran* in four Years, that he never ſaw *Weſt* and *Brown* to his knowledge, that he knew not *Carſtairs*, nor if there was ſuch a Man as *Baird* in *Holland*, that he had had no Converſation with Mr. *Baxter* in twenty-two Years laſt paſt, unleſs once or twice by Accident at a third Perſon's Houſe, and had not then any private Diſcourſe with him; notwithſtanding all which, the Doctor was condemn'd for Contumacy, that is, for not putting himſelf into the hands of Perſons, who would ſurely have murder'd him. He wrote other Letters to the Earl of *Middleton*; but inſtead of an Anſwer, *Albeville* was order'd to demand of the *States General*, that he ſhould be baniſh'd their Provinces, and at the ſame time ſeveral Ruffians

were

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were hir'd to aſſaſſinate him, and once he had a narrow Eſcape in his Garden; but being married, and in conſequence of it naturaliz'd, the States granted him their Protection, according to the Law of Nations. However, *Albeville* ſo often, and ſo earneſtly preſs'd the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to forbid him their Court, that their Highneſſes could not at laſt refuſe it without a Quarrel, yet they conſtantly maintain'd a ſecret Correſpondence with him, communicated to him their Advices from *England* had him conſulted upon them, and made uſe of his Pen upon all Occaſions. Among other Pieces in Vindication of the Church of *England*, and the Laws of the Land, which Dr. *Burnet* wrote, was an Anſwer to *Parker* Biſhop of *Oxford*'s Book, entitled, *Reaſons for abrogating the Teſt impos'd on all Members of Parliament*, which Book was licens'd by the Earl of *Sunderland*, and his Majeſty commanded the Bookſellers not to print any Anſwer to it, which was equally fooliſh and tyrannical; for it at once gave People an Itch of reading and anſwering, and took away the natural Right which every Man has to make uſe of his Reaſon in all ſorts of Argument. *Parker* inſulted the Divines of our Church with an Inſolence ſuperior to that of the Papiſts, and, as might eaſily have been foreſeen, ſeveral ſharp Anſwers came out againſt it, notwithſtanding the King's Command, but none made ſo much noiſe as Dr. *Burnet*'s, who very luckily turn'd *Parker*'s Title againſt him. *Parker* having ſaid in his Title-Page, *Written for the Author's own Satisfaction*, and now publiſh'd for the Benefit of all *others whom it may concern*; *Burnet* ſaid the Words were certainly wrong plac'd, for the Truth of the Matter is, that it was *written for the Author's own Benefit, and now publiſh'd for the Satisfaction of all others whom it may concern.* Speaking of the whole Body of the Biſhops, he ſays, *If there were two or three ſuch as he among the twenty-ſix, they may comfort themſelves with this, that a Dozen of much better Men had one among them, that I confeſs was not much worſe, if it was not for this, that he let the Price of his Treachery fall much lower than* Sam. Oxon. *does.* The Apoſtate had a very good Word from *Echard*, and others of his Stamp, when he was abuſing Proteſtant Diſſenters, till *Marvel* laſh'd even his Impudence out of countenance. Dr. *Burnet* added, "When "one reflects on two of the Biſhops that were of "that venerable Body, whoſe Memory will be "bleſs'd in the preſent and following Ages, "thoſe two great and good Men that fill'd the "Sees of *Oxford* and *Cheſter*, *Fell* and *Pearſon*, "we muſt conclude, that as the World was not "worthy of them, ſo certainly their *Sees* were "not worthy of them, ſince they have been "plagu'd with ſuch Succeſſors.——With what "ſenſible Regret muſt thoſe who were ſo often "edify'd with the Gravity, the Piety, the Ge-"neroſity and Charity of the late Biſhop of *Ox-*"*ford*, look on, when they ſee ſuch a Harle-"quin in his room?" *Parker* charg'd *Burnet* with writing *Lampoons* upon the preſent Princes of *Chriſtendom*; upon which Dr. *Burnet* retorted with this ſatyrical Period, *It is* Lampoon *enough upon the Age that he is a* Biſhop, *but it is a downright* Reproach *that he is made the Champion of a* Cauſe, *which if it is bad of itſelf, muſt ſuffer extremely by being in ſuch hands.* This Tool of Arbitrary Power and Popery was ſo ignorant of Facts, or ſo maliciouſly wicked, that he makes the *Teſt* to be one of the Productions of *Oates*'s Perjury. His firſt Reaſon for abrogating it, is, *becauſe it had a ſhameful Origin, being the firſt Production of* Oates's *Conſpiracy, made on purpoſe to give Credit and Reputation to Perjury.* Now the *Teſt Act* paſt in 1672, and *Oates*'s Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot was not till ſix Years after. King *James* himſelf ſent *Parker* Dr. *Burnet*'s Anſwer, hearing no body elſe durſt put it into his hands, and hoping it would raiſe his Indignation to make a Reply; but he died about that time, and one *Timothy Hall*, a ſort of a *Presbyterian*, was made Biſhop of *Oxford*, and *Gifford*, a Popiſh Biſhop, Preſident of *Magdalen* College.

Burnet's *Anſwer to* Parker.

A. D. 1687.

Jeſuits attempt to get the Savoy French *Church.*

The Jeſuits having ſettled a College in the *Savoy*, had a Deſign upon the *French* Chapel there, and *Pulton* their Rector tamper'd with Mr. *Dubourdieu* the *Hugonot* Miniſter, in order to engage him to reſign that Church, promiſing him, as from the King, to build them another on any Ground they ſhould chuſe between *Whitehall* and *Temple Bar*, with a large Sum of Money beſides. Monſieur *Dubourdieu* made anſwer, that being but one, he deſir'd Time to communicate the Propoſal to the other Miniſters and Church-Wardens in the *Savoy*. Theſe being met upon this critical Affair, it was agreed, that before they gave the Jeſuits a poſitive Anſwer, they ſhould conſult with ſuch Lords as were moſt conſpicuous for their Wiſdom and Affection to the Proteſtant Intereſt. Accordingly Mr. *Dubourdieu* waited upon the Marquis of *Halliſax*, the Earl of *Danby*, and Earl of *Nottingham*, and others, who all freely adviſ'd them *never to hearken to any Terms with the* Jeſuits; *let them purſue their violent Meaſures, ſuffer yourſelves to be thruſt out of your Church, for by that means you will do your own and the Nation's Buſineſs.*

I have not been very curious about the Honours and Preferments in theſe Reigns, for a Reaſon already mention'd; but leſt any body elſe ſhould have more Curioſity, I will copy from the compleat Hiſtorians, who tell us, that this Year,

Honours and Preferments.

The Earl of *Sunderland* was made Knight of the Garter, as was alſo the Duke of *Berwick*; the Duke of *Albemarle*, Governor of *Jamaica*; Sir *Francis Ratcliff*, Baronet, of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Derwentwater*; *Roger* Earl of *Caſtlemain*, *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Anabaptiſt Quack, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, Privy Counſellors. The latter, an obſcure Fellow, turn'd Papiſt, and after the *Revolution* went again to the *Baptiſt* Meeting; *Charles Carteret* Eſq; *Edward Vaudrey* Eſq; and Captain *William Phips* of *New England*, were knighted: The latter for bringing home a great Treaſure, which was taken out of the Sea, after it had lain there forty-four Years. He had been diving for it before, and being pretty ſure of finding it, came to *London* in the Year 1685, and was there ſome time without being able to get any one to engage in his Deſign; he try'd the Merchants in vain, and then made a Trial of the People of Quality. At laſt the Duke of *Albemarle* agreed to go half of the Charge, and *Phips* offer'd a Merchant a Quarter for the Ship he embark'd in, then call'd the *Bridgwater Merchant*, but the Owner choſe rather the Money for her, which was 1500 *l.* and he heartily repented it afterwards. The Duke of *Albemarle* had for his Half above 300,000 Pieces of Eight, and *Phips* got for himſelf about 80,000 Pieces, clear of all Charges.

I do not enter into the *Biography* of the *Compleat* Hiſtorians, being writing a *Hiſtory*, and not *Lives*; but I cannot omit taking notice of the Death of ſo conſiderable a Perſon as the Duke of *Buckingham*, *George Villiers*, the famous Stateſman and Wit. He had above 30,000 *l.* a Year at the *Reſtoration*, which ſome time before his Death was reduc'd to 10,000 Pounds, and that ſo

A. D. 1687. encumbered, that he had been obliged to paſs it over by Deed to Truſtees for Payment of his Debts to Sir *Robert Clayton*, Serjeant *Rotheram*, &c. reſerving to himſelf 2500 Pounds *per Ann.* which was all he had left for his Subſiſtence, and being much too little for his profuſe way of living, he took with him a Company of Ruffians, and went down to *Helmeſly* in *Yorkſhire*, a Manor worth about 5000 Pounds a Year, bought afterwards by Sir *Charles Duncomb*. Here he and his Companions took Money from the Tenants by force contrary to a Decree in Chancery, and were guilty of a Riot in an Inn, for which he muſt have been try'd, had he return'd to *London*, but it threw him into a Diſtemper, of which he died, and with him expired the *Buckingham Villiers* Family and Eſtate in the ſecond Generation. And may all Fortunes and Honours, ſo acquired as theirs were, ſo expire.

1688.

A. D. 1688. ONE of the firſt Events in this *wonderful Year* very much haſtened the Revolution, which was the greateſt Wonder of it, and that was the publiſhing a Proclamation the ſecond of *January* declaring very falſely and blaſphemouſly, *That it had pleas'd God Almighty to give his Majeſty apparent Hopes and good Aſſurance of his having Iſſue by his Conſort, who was now with Child.* Wherefore a Thankſgiving Day was appointed a Fortnight after, and a *Form of Prayer* made by three Biſhops, *Crew* of *Durham*, *Sprat* of *Rocheſter*, and *White* of *Peterborough*; *Two Toms and a Nat*, as the Lampoon upon it ſaid. This Form was ſtitch'd into the Common-Prayer and had theſe Expreſſions in it, *Bleſſed be that good Providence, which has vouchſafed us freſh Hopes of Royal Iſſue* by our Gracious Queen *Mary*. *Strengthen her we beſeech thee, and perfect what thou haſt begun. Command thy Holy Angels* to *watch over her*, an Idolatreſs, *and defend her from all Dangers and evil Accidents, that what ſhe has conceived may be happily brought forth to the joy of our Sovereign Lord the King, the further Eſtabliſhment of his Crown, the Happineſs and Welfare of the whole Kingdom, and the Glory of thy great Name.* *Echard* minces the matter, and ſays the greateſt part of the Clergy did not pronounce theſe Expreſſions; but if they pronounc'd any Expreſſions by way of *Solemn Prayer* on that Thankſgiving-day for that pretended Bleſſing, they mock'd God and the World. The Day was kept every where with great Coolneſs and Indifferency, the People from the very Whiſper of the *Great Belly* believing it to be a Cheat, and the bloody Popiſh Queen *Mary* and her Cuſhion, were in every one's Mouth except the Papiſts, who were ſo elevated with the *Sham*, that they gave out, tho' the Child ſhould prove a Daughter, yet it would cut off the Princeſſes of *Orange* and *Denmark* from the Succeſſion, on a vain Suppoſition, that a Daughter born ſince the King's advancement to the Throne ought to take place before Princeſſes born while he was Duke of *York*; but they took care to prevent any ſuch Litigation by ſecuring a Son and Heir, *the Effect of a ſolemn Petition*, as the Jeſuits ſaid, *which the late Dutcheſs of* Modena *had put up in Heaven to the Bleſſed Virgin with a Preſent of a golden Image:* Others ſay a Smock *enrich'd with precious Stones*; and I verily believe this is the trueſt Circumſtance in all the Story. I do not build very much upon what I am going to ſay of this miraculous Conception, but I remember, that being at *Bath* in the Year 1690, I went with a Gentlewoman a Relation of mine, to ſee one Mrs. *Chapman* an Apothecary's Daughter, who was one of thoſe that waited on the Queen as a Guide when ſhe bath'd, and tho' the Decency of the Sex did not admit of my hearing what was ſaid on this Subject, yet my Kinſwoman, who was indeed a very near one, aſſured me afterwards, that Mrs. *Chapman* ſaid ſhe could not be with Child when ſhe left *Bath*, for Reaſons fitter to be imagined than expreſt. Biſhop *Burnet* writes, "After the King left her, ſhe "purſued a full Courſe of Bathing, and having "reſolv'd to return to *London* in the end of *September*, an Accident took her to which the Sex "is ſubject, and made her ſtay there a Week longer. She came to *Windſor* the ſixth of *October*. It went current, that the Queen believed "herſelf to be with Child in that very Inſtant "in which her Mother pray'd to the Lady of *Loretto*, where there is a ſolemn Record of it. "A Conception ſaid to be thus begun, look'd ſuſpicious. It was now fix'd to the ſixth of *October*; ſo the nine Months were to run to the ſixth "of *July*. She was in the Progreſs of her big "Belly let blood ſeveral times, and the moſt aſtringent Things that could be propoſed, were "uſed. It was ſoon obſerved, that all things about her were manag'd with a myſterious Secrecy, into which none were admitted but a few "Papiſts. She was not dreſt nor undreſt with "the uſual Ceremony. Prince *George* told the "Biſhop, that the Princeſs went as far in deſiring to be ſatisfy'd by feeling the Motion after ſhe ſaid ſhe was quick, as ſhe could go without breaking with her, and ſhe had ſometimes "ſtaid by her even indecently long in Mornings, "to ſee her riſe and to give her her Shift. But "ſhe never did either, ſhe never offer'd any Satisfaction in that Matter by Letter to the Princeſs of *Orange*, nor to any of the Ladies of Quality, in whoſe Word the World would have acquieſced. The thing upon this began to be "ſuſpected, and ſome Libels were writ treating "the whole as an Impoſture. The Uſe the Queen "made of this, was to ſay, that ſince ſhe ſaw "ſome were ſuſpecting her as capable of ſo black "a Contrivance, ſhe ſcorn'd to ſatisfy thoſe who "could entertain ſuch Thoughts of her."

A. D. 1688.

The Queen's big belly.

An impious Prayer for her.

The Conception falſe.

This is the pooreſt Evaſion that ever Trickſters pretended to; what is Modeſty or Decency to Ambition and falſe Zeal? She knew if ſhe was really with Child, 'twas no matter who got it, and rather than have left any room for Suſpicion if ſhe could have help'd it, ſhe would have been delivered upon *Charing-Croſs*, or in the moſt open manner, as other Princeſſes have been on the like Occaſions. The Empreſs *Conſtantia* Wife to the *German* Emperor *Henry* VI. being in Years, and the People ſuſpecting ſhe was paſt Child-bearing, the Emperor gave abundant Proof of her being big and of her Delivery; he prepared a Place in publick, where ſhe remain'd till her Labour *Ventre Cuſtodito*, with Keepers, that no ſuppoſititious Child might poſſibly be convey'd to her, and there in ſight of the Citizens and all the Matrons that would and could poſſibly approach her, none being excluded, ſhe brought forth a Prince, who was afterwards the Emperor *Frederick* II. A like Story is told of a Queen of *Arragon*. 'Twas abſurd and ridiculous to ſay ſhe *ſcorn'd to ſatisfy them*. If ſhe had ſo done, ſhe would have been ſufficiently reveng'd on them for ſuſpecting her. Biſhop *Burnet* gives us ſome other Reaſons againſt her Conception prior to thoſe already given.

"The Queen had been for ſix or ſeven Years "in ſuch an ill State of Health, that every Winter brought her near Death. Thoſe about her "ſeem'd well aſſured that ſhe, who had bury'd "all her Children ſoon after they were born, and "had now for ſeveral Years ceaſed bearing, would "have no more Children. Her own Prieſts ap-

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" prehended it, and ſeem'd to wiſh for her death. " She had great and frequent Diſtempers that " return'd often, which put all People out of " their Hopes and Fears of her having Chil- " dren."

Upon the whole, it appears as plain as any thing can appear, which is not to be determin'd by the Senſes, that ſhe was in no Condition to conceive, and that ſhe did not conceive, and that the Tricks and Oaths made uſe of afterwards to prove it, were the Juggles of wicked or deluded People, in which the Legerdemain was ſo clumſy, that it diſcover'd itſelf.

Another Author aſſures us, ſhe never had the firſt moſt natural, known and common Signs of Conception, her *Menſis Profluvium* continu'd, her Breaſts never ſwell'd, nor was there ever any Milk ſeen in them by any credible Witneſs. All the outward Parts of her Body that encompaſſed the Womb, were of the ſame Proportion as at other times. She, contrary to her former uſual Courſe, always withdrew into her Cabinet, or ſome other private Room, when ſhe chang'd her Linnen, and would never ſuffer any Proteſtant Lady to be by. A *French* Author ſays, *Bien des Proteſtans ſoupçonnerent que cette Groſſeſſe n'etoit qu'un coup de politique, d'autant plus que les Moines debitoient & vouloient meme parier que ce ſeroit un Fils. A great many Proteſtants ſuſpected that the Queen's Big belly was only a Trick, and the rather becauſe the Prieſts gave out, and offer'd to lay Wagers that it would be a Son.* Echard with his uſual Wiſdom ſays, *Great ſtreſs was laid on the Incredibility of the Impoſture*; " That a " King and a Queen ſhould conſpire to put " ſuch a Cheat upon themſelves, as well as the " Nation, was unnatural and ſhocking." No ſtreſs in the world was laid upon this by any Proteſtant in his Wits. There was not one Circumſtance of the Impoſture, but what was credible; and for ſuch a King and ſuch a Queen to cheat a Princeſs the next Heir, and a Nation whom they hated for the ſake of a Religion to which they were Bigots, is unnatural and ſhocking indeed to good *Engliſhmen* and good Proteſtants; but very natural and agreeable to Papiſts. The *Compleat Hiſtorian* writes thus of it: " The " Queen's Phyſicians and Domeſticks were not " ſatisfy'd in the Signs of her Conception. The " Impatience of the Popiſh Party in preſuming " and propheſying the Birth of a Son, and ſe- " veral other concurring Reaſons, made the Pro- " teſtants ſuſpect a Fraud, and they were con- " firm'd in their Suſpicion by reflecting that a " like Deceit had been put upon the People in " the Reign of Popiſh Queen *Mary:* for then " to relieve themſelves from the Fears of a Pro- " teſtant Princeſs in Succeſſion, the *Romiſh* " Prieſts gave out that the Queen was with " Child. *Prayers* were order'd for her ſafe De- " livery, and a Popiſh Preacher at St. *Paul's* " pretended to tell of the Birth, and deſcribe " the Boy; when after all, the Sham was car- " ry'd no farther." What follows is very ſilly, but it is in other Hiſtories as well as the Compleat One; " *Becauſe, as verily believ'd, King* Philip " *was too juſt and generous to conſent to any ſuch* " *Impoſture.*" *Philip* was one of the greateſt Tyrants then reigning in the whole World, and it was not his Juſtice or Generoſity that hinder'd his permitting of the Cheat, but becauſe ſuch an Impoſtor muſt have ſucceeded him in all his Kingdoms, both in the old World and the new.

If the Talk of a Child by the Queen was deſign'd to divert the People from fixing their Eyes and Hearts upon a Proteſtant Succeſſor, it had not that effect: On the contrary, the Nation look'd more and more towards the Court in *Holland*, and the Princeſs *Anne* at home. The King was ſenſible of it, and found the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to be more popular for refuſing to approve of the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Teſt. Under this Apprehenſion, he began to give out Commiſſions for the raiſing of new Troops, and was preparing a better Fleet with extraordinary Diligence; which gave the *Dutch* a good Pretence to go on with their Armaments by Sea and Land, eſpecially conſidering the great Power and Preparations of *Lewis* the XIV. who they had good reaſon to believe was in a ſecret League with King *James* for their Deſtruction, as his Brother King *Charles* had been.

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The Dutch *make warlike Preparations.*

Petre the Jeſuit had by this time gain'd ſuch an Aſcendant, that he was look'd on as the firſt Miniſter of State. The *Nuntio Dada* mov'd the King to interpoſe and mediate a Reconciliation between the Courts of *Rome* and *France*; but the King anſwer'd, *Since the Pope will not gratify me in the promotion of Father* Petre, *I will leave him to free himſelf of the Trouble into which he has involv'd himſelf the beſt way he can.* And the Court of *England* reckon'd that as ſoon as the Pope felt himſelf preſs'd, he would fly to the King for protection, and grant him every thing he ask'd of him in order to obtain it. *Petre* gave daily new Proofs of a weak and ill-govern'd Paſſion, and diſcover'd all the ill Qualities of one that ſeem'd rais'd up to be the common *Incendiary*, and to drive the King and his Party to the Precipice.

Father Petre *Prime Miniſter.*

On the 27th of *April*, the King renew'd the Declaration he had ſet out the former Year for *Liberty of Conſcience*, with an Addition, declaring that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any publick Employments, but ſuch as would concur with him in maintaining it. He alſo promis'd to hold a Parliament in *November* following; which Promiſe, ſo long beforehand, was ſomewhat extraordinary: But Father *Petre* and *William Penn* perſuaded the King to it, tho' with a different Proſpect. *Penn*, and all the Tools that were employ'd by him, had ſtill ſome hopes of carrying a Parliament to agree with the King, if too much time was not loſt, Whereas the delaying a Parliament rais'd Jealouſies as if none were intended, but that it was only talk'd of to amuſe the Nation till other Deſigns were ripe. On the other hand, *Petre* and his Cabal ſaw the King was kept off from many things they propos'd with the Expectation of the Concurrence of a Parliament: And the fear of giving new Diſguſts, had begot a Caution that was very uneaſy to them. They thought much time was already loſt, and that they made but a ſmall Progreſs. They began to apprehend that the *Regulators* of Corporations, who were ſtill feeding them with hopes, and were asking more Time and more Money, intended only to amuſe them to wear out the Buſineſs into more length, and keep themſelves the longer in Credit and in Pay; but that they did not in their Hearts wiſh well to the main Deſign, and therefore acted an inſincere Part with the King. For theſe Reaſons, they reſolv'd to put that Matter to the laſt trial, reckoning if the King ſaw it was in vain to hope for any thing in a Parliamentary Way, he might be more eaſily carry'd to extreme and violent Methods.

Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

A Parliament promis'd.

And why.

Theſe were the Counſels that hurry'd on this King, otherwiſe weak and impetuous, to his Ruin.

The Lord *Sunderland* continu'd ſtill in full Favour, having promis'd the Queen to turn Papiſt if ſhe was deliver'd of a Son. About this time Letters were ſent by the Penny-Poſt from an

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an unknown Hand to ſeveral Lords, as the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Lumley*, and others, admoniſhing them to change their Religion, and make their Peace with God and the King, and threatning if they did not ſo do, they ſhould not ſurvive the ſixth of *February*. The Lord *Lovelace* was ſummon'd to appear at the Council-Table, for ſaying, that the Judges and Juſtices of the Peace put in by the King's Diſpenſing Power, ought not to be obey'd, they being prefer'd contrary to Law.

Lords threaten'd by the Papiſts.

Declaration order'd to be read by the Clergy.

The King was not ſatisfy'd with the publiſhing his Declaration. He reſolv'd to oblige the Clergy to read it in all their Churches in time of Divine Service. "And now, ſays Biſhop "*Burnet*, it appear'd what bad Effects were "like to follow on that officious Motion that "*Sancroft* had made, for obliging the Clergy to "read the Declaration King *Charles* ſet out in "the Year 1681, after the Diſſolution of the "*Oxford* Parliament." An Order paſs'd in Council, *May* the 4th, requiring the Biſhops to ſend Copies of the *Declaration* to all their Clergy, and to order them to read it on two ſeveral *Sundays* in time of Divine Service.

Sancroft's Counſel turn'd againſt him.

This put the Clergy under great Difficulties, and they were at firſt much divided about it, even many of the beſt and worthieſt of them were under ſome Diſtraction of Thought. They had many Meetings, and argu'd the Point long among themſelves in and about *London*; at laſt they came to a Reſolution not to read it. They ſaw of what Importance it was that they ſhould be unanimous in it; nothing could be of more fatal Conſequence than their being divided in their Practice; for if any conſiderable Body of the Clergy, ſuch as could carry the Name of the Church of *England*, could have been prevail'd on to give Obedience, and only ſome Number, how valuable ſoever the Men might be, ſhould refuſe to obey, then the Court might ſtill pretend, that they would maintain the Church of *Englaad*, and ſingle out all thoſe who had not given Obedience, and fall on them. Thus the Church would be broken within itſelf upon this Point, and the one Half be deſtroy'd by means of the other. The Court depended upon this, that the greater part would obey, and ſo they would be furniſh'd with a Point of State, to give a colour for turning out the diſobedient, who were like to be the Men that ſtood moſt in their way, and croſſed their Deſigns moſt, both with their Learning and Credit. And indeed the Behaviour of the Clergy on this occaſion was worthy of the Prieſthood in the Primitive Chriſtian Church, and had the ſame Virtue and the ſame Temper prevail'd from that time to this, the Happineſs of this Nation would have been admir'd or envy'd by all *Chriſtendom*.

Clergy refuſe to read the Declaration.

Their good Behaviour.

Biſhops betray the Church.

The Biſhops who were engag'd in the Deſign of betraying the Church, *Crew*, *Watſon*, *Cartwright*, *Hall*, *Wood*, *Barlow*, were perſuaded this would be the Event of the Matter, and poſſeſs'd the King with the Hope of it ſo poſitively, that he ſeem'd to depend upon it. The Correſpondence over *England* was manag'd with that Secrecy, and theſe Reſolutions were ſo communicated to the Clergy in the Country, that they were generally engag'd to agree in their Conduct, before the Court came to apprehend that they would be ſo unanimous, as it prov'd in Concluſion that they were.

Dr. *Sancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, wrote round his Province, and deſir'd ſuch Biſhops as were able, to come up and conſult together in a Matter of ſo great Concern; and he ask'd the Opinion of thoſe, whom their Age and Infirmities diſabled from taking the Journey. He found that 18 of the Biſhops, and the main Body of the Clergy, concurr'd in the Reſolution againſt reading the Declaration; ſo himſelf, with the ſix Biſhops who came up to *London*, and had a Conſultation in his Palace at *Lambeth*, reſolv'd upon a Petition to the King, in which they would lay before him the Reaſons that determin'd them not to obey the Order of Council which had been ſent them. This flow'd from no Want of Reſpect to his Majeſty's Authority, *nor from any Unwillingneſs to let Favour be ſhew'd to* Diſſenters, *in relation to whom they were willing to come to ſuch a Temper, as ſhould be thought fit, when that Matter ſhould be conſider'd and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation.* We muſt not go further without obſerving how well this Temper has appear'd in all the Convocations that have been held from that time to this, how well in *Oxford* Sermons, *Bath* Sermons, Aſſize Sermons, Town Sermons and Country Sermons on the 30th of *January*, and at other Times; how well it agreed with the pious Bills *Schiſm* and *Occaſional*, which cannot be remember'd with too much Indignation and Abhorrence. The Archbiſhop about two Months after, while he and his Brethren were under Proſecution, ſent certain Articles to his Clergy, wherein he explain'd this good Temper a little farther, and exhorted them *to have a very tender Regard to our Brethren the* Proteſtant Diſſenters, *to viſit them at their Houſes, and to receive them kindly at their own.* I knew a Vicar, who not long ago, turn'd off his Curate for viſiting a Presbyterian Neighbour. *To treat them fairly wherever they meet them, to take all Opportunities of aſſuring and convincing them, that the Biſhops of the Church are really and ſincerely irreconcilable Enemies to the Errors, Superſtitions, Idolatries and Tyrannies of the Church of* Rome: There ſpoke the divine Spirit of the true Church of *England*; *And that the very unkind Jealouſies which ſome have had of the Biſhops to the contrary, were altogether groundleſs; and in the laſt place warmly and moſt affectionately to exhort them to join with us in daily fervent Prayer to the God of Peace for an univerſal bleſſed Union of all Reform'd Churches both at home and abroad, againſt our common Enemies, &c.* How contrary are theſe pious charitable Sentiments to thoſe of *Bancroft*, *Laud*, *Sheldon*, *Morley*? How contrary to the Lord *Clarendon*'s, who would not allow the Reform'd Church at *Charenton* to be a true Church, as Archbiſhop *Sancroft* calls it, nor give his Conſent that King *Charles* ſhould go to it.

The Biſhops petition the King.

They promiſe Kindneſs to the Diſſenters.

Archbiſhop Sancroft deſires the Prayers of the Presbyterians.

The Biſhops alledg'd in their Petition, *That the Declaration being founded on ſuch a diſpenſing Power as had been often declar'd illegal in Parliament, both in the Year* 1662, *and in the Year* 1672, *and in the Beginning of the King's own Reign, and being a Matter of ſo great Conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, they could not in Prudence, Honour and Conſcience make themſelves ſo far Parties to it, as the Publication of it once and again in God's Houſe, and in the Time of divine Service muſt amount to.*

The Archbiſhop being then in an ill State of Health, he ſent the other ſix Biſhops with the Petition. *Orleans*, who ſets an Example to *Echard*, affirms that the Archbiſhop preſented it Perſon. The ſix Biſhops were *St. Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Chicheſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Briſtol*, who went the very ſame Day, *May* the 18th, the *Friday* before the *Declaration* was firſt to have been read, to *Whitehall*, where being introduc'd by the Earl of *Sunderland*, they deliver'd their Petition to the King. Upon the reading of it he ſtartled, ſeem'd very much incens'd, and made this Anſwer in a very angry Tone, *I have heard*

The Biſhops deliver their Petition.

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The King's Answer.

of this before, but did not believe it; I did not expect this from the Church of England, *especially from some of you,* meaning *Ken* I suppose; *if I change my Mind, you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my Command shall be obey'd.* The Bishops with all Reverence reply'd, *We resign ourselves to the Will of God.* The King's threatning Answer terrify'd the Bishops a little. However they remain'd firm and unshaken, and only five of the Prelates of *England* caus'd the Declaration to be publish'd; nay, it was observ'd that in some Churches, where the Ministers either thro' Fear or Mistake comply'd with the Orders of their Superiors, the greatest part of the Congregation disappear'd as soon as they began to read the *Declaration.* In *London* it was only read in four or five Churches, and of those that comply'd we have the Names only of three, *Hall*, *Elliot* and *Thompson*. There were not above 200 Ministers in all *England* that read it. Matters were now brought to a Crisis, the King was engag'd on his part as the Bishops were on theirs. All People look'd on with great Expectations, reckoning that upon the Issue of this Business a great Decision would be made, both of the Designs of the Court, and of the Temper of the Nation. The King for some Days consulted with all that were now employ'd by him, what he should do upon this Emergency, and talk'd with People of all Persuasions. Mr. *Lob*, who preach'd in the Meeting-House in *Fetter-Lane*, was entirely gain'd to the Court, and advis'd the King to send them to the Tower: This *Lob* had been as deep in Plots against him as any Man; there was once a Proclamation to apprehend him, but having been pardon'd, and taken into Favour, he flatter'd King *James* with the most dangerous Counsels, finding they were most grateful to him. Father *Petre* seem'd transported with Joy, for he thought the King was engag'd to break with the Church of *England*, and it was reported that he broke out into that indecent Expression upon it, *They shall be made to eat their own Dung.* The King was long in doubt. Some of the *Popish* Nobility earnestly entreated him to let the Matter fall, but he was hurry'd on by his evil Genius to do every thing that might hasten his Destruction; and the violent Advices of Father *Petre*, and the *Jesuit* Party, were so fatally suited to his own Temper and Passion, that they prevail'd over the wiser Counsels of almost all that were advis'd with. After a Fortnight's Consultation the Bishops were cited to appear before the Council. The Petition was offer'd to them, and they were ask'd if they own'd it to be their Petition; they answer'd, *It seem'd they were to be proceeded against on that Account, so they hop'd the King would not press them to a Confession, and then make use of it against them.* At last the Archbishop of *Canterbury* own'd that he wrote the Petition with his own Hand, and that himself and the other Bishops sign'd it. They were then charg'd with the Publication of it, for it was then printed, but they absolutely deny'd that it was done by their means. The Archbishop had taken no Copy of it, and had never shewn it to any Person. Thus it was not publish'd by them, but must have been done by some of those to whom the King had shewn it. They were then required to enter into Bonds to appear in the Court of *King's Bench*, and answer to an Information of Misdemeanor. They excepted to this, and said, that by their Peerage they were not bound to do it, and insisting still upon it, they were sent to the Tower, by a Warrant sign'd the 8th of *June*, by

Lob *advises the King to send them to the Tower.*

F. Petre's *rude Saying of the Bishops.*

Jefferies, Chancellor,
The Earl of *Sunderland*,
The Lord *Arundel*,
The Marquis of *Powis*,
The Earl of *Mulgrave*,
The Earl of *Huntington*,
The Earl of *Peterborough*,
The Earl of *Craven*,
The Earl of *Murray*,
The Earl of *Middleton*,
The Earl of *Melfort*,
The Earl of *Castlemain*,
The Lord *Dartmouth*,
The Lord *Godolphin*,
The Lord *Dover*,
Sir *John Ernle*,
Sir *Edward Herbert*,
Sir *Nicholas Butler*.

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Bishops sent to the Tower.

Father *Petre* did not sign it, being excus'd by the King's express Order. The Court was so apprehensive of the People's Resentment, that the Bishops were sent to the Tower by Water; but both Sides of the River were crowded with People, who with loud Acclamations extoll'd the Bishops Constancy, and on their Knees crav'd their Benedictions. Some Companies of Soldiers were order'd to be up in Arms for fear of a Tumult; but the Tyranny the Nation groan'd under was too great for tumultuous Motions, and nothing could have reliev'd them but a thorow Change in the Government. The King being told what Demonstrations of Tenderness and Respect were paid to the Bishops, order'd the Tower Guard to be doubled; his Army was then encamp'd on *Hounslow Heath*, and the News of the Bishops being sent to the Tower affected them as much as the Citizens of *London*.

The Imposture of the Pretender continu'd.

I shall be very large in my Account of the Imposture of the Pretender, having a Manuscript Information which was taken from Dr. *Lloyd* late Bishop of *Worcester*, by a very worthy Gentleman now living, a Man of Honour and Character in the World: But before I enter upon that, I will repeat what Bishop *Burnet* says of it, and desire the Reader to excuse Repetitions, if there are any in the two Accounts, the one in those places confirming the other.

Mr. B. of S.

Bishop Burnet's Account of it.

Things went on thus till *Monday* in *Easter-Week*. On that Day the King went to *Rochester*, to see some of the Naval Preparations; but was soon sent for by the Queen, who apprehended she was in danger of miscarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knightsbridge* to see Bishop *Ward*; but the Queen's Coach was sent to call him in all haste, since she was near miscarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of this Matter, staid long that Morning upon an Appointment for Dr. *Wallgrave*, another of the Queen's Physicians, who the next time he saw him excus'd himself; for the Queen, he said, was then under the most apparent Signs of miscarrying. Of this the Doctor made Oath, and it is yet extant.

On the same day, the Countess of *Clarendon* being to go out of town for a few days, came to see the Queen before she went, knowing nothing of what had happen'd to her. And she being a Lady of the Bed-Chamber, did, according to the Rule of the Court, go into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, without asking Admittance. She saw the Queen abed bemoaning herself in a most doleful manner, saying often, *Undone! Undone!* And one that belong'd to her carry'd somewhat out, which she believ'd was Linnen taken from the Queen. She was upon this in some Confusion. And the Countess of *Powis* coming in, went to her, and said with some Sharpness, *What do you here?* and carried her to the Door. Before she had got out of the Court, one of the Bed-Chamber Women follow'd her, and charg'd her not to speak of any thing she had seen that Day. This Matter, whatever was in it, was hush'd up, and the Queen held on her Course.

The

A. D. 1688. The Princeſs had miſcarry'd in the Spring, and as ſoon as ſhe had recover'd her Strength, the King preſs'd her to go to the *Bath*, ſince that had ſo good an effect on the Queen. Some of her Phyſicians, and all her other Friends were againſt her going. *Lower*, one of her Phyſicians, told Biſhop *Burnet* he was againſt it: He thought ſhe was not ſtrong enough for the *Bath*, tho' the King preſs'd it with an unuſual Vehemence. *Millington*, another Phyſician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that he was deſir'd to go to the Princeſs and adviſe her to go to the *Bath*. The Perſon that ſpoke to him told him, the King was much ſet on it, and expected it of him, that he would perſuade her to it. *Millington* anſwer'd, he would not adviſe a Patient according to Direction, but according to his own Reaſon. *Scarborough* and *Wytherley* took it upon them to adviſe it; ſo ſhe went thither in the end of *May*.

As ſoon as ſhe was gone, thoſe about the Queen did all of a ſudden change her Reckoning, and began it from the King's being with her at *Bath*. This came on ſo quick, that tho' the Queen had ſet the 14th of *June* for her going to *Windſor*, where ſhe intended to lie-in, and all the Preparations for the *Birth*, and for the Child, were order'd to be made ready by the end of *June*: Yet now a Reſolution was taken for the Queen's Lying-in at *St. James's*, and Directions were given to have all Things quickly ready. The *Bath* Water either did not agree with the Princeſs, or the Advices of her Friends were ſo preſſing, who thought her abſence from the Court at that time of great Conſequence, that in compliance with them, ſhe gave it out it did not, and that therefore ſhe would return in a few days. The Day after the Court had this notice, the Queen ſaid ſhe would go to *St. James's* and look for the good Hour. She was often told, that it was impoſſible, upon ſo ſhort a warning, to have Things ready: But ſhe was ſo poſitive as to ſay, *I will lie there this Night*, tho' *I lie upon the Boards*. And at night, tho' the ſhorter and quicker Way was from *Whitehall* to *St. James's* through the *Park*, and ſhe always went that way, yet now by a ſort of Affectation, ſhe would be carry'd thither by *Charing-Croſs*, thro' the *Pall-mall*. And it was given out by all her Train, ſhe was going to be deliver'd. Some ſaid it would be next Morning, and the Prieſts affirm'd very confidently *it would be a Boy*. The next Morning about nine a-clock, ſhe ſent word to the King that ſhe was in Labour. The Queen *Dowager* was next ſent to. But no Ladies were call'd; nor were any Women in the Room, but two Dreſſers, one Under-Dreſſer, and the Midwife. The Earl of *Arran* ſent notice to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, ſo ſhe came. The Lady *Bellaſis* came alſo in time. The Proteſtant Ladies who belong'd to the Court, were all gone to Church before the News was let go abroad; for it happen'd on *Trinity Sunday*, which was that Year on the 10th of *June*. The King brought over with him from *Whitehall* a great many Peers and Privy-Counſellors, and of theſe, 18 were let into the Bed-Chamber; but they ſtood at the furtheſt end of the Room, and the Ladies within the *Alcove*. The Curtains of the Bed were drawn cloſe, and none came within them, but the Midwife and Under-Dreſſer. The Queen lay all the while a-bed; and in order to the warming one Side of it, a WARMING-PAN was brought: But it was not open, that it might be ſeen there was Fire and nothing elſe in it; which gave great cauſe for Suſpicion, and all People were fill'd with it.

A little before Ten the Queen cry'd out as in a ſtrong Pain, and immediately after the Midwife ſaid aloud, ſhe was happily brought to bed *A. D.* 1688. The Lords cry'd, *Of what?* The Midwife anſwer'd, *The Queen muſt not be ſurpriz'd*. Only ſhe gave a Sign to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*; who upon that touch'd her Forehead, by which, it being the Sign before agreed on, the King ſaid, *I know it is a Boy*. No Cries were heard from the Child, nor was it ſhewed to thoſe in the Room. It was pretended more Air was neceſſary. The Under-Dreſſer went out with the Child, or ſomewhat elſe in her Arms to a Dreſſing-Room, to which there was a Door near the Queen's Bed. But there was another Entry to it from other Apartments. The King continu'd with the Lords in the Bed-Chamber for ſome Minutes, which was either a ſign of much Phlegm upon ſuch an occaſion, or it look'd like the giving time for ſome Management. After a little while, they went all into the Dreſſing-Room, and there the News was publiſh'd. Nobody was call'd to lay their Hands on the Queen's Belly, in order to a full Satisfaction. And when the Princeſs came to town three Days after, ſhe had as little Satisfaction given her. *Chamberlain* the Man-Midwife, who was always order'd to attend her Labour before, and who brought the Plaiſters for putting back the Milk, wonder'd that he had not been ſent to. He went, according to cuſtom, with the Plaiſters; but he was told they had no occaſion for him. All that concern'd the Milk, or the Queen's Purgations, was manag'd ſtill in the dark, which made every one believe there was a *baſe Impoſture* put on the Nation. One *Hemmings*, a very worthy Man an Apothecary, who liv'd in *St. Martin's-Lane*, the very next door to the Family of an eminent Papiſt, *Browne*, Brother to the Viſcount *Montacute*, the Wall between his Parlour and theirs being ſo thin, that he could eaſily hear any thing that was ſaid with a louder Voice than ordinary; heard, the Night after, one coming into that Parlour ſay in a doleful Tone, the *Prince of* Wales is dead; upon which, a great many that liv'd in the Houſe came down ſtairs very quick. They were in Confuſion, and he could hear no more. The next Morning he went to the Biſhops in the *Tower*, and told them. The Counteſs of *Clarendon* came thither ſoon after, and ſaid ſhe had been at the young Prince's Door, but was deny'd Acceſs; at which ſhe was amaz'd, and ask'd if they knew her? They ſaid they did, but the Queen had order'd that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould be ſuffer'd to come into him. This gave Credit to *Hemmings*'s Story, and look'd as if all was order'd to be kept ſhut up cloſe till another Child was found. One that ſaw the Child two days after, told Biſhop *Burnet*, that he look'd ſtrong, and not like a Child ſo newly born. *Windebank* met *Walgrave* the Day after this Birth, and remember'd him of what he had told him eight Weeks before. He acknowledg'd it; but added, *God works Miracles*, to which no Reply could or durſt be made by the other. It needed none; So healthy a Child being ſo little like any of thoſe the Queen had borne, it was given out he had Fits, and could not live: But thoſe who ſaw him every day, obſerv'd no ſuch thing. On the contrary, the Child was in a very proſperous State. None of thoſe Fits ever happen'd when the Princeſs was at Court; for ſhe could not be deny'd Admittance, tho' all others were. It was thought this was reported to make the Matter more credible. 'Tis true, ſome Weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windſor*, and the Child ſent to *Richmond*, he fell into ſuch Fits,

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that four Phyſicians were ſent for. They all look'd on him as a dying Child. The King and Queen were ſent for. The Doctors went to dinner, and wondering often why they were not call'd, they took it for granted the Child was dead. But when they went to him after dinner, they ſaw a ſound healthy Child, that ſeem'd to have had no ſort of Illneſs on him. It was ſaid the Child was ſtrangely reviv'd of a ſudden. But ſome of the Phyſicians told Biſhop *Lloyd*, that it was not poſſible for them to think it was the ſame Child. They look'd on one another, but durſt not ſpeak what they thought.

Moſt of theſe Paſſages were Informations ſent over to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, from whom Biſhop *Burnet* had them. He adds, *I do not mix with theſe the various Reports that were both then and afterwards ſpread of this Matter; of which Biſhop* Lloyd *has a great Collection, moſt of them well atteſted.* This very Collection is fallen into my hands, and I ſhall inſert it as I had it from the Gentleman, who had it from the Biſhop himſelf, in the following Letter.

Biſhop Lloyd's *Account of the Impoſture.*

FInding myſelf and others likely to be oblig'd to take the Abjuration Oath, I thought it would be much for my Satisfaction, if I could get ſome Information of the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. For which purpoſe I wrote to a Friend then in *London*, deſiring him, if he could, to make ſome Diſcovery of the Matter; which I thought he might do, by conſulting with ſome conſiderable Perſons whom I mention'd.

In a little time my Friend return'd me Anſwer, that he had conſulted the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, (who was one of them;) and that he told him, if I would make a Journey to him at *Hartlebury*, he did not doubt but that he ſhould give me full Satisfaction as to the ſuppos'd Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. Upon which, on *Monday* the 15th of *June* 1702, being accompany'd with my Friend Mr. *M.* I attended his Lordſhip at his Houſe at *Hartlebury*, where we were very kindly receiv'd, and entertain'd a Night and two Days, in which time we had much of the Biſhop's Company; and being alone with him, his Diſcourſe for the moſt part related to that Subject, which we heard with great Satisfaction, and took Minutes of it with his leave. He began it with the Marriage of King *James* and Queen *Mary*, which he ſaid was doubtleſs intended by the *French King*, for the Ruin of *England*. Upon which account, the then Biſhop of *Sarum* and he being together when they heard the News of the Match's being concluded, put up their Prayers for averting the Miſchiefs thereby deſign'd. She was made a Daughter of *France*, and had 40000 *l.* aſſign'd for Dowry, that being the Sum given by King *Charles* to the Duke of *Orleans* with his Siſter.

The Marriage (he ſaid) was in 1673; and in the Years 74, 75, and 76, ſhe had three Children, who all died within the compaſs of a Year after their Birth, the Phyſicians concluding there were *Mala Stamina Vitæ*, by reaſon of the *D*'s Diſtemper; and the ſame being hereditary in her Family, in as high a degree or higher than in any Family in *Italy*, they thought there would be no Child to live.

From 76 to 87 we heard of nothing but Miſcarriages, but then it was reſolv'd that a Child muſt be had. *November* the 27th, Proclamation was given out for Days of *Thankſgiving* to be kept in *January*, (when it might be ſuppos'd that the Queen would be quick) the Tokens till then were ſomewhat uncertain; and about that time, 'twas with great Confidence given out by a Popiſh Prieſt at *Cheſter*, that the Queen was with Child of a Son; and it being demanded of him how he knew it to be a Son, his Anſwer was, becauſe the King had pray'd for a Child and a Son to St. *Winefred*, whoſe Rule was to grant all that was ask'd, or nothing; and therefore ſince it appear'd that the Queen was with child, they might certainly conclude it to be a Son.

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But whatever it were, the Queen miſcarry'd on *Eaſter-Monday*, which appears thus: The Biſhop of *Worceſter* being with ſome Friends at *Samuel Biſhop*'s in *Oxfordſhire*, there came to him the Earl of *Clarendon*, deſiring him to go with him to *London* about ſome Buſineſs of the Earl's. The Biſhop ask'd the Earl what News, and whether the Queen had miſcarry'd, (which they had heard ſome little time before.) The Earl anſwer'd, He would tell him nothing of the matter then, but he ſhould know more of it when they came to *London*, where, being come on the *Saturday* following, they met the Counteſs, who was come home the ſame day from her Eſtate in *Berkſhire*, and being by the Earl deſir'd to acquaint the Biſhop with that Buſineſs, ſhe ſeem'd to be ſomewhat at a ſtand; but the Earl telling her that he had not told him any thing of it, but had promis'd him he ſhould know it, the Counteſs gave him this Account: That deſigning to go into *Berkſhire* on *Eaſter-Tueſday*, ſhe was oblig'd (as being Lady of the Bed-Chamber) to attend the Queen, and to ask her leave. Accordingly ſhe went to Court on *Monday*, and coming into the Lodgings, ſhe could ſee nobody: but when ſhe came to the Bed-Chamber, ſhe heard a lamentable Voice crying, *I am undone! I am undone!* At which being ſurpriz'd, ſhe caſt about to find whence the Voice came, and found it to come from the Bed, where ſhe ſaw the Queen ſitting up, and beating herſelf in a fearful manner, uttering theſe Words; at which ſhe being herſelf ready to ſink, the Marchioneſs of *Powis* came flying upon her, and laying hold of her, ſaid, *Madam, what makes you here?* and ſo thruſt her out of the Room.

The ſame day, *Eaſter* Monday, Sir *Charles Scarborough*, and the Biſhop's Apothecary were invited to dine with the Biſhop of *Sarum* at *Knight's-bridge*, and deſired to be there before the reſt of the Company, that my Lord of *Sarum* might have Leiſure to conſult with them about his Health, where they came accordingly at eleven a-Clock; but they had not been there long, before Sir *Charles*, being the Queen's Phyſician, was told there was a Meſſenger from Court to ſpeak with him; upon which the Doctor went forth, and coming preſently in again told them he muſt be gone, for the Queen had miſcarried, which Information Biſhop *Lloyd* had from the Doctor, and Mr. *Hemmings* the Apothecary. The ſame day, as his Lordſhip was alſo inform'd by Dr. *Windebank*, Dr. *Walgrave*, another of the Queen's Phyſicians and a Papiſt, had appointed to meet the ſaid Dr. *Windebank* at a certain Place and Time upon a Conſult, where Dr. *Windebank* waited a great while for him; but Doctor *Walgrave* not coming, the other Doctor was much offended, and ſignify'd his Reſentment to him when he came, or when he ſaw him the next time; upon which Doctor *Walgrave* excuſed himſelf, telling him that he could not help it, being detain'd with the Queen, with whom he ſtay'd till he plainly ſaw it to be a Miſcarriage, by tokens then mentioned.

Dr. *Windebank* meeting Dr. *Walgrave* in *St. James*'s Park on *Trinity* Sunday in the E-

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On the *Saturday* before *Trinity Sunday*, the Queen being at Cards was pull'd by the Coat, upon which ſhe ſtarted up and left the Company; about eight a-clock the next Morning, as it appears by ſome of the Depoſitions, her Travail begun, it being affirm'd that then her Water broke down, notwithſtanding it does not appear that ſhe had any Company to ſtay with her till about nine: Thoſe few that came in, as *Turini* an *Italian*, *&c.* all Confidents, being told by her Majeſty that ſhe thought herſelf to be in Travail, (whereas the Water is ſaid to be only the Beginning of it) thoſe Perſons were all ſent to call ſome others.

The Counteſs of *Sunderland* depoſes, that ſhe went that Morning to *St. James*'s Chapel about eight a-clock, deſigning to receive the Sacrament, and that at the Beginning of the common Service, one came and told her that ſhe muſt come to the Queen, who anſwer'd, that ſhe would come when the Service was ended; afterwards ſhe being at the Altar, another came and told her the Queen was in Travail, upon which ſhe went, which muſt be near nine a-clock at leaſt, and was told by the Queen that ſhe thought ſhe was in Travail. All this while the Midwife was not there, neither did ſhe come, as may be gathered from what paſſed, till near Half an Hour after Nine, about which time ſhe came in at a Door on the dark Side of the Bed, which Biſhop *Lloyd* ſuppoſes to be towards Mrs. *Grey*'s Lodging, and there kneel'd down, the Queen being in Bed; after her comes *Delabady* the dry Nurſe, and kneeling down by her, as ſhe herſelf depoſes, gave her ſome Clothes for the Queen, in which Clothes the Biſhop ſuſpects the Child newly brought from Mrs. *Grey* to have been; for ſoon after, preciſely three Quarters after Nine, the Child was brought out of the Bed, not naked, but in looſe Clothes, as the Depoſitions ſay, and being ſhew'd, appear'd to be a Boy. On that ſide of the Bed there were not above three or four Perſons, all Confidents; but on the other ſide, the Curtains being open, ſeveral Perſons ſtood; the Room was long, but one Window in it, four Doors, the Bed at the dark End, and the Feet towards the Window. A. D. 1688.

It is to be obſerv'd, that tho' ſeveral of the Deponents affirm that they ſaw her Majeſty's Shift ſtain'd or ſtiffned with Milk, yet there was no mention of drawing her Breaſts, nor of ſeeing the Milk run out of them after her Delivery; but in *February*, and without ſpecifying the Day there is, which might be at the Time of her Miſcarriage.

The King told the Privy Council that he was with the Queen all the while of her Travail; yet the Lord *M.* as I remember, ſwore that he was ſeveral times talking with them in the Drawing-Room. Note the time of the Travail from the coming of the Midwife could not be much more than a Quarter of an Hour.

Here again we muſt obſerve, that this was the firſt time that her Majeſty was delivered in Bed, ſhe being ever before deliver'd openly upon a Pallet-Bed; but then 'twas pretended not to have been air'd, and ſo not ſafe for her Majeſty to make uſe of it. Note, as Dr. *Wallis* in a Letter to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, dated *December* the 6th or 7th, 1701, which I myſelf read, obſerves, ſhe was not removed into any other Bed after ſhe was deliver'd, nor ſo much as to the other ſide of that, as any the meaneſt Woman muſt have been on Peril of her Life. Several Perſons that ſaw the Child on *Sunday* ſaid it was black in the Face, and they generally concluded that it could not live till the next Morning. It is ſuppoſed that this was occaſion'd by its being kept ſo long without Air.

The next Day being *Monday* 'twas reported that the Prince was dead. On that Day the Counteſs of *Clarendon* went to the Tower to viſit the Biſhops, who ask'd her what News, and whether the Prince was dead; the Counteſs told them that ſhe going that Day to the Lodgings, had the Door ſhut againſt her by a Page, of which ſhe demanded the Reaſon, having Authority, as Lady of the Bed-Chamber, to command any Door to be open'd unto her; but the Page anſwer'd, he had done no more than what he had Command for: upon which, ſhe order'd the Deputy Governeſs, the Lady *Strickland*, to be call'd, who came and open'd the Door a little, holding it, and told her that by the Queen's Command ſhe muſt not be admitted in.

On *Tueſday* Mr. *Hemmings* the Apothecary came to his Lordſhip, then in the Tower, the Biſhop enquired alſo what News; *Hemmings* ſaid *the Prince is dead.* Biſhop *Lloyd* ask'd him how he knew it; he anſwer'd, your Lordſhip knows that there is but a Lath Wall between me and Mr. *Brown*, Brother to the Lord *Montacute*, a zealous Papiſt; and I heard in the Night great Lamentation there, that the Prince was dead. On that Day ſeveral Perſons came bringing the ſame News with like Lamentation; among which, one being ask'd how he knew it, ſaid *he ſaw it*: But towards the Evening came a Popiſh Prieſt, and ask'd *why they cry'd, and made ſuch ado*, and to comfort them told them the Prince was not dead.

Biſhop *Lloyd* was told by a Lady that ſaw the Child on *Sunday*, that the Make of its Face was fine and round, the Eyes black, and that ſhe doubted

A. D. 1688. doubted not but that the Hair would have been ſo; but coming to ſee it ſome time after, the Form was much chang'd, the Face long, the Eyes of a Hazel Blue, or Grey, and the Hair of a reddiſh Yellow, which ſhe obſerving, put her Face very near it; inſomuch, that the Lady *Strickland* ſpoke to her, and told her that ſhe would hinder its breathing. The ſaid Lady ask'd her how ſhe lik'd it; ſhe ſaid not at all, for that ſhe did believe it to be decaying, and that it would not live, ſhe obſerving ſome Lines in its Face to be the ſame that had been in the Faces of two of her own, who both died; and this Lady added, that ſhe would ſwear 'twas not the ſame Child which ſhe ſaw on *Sunday*.

Biſhop *Lloyd* ask'd the Lady of . . . . . how the Queen's Milk was, who ſaid, that ſhe coming to her ask'd that Queſtion, and that the Queen reply'd, *that whatever the Matter were, ſhe had none that time.* The Biſhop had the ſame Account from the Counteſs of *M.* ſince he came to *Worceſter*.

Dr. *Chamberlain* the Man-Midwife, one of the Queen's Phyſicians, who had been with her at the Birth of all her other Children, but was not call'd at this time, as neither was Mrs. *Jackman* her old Midwife, being with the Biſhop, his Lordſhip ask'd him how the Queen's Milk was wont to be at other times; the Doctor ſaid it was her Diſeaſe, her Blood turning all to Milk, ſo that they could not dry it up with Plaiſters and Powders, but with great Difficulty, being under Apprehenſions of its throwing her into a Fever. Upon which the Biſhop ſaid, *But Doctor, what think you of a Friend of mine that has had a Child, and yet no Milk at all*; to which Dr. *Lower*, who was alſo preſent, reply'd, *then I will burn my Books.* After this the Child was carried to *Richmond* for Air, where it had a ſort of an Iſſue made in its Neck on the the 4th or 5th of *Auguſt*, being *Sunday*, and the Princeſs was at *Tunbridge* where Dr. *Wake* was to preach before her; but before they went to Church, a Meſſenger came from *Richmond*, bringing an Account that the Prince was dying, and that 'twas ſuppos'd he would be dead before the Meſſenger could come thither; upon which, her Highneſs forbore going to Church, but deſired the Doctor to preach before her in her Lodgings in the Afternoon.

It was ſaid by the Phyſicians, that they ſtaid with it ſo long that they ſaw it dead upon the Bed; and it is further ſaid that the Surgeon who made the Iſſue, and his Wife that aſſiſted him, and, as I think, by holding the Child, looking afterwards on the living Child, found it had no ſuch Iſſue.

Biſhop *Lloyd* was alſo told by one *Cob* a Hat-Maker, that he was wont to ſell Hats to a certain Popiſh Haberdaſher who liv'd near *Somerſet* Houſe, and whom his Lordſhip named, who having given off the Trade, came for Monies that were owing him, at which time the Woman having a young Child in her Arms, bid *Cob* look upon it, and then went to the Window, bidding him to come and look well upon it, ſeeming to be under ſome Concern, and then ſhe ask'd him whether he *thought that would not have made as fine a Prince of* Wales *of, as any of the reſt.* Upon which her Husband coming in, ask'd what they were talking of; the Wife anſwer'd, that ſhe was ſpeaking to Mr. *Cob* to take Hats for Part of the Money; and *Cob* to cover the Matter, ſaid he would take thoſe again that were his own, but he would take no others: ſo the Husband was kept from knowing what the Diſcourſe was. Biſhop *Lloyd* ſpoke once of theſe Matters to the Biſhop of *London*, it being ſuppoſed that ſeveral Children were laid out for about this time, to be in readineſs. My Lord of *London* told him there was one, which his Lordſhip of *St. Aſaph*, afterwards of *Worceſter*, knew not of, but might inform himſelf from the Wife of a certain Bricklayer that work'd at *St. Paul's*, who was the beſt Workman there, and a very honeſt Man, but the Biſhops had forgot his Name. So Dr. *Lloyd* meeting with the Deputy Surveyor, ask'd who was the beſt Workman about *St. Paul's*, who told him ſuch a one, naming him, and ſaid he believ'd him to be the beſt Workman in *England*, and a very honeſt religious Man. *A. D.* 1688.

The Biſhop ask'd him whether he might ſpeak with the Man's Wife, and the Deputy told him he ſhould, and that ſhe ſhould come to him, which accordingly ſhe did, and gave him this Account of the Matter, that ſhe being with Child, and near her time, not long before *Whitſuntide* there came to her one day, as ſhe was alone in the Shop, ſhe living with her Father and Mother in *King's-ſtreet*, a buſy intriguing Popiſh Woman that liv'd thereabouts, and ask'd her whether ſhe would part with her Child, ſaying ſhe would help her to a Place for it. To which ſhe reply'd, that they were well enough able to breed up their Children, and therefore ſhe deſir'd no ſuch thing; upon which the Goſſip ſaid ſhe would help her to 1000 *l.* for her Child, and that he ſhould be bred up like a King. Her Mother over-hearing the Diſcourſe came forth in ſome Paſſion, and ſaid, *What will you have my Daughter's Child from her, Children are God's Bleſſings, and ſhe ſhall not part with it for* 100,000 *l.* upon which the Goſſip haſted away with great Speed. Her Father, who was ſitting at the Door ſmoking a Pipe, hearing his Wife in a Paſſion, came in and ask'd *what the matter was*? who being told the Buſineſs, ſaid they were certainly ſeeking for *a Prince of* Wales.

Biſhop *Lloyd* gave us the ſight of two Letters he receiv'd from Dr. *Wallis*, the one dated *November* the 19th, the other *December* the 6th, 1701. In the firſt of which the Doctor gives account of a Meſſenger that came to *Oxon*, and from thence to a Place in the Country, bringing him a Letter for the Earl of . . . . . then Secretary of State, in which Letter there was an incloſed Paper ſomewhat ſullied, written in Cyphers; the Earl deſir'd the Doctor to decypher it, and to return it by the ſame Meſſenger, if it might be done in a ſhort time, or by another, if it requir'd a longer time, who ſhould be well paid if the Contents of it were of Concern. The Letter was taken in a Trunk among other Papers in *Pater-noſter-Row*, and was mark'd in the Margin N° 4. and had ſeveral Names and Marks of Names on the Side, ſuppoſed to be Witneſſes at the opening the Trunk; the Superſcription was to Mr. *Labadie*; I ſaw it in the Doctor's Letter as in Cyphers 'twas written, with the Doctor's Key for opening it, as 'twas decypher'd by him. The Doctor adds, that he ſhew'd the Copy of the Letter to the then Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, who did not appear to look upon it as being ſtrange to him, but ſaid, *that they did not want for Evidence, if 'twere thought fit to make it publick.*

His Lordſhip talking with Dr. *Turner* Biſhop of *Ely* about theſe Matters in the time of his Suſpenſion, the ſaid Biſhop told him, *that all was to no purpoſe, for he ſhould never take the Oaths whilſt King* James *was living, but when he ſhould be once dead, he would take them.* After King *James* was dead, the Biſhop met with Dr. *Windebanke* an old Acquaintance of his, Uncle to Biſhop *Turner*: The Doctor ſaid to him,

A. D. 1688. now if my Nephew the Biſhop of *Ely* were living he would take the Oaths; for which the Biſhop ſaid Dr. *Hicks* was angry with Dr. *Windebank*, as ſlandering the Biſhop when he was dead.

The Subject of the before mention'd Letter to *Delabadie*, is to this Effect, and in theſe Words, as near as I remember.

My Dear,

I Am extremely ſollicitous to think how her Majeſty will behave herſelf in this hazardous Undertaking, but I have hope, that by reaſon of the Ingenuity of her Country ſhe will go through with it; Lord! what a happy thing it would be if we could get a Succeſſor to our King that would reſtore the Worſhip of our Forefathers, which can never be but this way. I think it would be well if thoſe Hereticks could be removed from her. Adieu, *my Dear, pray do not fail to write to me, and in the ſame hand.*

I find I was miſtaken in ſaying, there is no mention made in the Depoſitions of Milk running out of the Queen's Breaſt, ſeveral of them making mention of it; but it is to be obſerved, that none of them ſay 'twas after the time of the pretended Delivery: but one ſays ſhe ſaw it in *February*, and others ſay they ſaw it without fixing any time, which the Biſhop ſays might well be about the time of her Miſcarriage.

But had they affirm'd it to have been after the pretended Birth, they had contradicted the Queen, who had declar'd to the Counteſs of *Clarendon*, (his Lordſhip no more doubts of the Counteſs of *Clarendon*'s Salvation than of any Perſon's not recorded in Scripture,) a moſt religious Perſon, and to the Counteſs of *M.* &c. that *ſhe had none*. Biſhop *Lloyd* obſerves, that they had at that time no Apprehenſions of the Buſineſs ever being brought into queſtion, there being then a great Standing Army, a Fleet bigger than that of the *Dutch*, and the *French* King to back them, and ſo the Queen was willing to ſave herſelf the trouble of plaſtering and phyſicking, *&c.* which ſhe muſt have endur'd under pretence of drying up her Milk had ſhe pretended to have any, it being a Work (as Dr. *Chamberlaine* affirmed) to be done with great difficulty, and not under a Month or ſix Weeks time.

But when the Prince's Declaration came over, queſtioning the matter and giving notice that he would have it clear'd in Parliament, then Depoſitions muſt be made, and ſome Appearance of Milk muſt be provided; I was told before *Eaſter* laſt by a Gentlewoman who abode at *Richmond* the laſt Summer, (as I believe ſhe might ſeveral others before) that the Gentry there ſay the Child certainly died, and they believe it to be buried at *Chiſwick*; that 'twas ſaid there, the Child being ſick the King came to ſee it by Water, and ſent in the Lord *Feverſham* to ſee whether 'twere living, ſaying if it were dead he would not go in, and that the Lord brought him word again that 'twas alive, but there was no hope. The ſame Gentlewoman ſaid, that ſhe was told by one that was preſe nt in the Room when the Servants came crying out, and ſaying the Prince is dead, yet the next Morning it appeared very well, and a ſtrong lively Child; which agrees with what a Gentlewoman told the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, that ſhe was to ſee the Child whilſt it was ill, when it was poor and weakly; and that having been away about a Week, ſhe coming to ſee it again, found it to be ſtrangely altered, and that ſhe told them ſhe could not have thought it poſſible for them to have ſo improv'd the Child in that time.

I was told by another Gentlewoman, that being at *London* when King *James* was crowned, there came to ſee the Gentlewoman where ſhe was, being with Child, Mrs. *Jackman* the Midwife, to whom Mrs. *Mills* ſaid, it would be brave for her to be Midwife to the Queen, ſhe having been ſo for all her Children; to whom the Midwife reply'd, that were it not for the Money, ſhe had rather be Midwife to a meaner Perſon, the Buſineſs being uſually very offenſive, and ſhe added that tho' ſhe did not doubt but that ſhe might conceive, yet ſhe did believe ſhe could not bring any to live: which agrees with what Dr. *Walgrave* told Dr. *Windebank*, that for a *Reaſon that he knew, there would be no Child to live*; with which Dr. *Windebank* charg'd him in *St. James's* Park at the time before mentioned; however Mrs. *Jackman* was not call'd at the time, as neither was Dr. *Chamberlaine*, which as the Biſhop obſerves was for this good Reaſon, becauſe there was no need of him. The ſame Gentlewoman told me, that being ſince in *London*, there came into the Houſe where ſhe was, one Mr. *Major*, a Gentleman of 6 or 700 *l. per ann.* living in *Southwark*, of whom the Gentlewoman of the Houſe deſir'd that he would tell her what he had obſerv'd of the Prince of *Wales*, who told her this Story, that he had a Daughter married againſt his Will to a Courtier and a Papiſt, who was proffer'd a Rocker's Place, whom he frequently viſited, and he was wont to obſerve that there was not that Attendance about the Prince as might have been expected, of which he ſpake to his Daughter, who told him that 'twas thought to be better for the Child's Health. But once coming after ſome time of abſence, he obſerv'd a great Change, and challeng'd his Daughter upon it, who begg'd him upon his Life not to mention ſuch a Thing; but yet by ſome means it got ſome light, and he was brought upon Examination, but no Evidence appearing, he came off.

I was alſo told by another Gentlewoman, that ſhe conceiv'd the Queen *Dowager* did not believe it to be a true Birth, for that being well acquainted with the Maſter of her Wardrobe, a *Welch* Man and a Proteſtant, ſhe ask'd him what his Miſtreſs thought of it, and he ſaid Queen *Dowager* told them, that coming into the Room after the Buſineſs was over, there was ſhew'd her a Child newly born, but ſhe did not ſeem to be of Opinion that 'twas born of the Queen's Body.

Here the Letter ends that contain'd Biſhop Lloyd's *Information.*

Another corroborating Circumſtance.

The Princeſs *Anne*, then at *Tunbridge*, hearing the Prince of *Wales* was dangerouſly ill, ſent Col. *Sands* her Gentleman Uſher to Court with a Compliment to know how he did. The Duke of *Beaufort* was the Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting, and the Colonel met him as he was coming up the great Stair-Caſe. As ſoon as the Duke ſaw him, he cry'd, *Is it you*, Sands? *Yes*, my Lord, reply'd the Colonel; *I am ſent by the Princeſs and the Prince to know how the young Prince does, and deſire your Grace to introduce me to the King as ſoon as can be conveniently.* The Duke went away in order to it, and Col. *Sands* going forwards, came into a Room, where he ſaw a Child dead in a Cradle, and *Labadie* weeping by it, her Hood over her Face, it had a long pale Viſage full of Puſtles like the ſmall Pox. *Sands* held his Head down, and try'd to find if it breath'd or not, but ſaw it was dead. He haſten'd to his Audience, and the King having heard his Meſſage, inquired of the Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Health. After which he ask'd him, *if he had ſeen the Child.* Col. *Sands* apprehending that it was intended he ſhould be thought alive, and that there was Danger in ſaying otherwiſe, ſaid, *No Sir, I was in the Room,*

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but I did not ſee the Prince. The King ſaid, *Then you ſhall ſee him preſently.* But he was before that introduc'd to the Queen, who in an extraordinary manner came forth as far as the Stair-caſe, her Eyes ſwoln and red with weeping, and he made her the ſame Compliment as he had done the King from their Royal Highneſſes. Then a Table was laid, and ſeveral Officers, moſt of them *Iriſh*, attended with a Deſign to drink him to a pitch, as was very plain by their toaſting Bumpers; which he avoided, under pretence that he was to return to *Tunbridge* that Day, and drinking would ſo diſorder him, he ſhould not be able to perform the Journey. Having refreſh'd himſelf, he was ſhewn the Prince, the Marchioneſs of *Powis* on one ſide of him, and Mrs. *Labadie* on the other. He was a luſty Boy, playing with the Fringe of the Curtain in full Health, plump viſag'd, and to appearance ſeveral Months old. As ſoon as Colonel *Sands* had a convenient Place, he wrote it down all; and riding Poſt back to *Tunbridge*, arriv'd there ſo tir'd, that he could not relate the Facts at large, but deliver'd it in Writing to the Princeſs; who having read it, cry'd, *Good God! Is it poſſible?* Some Years after, when ſhe was Queen, ſhe ſhew'd the Paper to Dr. *Lloyd* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, telling him, *She would ſend for* Sands *to confirm it.* The Biſhop told her *he knew* him, and would ſpeak with him about it. A few Days after he met the Colonel in *St. James's* Court; and the Biſhop taking him aſide, had the Matter repeated and circumſtantiated to him. The Queen, in the latter part of her Reign, grew out of humour with this Story, and look'd coldly on the Colonel for telling it, tho' he had always, till then, been in her good Graces. This, with other Circumſtances forgotten by me, I had from Colonel *Sands*, in Preſence of a very worthy Gentleman now living. The Colonel told this frequently, and there are many Perſons of Note who can bear witneſs to it. Biſhop *Lloyd* had not ſpoken with Colonel *Sands* when he gave my Friend the foregoing Account of the Impoſture.

As there is no where ſo full and ſo clear an Account of it, we muſt endeavour to remove an Objection or two that may be made to it.

The firſt is, as to the Information from *Bath*, That the Queen was not with child when ſhe left that Place, which does not agree with her miſcarrying at *Eaſter*. It muſt be obſerv'd, that ſhe might have conceiv'd afterwards, and have had the Miſcarriage at *Eaſter*. And the Princeſs *Anne* did not think the Queen was with Child at all, till ſhe had heard the Account we have given of it after Biſhop *Lloyd*.

In the next place, if ſhe had really been with Child, ſhe might, as uſual, have ſafely diſcover'd it to the Princeſs: But ſhe, and all her Confidants might, even in ſuch caſe, have been apprehenſive of the Miſcarriage: And being reſolv'd, at all adventures, that there ſhould be a Child, and a Son, the Princeſs was not admitted to her former Privacies, to prevent her diſcovering the Cheat, if ſhe ſhould miſcarry, and they ſhould be oblig'd to put a ſham Prince upon the Nation.

The King was well adviſ'd by ſome of his true Friends, to take hold of the pretended Delivery of the Queen, for an occaſion of granting a general Pardon to celebrate the Joy of the Birth, in which Pardon the Biſhops would be included, and that Matter well over; but he was inflexible, ſaying, *My Authority will become contemptible, if I ſuffer ſuch an Affront to paſs unpuniſh'd.*

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A Week after their Commitment, *June* 15th, the Biſhops were brought up on a *Habeas Corpus* to the *King's-Bench* Bar, where their Counſel offer'd to make it appear to be an illegal Commitment, but the Court allow'd it good in Law. They were requir'd to enter into Bonds for ſmall Sums, the Archbiſhop 200 *l.* and other Biſhops 100 *l.* each, to anſwer the Information that Day fortnight. Then they were diſcharg'd of their Impriſonment, and People of all ſorts ran to viſit them as Confeſſors, one Company going in as another went out. The Appearance in *Weſtminſter-Hall* was very ſolemn, all the Streets were full of Shoutings the reſt of the Day, and with Bonefires at Night. *The Biſhops Trial.*

When the fix'd Day for their Trial came, there was a vaſt Concourſe in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and all the Places about were full of People, who were ſtrangely affected with the Matter.

Preſent at the Biſhops Trial.

Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Juſtice.
Mr. Juſtice *Holloway*.
Mr. Juſtice *Powell*.
Mr. Juſtice *Allibone*, a Papiſt.

Counſel againſt them.	Counſel for them.
Sir *Thomas Powis*, Attorney-General.	Sir *Robert Sawyer*.
	Heneage Finch Eſq;
Sir *William Williams*, Sollicitor-General.	Sir *Francis Pemberton*.
	Henry Pollexfen Eſq;
Sir *Barth. Shower*, Recorder of *London*.	Sir *George Treby*.
	John Somers Eſq;
Serjeant *Baldock*.	
Serjeant *Trinder*.	

Jury.

Sir *Roger Langley* Bart.	*Thomas Harriot* Eſq;
Sir *William Hill*.	*Jeff. Nightingale* Eſq;
Roger Jennings Eſq;	*William Withers* Eſq;
William Avery Eſq;	*Mich. Arnold* Eſq;
Thomas Auſtin Eſq;	*Tho. Done* Eſq;
Nicholas Price Eſq;	*Richard Shoreditch* Eſq;

Peers Preſent.

Marquiſs of *Hallifax*.	Earl of *Clarendon*.
Marquiſs of *Worceſter*.	Earl of *Danby*.
Earl of *Shrewsbury*.	Earl of *Suſſex*.
Earl of *Kent*.	Earl of *Radnor*.
Earl of *Bedford*.	Earl of *Nottingham*.
Earl of *Pembroke*.	Earl of *Abington*.
Earl of *Dorſet*.	Lord Viſc. *Falconbridge*.
Earl of *Bolingbroke*.	Lord Viſc. *Newport*.
Earl of *Mancheſter*.	Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen*.
Earl *Rivers*.	Lord *Pagett*.
Earl of *Stamford*.	Lord *Chandos*.
Earl of *Caernarvon*.	Lord *Vaughan Carbery*.
Earl of *Cheſterfield*.	Lord *Lumley*.
Earl of *Scarſdale*.	Lord *Carteret*.
Earl of *Carliſle*.	Lord *Oſſulſton*.
Earl of *Burlington*.	

This noble Appearance was owing to the indefatigable Care of the Clergy, eſpecially Dr. *Tenniſon*, late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. What follows, is copy'd from Biſhop *Burnet's* Hiſtory.

The Trial coming on, was chiefly manag'd againſt the Biſhops by Sir *William Williams*, who had been Speaker to two ſucceſſive Parliaments, and was a zealous Promoter of the *Excluſion*. He had continu'd many Years a bold Pleader in all Cauſes againſt the Court; but he was a corrupt and vicious Man, who had no Principles, and in all things follow'd his own Intereſts. *Sawyer* the Attorney-General, who had for many Years

A. D. 1688. Years ſerv'd the Ends of the Court in a moſt abject and obſequious Manner, would not ſupport the Diſpenſing Power; ſo he was turn'd out, and *Powis* put in his Place. He acted his Part in this Trial as fairly as his Poſt could admit of. But *Williams* the Sollicitor-General took very indecent Liberties, and had great Advantages over *Sawyer* and *Finch*, who were among the Biſhops Counſel, by reflecting on the Precedents and Proceedings during their being the King's Counſel. There was no ſufficient Proof that the Biſhops Hands were truly theirs, and the King's Counſel were forc'd to have recourſe to the Confeſſion they had made at the *Council-Board*, which was thought very diſhonourable ſince they had made that Confeſſion in confidence, truſting to the King's Honour. Their publiſhing it was not prov'd, which was the main Point. Their preſenting it to the King, and afterwards their owning it to be their Petition, when it was put to them at the Council-Board, was all that the King's Counſel could offer for proof of this, and which was ſuch an apparent Strain, that even thoſe Judges who were the ſureſt to the Court did not ſeem to be ſatisfy'd. It was much argu'd againſt them, that this Petition was a *Libel*, tending to the defaming the King's Government. To this it was anſwer'd, That they, having receiv'd an Order, to which they found they could not give Obedience, thought it was incumbent on them as Biſhops and as Subjects, to lay before the King their Reaſons for it. All Subjects had a Right to petition the King. They as Peers were of his Great Council, and ſo had yet a better Claim to that, eſpecially in Matters of Religion; for the Act of *Uniformity* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time had requir'd them, under a Curſe, to look carefully after thoſe Matters. The Diſpenſing Power had been often brought into debate in Parliament, and was always voted to be againſt Law; and the late King had yielded the Point, by recalling his *Declaration*. Thus they thought they had a Right to repreſent theſe things to the King. Occaſion was often taken to reflect on the Diſpenſing Power. The King's Counſel ſaid in anſwer to this, That the Votes of one or both Houſes were not Laws, till they were enacted by King and Parliament; and the late King's paſſing once from a Point of his Prerogative, did not give it up, but only wav'd it for that time. They urg'd much the Sacredneſs of the King's Authority, that a Paper might be true in fact, and yet be a Libel; *as good Nonſenſe as one could expect from the Jargon of Chicane*. That in Parliament the two Houſes had a Right to petition, but it was Sedition to do it in a Point of Government out of Parliament.

The Trial laſted above ten Hours, the Croud continuing all the while in expectation, and expreſſing ſo great a Concern for the Biſhops, that the Witneſſes who were brought againſt them were not only treated with much Scorn and loud Laughter on every occaſion, but were in ſuch danger, that they eſcap'd narrowly, going away by a back Paſſage. Two of the Judges, *Powell* and *Holloway*, deliver'd their Opinions, that there was no ſeditious Matter in the Petition, and that it was no Libel. *Wright* the Chief Juſtice call'd it a *Libel*, but did not think the Publication was prov'd. *Allibone* ſaid it was a Libel, but in giving his Opinion made ſuch a *Blunder*, that little heed was given to any thing he ſaid afterwards. The Jury were all along very well ſatisfy'd of the Biſhops Innocence, and were ſoon agreed to acquit them; but it was thought to be the more ſolemn and the ſafer Way, to continue ſhut up till the Morning. The King ſtill flatter'd himſelf with the Hope that the Biſhops would be brought in *Guilty*. He went that Morning to the Camp, for the ill Humour the Soldiers had appear'd in the Day before on news of the Biſhops Trial, made him think it neceſſary to go and keep them in Awe and Order by his own Preſence. *A. D.* 1688.

The Court ſate the next day, and then the Jury came in with their Verdict *Not guilty* Upon which the Marquiſs of *Hallifax* waving his Hat over his Head, cry'd Huzzah! The Lords and Gentlemen took the ſhout from him. It in an inſtant fill'd the whole Hall with the loudeſt Acclamations of Joy, which were immediately taken again by the Crouds waiting in *Palace-Yard* and in *Weſtminſter*: from whence, like a Roll and Roar of Thunder, it was carry'd in and thro' the City of *London*, and ſpread over the Parts adjacent, and as faſt as it could fly, over the whole Kingdom. Every Man ſeem'd tranſported, and notwithſtanding the King diſpatch'd an Order to the Lord Mayor to hinder Bonefires, and the Conſtables were every where out to execute it; yet ſeveral Bonefires were made, and many Illuminations of ſeven Candles, the longeſt in the middle to repreſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the ſix Biſhops, then term'd the *ſeven Golden Candleſticks*. Sir *William Williams* was much offended with the Shoutings in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where, during the Trial, he had been ſeveral times hiſs'd. He mov'd, that ſuch as ſhouted ſhould be ſeiz'd, as was a Gentleman of *Gray's-Inn*, to whom the Chief Juſtice ſaid, *Sir, I am as glad as you can be that my Lords the Biſhops are acquitted; but your manner of rejoicing here is indecent, you might rejoice at your Chamber or elſewhere, and not here.* With this Reproof he was diſcharg'd. When the Soldiers heard at the Camp on *Hounſlow-Heath* that the Biſhops were acquitted, there was ſuch an univerſal Shout, that it ſtartled the King then at an Entertainment in the Earl of *Feverſham*'s Tent, whom he ſent out to know what was the matter. *Feverſham* coming back, told the King, *It was nothing but the Soldiers ſhouted upon the News of the Biſhops being acquitted.* The King ſtamp'd his Foot on the Ground, and ſaid, *Do you call that nothing? But ſo much the worſe for them.* 'Tis generally thought the King meant ſo much the worſe for the Soldiers, whom he would caſhier as he could fill their Places with *Iriſhmen* and *Papiſts*: But I read in a *French* Author that he ſpoke it of the Biſhops, *Tant pis pour eux*, ſo much the worſe for them. His Preſence kept the Army in ſome Order, but he was no ſooner gone out of the Camp, than he was follow'd with a loud and general Shout, as if it had been a Victory obtain'd. He began now to be afraid he ſhould not be able to get a Parliament to anſwer his Ends, and that he ſhould be oblig'd to make uſe of open Force. In order to this, he thought fit to propoſe the taking off the Penal Laws and Teſt to all the Regiments one by one. A Writing was drawn up for them to ſubſcribe, whereby they engag'd themſelves to contribute, as far as in them lay, towards the Repeal of the *Teſts* and *Penal Laws*. He began with the Earl of *Litchfield*'s Regiment, the Major of which was order'd to open his Majeſty's Deſire to that Battalion, and command all ſuch as would not inſtantly comply with it, *to lay down their Arms*. And he was not a little ſurpriz'd, when he found that except two Captains, and four or five Popiſh Soldiers, the whole Regiment obey'd the latter part of his Command. The King remain'd ſpeechleſs for a while, and having recover'd

Biſhops acquitted.

Great Rejoicings.

The King tries the Army about the Penal Laws and Teſt.

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ver'd himſelf of his Aſtoniſhment, he commanded them *to take their Arms*; adding, with a diſcontented ſullen Look, *I for the future will not do you the Honour to ask your Advice.* And from that time he made all the haſte he could to model the Army, by caſhiering both Proteſtant Officers and Soldiers, ſending for others over from *Ireland*, to incorporate them in the *Engliſh* Regiments. Several of the latter were put into the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment at *Portſmouth*.

Lieutenant Colonel Beaumont *and his Officers will not admit the* Iriſh *in their Regiment.*

The Lieutenant Colonel *John Beaumont* Eſq; and five Captains remonſtrated to the Duke, *That they did not think it conſiſtent with their Honour to have Foreigners impos'd upon them, without being complain'd of that their Companies were weak, or Orders had been ſent to recruit them, not doubting if ſuch Orders had been given, that what firſt in very ill Times rais'd them Hundreds, could eaſily now have made them according to the King's Complement; therefore they humbly petition'd, that they might have leave to fill up their Companies with ſuch Men of this Nation, as they ſhould judge moſt ſuitable for the King's Service, and to ſupport their Honours, or otherwiſe that they might be permitted with all imaginable Duty and Reſpect to lay down their Commiſſions.* Theſe Officers rais'd their Companies at their own Charge in the Time of *Monmouth*'s Expedition. The King being inform'd of it, immediately order'd Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, Captain *Paſton*, Captain *Pack*. and three other Captains to be taken into Cuſtody, and a Court Martial was appointed to try them for their Lives as Mutineers, and no doubt he would have put them to death, if the News from abroad had not ſomewhat moderated his Counſels, for he could not but ſee by the very Reſpect that was paid, not only to the ſeven Biſhops, but to the ſix Captains, whoſe Pictures hung up in almoſt every Houſe, that the Meaſures he had been taking were bringing him into the utmoſt Peril, and that it was high Time for him, who had been upon the Gallop ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, to think of a more gentle Pace; yet he could not help ſhewing his Reſentment againſt Judge *Powell*, and Judge *Holloway*, whom he diſcarded, and made Serjeant *Baldock*, one of the Counſel againſt the Biſhops a Juſtice of the King's Bench. He was under ſuch Infatuation, that even after the Acquittal of the Biſhops, he permitted the Tools of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to do the Work of the Papiſts, by proceeding violently againſt the Proteſtant Clergy, who had not read the *Declaration*. Citations were ſent out, requiring the Chancellors and Archdeacons to ſend in the Liſts of all the Clergy, as well thoſe that had obey'd, as thoſe that had not. Some of the latter were now ſo much animated with the Senſe the Nation had expreſs'd of the Biſhops Impriſonment and Trial, that they declar'd they would not obey the Order, and others excus'd themſelves in ſofter Terms. When the Day came to which they were cited, *Auguſt* the 16th, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, tho' he himſelf had obey'd the Order, and had hitherto gone along ſitting with the other Commiſſioners, but had always voted on the milder ſide; yet now, when he ſaw Matters were running ſo faſt to the Ruin of the *Church*, he not only would ſit no more with them, but wrote a Letter to them, in which he ſaid it was impoſſible for him to go on with them any longer, for tho' he himſelf had obey'd the Order of Council, which he proteſted he did, becauſe he thought he was bound in Conſcience to do it; yet he did not doubt but that thoſe who had not obey'd it had gone upon the ſame Principle of following their Conſcience, and he would much rather chuſe to ſuffer with them, than to concur in making them ſuffer. This ſtop'd Proceedings for that Time, and put the Court to a Stand; ſo they adjourn'd themſelves, and never ſate more.

The Clergy ſtill proſecuted.

Biſhop of Rocheſter *leaves the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.*

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It was apparent to thoſe that were leaſt clear-ſighted, that the whole Conſtitution of *England* was ſubverted, and that the Adminiſtration was in all its Branches arbitrary and illegal. The King aſſum'd to himſelf a Power to make Laws void, and to qualify Men for Employments, whom the Law had put under ſuch Incapacities, that all they did was null and void. The Sheriffs and Mayors of Towns were no legal Officers. Judges, one of them being a profeſs'd *Papiſt*, who took not the Teſt, were no Judges. Thus was the Government broken. A Parliament return'd by ſuch Men was no legal Parliament. All this was done by virtue of the diſpenſing Power, which chang'd the whole Frame of our Conſtitution, and ſubjected all the Laws to the King's Pleaſure; for upon the ſame Pretence of that Power, other *Declarations* might have come out, voiding any other Laws which the Court found ſtood in their way, ſince we had ſcarce any Law that was fortify'd with ſuch Clauſes to force the Execution of it, as thoſe that were laid aſide had in them. And when the King pretended this was ſuch a ſacred Point of Government, that a Petition offer'd in the modeſteſt Terms, and in the humbleſt manner poſſible, calling it in queſtion, was made ſo great a Crime, and carried ſo far againſt Men of ſuch Eminence, it was plain the Deſtruction of the Conſtitution was total, avowedly begun, and violently proſecuted; and according to the Principles of the higheſt Aſſerters of Submiſſion and Obedience. it was now lawful for the Nation to look to itſelf, and ſee to its own Preſervation. Wherefore as ſoon as Men were convinc'd this was lawful, there remain'd nothing but to look to the Prince of *Orange*, who was the only Perſon that either could ſave them, or had a Right to it. Since by all the Laws in the World, even private as well as publick, he who has in him the Reverſion of any Eſtate has a Right to hinder the Poſſeſſor, if he goes about to deſtroy that which is to come to him after the Poſſeſſor's Death. Let us here turn to the learned *Acherley*. "King *James* had parted with the laſt "Parliament in *Indignation*, and had exercis'd "a Government ſo arbitrary and unwarrantable, "that every one concluded he never intended to "aſſemble another until he could force the Elec-"tions. The Lords and Commons therefore, in "order to diſturb his arbitrary Adminiſtration, "ſent a grand *Invitation* to the Prince of *O-"range*, a Prince of the Royal Family, incom-"parably qualify'd, and equally great in the "Field and in the Cabinet, requeſting him as "their Captain to come and attempt their Deli-"verance, and to compel the aſſembling a free "Parliament: At the ſame time thoſe *Inviters* "ſollicited the States of *Holland* to furniſh the "Prince with a Fleet and Army ſuitable to the "Undertaking, promiſing not only to reimburſe "the Charges, but to make Returns ſuitable to "the Kindneſs, if their State ſhould ever want "the like Aſſiſtance.

The Conſtitution entirely ſubverted by the King.

The Nation's Right to apply to the Prince of Orange.

And his Right to deliver them.

"Happy it was for *Britain*, that *Holland* at "this time was under terrible Apprehenſions "of Invaſion from *France* by Land, and from "*England* by Sea, in Execution of the *ſecret* "*League* between the two Kings, which made "the *Dutch* readily embrace the *Invitation*, to "extricate and wreſt *Britain* from the *French* "Alliance." And it is to be remember'd that the Biſhops, according to the Prince's Declaration

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tion being among thoſe Inviters, they did the ſame thing that was done in 1640 with reſpect to the *Scots*, and one cannot condemn the *Engliſh*, who invited the *Scots* into *England*, without involving the Biſhops, who invited the *Dutch*, in the ſame Crime, if it was one, which I am far from aſſerting. Not long before this Noiſe and Clamour upon the Biſhops Trial, and the Attempt to entail Popery and Slavery upon us by ſecuring a Popiſh Succeſſor, Mr. *Ruſſel*, afterwards Earl of *Orford*, went to *Holland* at the Deſire of many of great Power and Intereſt in *England*, to ſpeak very freely to the Prince, and know poſitively of him what might be expected from him. Mr. *Ruſſel* had much Diſcourſe with his Highneſs on the Situation of Affairs, the Danger Religion and Liberty were in, and the Hopes People had of his interpoſing effectually to prevent it. The Prince anſwer'd at laſt, that if he was invited by ſome Men of the beſt Intereſt, and the moſt valued in the Nation, who ſhould both in their own Name, and in the Name of others who truſted them, invite him to come and reſcue them, he believ'd he could be ready by the End of *September* to come over; which acceptable News Mr. *Ruſſel* carry'd to *England*, and return'd ſoon after with an Invitation in Form from a great Number of Lords and Gentlemen, and ſome, but not many, Biſhops. *Orleans* ſays, all the ſeven Biſhops invited him. He had the important Letter made up in the Heel of one of his Shoes, and Mr. *Zuyleſtein*, whom the Prince had ſent to *England* to congratulate the Birth of the Pretender, when he return'd to *Holland*, confirming and corroborating all the Information Mr. *Ruſſel* had given him, he was fully fix'd in his Purpoſe, and ſet himſelf with great Application to prepare for the intended Expedition, in which he was very much encourag'd by the Accounts he receiv'd of the Hatred the Soldiers and Seamen daily expreſs'd againſt the Papiſts: The latter had ſhewn it in a particular Manner, by threatning to throw ſome Prieſts over-board, whom Sir *Roger Strickland* had brought to the Fleet to ſay Maſs.

More Steps towards the Revolution.

It has been hinted, that the *Engliſh* apply'd to the States-General as well as to the Prince of *Orange*, and it is confirm'd by what is ſaid of it in a Treatiſe written by *John Hampden* Eſq;

Mr. John Hampden's *Account of the Applications to the States and the Prince of* Orange.

" The deplorable State of things awaken'd the " Minds of thoſe of our Nobility and Gentry, " who had any thing remaining in them of the " *Engliſh Liberty*, and Impatience of Slavery, " which has ſo often reſcu'd the Nation from " the Brink of Ruin. They ſaw to what the " Neceſſity of Self-Defence oblig'd them, and " reſolv'd to ſhake off the Yoke they could not " bear. In order to this, many of them apply'd " to ſome principal Members of the States Ge- " neral of the United Provinces, and to the " Prince of *Orange* their *Stadtholder* and Cap- " tain General, repreſenting to them how near- " ly they were concern'd in what then paſt in " *England*, which was but one Branch of " the Deſigns driven on by the *French* King " and his Adherents, for enſlaving all *Eu-* " *rope*, and rooting out what they call'd the " *Northern* Hereſy, both Name and Thing. " They ſhew'd them, that if they ſuffer'd " the Conſpiracy of our common Enemies to " go on any further, they would infallibly be " involv'd in our Ruin, and that very ſpeedily, " and muſt neceſſarily fall under the *French* " Yoke, of which they had felt the Weight in the " Years 1672 and 1673; and had lately heard " more of it from thoſe great Numbers of " *French* Proteſtants, who had taken Refuge in " their Country. They put them in mind of " what had heretofore been done for their Re- " publick by the *Engliſh* Nation, when they " had newly caſt off the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, and " were forc'd to implore the Succour of their " Neighbours, againſt a Power which then car- " ry'd on the ſame Deſigns, and much by the " ſame Methods, which we have ſeen copy'd " from them by the *French* in our Time. They " convinc'd them that all Reaſons of Gratitude, " Humanity, Policy, and Chriſtianity concurr'd " to incline them to the Requeſt of the *Engliſh*, " and put a helping Hand for oppoſing a Bank " to that Torrent, which otherwiſe would over- " flow all *Chriſtendom*. Neither was this Buſi- " neſs of a nature to admit Delay; they prov'd " to them by unanſwerable Reaſons, that if " they ſlipt the preſent Opportunity, by the " *French* King's drawing his Forces to the *Up-* " *per Rhine*, to begin the War by the Siege " of *Philipsburgh*, it would in all probability be " too late to attempt any thing hereafter: The " two Kings hoping by their joint Counſels and " Powers in a ſhort time to put both the *Dutch* " and *Engliſh* out of a Capacity to diſpute their " Pleaſure."

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Foreign Affairs.

The *French* King, at the ſame time that he attack'd *Philipsburgh*, had gone a great way to ſecure *Cologne* to himſelf, by means of Cardinal *Furſtembergh*, whom his Money had corrupted ſo far as to betray his native Country *Germany* to *France*; and having by the ſame Money got a Majority to chuſe him Elector of *Cologne*, he was to have put that City and Country into the *French* King's hands, who would by that means have had a Paſſage open to fall on the *Spaniſh* Netherlands, and the United Provinces at his pleaſure. The Pope would not confirm the Election of *Furſtembergh*, and the Confederates got Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria* choſen Biſhop, by a ſufficient Number of Voices to procure the Pope's Confirmation: But to ſupport this Election againſt *France*, 'twas neceſſary for the Allies to make warlike Preparations; and it furniſh'd the Prince of *Orange* with ſo good a Blind for his, that neither the King of *England*, nor the King of *France* had any Jealouſy of their being deſign'd againſt *England*, till the Operations of the Campaign on the ſide of *Germany* were concluded upon, which left the Prince at liberty to purſue his intended Expedition for the Deliverance of the *Engliſh*.

The Diſpoſition of foreign Princes towards the Enterprize.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* came heartily into the Deſign, as ſoon as it was communicated to him, ſo did *Dankleman* his chief Miniſter and Favourite, who had great Influence over him.

The Emperor of *Germany*, and even the Pope approv'd of it, as the only Means to hinder the King of *England*'s putting his whole Weight into the *French* King's Scale, and utterly deſtroying the Ballance, which in good Policy and Intereſt he ought to have maintain'd.

The King of *Sweden* fell generouſly in with it, and offer'd to ſupply the States with any Number of Troops which they ſhould ſend to *England* with the Prince.

The Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, the Duke of *Lunenburgh-Zell*, who had a particular Regard and Affection for the Prince of *Orange*, made the like Offers; and ſeveral other *German* Princes, as well Papiſts as Proteſtants, had the Deſign communicated to them, and not only gave it their Approbation, but promis'd their Aſſiſtance, by purſuing thoſe Meaſures on the Continent, which would be moſt favourable to it.

In the mean time ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen went forwards and backwards to and from *Holland* under various Pretexts, and the Court of *England* was ſo exalted with the Hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor, that they did not much con-

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Carry'd on in London. I have mention'd Mr. *Ruſſel*'s coming to *England* for the Invitation in Form; beſides him the Lord *M*—— came privately over with Inſtructions to feel the Pulſe of the principal Citizens of *London*; and he had ſeveral Meetings with them in the Houſe of one of the *Houblons*, from whom he receiv'd all the Aſſurances that were deſir'd of them. And I remember very well that after one of thoſe Meetings I was at Dinner with two Aldermen, Sir *J. B.* and Sir *J. F.* when much Diſcourſe was of a ſpeedy Deliverance; and the former being going to *Tunbridge* in *Auguſt*, told the latter, he hop'd they ſhould have the good News by the Time he came back again. I was too young to give them any Caution as to my hearing them, and had it explain'd to me after the Revolution.

About the ſame time one *Joſeph Flight*, afterwards a Tobacconiſt near the *Royal Exchange*, brought over near Fourſcore Letters to as many of the prime Nobility and Gentry; he mention'd to me the Earl of *Devonſhire* in particular, that Lord being very open with him, and delivering him ſome Advices by word of Mouth, he carry'd back Anſwers with great Diſpatch and Safety.

And in Holland. The Prince prevail'd with the States to provide a Fund for 9000 Seamen, and order'd a ſelect Body of Troops to rendezvous near *Nimeguen*, not far from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Camp, who had march'd his Army thither, to act in conjunction with the Confederates, alarm'd by the *Dauphin*'s Hoſtilities in *Germany*.

The Prince's frequent Journies to the Army had given Umbrage to the Count *d'Avaux* and Marquis *d'Albeville*, Ambaſſadors of *England* and *France* at the *Hague*; eſpecially when there was an Interview between the Prince and the Marquis *de Caſta naga* Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* on the Frontier, wherein Matters were concerted for the Defence of thoſe Provinces in the Prince's abſence. His Highneſs's Friends gave out it was about ſome Affairs depending between the Prince and the Count *de Solne*, concerning certain Lands in the Dependance of *Conde*, *France* having undertaken the Protection of that Count. This was in *Auguſt*, and tho' the Marquis *d'Albeville* went to *London* about that time, ſo ſecret were the Prince of *Orange*'s Counſels, that King *James* had then no manner of Notice of his Highneſs's Intentions. The whole Expedition was manag'd with ſo much Secrecy and Caution, as fully confirm'd the Character which common Juſtice extorted from the Mouth of his implacable Enemy, the *French* King, who ſaid of him, that he was, *Le meilleur Homme de Cabinet en l'*Europe, *The greateſt Man for Counſel in* Europe.

The Prince having detach'd from his and the *Brandenburgh* Camp, what Forces he thought neceſſary, the King of *Sweden* furniſh'd the *Dutch* with a Body of Troops equivalent to thoſe his Highneſs had order'd to march nearer the Coaſts, to be ready for Embarkation. The ſeveral Cities of *Holland* had provided their ſeveral *Quota's* of Ships, Men of War and Tranſports, purſuant to the Orders that had been ſent them three Months before, which were executed with all poſſible Chearfulneſs and Diſpatch. There was not a Man in *Holland*, Papiſts only excepted, who was heard to murmur at the Charge and Hazard of the Enterprize. Men, Women and Children lifted up their Prayers to Heaven for his Highneſs's Succeſs, and the Deliverance of *England*.

Both the Prince and the States ſtill kept up the Forms that are uſual between Princes and Powers not in War. King *James* ſtill continu'd to write Letters of Civility, till near the Time of the Expedition; and the King's Stateſmen complain'd, that the Secret of a Buſineſs, which depended entirely upon Secrecy, was not communicated to them; tho' it would have ſhewn the Court at the *Hague* to be as ill Politicians as that at *Whitehall*, if they had given the latter an Opportunity to obſtruct the Deſign by calling in *French* Forces. *A. D.* 1688.

We muſt leave the Conduct of this important Affair for a while, to ſee how it was become extremely neceſſary in the Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Nothing very remarkable happen'd in *Scotland*, from the Proclamation for Liberty of Conſcience to the *Revolution*. The Proclamation having blunted the Edge of Perſecution for a time, we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſummary Relation of the Sufferings of the Proteſtants in *Scotland* under *Sharp*, and his Succeſſors, made by one who had it from a Reverend Miniſter of the Church of *Scotland*. Scotland.

" That including the
" People who died in Priſons and in Baniſhment,
" an Account was taken of above 18000, whoſe
" Blood their Perſecutors have to account for;
" beſides the Numbers, who at the Time of
" the Revolution were actually in Priſons, in
" the Iſle of *Baſs*, *Dunotter Caſtle*, *Blackneſs*,
" *Edinburgh*, and other Places, which were
" very great." But to continue it in the Words of one *of the Sufferers*: " To ſpeak of the
" Numbers, we muſt do Juſtice to the Miracle
" of God's working, whereby the very Means
" us'd to extirpate us from the Face of the
" Earth, was by the wiſe Diſpoſer of all things
" made to increaſe our Numbers; for that tho'
" they went on many Years impriſoning, baniſhing,
" and butchering our dear Brethren; yet all the
" Priſons they could fill with us, and all the Ships
" they could freight with us, and all the Gibbets they could hang us on, could never either exhauſt or leſſen our Number; but the
" more we were afflicted, the more we grew,
" and the Deſign to deſtroy us prov'd always
" ruinous to the Deſtroyers. When they had
" try'd all ways poſſible to root us out from the
" Earth, after they had hang'd, ſhot, tortur'd,
" and baniſh'd for Slaves all they could catch of
" us, they were further from their Purpoſe than
" when they began. Our Numbers were not
" diminiſh'd, our Meetings for Goſpel Ordinances were not diſappointed, but we enjoy'd the
" Adminiſtrations in their Purity and Power,
" with greater Certainty, and in larger Aſſemblies than ever, our Numbers encreaſing
" more and more."

Which extremely exaſperated their Perſecutors, who, notwithſtanding the *Toleration*, rag'd ſtill againſt them, as in the Caſe of the Reverend Mr. *James Renfrew*, whom the Prelatical Party in *Scotland* murder'd, even after the Prince of *Orange* was landed in *England*; and juſt at the ſame time did the *Scots* Prelates ſend a Letter to King *James*, wherein they ſay, *We magnify the Divine Mercy in bleſſing Your Majeſty with a Son, and us with a Prince, whom we pray Heaven may bleſs and preſerve to inherit with your Dominions, the Illuſtrious and Heroick Virtues of his auguſt and moſt ſerene Parents. We are amaz'd to hear of the Danger of an Invaſion from* Holland, *which excites our Prayers to God to give ſuch Succeſs to Your Majeſty's Arms, that all who diſturb the Peace of your Realms may be cloath'd with Shame; and that you may have the Hearts of your Subjects, and the Necks of your Enemies.* Sign'd by,

The

A. D. 1688. The Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*, The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Biſhop of *Brechen*, Biſhop of *Orkney*, Biſhop of *Murray*, Biſhop of *Roſs*, Biſhop of *Dumblaine*, Biſhop of the *Iſles*.

This Letter, written at a time when the reverend Biſhops and Clergy of *England* were deeply engag'd in the Deſign to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties, which this King had ſo often and ſo tyrannically invaded and broken, gave univerſal Offence, and prepar'd the way for rooting out Prelacy and Perſecution in *Scotland*, where, ever ſince the Reformation, they had always gone hand in hand.

P. 288. The Author of the Memoirs of the Church of *Scotland* informs us, that Mr. *Renfrew* the Miniſter was put to death the 17th of *February*, the beginning of the Revolution Year, teſtifying that the Prelatical Party in *Scotland*, *who were in ſuch high Eſteem with Archdeacon* Echard, never "abated or relented, were never "ſatiated with Blood; but went on as long as "they had power, even till they ſaw the very "Cloud hovering, and the Storm ready to break "upon their Heads. Nor had their Thirſt of "Blood been quench'd to this day, or as long "as there had been a faithful Member of the "Church of *Scotland* left alive, had their Power "laſted; ſo that it was the end of their Go-"vernment which put an end to their ſangui-"nary Severities, and no Clemency, Pity, or "Compaſſion in them. No ſuch things were ſo "much as nam'd among them." Mr. *Renfrew* before he was executed, made a very affecting Speech, in which was this remarkable Expreſſion: *Do not fear that the Lord will caſt off* Scotland, *for he will certainly return again, and ſhew himſelf gracious in our Land.* He added, *I leave my Teſtimony againſt all Profaneneſs, and every thing contrary to ſound Doctrine. I leave my Teſtimony againſt all Uſurpations made upon* Chriſt's *Rights, who is the* Prince of the Kings of the Earth, *who alone muſt bear the Glory of Ruling his own Kingdom* the Church. *And in particular, I leave my Teſtimony againſt the* abſolute Power *uſurp'd by this* Uſurper, *that belongs to no Mortal, but is the* incommunicable Prerogative *of* JEHOVAH, *and againſt this* Toleration *flowing from that abſolute Power.* Here he was bid have done, and the Executioner did his Work. Is there any great difficulty in diſtinguiſhing the Cauſe that ought to have been eſpous'd? That of the *Scots* Prelates, who in the midſt of their Glory and Pride, bore their Teſtimony for that *abſolute Power*; or that of the *Scots* Miniſter, who with his dying Breath, and when he was about to yield up his Spirit into the Hands of God who gave it, bore his Teſtimony againſt it.

Ireland. We have mention'd the Alteration made in the Government of *Ireland* upon *Tyrconnel*'s Advancement to it; and the Advances towards Tyranny and Popery were every day there more forward and direct. The Privy-Council of *Ireland* is a great Part of the Conſtitution, and has conſiderable Powers and Privileges annex'd to it. This was ſo model'd, that the Papiſts made the Majority; and thoſe few that were Proteſtants, choſe for the moſt part to decline appearing at the Board with ſuch a ſorry Company, ſince they could do thoſe of their Religion no Service. A Gentleman then on the ſpot tells us, "Except *Rice*, *Daly* and "*Nagle*, there was not a Man of them that had "common Senſe; inſomuch that *Rice* and *Daly* "would often complain, that nothing could paſs "at the Council-Board which concern'd the Pub-"lick, but their Country-men muſt firſt ask *Tague*, "*If that would not ſpoil his* Potatoe-Garden." A. D. 1688.

The great Barrier of the People's Liberties in *Ireland*, as well as *England*, was their Right to chuſe their own Repreſentatives in Parliament; which being once taken away, they became Slaves to the Will of the Prince. The Proteſtants of *Ireland* finding a Neceſſity of ſecuring this Right in their own Hands, had procur'd many Corporations to be founded, and had built many corporate Towns at their own Charges: from all which, the *Roman Catholicks* were by their Charters excluded. To break this Barrier, *Tyrconnel* began with the City of *Dublin*. In order to this, he had got a Letter from the King in the Lord *Clarendon*'s time, to admit Papiſts to the Freedom of that City, and all other Corporations: Which the then Lord Mayor refus'd, but his Succeſſor *Caſtleton* paſs'd the *Iriſh* Freemen, and the Example was follow'd throughout the Kingdom. However, the Papiſts were ſo mean and beggarly in moſt of the trading Towns, that the Proteſtants ſtill kept the Majority. Upon which, *Tyrconnel* reſolv'd to call in the Charters by the King's Authority; and ſending for the Lord Mayor, told him it was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that the Charter of *Dublin* ſhould be ſurrender'd into his hands. All Application to him being to no purpoſe, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council ſent their Recorder Sir *Richard Rieves* to *London*, with a Petition to the King; to whom he was introduc'd by the Duke of *Ormond*, and deliver'd the Petition on his Knees; but the King had been ſo prepoſſeſs'd againſt it by *Tyrconnel*, that upon the firſt ſight of Sir *Richard*, he ask'd him, *If he had the Lord Deputy's Leave to come with it*; adding, *I have thoſe in* Ireland *that underſtand the Law better than yourſelf*, and ſo he turn'd from him. The Duke of *Ormond* told him frankly, he could do him no Service, ſo *Rieves* went back as he came. And the Charter of *Dublin* being diſſolv'd by *Quo-Warranto*, there was no hope of ſaving any other Corporation, tho' there was not the leaſt Shadow of Law for diſſolving them. New Charters were granted to all the Corporations, with a Clauſe in every one of them, by which they were ſubjected to the Will and Pleaſure of the King, and conſequently were put into the power of the Chief Governor to turn out and put in whom he pleas'd, without ſhewing a Reaſon or formal Trial at Law.

Having formerly made mention of *Sheridan*, who was now become Prime Miniſter in *Ireland*, as far as *Tyrconnel* would let him, we muſt add ſomething of both of them out of a Treatiſe entitled, *The ſecret Conſults and Intrigues of the* Romiſh *Party in* Ireland. *Tyrconnel* having diſcover'd that *Sheridan* had a ſeparate Purſe in the Buſineſs of ſelling of Places, and being both Principal Secretary of State and firſt Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, had great Opportunities of doing it, was much diſguſted; but much more, when he found out that many of thoſe Bargains were made under pretence of the Perſons being recommended by himſelf: For *Sheridan* overdoing of it, made one *Dickinſon*, another Commiſſioner, write to the Lords of the Treaſury againſt putting in unqualify'd Perſons, which were recommended by *Tyrconnel* as he thought; and the Lords wrote back, that the Commiſſioners ſhould take no notice of any ſuch Recommendation, and Orders were ſent to the Lord-Deputy not to intermeddle in the Revenue. *Tyrconnel* highly reſented it, and *Sheridan* from that time

State-Tracts. VOL. III. p. 646.

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time contriv'd to undermine him. His firſt Stratagem was, to prepoſſeſs the *Romiſh* Clergy againſt him; and to accompliſh it, he contracts an intimate acquaintance with *Tyrconnel*'s Chaplain, who moſt frequently officiated. The Prieſt pick'd up what he could of *Tyrconnel*'s Contempt of the Maſs and Prayers. One particular Charge was, that when the Army was in the Camp at the *Currah* of *Kildare*, the Deputy being at play in his Tent, his Chaplain came to know if his Excellency would go to Maſs; he reply'd, *No, I will ſend one*, naming ſomebody by him, *to ſtand in my Place, and that will do as well.*

This and other ſuch Sayings being put together, were tranſmitted to Father *Petre*, whoſe Niece *Sheridan* had marry'd, and his Zeal recommended him to the Favour not only of that Jeſuit, but all the *Iriſh* Clergy, particularly the titular Primate of *Armagh*, who contracted an intimate Familiarity and Acquaintance with him; and in conjunction with the beforemention'd Prieſt, form'd Articles againſt *Tyrconnel*, which *Sheridan* was to carry to Court; but the Deputy deny'd him a Licence to go to *England:* upon which, *Sheridan* writes to a Couſin of his at *London* to take out a Licence from the King. *Tyrconnel* came to the Knowledge of it, and conſulted with his two Confidents *Rice* and *Nagle*, what he might intend by it; and it was reſolv'd, that another Prieſt belonging to the Deputy ſhould get into the Confidence of *Sheridan* and the Chaplain: which he effected by ſpeaking againſt *Tyrconnel*, and pretending to add Articles againſt him to their Information, he was let into the whole Secret of it; and a Charge being drawn up by *Sheridan* himſelf, was incloſ'd in a Letter to his Couſin, under Covert with other Letters. The Prieſt having ſeen *Sheridan* do all this, gives notice of it immediately to *Rice* and *Nagle*, who with the Lord-Deputy conſulted how to intercept the Packet, which was eaſily done. A Meſſenger was ſent at twelve a-clock at night aboard the Boat for the Mail, which they open'd, took out *Sheridan*'s Packet, open'd that alſo, and taking out the Letter with the Charge in it, ſent the reſt forward in the Mail.

Rice and *Nagle* advis'd *Tyrconnel* to write to Lord *Sunderland*, ſetting forth *Sheridan*'s Briberies and other ſiniſter Practices, without taking any notice of *Sheridan*'s Contrivances againſt himſelf. Lord *Sunderland* acquainted Father *Petre* with it, and *Tyrconnel* not doubting but *Sheridan* would have it all from that Jeſuit, came to an open Rupture with him, upbraided him with ſending a Charge againſt him to *London*; and on the Secretary's denying it, he ſhew'd it to him under his own Hand. Upon which, *Sheridan* charging him with writing againſt him, *Tyrconnel* call'd him *Rogue*, *Cheat*, *Traytor*, and offer'd to kick him; but Judge *Daly* pieced them together again, leaving ſtill mutual Jealouſies working in their Breaſts.

Tyrconnel, out of hatred to *Sheridan*, reviv'd the Quarrel the *Iriſh* Clergy had with the titular Primate, who was Friend to *Sheridan*; and it went ſo far, that the Archbiſhop of *Caſhel* and others apply'd to the King to have a Coadjutor impos'd on the Primate: For the Popiſh Biſhops in *Ireland* behav'd as if they had been already in poſſeſſion of the Powers and Revenues belonging to the Proteſtant Prelates. The King wrote to the Pope about it, aggravating the Primate's Miſcarriages: But the Pope anſwer'd, He was one of his own chuſing, and Father *Petre* wrote a Letter of Reprimand about it to *Tyrconnel*, the Church being made ridiculous by this Jarring. So the Matter was huſh'd up, and the Primate reconcil'd to the Deputy. *A. D.* 1688.

Sheridan being a ſecond time refus'd Leave to go to *England* by *Tyrconnel*, apply'd a ſecond time to the Court of *England*, and by his Wife's means obtain'd it. But when he arriv'd at *London*, he waited near four-and-twenty Hours before he could ſpeak with the Earl of *Sunderland*, and had then but a cold Reception; and he found by his other Applications, that *Tyrconnel* was ſupported by the *French* Intereſt, being more a Deputy to King *Lewis* than King *James*; inſomuch, that when News came to *Paris* that *Tyrconnel* was turn'd out, 'twas ſaid, *There was none in* England *durſt move him.*

The Lord *Caſtlemain* and Lord *Powis* wiſh'd well to *Sheridan*'s Project, but were afraid to truſt him with their Sentiments; nor would Father *Petre* carry him to the King. At laſt, upon his diſſembling the Matter, and proteſting he had no Articles againſt the Lord-Deputy, *Sunderland* introduc'd him: yet even then the King would not hear him ſpeak, ſo afraid was he of offending the *French* King, whoſe Creature *Tyrconnel* was.

Sheridan had not been three Days in *London* before he was follow'd by the Lord *Dungan*, Son to the Earl of *Limerick*, who brought Letters to *Sunderland*, ſetting forth *Sheridan* in ſuch black Characters, that Father *Petre* would admit him no more into his preſence. The Lords *Powis* and *Caſtlemain* deſerted him, by which means he was wholly left to himſelf, and *Tyrconnel*'s Party vigorouſly proſecuted him as a Delinquent, and the Matter was by the King's Order referr'd to the *Judges* in *Ireland*. After the Secretary's Place had been taken from him, Lord *Sunderland* wrote to *Tyrconnel* to have compaſſion on the poor Man in conſideration of that. Upon his return to *Dublin*, he repair'd to the *Caſtle*, but the Deputy would not ſee him. He then went to the Cuſtom-Houſe to take his Seat at that Board. Upon which the Judges were conſulted, and they advis'd *Tyrconnel* to ſuſpend him. An Order of Suſpenſion was accordingly ſent him, and he coming to the *Caſtle*, diſputed the Matter as not being in the Power of the Deputy. This aggravating his former Crime, upon further Conſult with the Judges 'twas agreed, that the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms ſhould write to all the Collectors in the Kingdom to hold no Correſpondence with *Sheridan*, in regard he was ſuſpended from acting in the Revenue. A Day being appointed for hearing him, he mov'd for longer time, which was readily granted, on account of a Storm that threaten'd *Tyrconnel* from *Rome*, which requir'd the beſt Cunning of his Counſellors and Creatures to divert it.

The Earl of *Caſtlemain*, who had ventur'd his Neck for a vain uſeleſs Embaſſy to the *Pope*, found no notice taken of him at his Return, which made him write back to his Friends at *Rome*, to repreſent his Merits to the Holy See, and the Diſregard he met with in *England*. The Pope wrote to his *Nuntio* to addreſs the King in his behalf, but at preſent there was no Vacancy. So to make one, Father *Petre* ſtruck at *Jefferies*, whom he accus'd of dealing doubly in the Affair of *Magdalen-College*, and of Backwardneſs in other Inſtances, to the Prejudice of the *Catholick* Cauſe; which could never be eſtabliſh'd, unleſs the Prime Miniſters and the World were given to underſtand, *That no Service they had done, or could do, ſhould protect them, if they fail'd in the leaſt Circumſtance.* Upon this, the Lord *Caſtlemain*'s Affair was brought into the Cabinet-

Jefferies *like to be out.*

A. D. 1688.

Cabinet-Council the 17th of *December* 1687, at Night, when it was reſolv'd, That *Jefferies* ſhould be put out, and that three of the Lords of the Treaſury ſhould be made Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and the Earl of *Caſtlemain* Lord Treaſurer. Which Reſolve continu'd ten Days. The Scene was on a ſudden chang'd, and *Jefferies* fix'd faſter than ever, ſuppos'd to be by the Intereſt of the Queen and *Sunderland*. This adminiſter'd freſh Cauſe of Diſguſt to *Caſtlemain*, and to the Church Party; for now it began to appear, that Affairs went as *France* directed, even in oppoſition to the Pope. *Such inſuperable Difficulties*, ſays my Author, *had the Folly of that poor unfortunate King expos'd him to! His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to* Rome, *but his Dependance was entirely built upon* France.

The Church-Party embrac'd the Opportunity of *Sheridan*'s Quarrel with *Tyrconnel* to recommend *Caſtlemain* as a fit Perſon for the Government of *Ireland*, *Tyrconnel* proceeding by too ſlow a Motion, and *Caſtlemain* was a Man of great Parts, who would win upon People by his prudent Carriage, whereas *Tyrconnel* had frightned away Thouſands out of the Kingdom. The Lord Deputy had ſoon Intimation of it, ſo had his Friends at *Paris*; and he held a new Conſultation with *Rice* and *Nagle* how to avoid the Danger that threatned him, and the beſt way they could think of, was to draw up an Act of Parliament, which in a manner put the Lands of the whole Kingdom in the power of the King, and then the only Hope that remain'd for the keeping them, would be by being of the King's Religion. They doubted not of getting a Parliament to paſs it, the Corporations and Sheriffs being already their own. With the Draft of this Act *Rice* and *Nagle* went to *London*, where they ſoon had the Term of the *Iriſh* Ambaſſadors conferr'd on them. *Rice* made his Court to *Sunderland*, whom he found not very favourable to his Deſign, neither was Father *Petre* at firſt; but the *French* Faction encouraged him, and *Petre* was brought over by the Aſſurances he gave him of *Tyrconnel*'s Zeal and Conſtancy in the Cauſe, as was alſo Lord *Sunderland* in an Opinion, that it would preſerve *Tyrconnel* in the Lieutenancy, out of which he had ſo good Rent. The King approv'd of the Project preſently, and took upon him to bring it into Council, which he did in few Words, acquainting them with its Contents and Importance, and by whom preſented to him. No Man ſpoke for or againſt it, but they deſir'd it might be heard; which being done, the Lord *Bellaſis* inveigh'd bitterly againſt it, ſaying, *If ſuch Deſigns as theſe are encourag'd, they* of *England*, meaning the Papiſts, *had beſt in time look out for ſome other Country, and not ſtay to be made a Sacrifice for* Iriſh *Rebels*. *Powis* according to the beſt of his Underſtanding ſeconded it, and in a word 'twas ſo run down, that neither *Sunderland* nor *Petre* durſt attempt to ſpeak a Word in its Vindication, but only deſired that thoſe Gentlemen who brought over thoſe Papers might be heard. Lord *Bellaſis* was for committing them, or commanding their immediate Return, but 'twas at laſt thought reaſonable to hear them, ſo a Day was appointed.

The Iriſh *Ambaſſadors heard.*

The Noiſe of this, and the Succeſs it met with at the Council-Board, flew abroad with great Exclamations, the Boys in the Street running after the Coach where *Rice* and *Nugent* at any time were, with *Potatoes* ſtuck on Sticks, and crying, *Make room for the* Iriſh *Ambaſſadors*.

When the Hearing came on, *Rice* made a Speech in anſwer to the Lord *Bellaſis*'s and Lord *Powis*'s Objections; but when *Nugent* came to ſpeak, my Author ſays, "He kick'd down all "that *Rice* had done, and *Bellaſis* preſently diſ- "cover'd the Defect of his *Wild-Iriſh* Under- "ſtanding, as he call'd it, railing at him beyond "the Reſpect due to the Place where the King "was, calling him *Fool* and *Knave*, &c. Lord "*Powis* did the ſame."

A. D. 1688.

They were not long in tearing this fine Project to pieces, which when they had done, *Bellaſis* bid them *make haſte to the* Fool *their Maſter, and bid him next Meſſage he ſent, to employ wiſer Men, and upon a more honeſt Errand.* Powis *ſaid, Tell him the King has better uſe to make of his Catholick Subjects in* England, *than to ſacrifice them for a Reprize to the Proteſtants of* Ireland *in lieu of their Eſtates there.* After this the *Iriſh Ambaſſadors* appear'd no more.

Then new Attempts were made in behalf of *Caſtlemain*, and many juſt and reaſonable Allegations were laid down before the King for the Removal of *Tyrconnel* by ſober conſidering Perſons, yet were they all to no purpoſe; for tho' the King kept it private from moſt of the Council, *Yet*, continues the ſame Writer, *certain it is, he had promiſed the* French *King the Diſpoſal of the Government of* Ireland. P. 653

Upon the Return of *Rice* and *Nugent*, *Sheridan* began to reſume his former Inſolence, expecting that their ill ſucceſs would have ruin'd *Tyrconnel*; and he himſelf thought he ſhould be removed, ſaying to ſome Officers, *Tho' I have had great Aſſurance from the King, that I ſhall not be diſplac'd, yet now I hear I ſhall, and wiſh I had given* 500 *Pounds to have known it a Month ſooner.*

The Charge againſt *Sheridan* was for Bribery and Extortion, and tho' the Proof was ſufficient, his Puniſhment was only to loſe his Employments.

About the ſame time, News was brought to *Ireland* of the Birth of the ſuppoſed Prince of *Wales*; for which, the Bearer Sir *Mat. Bridges*, receive the Honour of Knighthood, and no Tongue can expreſs the Extravagance of the Joys of the *Iriſh*. They ſo inſulted the *Engliſh* upon it, that the latter were become the Scorn of their very Slaves and Vaſſals, inſomuch that the meaneſt Labourer would now on the leaſt Provocation threaten to hang his Maſter. My Author was an Ear-Witneſs of one Inſtance of it. A Labourer came to his Maſter very ſoberly and told him, he ow'd him a Cow, and bid him give it him preſently. The Gentleman laugh'd at him as owing him nothing: the Fellow grew angry; the Gentleman call'd him Raſcal, and offer'd to beat him, but the Servant was not only too quick but too ſtrong for his Maſter, whom he was very fairly about to cudgel, if Company had not interpoſed and diverted him from his Intention. However he ſaid in *Iriſh*, *You* Engliſh *Churl, by St.* Patrick *I will hang thee with theſe Hands, as well as ever thou waſt hang'd in thy Life.* The poor Gentleman was afraid he would have given him ſuch a hanging as is never uſed but once.

As ſoon as it was ſaid the Queen had conceived, the *Iriſh* were confident it would be a Son, and would lay Twenty Guineas to One upon it.

The Deputy took away *Chriſt Church* from the Proteſtants for the Uſe of the Papiſts. Prieſts and Monks appeared every where in their Habits, and when the Proteſtants were celebrating the anniverſary Feſtival for the Extinction of the *Iriſh* Rebellion in 1641, the Papiſts fell upon them, and ſome Troops were order'd to diſperſe or kill them. Certain Soldiers nail'd a Bible to the Gallows, and making a Fire, tore the Leaves out by Parcels and flung them into the Flames as a Traytor condemned to ſuch Puniſhment; but a

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Proteſtant having ty'd ſome Beads about a Dog's Neck, was whip'd by the common Hangman.

I might here fill a large Volume with Inſtances of the Injuſtice, Cruelties, Robberies, Rapines, and Rapes exercis'd by the *Iriſh* againſt the *Engliſh*, from this time to the Revolution; but it is related ſo copiouſly in the above mention'd Tract, and Biſhop *King*'s *State of the Proteſtants of* Ireland, that I muſt refer to them.

Tyrconnel had the firſt News of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Expedition by a Ship from *Amſterdam*: he ſent the Letter to *England*; the Lord *Sunderland* ſhew'd it to the King, who made a Jeſt of it, as appear'd by *Sunderland*'s ridiculing his Intelligence. However, the News coming every day, it was at laſt generally believ'd; and the Deputy for a while behav'd as if he was in great Doubt and Conſternation: But the impudent *Nugent* told the Grand Jury of *Dublin*, *The States of* Holland *are weary of the Prince, and have ſent him over to be dreſs'd as* Monmouth *was, but that is too good Fortune for him; I doubt not before a Month paſſes, to hear that they are hung up all over* England *in Bunches, like Ropes of Onions.* This poor Creature was made Lord *Rivsrſton* by King *James*, and a Seat given him in the Houſe of Peers in *Ireland*, when he much better deſerv'd a Place in the Pillory, or rather on that Gibbet, to which his Countrymen nail'd the Bible.

The Progreſs of the Revolution.

Thus we ſee the whole Conſtitution of the three Kingdoms, Spiritual and Temporal, entirely ſubverted, the Coronation Oath broken, the Laws violated, and Religion alter'd, as far as the King could do it; what then remain'd, but for the three injur'd Nations to apply for Deliverance, to the Prince who had a Right and an Inclination to deliver them. The means for accompliſhing it continu'd to be concerted in *England* and *Holland*, and things by the latter end of *Auguſt* were in ſuch Forwardneſs, that it was not poſſible to keep it long a Secret. The firſt Cauſe of Suſpicion which made Impreſſion on King *James*, was an Information daily given of vaſt Remittances made to *Holland*, as near 40,000 *l.* by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who borrow'd it on his Eſtate

Lords and Gentlemen engage with the Prince of Orange.

Mr. Johnſtoun.

Beſides Mr. *Ruſſel* before-mention'd, Mr. *Johnſtoun*, Son to the Laird of *Wariſtoun*, paſt from *England* to *France*, and ſo to *Holland*, with very good Intelligence; on which his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* built very much, and made uſe of him as his Secretary, for the *Engliſh* Correſpondence to the Time of the Embarkation. This worthy Gentleman is the ſame who was afterwards Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and who has on many Occaſions diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Services to the Publick in the Cauſe of Religion and Liberty, for which he has the beſt Qualifications, by Genius and Experience.

Mr. Hampden.

Richard Hampden Eſq; Son of the great *Hampden* in *Charles* the Firſt's Time, was very inſtrumental in forwarding the Prince's Expedition, by engaging in it many Perſons of great Worth and Intereſt, and he was in the Depth of the Secret; as was alſo his Son *John Hampden* Eſq; before-mention'd, and Mr. *Powle*, afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

Admiral Herbert.

Admiral *Herbert* had been hardly us'd by the King in paſſing his Accounts, and was alſo diſguſted that Lord *Dartmouth* had more of the King's Confidence than himſelf, which, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, *was believ'd the Root of all the Sullenneſs he fell under towards the King, and of all the Firmneſs that grew out of that.* But his Behaviour after the Revolution, and at his Death, gave reaſon to believe that he acted out of Principle.

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The Lord *Mordaunt*, now Earl of *Peterborough*, went to *Holland* in 1686 with the King's Leave, and preſs'd the Prince of *Orange* to undertake the Buſineſs of *England*, repreſenting it ſo eaſy, that Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *it appear'd too romantical*; but he could not repreſent it more eaſy, than by God's Providence it prov'd to be. His Highneſs told him, *If the King went about to change the eſtabliſh'd Religion, or to wrong the Princeſs in her Right, or to raiſe forg'd Plots to deſtroy his Friends, he would try what he could do.*

Lord Mordaunt.

We have ſpoken of the Earl of *Shrewsbury* already, he came over to the *Hague* in 1687, and was extremely welcome to his Highneſs, in whom his modeſt Deportment gave him ſuch an Intereſt, that he never ſeem'd ſo fond of any of his Miniſters.

Earl of Shrewſbury.

Mr. *Ruſſel* communicated the Deſign firſt to this Earl, and then to the Lord *Lumley*, afterwards Earl of *Scarborough*, who were both Converts from Popery; and their Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion and the Liberty of their Country, was a juſt Reproof to many, who never had been of any other Religion.

Lord Lumley.

Mr. *Sidney*, Brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter* and Col. *Sidney*, had been in *Holland* in the Beginning of this Reign, and having no mind to put himſelf under it again, he went to travel till Matters were ripe for Negotiation. In *Italy* 'tis ſaid he had private Audiences of the Pope, and propos'd to him Methods to hinder *England*'s joining with *France* againſt the Liberties of *Europe*. There could be no other Method but the *Revolution*, and ſo far 'tis probable *Odeſcalchi* fell in with it. Mr. *Sidney* returning to *Holland*, found things were ripening, and from thence he paſt over to *England*, where he try'd the Marquis of *Hallifax*, as to inviting the Prince of *Orange*, which that Lord did not at firſt approve of, as too raſh and impracticable an Experiment. The Earl of *Danby* came heartily into it, and drew in the Biſhop of *London*, who from that Time held a conſtant Correſpondence with their Friends at the *Hague*. The Earl of *Nottingham* agreed to it at the firſt Propoſition, but fell off afterwards; however, he promis'd to be as far criminal as Concealment could make him.

Earl of Danby.

The Earl of *Devonſhire* had been fin'd 30,000 *l.* for ſtriking Col. *Culpeper*, who had affronted him in the Verge of the Court. King *James* offer'd to excuſe the Fine, but that had no effect on that brave and generous Nobleman. He choſe rather to expoſe himſelf and Fortune to the Rigour of the Court, than to deſert the Intereſt of his Country in ſuch a Time of Peril; ſo he join'd in the Undertaking with great Readineſs and Reſolution.

Earl of Devonſhire.

Then the Officers of the Army were try'd, and the chief, Lord *Churchil*, Col. *Kirk*, and Col. *Trelawny* engag'd in it, as did alſo the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, whom his Brother the Colonel prevail'd on. As to Lord *Churchil*'s Engagement, he has been ſo often, and ſo unjuſtly accus'd for it, that we cannot do Juſtice to his glorious Memory, without inſerting what Biſhop *Burnet* ſays in his Vindication.

Lord Churchil. *Col.* Kirk. *Col.* Trelawny.

Lord Churchil *vindicated.*

" He never diſcover'd any of the King's Secrets,
" nor did he ever puſh him on to any violent
" Proceedings, ſo that he was in no Contrivance
" to ruin or betray him. F. *Orleans*, whom *E-*
" *chard* recommends, affirms, *He laid a Plot to*
" *deliver him up to the Prince of* Orange. On
" the contrary, whenſoever he ſpoke of the
" King's Affairs, which he did but ſeldom, be-
" cauſe he could not fall in with the King's
" Notions, he always ſuggeſted moderate Coun-
" ſels.

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" ſels. The Earl of *Gallway* told me, that when he " came over with the firſt Compliment upon the " King's coming to the Crown, he then ſaid to " him, *If the King is ever prevail'd on to " alter our Religion, I will ſerve him no longer, " but withdraw from him*, ſo early was his Re- " ſolution fix'd in him; when he ſaw how the " King was ſet, he could not be contented to ſee " all ruin'd by him. He was alſo very doubtful " as to the pretended Birth, and reſolv'd when " the Prince of *Orange* ſhould come over to go " in to him, but to betray no Poſt, nor do any " thing more than the withdrawing himſelf, " with ſuch Officers as he could truſt with ſuch " a Secret." The Lord *Churchil* alſo under-took that Prince *George* and the Princeſs *Anne* ſhould leave the Court, and come to the Prince as ſoon as poſſible.

Earls of Macclesfield *and* Wiltſhire. The Earl of *Macclesfield* had been in *Holland* ever ſince the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Embarkation there.

The Earl of *Wiltſhire*, afterwards Duke of *Bolton*, was one of the firſt that went to the *Hague*, accompanied by the Lord *William Pawlet* his Brother.

Ld Wharton. The good old Lord *Wharton* took the Prince of *Orange*'s Court in his way to *Germany*, where he was moſt honourably entertain'd by ſeveral Princes, and preſented with a very fine Set of Horſes by the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. It is not queſtion'd but he had Matters to negociate with them, relating to his Highneſs, and the Expedition to *England*. His Sons *Thomas Wharton* Eſq; and *Mr.* Wharton. Col. *Henry Wharton*, were not only in the Secret, but went early to the Prince of *Orange*.

Ld Eland. The Marquis of *Halliſax* coming into the Deſign afterwards, his Son, the Lord *Eland*, was a *voluntary* Hoſtage with the Prince, for his Father's Sincerity.

D. of Leeds The Duke of *Leeds*, then Lord *Dunblain*, went alſo to the *Hague*, to offer his Highneſs his Service, which was of very great Importance.

Earl of Argyle. The Earl of *Argyle*, whoſe Father and Grandfather had been ſacrificed to Popery and Arbitrary Power, was impriſon'd by King *James* on Suſpicion; but there being no Proof, he was at laſt diſcharg'd, and going over to *Holland*, had his Share in this glorious Undertaking: A Glory inherent in the Houſe of *Campbell*.

E. of Bath. *E. of* Dorſet. The Earls of *Bath* and *Dorſet*, ſent the Prince a Promiſe, that they would join him, by Mr. *Ruſſel*.

Lord Herbert. Mr. *Herbert*, afterwards Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, went to the *Hague* to attend the Prince of *Orange* in his Expedition, as did alſo

Col. Herbert. Col. *Herbert*, Brother to the Admiral.

Ld Cutts. Talmaſh. Mackay. Mr. *Harbord*, afterwards Privy Counſellor, and Ambaſſador in *Turky*; Col. *Cutts*, afterwards Lord *Gowran*; Col. *Talmaſh*, and Col. *Mackay*, with other Chief Officers of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Regiments in *Holland*. Sir *Rowland Gwynn*, *Sir* Rowl. Gwynn. that eminent Member of Parliament, came from *Holland* with King *William*, and from *Hanover* with King *George*, at the firſt and ſecond Deliverance of *England*, ſince the Reſtoration.

Major *Wildman*, Major *Manley*, Mr. *Iſaac Manly* his Son, and ſome Gentlemen, who had ſhelter'd themſelves in *Germany*, againſt the Tyranny in *England*, repaired to the *Hague*, to be aſſiſting in her Deliverance.

Mr. Fletcher. Mr. *Andrew Fletcher*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the *Scots* Parliaments afterwards, joined with others who had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*, in this Expedition, as Col. *Matthews*, Col. *Foulks*, *Robert Ferguſon*, &c.

Sir R. Peyton. Sir *Robert Peyton*, Sir *John Guiſe*, and many other *Engliſh* Gentlemen of Character and Intereſt, waited at the *Hague* to attend his Highneſs, and have their Share of the Peril and the Honour.

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The Gentlemen who ſtaid in *England*, were not leſs uſeful by engaging their Friends and Dependants, and preparing to join him after he was landed, as Sir *Scroop How*, Mr. *John How* his Brother, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Brother to Admiral *Ruſſel*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord *Delamere*, Lord *Lovelace*, Lord *Colcheſter*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and at laſt the Marquiſſes of *Wincheſter* and *Halliſax*.

Matters having been concerted between the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, Mr. *Sidney*, and Mr. *Johnſtoun*, who were to return to the Prince in *Holland*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Earl of *Danby*, the Lord *Lumley*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, who were to ſtay in *England*; the former croſt the Seas, and the latter diſperſt themſelves in the *North*, and other Parts of *England*, for which they had undertaken. The Thing was in the hands of many thouſands, yet none of them made any Diſcovery, nor was any Suſpicion given, till about *September*, when it was known in *Holland* that many Arms were beſpoke; and tho' 'twas given out to be for the King of *Sweden*, and ſome *German* Princes, yet it was thought to be a Blind. *France* took the Alarm, and gave it firſt to the Court of *England*, who publiſh'd the Advertiſements they had received a little too raſhly; for all People were much animated when they heard it from ſuch a Hand. The King ſoon ſaw his Error, and to correct it, ſaid on many Occaſions, *Whatever the Deſigns of the* Dutch *may be, I am ſure they are not againſt me*. It was given out ſometimes that they were againſt *France*, and ſometimes they were againſt *Denmark*. However he ordered 14 Ships more to put to Sea, with many Fireſhips. He recalled *Strickland*, and gave the Command of the Fleet to the Lord *Dartmouth*.

Secrecy.

The French King alarms K. James.

When the *French* King gave K. *James* Notice that the *Dutch* Armaments were againſt him, he offer'd him Aſſiſtance, 15000 Men, or as many more as he deſir'd, provided *Portſmouth* was put into his hand, to keep the Communication open with *France*. All the Prieſts, and moſt of the Popiſh Lords were for it, and the Earl of *Sunderland* was the only Privy Counſellor in Credit who oppos'd it. His Reaſons were ſuch as will convince any reaſonable Man, he could not have given his Maſter better Counſel. He ſaid, *the Offer of an Army of* 40000 *Men might be a real Strength; but then it would depend upon the Orders that came from* France. *They might perhaps maſter* England, *but they would become the King's Maſter at the ſame Time, ſo that he muſt govern under ſuch Orders as they ſhould give: thus he would quickly become only a Viceroy to the King of* France. *An Army leſs than that would loſe the King the Affections of his People, and drive his own Army to Deſertion, if not to Mutiny.* Tho' the Offer was not accepted, yet it was not dropt, and 100 Merchant Ships were bargain'd for, to tranſport Forces from *France*, when King *James* deſired them. The *French* King made a greater Step, ordering the Count *d'Avaux*, his Ambaſſador in *Holland*, to preſent a Memorial to the States, declaring, *there was a ſtrict Alliance between his Maſter and the King of* England, *and that he would look on every thing done againſt* England, *as an Invaſion of his own Crown*. This put King *James* and his Miniſters quite out of Countenance, and the *French* King ſhew'd by it that he car'd not what became of his dear Brother of *England*, if he could by any means hinder the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* joining againſt him, which would be the Conſequence of the Prince's Succeſs againſt K. *James*, who had always deny'd

Offers him Aſſiſtance.

Owns his ſecret Treaty with him.

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deny'd there was any ſuch Alliance; and his Ambaſſador *Albeville* continu'd to deny it, even after *D'Avaux* had preſented his Memorial. Nay, the King himſelf deny'd it afterwards to *Van Citters* the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *London*. The Blame of the putting it into the Memorial was laid to *Skelton* the King's Envoy at *Paris*, who was diſown'd in it, and upon his coming over to *England*, ſent to the *Tower*: But to ſhew the Giddineſs, as well as Weakneſs of their Counſels, a few days after he was made Governor of the ſame Place he was impriſon'd in. The *French* Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* ſhew'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador Sir *William Trumbal* a Letter to him, from a Miniſter of State in *France*, importing that *now an Alliance was concluded between the two Kings*. One would think ſuch Princes and ſuch Miniſters were Infidels, and believ'd neither God nor Devil, Heaven nor Hell, ſo ſolemnly and ſo frequently to deny a Fact, on which the ſpiritual and temporal Welfare of ſo many Millions of People depended.

About this time the *French* King publiſh'd two *Manifeſto's*; one againſt the Emperor, which was the beginning of that War which laſted till the Peace of *Reſwyck*. The other againſt the Pope. In the latter of which, the *French* King himſelf made the firſt mention of the Impoſture of the Prince of *Wales*, by charging the Pope with giving the Prince of *Orange*'s Emiſſaries the Boldneſs to term it ſo; whereas an Author of a Book writ for that purpoſe in *Holland* was puniſh'd.

French K. the firſt that publickly term'd the Prince of Wales *an Impoſtor.*

In the mean time the *German* Princes were every where making Preparations to oppoſe the Invaſions of the *French*. The Prince of *Orange*, under the pretence of the Buſineſs of *Cologne*, had an Interview at *Minden* in *Weſtphalia* with the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and the *Lunenburgh* Princes, when Meaſures were concerted to recover *England*, as well as depreſs *France*. The *Brandenburgh* Troops encreaſing in the Country of *Cleve*, Mareſchal *Schomberg*, who commanded there for that Elector, ſent a Body of them to *Cologne*, which were admitted into that City, and prevented its falling into the hands of the *French*; by which means the States were ſafe on all hands for this Winter, and the Prince of *Orange* had great Quiet in proſecuting his Deſigns upon *England*: The Elector of *Brandenburgh* having alſo ſent the States a Meſſage, that there ſhould always be a Force in readineſs in the Dutchy of *Cleve*, to ſecure them from all danger on that ſide. The States had hired 10000 *German* Troops to augment their Army, beſides thoſe from *Brandenburgh* and *Sweden*; ſo that when the Forces intended for the Expedition were march'd from the Encampment near *Nimeguen*, they could eaſily, in a few days, make up the miſs of them. But how to raiſe Money for the Prince, without declaring for what uſe, was the great Difficulty: which was remov'd by that great Politician *Fagel*, who, under colour of repairing the Fortifications on the Frontier towards *Cologne*, from whence look'd the Danger, got the States to create a Fund to pay Intereſt for a Loan of four Millions of Guilders, which they readily lent the Prince of *Orange*. It paſs'd the States without any Oppoſition, to the Amazement of all that ſaw it: For it had never been known that ſo great and ſo dangerous an Enterprize had been ſo eaſily agreed to in ſuch a Seaſon, without ſo much as one diſagreeing Vote.

The Pr. of Orange *and the States at leiſure to mind* England.

Admiral Herbert *commands the* Dutch *Fleet.*

Admiral *Herbert* went to Sea with the *Dutch* Fleet, to look on the *Engliſh*, and try if any would come over, of which ſome hopes were given, or to engage them while they were not above twenty Ships ſtrong; but he was hinder'd by contrary Winds. Things being ſo forward, it was thought fit to draw up a Declaration. Heads of one had been ſent from *England*, penn'd by the Earl of *Danby*, who five or ſix Years before was for executing the Lord *Shaftesbury* for penning an *Aſſociation*, which indeed he did not pen. Major *Wildman* made a Draft of a Declaration, which being not enough in favour of the Church Party, was not made uſe of, tho' approv'd of by the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lord *Mordaunt*, and many others: But the cooler Heads, the Lord *Shrewsbury*, Mr. *Sidney* and Mr. *Ruſſel*, were for ſtriking out every thing that reflected on the Management in King *Charles* IId's Reign, it being to go too far back, and would diſguſt the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who had encourag'd Perſecution and Paſſive-Obedience. Beſides, it was by no means prudent to upbraid People with *Non-Reſiſtance*, when they were inviting them to reſiſt: ſo a Temper was found, and the exceptionable Parts of ſeveral Drafts being thrown out, that which paſs'd was printed, and is the ſame which is to be ſeen in almoſt all Hiſtories of that Time.

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The Prince's Declaration.

In the beginning of *October* the Troops marched from *Nimeguen*, and were put aboard in the *Zuyder-Zee*, where they lay above ten Days before they could get out of the *Texel*. Never was ſo great a Deſign executed in ſo ſhort a time, a Fleet of 500 Tranſports hired in three Days! All things, as ſoon as they were order'd, were ſo quickly got ready, that every body was amaz'd at it. Meſſieurs *Bentinck*, *Dykvelt*, Mr. *Herbert*, and *Vanhulſt*, were for two Months conſtantly at the *Hague*, giving the neceſſary Orders with ſo little Noiſe, that nothing broke out all that while. Mr. *Bentinck* was the Perſon moſt truſted and employ'd by his Highneſs. I take what follows *verbatim* from Biſhop *Burnet*.

" I waited on the Princeſs a few Days before " we left the *Hague*, ſhe ſeem'd to have a great " Load on her Spirits, but to have no ſcruple as " to the Lawfulneſs of the Deſign." After much other Diſcourſe, I ſaid, *If we got ſafe to* England, *I made no great doubt of our Succeſs in all other things. I only begg'd her pardon to tell her, that if there ſhould happen to be at any time any disjointing between the Prince and her, that would ruin all.* She anſwer'd, *You need fear no ſuch thing; if any Perſon ſhall attempt that, I ſhall treat them ſo, as to diſcourage all others from adventuring on it for the future.* " She was very ſolemn and ſerious, and pray'd " God earneſtly to bleſs and direct us."

The Princeſs's ſaying of the Expedition

I come now to one of the moſt moving Paſſages in all Hiſtory, the Prince of *Orange*'s taking his leave of the States: in which there is ſomething ſo affecting, that the celebrated Parting of *Titus* and *Berenice* is inſipid in compariſon with it, as it is thus told by my Lord of *Sarum*.

" On the 16th of *October*, the Wind, that had " ſtood ſo long in the *Weſt* came into the *Eaſt*; " ſo Orders were ſent to all to haſte to *Helvoet-* " *ſluys*. That Morning the Prince went into the " Aſſembly of the States General, to take leave " of them. He told them he was extremely ſen- " ſible of the Kindneſs they had all ſhew'd him " upon many Occaſions: He took God to Witneſs " he had ſerv'd them faithfully, ever ſince they " had truſted him with the Government, and " that he had never any End before his Eyes, " but the Good of the Country: He had always " purſued it, and if at any Time he err'd in his " Judgment, yet his Heart was ever ſet on pro- " curing their Safety and Proſperity. He took " God to Witneſs, he went to *England* with no

The Prince's parting with the States General.

A. D. 1688.

" other Intentions, but thoſe he had ſet out in " his Declaration. He did not know how God " might diſpoſe of him, to his Providence he " committed himſelf: whatſoever might become " of him, he committed to them the Care of " their Country; and recommended the Princeſs " to them in a moſt particular manner. He aſ- " ſured them ſhe lov'd their Country perfectly, " and equally with her own. He hoped, that " whatever might happen to him, they would " ſtill protect her, and uſe her as ſhe well de- " ſerved. And ſo he took his Leave. It was a " ſad, but a kind Parting. Some of every Pro- " vince offer'd at an Anſwer to what the Prince " had ſaid, but none could ſpeak; all melted " into Tears and Paſſion. At laſt ſome broken " Words dropt from them, very ſhort and ex- " tream tender, only the Prince continued firm " in his uſual Gravity and Phlegm."

The Dutch *Fleet ſails.*

On the 19th of *October* his Highneſs went on board, and the whole Fleet put out that Night; but the next Day the Wind turn'd to the *North*, and ſettled in the *North-Weſt*. At Night a great Storm roſe; the *Dutch* Fleet wrought againſt it all that Night, and the next Day, and ran no ſmall Hazard, being a great Number of Ships, and obliged to keep together, yet not to come too near one another. On the 21ſt in the Afternoon the Signal was given to go in again, and on the 22d the far greater Part got in. Many Ships were at firſt miſſing, and were believed to be loſt,

Put back by a Storm.

but after a few Days all came in ſafe, and there was not at laſt a Ship miſſing, and but one Man, who was blown from the Shrouds into the Sea. Some Ships were ſhatter'd, and render'd unſerviceable, and about 500 Horſes dy'd for want of Air. The States were not at all diſcourag'd with this hard beginning, but gave the neceſſary Orders for Supplies of every thing that was needed.

We muſt now ſee what Preparations were making in *England*, to oppoſe the Prince of *Orange*, and we ſhall find the King in great Perplexity, both as to Counſel and Action.

He had but ſmall Satisfaction, from the States Anſwer to his *Iriſh* Envoy *Albeville* in *Holland*; who having demanded of their High Mightineſſes, *What they meant by their great and ſurprizing warlike Preparations, both by Sea and Land, at that Time of the Year*, had for Anſwer, *That they arm'd in Imitation of his* Britannick *Majeſty, and might with more Reaſon demand an Explanation about the Alliances into which he was lately enter'd*; and which was confirm'd by *d'Avaux*'s Memorial to the States, who had Orders for it from his Maſter the *French* King, who, as great a Politician as he was, ſent thoſe Orders at the meer Motion of *Skelton*, without any previous Direction from *England*. *France*, to recover this falſe Step, offer'd, by *Barillon*, the *French* Miniſter in *England*, that his Maſter would abandon the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, and turn his Arms againſt *Holland*, if the King of *England* would accept of Aſſiſtance from him; which was approv'd of by four or five of the Council, who would rather have been Slaves to *France*, than Subjects to the free Conſtitution of *England*. The wiſer of K. *James*'s Counſellors objected, that ſuch a Violation of former Treaties with *Holland*, would raiſe the Clamours of the whole Nation, and alienate the Minds of all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants from the King. Theſe *French* Negociations, which were indeed deſperate and dangerous, were improv'd to the advantage of the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition, by cauſing a Report, *that the* Dutch *Armament was only deſign'd to hinder the* French *from landing in* England, *where, in purſuance of the* ſecret Treaty *made with King* James, *they were to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion*. Such uſe was there made of *Skelton*'s blundering Advice, and the *French* King and his Miniſters purſuing that Blunder to the Ruin of the unhappy Prince they pretended to ſave. After all the falſe Reaſonings of the Jeſuit *Orleans*, and his Copiſt *Echard*, about Lord *Sunderland*'s treacherous Advice, in hindering his Maſter's accepting the Aſſiſtance of *France*, it appears to be very prudent and faithful Counſel; for ſuppoſing that King *James*'s Soldiers were generally Well-wiſhers to the Prince of *Orange*'s Undertaking, and his Seamen the ſame, as I think no body queſtions, and that the Appearance of *French* Forces, tho' they had been 3000 Men, had occaſion'd a general Revolt; that the *Engliſh* Army had join'd the *Dutch*, and the *Engliſh* Fleet the *Dutch* Fleet, which was more than probable, notwithſtanding what Lord *Dartmouth* told Biſhop *Burnet* to the contrary, and that upon theſe two Junctions, the whole Body of the Nation had taken Arms againſt King *James*, and his *Frenchmen*; can any one doubt but the Iſſue of it muſt have been fatal, not only to King *James*, but to the *French* King himſelf, who having loſt ſuch an Army, would have been in an ill Condition to make War with the *Dutch* in the Winter, when he had the *German* Confederates at the back of him?

Lord Sunderland's *Advice good.*

King *James*'s raſh Counſellors, the Earl of *Melfort*, and all the Papiſts, adviſ'd the ſeizing all ſuſpected Perſons, and ſending them to *Portſmouth*. The Earl of *Sunderland* oppos'd it vehemently, ſaying, " It will not be poſſible to " ſeize on many at the ſame time, and the " ſeizing on a few would alarm all the reſt: It " would drive them in to the Prince, and furniſh " them with a Pretence for it." He propos'd rather, that the King would do ſuch Popular Things as might give ſome Content, and lay that Fermentation, with which the Nation was then, as it were, diſtracted: which Advice was follow'd in a few Inſtances; tho' the Papiſts hated *Sunderland* heartily for giving it.

On the 19th of *September* the King went to *Chatham* to view the Fortifications there and along the *Medway*, and forward the Equipment of the Ships that were to join his Fleet.

The ſame Day he ſet out for *Chatham*, the Princeſs of *Denmark* return'd from *Tunbridge*, and tho' the Queen was alone, and Prince *George* with the King, ſhe did not go to Court as uſual, her Reception there being lately very cold, and the Reaſon of it was ſaid to be, that ſhe was thought to hold too good Intelligence with the Princeſs of *Orange* her Siſter.

A Proclamation for a Parliament.

When the King came back, he cauſed his Proclamation for calling a Parliament to be publiſh'd, wherein he declar'd, " His Intention to " *eſtabliſh an univerſal Liberty*, and to preſerve " the *Church* of *England* by ſuch a Confirmation " of the ſeveral Acts of *Uniformity*, that they " ſhould never be alter'd." He excluded *Roman-Catholicks* from the Houſe of Commons only, which, it was ſaid, imply'd that the Popiſh Lords might ſit, and with that view the Lord *Stafford* was reſtored to the Dignity of Viſcount. This Proclamation was ſo ambiguouſly worded, that it had little Effect on the People, who look'd upon it as a forc'd Buſineſs, and all their Eyes were caſt towards the *Eaſt*, from whence they had News next day, that the *Dutch* Troops were embarking, and that the Prince of *Orange* was at *Rotterdam* to overſee it. Upon which, a freſh Augmentation of Forces was reſolv'd on, and more Men added to the Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, and to the Companies of Foot. A

A. D. 1688. Regiment of Horſe was raiſed, and the Command of it given to *Armand de Bourbon* Marquis *de Miremont*, deſcended from the famous *Charles de Bourbon* kill'd at the Aſſault of *Rome*. He was a *French* Refugée, and Nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham* and to the Count de *Roye*. The King offer'd the Command of his Army to the Count de *Roye* another Refugée, who declining that Office, 'twas given to the Lord *Feverſham*, who was no better a General than he was a Proteſtant.

The Lord *Dartmouth* was diſpatch'd to take on him the Command of the Fleet, and the King ſent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to recommend the Care of the City to them. He offer'd three of the Biſhops Seats at the Councilboard, but they excuſed themſelves, for that there were ſeveral Papiſts Members of the Council; and to quiet things abroad as well as at home, *Albeville*, who had diſown'd *d'Avaux*'s Memorial as to the *Secret League*, had Orders to offer the States a new Treaty for maintaining the Peace at *Nimeguen*, and the twenty years Truce concluded in 1684: but the *Dutch* Miniſters eaſily ſaw thro' this Diſguiſe, and it had ſucceſs accordingly. There was a Talk that the Lord *Godolphin* ſhould go to the *Hague* and forward this Negotiation, which it is ſuppoſed that Lord was not willing to engage in, as knowing it was a Feint, and taken for ſuch by the *Dutch*. About the latter end of *September*, Advice came from *Holland*, that 12000 Foot, 2000 Horſe, and 1000 Dragoons were put aboard the Tranſports; and it was reported, the Deſcent would be at *Burlington* in *Yorkſhire*, tho the Secret was communicated to none but *Fagel*, *Bentinck*, *Ruſſel*, *Sidney*, and *Dykvelt*. That the Expedition was againſt King *James*, was no more made a doubt of, and the Count *de Neville*, who call'd himſelf an Envoy from *Poland*, declar'd at *London*, that the Duke of *Zell* told him ſo. The next Courier finiſh'd King *James*'s Conſternation, for *Albeville* having told Monſ. *Fagel* that *Van Citters* had aſſured the King the Fleet and Army were not deſigned againſt *England*, the Penſioner reply'd, *He had no Orders from the States to ſay ſo.* The Envoy further inform'd the King, that many *Engliſh* Lords and Gentlemen were arriv'd at the *Hague* to accompany the Prince of *Orange*. Upon reading this Letter, *The poor King*, ſays *Echard*, turn'd *pale, and for a while remain'd ſpeechleſs and aſtoniſh'd*; and may one not now imagine the injured Ghoſts of *Ruſſel*, *Sidney*, *Bailie*, *Corniſh*, and the *Hecatombs* in the Weſt and in *Scotland*, haunted his Dreams amidſt the Extremity of his Diſtreſs and Deſpair; that now his bloody Whippings, his Dungeons, his intolerable Fines, his Violation of Oaths and Laws, were like ſo many Vulturs to his tortured Soul? For Affliction makes it ſenſible of every Touch; whereas it is harden'd by Succeſs and Proſperity. *Echard*, who waited on his triumphal Chariot, when he was riding over the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of Proteſtant Diſſenters; even *Echard* cannot help remarking, *The airy Caſtle of unlimited Power* rais'd *by the Magick of jeſuitical Counſels, now vaniſh'd in a Moment, and the miſ-led Monarch, by the Prince's Approach, freed from his Enchantment, found himſelf upon the Brink of a Precipice, while all his intoxicating Flatterers ſtood thunderſtruck at a diſtance, without daring to lend him a helping Hand, for fear that both he and they ſhould be involv'd in the greater Ruin.* Here are a pretty many Words indeed, and the Senſe is only, the King being miſ-led by jeſuitical Conjurers, was abandon'd by his daſtardly impotent Flatterers, tho no body has flatter'd him more than the Archdeacon himſelf.

The King knows the Deſign to be againſt him.

He is in deſpair.

In this Fright he ſent for the Biſhops, *Winche-* *A. D.* 1688.
ſter, *Chicheſter*, *Peterburgh*, *Rocheſter*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and deſir'd the Aſſiſtance of their Counſels, aſſuring them he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think *neceſſary for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion*. The Biſhops pray'd for time to conſult together about ſo weighty a matter, and repairing to *Lambeth*, had the Sentiments of the Archbiſhop in their Anſwer. On the 28th of *September* he iſſu'd out a Proclamation, ſetting forth the Advice he had received of the Prince's intended Invaſion *to conquer theſe Kingdoms, and ſubdue and ſubject them to a foriegn Power*, which oblig'd him to recall his Writs for electing Members of Parliament, and which ſhould rather have oblig'd him to have haſten'd its ſitting. To cajole the People, the Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion was taken off; Sir *John Eyles* a Baptiſt, whom he had nominated to be Lord Mayor, was remov'd, and Sir *John Chapman* a Churchman, put in his Place. He alſo reſtor'd the Charter of *London*, which *Jefferies* himſelf carry'd back, and put on the the Appearance of Joy and Heartineſs when he gave it to the Mayor and Aldermen at *Guild-hall*. Every body ſaw through this Affectation, for he had rais'd himſelf chiefly by adviſing or promoting the Surrender.

Sends for the Biſhops.

Proclamation againſt the Prince of Orange.

Charter of London reſtor'd.

The Confuſion the King was in, appear'd by the Unſteadineſs of his Counſels, undoing to-day what he did yeſterday, being for a thing and againſt a thing in the Compaſs of a few Hours and always ſhewing that every Popular Act was againſt his Will, and as a Force put upon him might be diſavow'd or diſannull'd, when he was out of danger. Intelligence being given him, that ſeveral Perſons paſt over to *Holland* to avoid being ſeiz'd, as *Melfort* adviſed, he publiſh'd a general Pardon, excepting ſeveral Perſons; but ſome Words in it concerning the Church of *England* giving the Biſhops Offence, a ſecond Proclamation came out with particular Exceptions, as,

Perſons excepted out of the Pardon.

Sir *Robert Peyton.*	Mr. *Andrew Fletcher.*
Major *John Wildman.*	Col. *Rumſey.*
Major *Manley.*	Dr. *Oates.*
Mr. *Iſaac Manley.*	Dr. *Burnet.*
Francis Charlton Eſq;	Mr. *Rob. Ferguſon.*
Col. *Matthews.*	Mr. *Robert Parſons.*
Samuel Venner.	

This Pardon was drawn up by *Jefferies*, and in the main, by ſeveral Clauſes, excepted the whole Nation, but none regarded it. The Thunders of *Whitehall* were no more minded now in *England*, than thoſe of the *Vatican*. So fearful was the Court of every one's Motions, that Mr. *Goodwin Wharton* being near *Portſmouth* ſeeking after *Marcaſſites* to make uſe of them in his Chymical Experiments, he was ſeiz'd and ſent to *London*; but his Buſineſs being better underſtood, they did not detain him.

It was ſome Conſolation to the deſpairing Monarch, that his Friends, real or pretended, did not all forſake him.

Lords offer the King their Aſſiſtance.

The Duke of *Newcaſtle* wrote him a Letter to offer him his Service againſt all his Enemies; ſo did the Earls of *Lindſey* and *Derby*.

The Earl of *Ailesbury* came to *London* on purpoſe, and preſented to the King two of his Brothers, who had agreed to ſerve as Voluntiers in Sir *John Lanier*'s Regiment of Horſe.

The Duke of *Ormond* propos'd to accompany the King in the Army as a Volunteer alſo, attended by Lieutenant-Colonel *Beaumont*, and the five *Portſmouth* Captains.

The Earl of *Burlington* made a Tender of his Service, and after the Prince was landed, ſent only a Page on horſeback.

The

A. D. 1688. The Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, *Oliver Cromwell*'s Son-in-Law, made the like Tender.

The Earl of *Dyſert*, Col. *Talmaſh*'s Brother, did the ſame, as alſo the Lord *Dover* and the Lord *Baltimore*. The latter was ſo unlucky, that after King *James* had endeavour'd to take from him his Plantation of *Maryland*, he rais'd a Troop of Horſe to ſerve him againſt the Prince of *Orange*, which was remember'd after the Revolution, and the ſame Endeavours continu'd by the then Government.

Preparations made by him. Commiſſions were given to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Col. *Henry Gage*, and Col. *Solomon Richards*, to raiſe three Regiments of Foot. Two Thouſand Foot and five Hundred Horſe were tranſported from *Dublin* to *Cheſter*, and three Thouſand *Scots* advanced to *Carliſle*. Thus if the King's Troops had been all together, they would have form'd an Army of about Thirty Thouſand Men; but their chief Officers were under other Engagements, and the greateſt part of the Soldiers as unwilling to fight the Prince's Army, as the *Engliſh* Seamen were to fight his Fleet; and I have been well inform'd, that if the Lord *Dartmouth* had attempted it, he would have been deſerted by many of the Captains, who were under the ſame Engagements as were the Land Officers. Beſides, it did not ſeem as if he himſelf had Intention to engage the *Dutch*, he having but forty Men of War, and the *Dutch* fifty-two, larger Ships and better provided. As to Biſhop *Burnet*'s Objection, that he might have diſpers'd the Tranſports, 'tis obvious he could have done them little hurt till he had beaten the Fleet, of which there was little Hope.

The King having reſtor'd the Charter of *London*, a Council was held to conſider the Affair of the other Charters, *October* the 17th.

Preſent.

The King,	Earl of *Melfort*,
The Prince of *Denmark*,	Earl of *Caſtlemain*,
Lord Chancellor,	Lord *Preſton*,
Lord Privy Seal,	Lord *Godolphin*,
Duke *Hamilton*,	Sir *John Ernle*, Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Marquis of *Powis*,	
Earl of *Huntington*,	Maſter of the Rolls,
Earl of *Craven*,	L. C. Juſtice *Herbert*,
Earl of *Berkley*,	Sir *Thomas Strickland*,
Earl of *Murray*,	Sir *Nicholas Butler*,
Earl of *Middleton*,	Father *Petre*.

Charters reſtor'd. And an Order was iſſued for reſtoring the Charters of all the Corporations, except ſuch as had voluntarily ſurrender'd them, and taken out new ones; as

Corporations excepted.

Bridgwater,	*Plymouth*,
Nottingham,	*Dunwich*,
Thetford,	*St. Ives*,
Ludlow,	*Fowey*,
Bewdley,	*Tintegal*,
Beverley,	*Penryn*,
Tewkesbury,	*Eaſt Loo*,
Exeter,	*Weſt Loo*,
Doncaſter,	*Camelford*,
Colcheſter,	*Truro*,
Wincheſter,	*Bodmin*,
Launceſton,	*Hadleigh*,
Leskard,	*Leſtwithiel*,
Plymton,	*Saltaſh*.
Tregony,	

Above half of theſe are *Corniſh* Boroughs, and we need not doubt but the other Corporations were in the Hands of Perſons of equal Parts and Importance.

A. D. 1688. This Condeſcenſion was ſuppos'd to be one of the Effects of the Biſhops Propoſals, which they deliver'd to the King. 1. *To put Perſons qualify'd into Offices.* 2. *To annul the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.* 3. *To grant no* Diſpenſations *for* Qualifications, *and reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of* Magdalen College. 4. *To ſet aſide all Licences for* Popiſh *Schools.* 5. *Not to exerciſe the* Diſpenſing Power. 6. *To inhibit the four* Popiſh *Biſhops.* 7. *To fill the vacant Biſhopricks in* England *and* Ireland, *particularly* York. 8. *To reſtore the* Charters. 9. *To iſſue* Writs *for calling a Parliament.* 10. *To hear Reaſons for his returning to the Church of* England. *Biſhops Propoſals.* Moſt of which Propoſals were comply'd with, but in ſuch a manner as like the Caſe of *Magdalen College*, ſhew'd the King would undo what he was doing as ſoon as he was out of the Fright he was then in. For the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Viſitor of *Magdalen College*, having on the 16th of *October* caus'd a Citation to be fix'd on the Gates of that Houſe, to recall Dr. *Hough* the Preſident, and the Fellows, upon News of the putting in of the *Dutch* Fleet, this weak King, and his weak Council, could not help ſhewing their Infirmity ſo far as to recall the Biſhop to *London*; and upon other News of the Prince of *Orange*'s being ready to put to Sea again, the Biſhop a Week after was ſent back to *Oxford*, to finiſh his Work at *Magdalen College*: which confirms the Opinion I have always given of the Heads, as well as the Hearts, in this unfortunate Adminiſtration. *The King's weak Counſels.*

On the 20th of *October* a Proclamation was publiſh'd *to watch the Coaſt, and on the Appearance of the Enemy to drive all Horſes, Oxen, and Cattle for Draught twenty Miles from their Place of Landing*; which is ſaid to have been done by Advice of the Count *de Roye*, whoſe Conduct at the Revolution has been much condemn'd; as well as that of the Marquis *de Miremont*, another *Hugonot*, his Nephew

The King ſent an Order to the Biſhops to compoſe Prayers againſt the Prince of *Orange*. How the Nonſenſe runs thro' every thing? Heretical Biſhops, according to him, to make Prayers for a Catholick King. If he thought the Prayers of Hereticks avail'd any thing, when according to his Church they were in a State of Damnation, why was he ſo obſtinate againſt the Church of *England*, in which he was baptiz'd? The Prayers were ſo well drawn, that even thoſe that wiſh'd for the Prince might have join'd in them. Biſhop *Burnet*'s Obſervations here are very juſt. " The *Church* Party did *High-Church for Reſiſtance.* " now ſhew their Approbation of the Prince's " Expedition in ſuch Terms, that many were " ſurpris'd at it both then and ſince that " Time. They ſpoke openly in favour of it. " They expreſs'd their Grief to ſee the Wind ſo " croſs. They wiſh'd for an *Eaſt* Wind, which " on that occaſion was call'd the *Proteſtant* " Wind. They ſpoke with great Scorn of all " that the Court was then doing to regain the " Hearts of the Nation; and indeed the Pro- " ceedings of the Court that way were ſo cold, " and ſo forc'd, that few were like to be de- " ceiv'd by them, but thoſe who had a mind to " be deceiv'd. The *Writs* for a Parliament " were often order'd to be made ready for the " Seal, and were as often ſtop'd. Some were " ſeal'd and given out, but they were call'd in " again. The Matter of the greateſt Concern, " and that could not be drop'd, was the Birth " of the Prince of *Wales*. And therefore the " Court thought it neceſſary, now in an After- " Game, to offer ſome Satisfaction in that Point.

" So

A. D. 1688.

" So a great Meeting was call'd, not only of the " Privy-Counſellors and Judges, but of all the " Nobility then in Town; to whom the King " complain'd of the great Injury that was done " both him and the Queen by the Prince of *O-* " *range*, who accus'd them of ſo black an Im- " poſture. He ſaid he believ'd there were few " Princes then alive, who had been born in the " Preſence of more Witneſſes than were at his " Son's Birth; he had therefore call'd them to- " gether, that they might hear the Proof of that " Matter." The Depoſitions, obſcene to a Degree of Horror, were made by,

Pretended Proofs of the pretended Prince's Birth.

Witneſſes to the obſcene Depoſitions.

Marchioneſs of *Powis*,	Lady *Arundel*,
Dutcheſs of *Richmond*,	Mrs. *Mary Crane*,
Counteſs of *Peterborough*,	Mrs. *Iſabella Waldegrave*,
	Mrs. *Turini*,
Counteſs of *Fingal*.	Mrs. *Anne Cary*,
Counteſs of *Litchfield*,	Mrs. *Delabadie* the dry Nurſe,
Lady *Bulkeley*,	
Lady *Waldegrave*,	Mrs. *Wilks* the Midwife.

All theſe were Papiſts.

Counteſs of *Arran*,	Lady *Iſabella Wentworth*,
Counteſs of *Sunderland*,	Mrs. *Catherine Sayer*,
Counteſs of *Roſcommon*,	Mrs. *Margaret Dawſon*,
Counteſs *Mareſchal*,	Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromley*,
Suſanna Lady *Bellaſis*,	Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearſe*.

Earl of *Peterborough*,	Earl of *Middleton*,
Earl of *Melfort*,	Lord *Godolphin*,
	Sir *Stephen Fox*,
Earl of *Murray*,	Lieutenant Col. *Griffin*,
Sir *William Waldegrave* Phyſician. (Papiſts.)	Sir *Charles Scarborough*, (Phyſicians.)
	Sir *Thomas Witherley*, (Phyſicians.)
Chancellor *Jefferies*,	Dr. *Robert Brady*, (Phyſicians.)
Earl of *Sunderland*,	*St. Amand*, the Apothecary.
Earl of *Mulgrave*,	
Earl of *Craven*,	
Earl of *Huntington*,	
Earl of *Feverſham*,	

It is great Pity but their Names ſhould be remember'd!

On a Suppoſition that the King and Queen were really capable of ſuch an Impoſture, one cannot but ſuppoſe they were capable of every thing for the Support of it. Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of this bawdy Buſineſs is the beſt and modeſteſt.

" It was firſt prov'd that the Queen was de- " liver'd a-bed, while many were in the Room, " and that they ſaw the Child ſoon after he was " taken from the Queen by the Midwife; but " in this the Midwife was the ſingle Witneſs, " for none of the Ladies had felt the Child in " the Queen's Belly. The Counteſs of *Sun-* " *derland* did indeed depoſe, that the Queen " call'd to her to give her her Hand, that ſhe " might feel how the Child lay, to which ſhe " added, *which I did*; but did not ſay whe- " ther ſhe felt the Child or not." If ſhe had ſo ſaid, it would indeed have been good Evidence; but inſtead of that ſhe told the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*, who told it to the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, that when ſhe put her Hand into the Bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her Breaſts.

All the Proofs deſtroy'd by one.

After this, what ſignify a hundred Witneſſes? The Queen herſelf call'd for her to feel the Child in her Belly, and when ſhe came, the Queen would not let her feel it. Beſides, tho' the Queen was too modeſt or too proud to give the People Satisfaction, was it not in her power, by letting the Princeſs *Anne* feel the Child as ſhe was wont to do, to confound all Gainſayers, and to put the thing out of queſtion? 'Tis monſtrous to think ſhe would not have done it, if ſhe had had a Child in her Belly, before the Princeſs went to *Bath*.——The Biſhop again ſpeaking of Lady *Sunderland*'s Depoſition. *A. D.* 1688.

" So that really ſhe felt nothing, and this De- " poſition, brought to make a Shew, was an " Evidence againſt the Matter rather than for " it, and was a violent Preſumption of an Im- " poſture, and of an Artifice to cover it. Many " Ladies depos'd they had often ſeen the " Marks of Milk on the Queen's Linnen near " her Breaſts; two or three depos'd, that they " ſaw it running out at the Nipple. All theſe " depos'd, that they ſaw Milk before the pre- " tended Delivery, but none of them depos'd " concerning Milk after the Delivery, tho' Na- " ture ſends it then in greater abundance; and " the Queen had it always in ſuch a Plenty, " that ſome Weeks paſt after her Delivery, be- " fore ſhe was quite freed from it. The Ladies " did not name the Time in which they ſaw the " Milk, except one, who nam'd the Month of " *May*: But if the Particulars mention'd be- " fore, that happen'd on *Eaſter Monday*, are " reflected on; and if it appears probable by " theſe, that the Queen miſcarry'd at that time, " then all that the Ladies mention'd of Milk in " her Breaſts, particularly ſhe that fix'd it in " the Month of *May*, might have follow'd upon " that Miſcarriage, and be no Proof concerning the " Birth. Mrs. *Pearſe* the Laundreſs depos'd, " ſhe took Linnen from the Queen's Body once, " which carried the Marks of a Delivery, but " ſhe ſpoke only to one Time; that was a main " Circumſtance, and if it had been true, it muſt " have been done often, and was capable of a " more copious Proof, ſince there is occaſion for " ſuch things to be often look'd on, and well " conſider'd. The Lady *Wentworth* was the " ſingle Witneſs that depos'd, that ſhe had felt " the Child move in the Queen's Belly: She " was a Bed-Chamber Woman as well as a ſingle " Witneſs, and ſhe fix'd it on no Time; if it " was very early ſhe might have been miſtaken, " or if it was before *Eaſter Monday* it might be " true, and yet have no relation to this Birth."

This was the Subſtance of all the Evidence, which was order'd to be enroll'd and printed, and had no other Effect than to make Jeſts for lewd People. " The Preſumption of Law be- " fore this was all in favour of the Birth, ſince " the Parents own'd the Child; ſo that the " Proof lay on the other ſide, and ought to be " offer'd by thoſe who call'd it in queſtion. " But now that this Proof was brought, which " was ſo apparently defective, it did not leſſen, " but increaſe the Jealouſy, with which the " Nation was poſſeſs'd; for all People conclu- " ded that if the thing had been true, it muſt " have been eaſy to have brought a much more " copious Proof than was now publiſh'd to the " World."

This Matter is pretty well diſcuſs'd in the *Memorial of the Church of* England, addreſs'd to their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, ſaid to be written by Major *Wildman*. It contain'd the Grievances of the *Engliſh* Nation under King *James*, and the Impoſture of the Pretender; 'tis very long and very curious. The Charge of the Impoſture oblig'd King *James* to collect theſe obſcene Depoſitions, for the Memorial had not been long diſpers'd in *Holland*, before Care was taken to diſperſe it in *England* alſo.

The King offer'd to have the Queen ſworn as well as her Ladies, but the Company were

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too good Courtiers to admit of that; and indeed one can't ſee the uſe of it, for he or ſhe who makes no Conſcience of a Cheat, will certainly make no Conſcience of ſwearing to it. Lord *Hallifax* ſaid, when the Printing the Depoſitions was talk'd of, *It muſt be for the Rabble only, Perſons of Honour do not want them.* The Child was chriſten'd about the ſame time, and nam'd *James Franci-Edward*, the Pope's Nuntio being his Godfather. The King told ſome Lords he had three Witneſſes more to prove the Birth, but he would not produce them out of reſpect to their Profeſſion; he meant Father *Petre*, Father *Galli* the Queen's Confeſſor, and the Abbot *Maſſa*, *Maſtro di Camera* to the Nuntio; Rare Evidence! and it would have been pleaſant to have met them among the other Witneſſes. On the 28th of *October* the Earl of *Sunderland* was remov'd from his Places of Preſident of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State. It was thought the King had ſome Diffidence of his having Correſpondence with the Prince of *Orange*; but whether he had or not, 'tis no queſtion his Lady had with the Princeſs. *Skelton*, to juſtify his Conduct in *France*, inform'd the King, that he receiv'd Information of the Prince of *Orange*'s Deſign from Mr. *Bude de Verace*, of *Geneva*, who had been Steward of the Houſhold to the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*, of which he had written ſix or ſeven Letters to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and having had no Anſwer, he apply'd to the *French* King, who upon that ſent *Bonrepos* to *London*, and Orders to *d'Avaux* at the *Hague* to expoſtulate the Matter with the States. This Account of the prime Miniſter confirm'd all former Suſpicions of him, which had ſtill further Confirmation by the Depoſition of one *Wickſtead*, formerly a Monk, who being ſeiz'd for holding Correſpondence with the Enemy, charg'd the Earl of *Sunderland* to his face, with revealing his Majeſty's Secrets to the Prince of *Orange*. Upon which, *Wickſtead* was committed to a Meſſenger, from whom he made his Eſcape out of a Window two Pair of Stairs high, and Lord *Sunderland* own'd the Receipt of *Skelton*'s Letters; but added, he took no notice of them, out of an invincible Contempt for that Tool and all his Intelligence, which was generally ſecond-hand News. Lord *Sunderland* had taken out a particular Pardon, ſo had *Jefferies*, Sir *Nicholas Butler*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Cheſter*. *Sunderland* expecting to be remov'd, turn'd off above a Dozen of his Domeſticks twelve Days before; and the next Day after retir'd to his Houſe, which had been Prince *Rupert*'s, at *Windſor*, from whence he withdrew into *Holland*, after the Prince was ſail'd for *England*, and there publiſh'd his Apology; as Dr. *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, did in a Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*; and the Earl of *Mulgrave* in a Letter to Dr. *Tillotſon*; but neither of them are clear'd, even by the Account they themſelves give of their own Conduct.

Earl of Sunderland *in Diſgrace.*

By this time the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration was almoſt in every one's hand. It was firſt brought over by Captain *Langham*, who commanded a Company of Foot in an *Engliſh* Regiment in the States Service; who coming to *London*, was recommended to lodge at a Man's Houſe, who had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. *Langham* ask'd him to get ſomebody to ſhew him where the *Dutch* Ambaſſador dwelt, and enquiring the Price of a good Horſe, ſaid he did not value ten or twenty Guineas more or leſs, if he could have a good one. When he went out he was very earneſt with the People of the Houſe to take great care of his Portmanteau; all which Circumſtances rais'd a Suſpicion, and the Man of the Houſe having been pardon'd by King *James*, either out of Gratitude, or in hope of Reward, open'd his Portmanteau, took out the Declarations, and carry'd them to the Lord Mayor, who order'd *Langham* to be ſeiz'd, and ſent him and the *Declarations* to *Whitehall*, where the Council was preſently ſummon'd to examine him. *Langham* boldly deny'd that he brought over any ſuch Paper, alledging he came for *England*, purely to take hold of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Pardon lately publiſh'd; and adding, that ſuch Uſage would fright People from venturing into *England* upon it. *Skelton* ſeeing the Captain, ſaid he was a great Enemy to the King; upon which he was committed, and ſet aſide for Trial. A Proclamation was publiſh'd *November* 2. againſt reading, or keeping that *Treaſonable Libel*, as it was call'd, and great Care was taken to hinder its being diſpers'd; inſomuch, that a Copy of it could not be procur'd for Silver or Gold. The *Grand Jury*, before whom a Bill of High Treaſon was laid againſt *Langham*, refus'd to find it, becauſe no *Declaration* appear'd; however, in a few Days it was reprinted, and ſpread about Town and Country. The King then finding there was no way to hinder it, permitted the printing of it, with a ſorry Anſwer, ſaid to be written by *Penn*; tho' I muſt confeſs I think the Prince of *Orange*'s firſt Declaration to be by no means worthy his glorious Cauſe: 'tis dry and tedious, and wants the Spirit and Fire, which is the Characteriſtick of the Genius of Liberty; it has Truth every where, and it might have had Life and Beauty, had Biſhop *Burnet* had the penning of it. The Subſtance of it was the Enumeration of the Grievances of the three Kingdoms, and the means of redreſſing them by a Free Parliament; to which he referr'd every thing, in an additional Declaration the 24th of *October* N. S. His Highneſs publiſh'd this to remove any ill Impreſſions that might have been made by the King's ſaying, that he came *to conquer theſe Kingdoms*; for he aſſur'd them he was coming only to deliver them from Popery and Slavery, of which they were in the moſt extreme Danger.

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Prince of Orange's *Declaration.*

The King was indecently elevated with the falſe Accounts, which had been given of the Ruin of the *Dutch* Fleet; he ſuffer'd it to be printed in the *Gazette*, that 400 Horſe had been thrown over-board, and ſeveral dead Men; that 1500 Horſe were render'd unſerviceable, *&c.* The *Harlem* and *Amſterdam* Gazettes were order'd to give a diſmal Relation of the great Damage the Prince's Fleet had ſuſtain'd, on purpoſe to encreaſe King *James*'s Security, and it had ſuch Effect on the *Engliſh* Court for a few days, that the King could not help diſcovering his Mind ſo far as to begin to recall ſome of his late *Acts of Grace*, and to ſhew, ſays *Echard* very quaintly, *They were more the Reſult of Neceſſity than Inclination.* When that Expreſſion in the Prince's Declaration was firſt read to him, *That his Highneſs was invited over by divers of the Lords both* Spiritual *and* Temporal, *and by many Gentlemen and others*, he ſtartled, and in great Perplexity ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Peterborough*, and others, of whom he demanded, *Whether their inviting the Prince of* Orange *was true*? The Biſhops ſeeing the Biſhops of *Cheſter* and *St. David's* with the King, told the Lord *Preſton*, Secretary of State, that they ſhould not ſpeak as long as thoſe Prelates were there; ſo they were ſent away. The other Biſhops not giving him a ſatisfactory Anſwer, he fell into a Paſſion, and requir'd them, fixing a

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ſhort Day for it, to bring him a Paper under their own Hands, ſignifying their Abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange*'s intended Invaſion, which they evaded, and upon which read the learned Lawyer.

Biſhops refuſe to abhor the Prince of Orange's Expedition.

"This Juncture brought into View the Exactneſs of the Parallel between the King, now in "want of Aſſiſtance, and his Father; for when "the *Scots* invaded *England* in 1640, King "*Charles* required the Lords and great Commoners at *York*, to ſign a *Proteſtation*, containing, that the *Subſcribers* did diſclaim and renounce their having any Correſpondence with "thoſe *Rebellious* Invaders. But the Lord Viſcount *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, poſitively refuſ'd, even in the King's own Preſence, to "make any ſuch *Proteſtation*, inſiſting, *that if "the King ſuſpected their Loyalty he might proſecute them as he thought fit; but that it was "againſt Law to impoſe Oaths, or Proteſtations, "which the Law did not enjoin, and in that "reſpect they ought not to betray the Common "Liberty, but would ſubmit to his Majeſty's Proſecution, if any ſhould be.* The King therefore impriſon'd them, but the Complaints againſt that illegal Proceeding being general, they were *diſmiſt*. The Biſhops now in 1688, follow'd thoſe two Lords Example, even in "King *James*'s own Preſence, in declining to "obey his expreſs and perſonal Commands, and "refuſing to *betray the publick Liberty*. From "which two Inſtances may be collected theſe "ſhort Remarks: *That King* James *was now "come over to* Sidney's *Opinion*; *That ſome "Power is derived from the People*; *That* Britons, *whatſoever be their Pretences, will, when "Preſſures and Sufferings come to be their own "Caſe, fly to the Conſtitution for ſhelter*; *and "that the Biſhops now thought it no Diſparagement to imitate the Proceedings in* 1640"

Acherley, *p.* 643.

Circumſtances of Char. I. *and* Ja. II. *the ſame.*

K. James of Col. Sidney's Opinion.

Biſhops imitate 1640.

The King told them he muſt have their *Abhorrence*, for his Succeſs depended upon it, and he had left room to print it in his Proclamation againſt the Prince, which he was forced to publiſh without it.

The Biſhops offer'd to diſown verbally what was ſaid of them in the Declaration, and he might make what uſe of it he pleas'd. The King could get nothing more from them, and when he diſmiſt them he ſaid ſullenly, *I'll depend upon my Army.*

His Highneſs wrote a Letter to the Army, and Admiral *Herbert* another to the Fleet, which had great Influence on the Minds both of Soldiers and Seamen, well enough prepared to receive ſuch Impreſſions as were in the Contents of thoſe Letters.

The Prince ſails from Holland.

All the Damage his Highneſs's Ships had receiv'd being repaired, he ſet ſail from *Helvoetſluys* the 1ſt of *November*, and it is certain, he even then deſign'd for the *North* of *England*, for the Fleet try'd till next day at Noon, if it was poſſible to ſail *Northward*. About Noon *November* 2, the Signal was given to ſteer *Weſtward*, and the Wind being full *Eaſt*, it not only happily diverted them from their firſt intended Courſe, but kept the *Engliſh* Fleet in the River; nor was it poſſible for them to come out, tho' they were fallen down ſo low as the *Gunfleet*. By this means the Prince had the Sea open to him, with a fair Wind and a ſafe Navigation. On the 3d of *November* he paſs'd between *Dover* and *Calais*, and before Night came in ſight of the Iſle of *Wight*. The next Day, *November* the 4th, on which the Prince was both born and married, he fancy'd if he could then land, it would look auſpicious to the Army, and animate the Soldiers; but it was the general Opinion, that the 5th of *November*, being *Gunpowder-Treaſon* Day, would be thought the more fortunate for their landing, as an *Æra* of Deliverance from Popery, which his Highneſs was now attempting. It was reſolv'd to land in *Torbay*, or where it could be beſt done near it, that being at ſuch a diſtance from *London*, Horſes might be got, and every thing put in order, before the King could march his Army againſt the Prince; beſides, the Men might be refreſh'd at *Exeter*. The Pilots overſhot the Bay in the Night, and found themſelves paſt not only that, but *Dartmouth* in the Morning, ſo that 'twas thought the Fleet muſt ſail on to *Plymouth*. Admiral *Ruſſel*, who ſaw the Pilots Error was in great Diſorder upon it, when on a ſudden, to the Wonder of all, the Wind turn'd into the *South*, and a ſoft and happy Gale carried the whole Fleet in four Hours into *Torbay*.

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Lands in Torbay.

On *Saturday* the 3d of *November*, News came to *Whitehall*, that the *Dutch* Fleet was in the Channel between *Dover* and *Calais*, half Seas over, ſailing *Weſtward* with a fair Wind, ſo numerous that they were ſeven Hours paſſing thoſe Streights. Courier after Courier arriv'd from the *South* Coaſts to bring an Account of its Motions. The King expected the Prince would land in the *North*, and for that Reaſon the *Scots* halted at *Carliſle*. But it would not have been the better for him; the Earl of *Danby*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, Earl of *Stamford*, and Lord *Fairfax* having ſecured thoſe Counties for the Prince. The Earl of *Devonſhire* caus'd the Prince's Declaration to be read in the Town of *Derby*, from whence he wrote a Letter to the Lord *Middleton*, to aſſure him that he took not Arms out of enmity to the King's Perſon, but for the Good of his Country, and to obtain a Free Parliament; and whereas it was ſaid in the Prince's Declaration, that he was invited by ſeveral Peers of the Realm, he own'd that himſelf was one of them; which Letter he caus'd to be printed, and it very much mortified the King and his Adherents. He pleas'd himſelf with thinking that the Prince would not be able to recruit his Cavalry in the *Weſt*, *Albeville* having written him that the *Dutch* had loſt 1500 Horſe. The Court gave out that the Lord *Dartmouth* was in purſuit of them; and the King himſelf ſaid, *If the Wind is the ſame at Sea as at Land, he doubted not he would ſoon be up with them, and a terrible Battle enſue.* He founded this Judgment on the *Milan Almanack*, where ſuch a Combat was propheſy'd to fall out in the laſt Quarter of the Moon; but *Great Heroes* build nothing upon *Almanacks*. Capt. *Aylmer*, afterwards Lord, who commanded the *Swallow* Frigat, ſeeing a large *Dutch* Pink lagging in the Tail of the Fleet, made ſail to her, and found her juſt ready to ſink; ſhe had 4 Companies of Foot on board, belonging to Col. *Babington*'s Regiment; they were commanded by Major *Columbine*, and one of the Companies was Capt. *Langham*'s who brought over the Declaration. Another *Dutch* Tranſport, laden with Hay, was brought into the *Thames* by the Maſter, to whom the King gave both Ship and Cargo. Captain *Aylmer* follow'd the *Dutch* Fleet till he ſaw them into *Torbay*, and on *Tueſday* ſent an Expreſs to the King, that the Troops were landing. The Man made ſuch haſte, and was ſo tir'd, that he fell down at the King's Feet, and could not ſpeak, which was the greater Diſappointment to the Court, becauſe the Particulars were referr'd to the Expreſs; but he was ſoon followed by other Couriers, from whom the King had full Intelligence, which however was kept as ſecret as poſſible. He proceeded with the utmoſt Diligence, to get a fine Train of Artillery in readineſs, and the Troops were

K. James hears of his landing.

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were order'd to rendezvous near *Salisbury*. There was, from the firſt News of the Prince's Landing, no great Fear of their doing the *Dutch* any harm, for as they were marching thro' the City of *London*, and thro' great Crouds, that came to ſee them, to teſtify their Hopes of the Prince of *Orange*'s Succeſs, many of them drank to it privately, People waiting with Bottles of Wine and other Liquors to give them: The Officers might eaſily have ſeen it, but they would not, and the Soldiers knew very well that they were in no danger of them.

Prince of Orange's *Standard.*

Upon the Arrival of the *Dutch* Fleet in *Torbay*, the Prince of *Orange* gave Orders that his great Standard ſhould be put up. It had this *Motto*, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND, and underneath JE MAINTIENDERAI, *I will maintain*, the *Motto* of the Houſe of *Naſſau*. The White Flag was put uppermoſt, ſignifying his moſt gracious Offer of Peace to all ſuch as would live peaceably, and under that the red or bloody Flag was ſet up, ſignifying War to all that oppos'd his juſt Deſigns. Drawing into the Bay's Mouth, they diſcover'd the People of *Devonſhire* flocking in great Numbers to the Sea-Shore, not to oppoſe the Prince's landing, but to welcome their Deliverer, with joyful Shouts and Acclamations, and to furniſh him and his Followers with Proviſions for their Refreſhment. Coming very near, juſt before any landed, a Divine of the Church of *England*, on board the *Golden Sun*, got upon the Poup of the Ship, and flouriſhing his Bible in his Hand, cry'd out, *For the Prince and the Proteſtant Religion*. The Bells rung all along Shore, as the Prince coaſted it. The *Engliſh* and *Scots* Regiments were order'd to land firſt, himſelf follow'd about Noon, on the fifth of *November*, and took his Quarters at a Fiſherman's in *Torbay*, ordering a Camp to be mark'd out on the Top of the Hill, which conſiſted of 26 Regiments, having,

1000 Inferior Officers.
78 Field Officers.
15400 Soldiers, Horſe and Foot.

About 2000 more than the Liſt publiſh'd by King *James*'s Order. As ſoon as the Prince and Mareſchal *Schomberg* got aſhore, they were furniſh'd with ſuch Horſes as the Village of *Broxholme* could afford, and rode up the Hill to view the Ground, which was found to be as convenient as could be imagin'd for the Foot in that Seaſon. The Prince ſent for all the Fiſhermen of the Village, and ask'd them which was the propereſt Place for landing his Horſe, and he was next Morning ſhew'd one below *Broxholme*, where the Ships could be brought very near the Land, againſt a good Shore, and the Horſes would not be put to ſwim above 20 Yards. This prov'd ſo happy for landing, tho' known by meer Accident, that there could not have been found a properer Place in the whole Iſland.

There was a dead Calm all that Morning, and in three Hours time all the Horſe were landed, with as much Baggage as was neceſſary, till the Army got to *Exeter*. By next day Noon it was in full March, and march'd 4 Miles that night, being then about 20 Miles from *Exeter*. No ſooner were they thus diſengag'd from their Fleet, than a great Storm blew from the *Weſt*, but the *Dutch* Ships were cover'd by the Land; and the King's Fleet, which was come as far as the Iſle of *Wight*, in purſuit of them, were ſo ſhatter'd by this contrary Wind, that being forc'd into *Portſmouth*, they were no more fit for Service that Year.

Beſides the Mareſchal *de Schomberg*, his Highneſs had with him of Foreigners, Count *Charles* and Count *Meinhardt Schomberg*, Monſieur *Bentinck*, Monſieur *Zuyleſtein*, Seigneur *Auverquerque*, Monſieur *Keppel*, Count *Naſſau*, Baron *Genkle*, the famous Generals *Fagel* and *Hompeſch*, Monſieur *Caillemotte*, Brother to the Lord *Galway*. The Prince made haſte to *Exeter*, where he ſtaid 10 Days to refreſh his Troops, and give the Country time to ſhew their Affections, which they did by ſhouting and ringing of Bells, but did by no means crowd in to him, as they did to the Duke of *Monmouth*; the *Devonſhire* Men telling the Prince's Officers, *You are enough of yourſelves to do the Buſineſs*. His Highneſs brought Arms ſufficient for as many more as he had with him; but he, having a regular Army, and not ſtanding in ſo much need of Aſſiſtance as the Duke of *Monmouth* did, was not haſty in giving out Commiſſions. The firſt he gave were to the Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*, Sir *John Guiſe*, and Sir *Robert Peyton*, who being curious in their Men, did not compleat their Regiments in the Time that *Monmouth* compleated his whole Army.

The firſt Place the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration was publickly read at, was *Newton Abbot*, a Market Town near *Exeter*, and the firſt Man who read it was a Clergyman. His Highneſs ſtaid two Nights at Sir *William Courtney*'s, and was nobly entertain'd; from thence he went to *Chudleigh*; and thence, on the 8th of *November*, to *Exeter*, where he made a ſplendid Entry, which was mightily magnify'd at *London*, and a Paper came out, with an Account of the Form and Manner of it, adding ſuch a terrible Deſcription of his *Finland* Guards, cloath'd in Bear Skins, and his *Swiſs* with Whiskers, as made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Vulgar, who look'd on King *James*'s Liſt of his Forces, tho' not much ſhort of the Truth, as a Fable to leſſen his Strength. The Cannon and heavy Baggage was brought by Water to *Topſham*, three Miles from *Exeter*. The Clergy and Magiſtrates of *Exeter* were very fearful and very backward. The Prince ſent for them, and ſpoke very obligingly to them. The Biſhop ran out at one Gate while the Prince enter'd at another, and was made Archbiſhop of *York*, for his Cowardice, or ſomething worſe. The Dean too ſcamper'd in the Fright, but he return'd before his Highneſs was gone from his Houſe, which he took for his Lodgings. *Te Deum* was ſung in the Cathedral, and after the *Collect* was ended, Dr. *Burnet* read his Highneſs's *Declaration*; at the beginning of which the Clergy ſhuffled out of their Seats, but the People were very attentive; and when at the End of the Declaration, the Doctor cry'd *God bleſs the Prince of* Orange, they ſhouted for Joy. The Clergy almoſt every where elſe ſhew'd their Aſſent to the Prince's Undertaking, by their chearful Reception of his Followers, and opening the Church-Doors, to ring the Bells in the Places thro' which he paſs'd. Thoſe of *Exeter* were order'd by Dr. *Burnet*, in the Prince's Name, not to pray for the pretended Prince of *Wales*; but one of them ſo doing, two of the Lords who came over with the Prince, ſtood up and put on their Hats, in Abhorrence of it, kneeling down at all the other *Collects*. His Highneſs was three Days at *Exeter* before he was join'd by any of the Nobility or Gentry who had invited him over, or were in his Intereſt. The Mayor and Aldermen of the City were very cold, and only one *Tuthill* and another Alderman declar'd for him. The Army was kept under ſuch exact Diſcipline, that every thing was paid for, where it was demanded; tho' the Soldiers were contented with ſuch moderate Entertainment, that the People generally ask'd

Exeter Clergy againſt the Prince.

His Highneſs at Exeter.

A. D. 1688.

ask'd but little for what they had of them. The Prince was a Week at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentlemen of the Country came in to him, tho' Perſons of Condition came every Day from other Parts. The firſt was the Lord *Colcheſter*, Son to Earl *Rivers*, Lieutenant of the Lord *Dover*'s Troop of Guard, who brought ſome of the Troopers with him to *Exeter*; with him, or ſoon after, arriv'd *Thomas Wharton* Eſq; Son of the Lord *Wharton*; Col. *Godfrey*, who had married the Duke of *Berwick*'s Mother; *John How* Eſq; Mr. *Ruſſel*, Brother to the late Lord *Orford*; at laſt came Mr. *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis War*, Col. *Palmer*, Major *Bowyer*, and many *Weſt* Country Gentlemen. As ſoon as Mr. *Seymour*, afterwards Sir *Edward*, was come, he ſent for Dr. *Burnet*, and ask'd him, *Why they were a Rope of Sand*? *Why they had not an Aſſociation*? which was then drawn up, and laid on the Prince's Table, where the Lords and Gentlemen of his Court ſign'd it as follows.

Lords and Gentlemen join the Prince. *Lord* Colcheſter.

Sir Edward Seymour's *Aſſociation.*

WE whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcrib'd, who have now join'd with the Prince of Orange *for the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and for the maintaining of the antient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *do engage to Almighty God, to his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange, *and to one another, to ſtick firm to this Cauſe in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it until our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, are ſo far ſecur'd to us in a Free Parliament, that we ſhall be no more in danger of falling under Popery and Slavery. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cauſe under the Protection of the Prince of* Orange, *by which Caſe his Perſon might be expoſed to Danger, and the curſed Attempts of* Papiſts *and other bloody Men; We do therefore ſolemnly engage to God and one another, that if any ſuch Attempt be made upon him, we will purſue not only thoſe that make it, but all their Adherents, and all that we find in Arms againſt us, with the utmoſt Severity of a juſt Revenge to their Ruin and Deſtruction. And that the Execution of any ſuch Attempt, which God of his infinite Mercy forbid, ſhall not divert us from proſecuting this Cauſe, which we do now undertake, but that it ſhall engage us to carry it on with all the Vigour that ſo barbarous an Action ſhall deſerve.*

Oxford *for Reſiſtance.*

While the Prince was in *Exeter*, there came to him from *Oxford* a Head of a College, who invited him thither in the Name of that Univerſity, and his Highneſs deſign'd to go to *Oxford*, had not King *James*'s Flight from *London* call'd him thither when he was got as near it as *Abington*; however the abovemention'd Aſſociation was carry'd thither, and ſigned by the Heads of the Houſes and others, with Expreſſions of the greateſt Zeal in this *Reſiſting* Cauſe, *that their Hearts went with their Hands.*

After the abovementioned Gentlemen, the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges*, and other Perſons of Quality arrived at *Exeter*, as did alſo the Lord *Cornbury* Colonel of a Regiment of Horſe, with which, and Part of the Duke of *St. Albans*'s Regiment of Dragoons and the Royal Regiment of Horſe, he pretended to attack ſome of the Pr. of *Orange*'s advanc'd Guards, as he gave out, by the Kings Order. His Highneſs had notice of his Deſign to come over to him, and commanded a Body of his Men to advance and aſſiſt him in caſe the ſubaltern Officers ſhould make any Reſiſtance. They were within twenty Miles of *Exeter*, and within two Miles of the Prince's Body, when a Whiſper ran among them that they were betray'd. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the Lord *Cornbury* had not the Preſence of Mind, which ſo critical an Affair required; ſo they fell in Confuſion, and many rode back. One entire Regiment and about a Hundred of the other two came forward with him to *Exeter*, which much encourag'd the Prince's Friends, and ſhew'd them they had not been deceiv'd in what was told them of the Inclinations of the King's Army. On the other hand, thoſe who ſtudy'd to ſupport the King's Spirit by Flatteries, aſſur'd him, he might even at this time depend entirely upon his Army, ſince thoſe that intended to carry over thoſe Regiments, were forc'd to manage it with ſo much Artifice, and durſt not diſcover their Deſign either to Officers or Soldiers; and as ſoon as the latter perceiv'd it, the greater Part of them turn'd back. Falſe News, which is poor Food for Men in Diſtreſs to feed upon. The Truth and Circumſtances of this important Defection, are as follows.

Ld Cornbury *joins the Prince.*

A. D. 1688.

On Sunday three Regiments of Horſe, the Duke of *Berwick*'s, late Earl of *Oxford*'s, commanded by his Lieutenant-Colonel Sir *Francis Compton* Brother to the Biſhop of *London*; the Duke of *St. Albans*'s, commanded by his Lieutenant-Colonel *Langſton*; and Sir *John Fenwick*'s, commanded by *Sunderland* his Lieutenant-Colonel; and the Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by the Lord *Cornbury* in Perſon, arriv'd in the Evening at *Salisbury*, and about three a-Clock on Monday Morning they ſounded to Horſe, and the Dragoons beat a March. *Sunderland* Lieutenant-Colonel to *Fenwick*, ſent his Major to Sir *Francis Compton* to know *What Orders*? *Compton* reply'd, their three Regiments of Horſe were ordered to march farther Weſtward. *Sunderland* deſiring to ſee thoſe Orders, *Compton* ſaid he had them not, but Lord *Cornbury* had, who commanded that Detachment. Upon this, *Sunderland* went to be ſatisfy'd by that Lord, who was not in the way. The three other Regiments march'd, and thoſe that were in the Secret told the reſt they were to ſeize an Out-Poſt before the *Dutch* were advanc'd to it. Theſe Regiments rode 18 Miles without ſtopping, then they halted two Hours, and rode on 20 Miles more without unbridling. At length Major *Clifford* of *Cornbury*'s Dragoons perceiving they drew near the *Dutch*, miſtruſted the Deſign, which when he diſcover'd, he, with three other Officers and about thirty Dragoons, refus'd to go further. The Duke of *Berwick* arriv'd at *Salisbury* the ſame Evening, and underſtanding his Regiment was gone, follow'd Poſt, but he could not overtake them. He pick'd up about a hundred Troopers and Dragoons of the three Regiments, which the Court gave out were 400, but the contrary was apparent.

King James at Salisbury.

The King was come to *Salisbury*, in very great need of Aſſiſtance both in Mind and Body, his Spirits ſunk extremely; ſo it is always with Guilt in Deſpair, his Blood was in ſuch Fermentation, that he had frequent Bleeding at the Noſe: he ſent many Spies to obſerve the Motions of the Prince, and they all took his Money, but never return'd to him; or if they did return, they brought him only common Reports, which magnify'd the Numbers of the *Dutch*, as much as he and his Creatures leſſen'd them. He had not been long at *Salisbury* before he heard that *London* was unquiet, that the Earls of *Devonſhire*, *Danby*, and the Lord Viſcount *Lumley* were drawing great Bodies together in the *North*, that *York* and *Newcaſtle* had declar'd for the Prince, notwithſtanding the Bluſter made by the

A. D. 1688. Duke of *Newcaſtle*. That the Lord *Delamere* had arm'd and mounted his Tenants in *Cheſhire*, making above 200 Horſe; and among this, and a great deal more ill News, he had only the Comfort to hear, that the Lord *Lovelace* paſſing thro' *Cirenceſter* to join the Prince, with about 50 Horſe, had been intercepted and taken by *Beaufort*'s Militia after a *Skirmiſh*, in which ſeveral of the Militia were ſo ſtout as to be kill'd, among whom was the Major and his Son. 'Twas talk'd of bringing Lord *Lovelace* to *Salisbury*, and trying him immediately by a Council of War; but the Defection from King *James* came on too faſt, and he, and thoſe about him, became more ſollicitous to ſave themſelves than to deſtroy others.

Before the King left *London* the following Peers deliver'd a Petition to him.

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.	Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.
	Biſhop of *Peterborough*.
Archbiſhop of *York* elect.	Biſhop of *Oxford*.
	Lord *Oſſulſton*.
Duke of *Graſton*.	Earl of *Clarendon*.
Duke of *Ormond*.	Earl of *Rocheſter*.
Earl of *Oxford*.	Earl of *Burlington*.
Earl of *Clare*.	Earl of *Angleſea*.
Lord Viſcount *Newport*.	Lord *Paget*.
Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*.	Lord *Chandos*.
Biſhop of *Ely*.	

The Subſtance of it was, that he would call a *free Parliament, and enter into a Treaty with the Prince*. Theſe Peers had been inform'd the King ſhould have ſaid, *He would take it highly ill of any Man that offer'd ſuch a thing to him*. But inſtead of ſo high a Tone, the Anſwer was, *My Lords, what you ask of me I moſt paſſionately deſire, and I promiſe you on the* Faith *of a* King *that I will have a Parliament, and ſuch a one as you ask for, as ſoon as ever the Prince of* Orange *has quitted this Realm; for how is it poſſible a Parliament ſhould be free in all its Circumſtances, while an Enemy is in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near* 100 *Voices*? One would think it impoſſible for a Man who had liv'd near threeſcore Years in the World, and been converſant with Courts and Councils, to diſcover ſo much Weakneſs; he promiſes on the *Faith of a King*, who had in the moſt notorious manner broken it; he calls the Prince an Enemy, when all the Nation took him to be their beſt Friend; he ſays it is not poſſible to have a free Parliament while he's in the Kingdom, and every Soul in it believ'd there never would be a free Parliament, if he once left it.

Several Lords, as the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Carbery*, refus'd to ſign the Lords Petition, becauſe it was not ſtrong enough; and they inſiſted upon it, that the *Engliſh* Peers who were with the Prince of *Orange* might have Writs of Summons to Parliament, and that it ſhould be mention'd.

The King's Journey to *Salisbury* was haſten'd by the Advice of the Count *de Roye*, whoſe Officiouſneſs in this Buſineſs gave great occaſion of Scandal to the *French* Proteſtants. Before the King went, he nominated Dr. *Lamplugh*, late Biſhop of *Exeter*, for the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, for the See of *Exeter*. He made the more haſte, upon hearing that the City of *London*, the Counties of *York*, *Kent*, and other Shires, were preparing Petitions to the ſame Purport with that of the Peers. The Duke of *Grafton*, who had ſign'd that Petition, told the King he did it, becauſe he thought it was for the Intereſt of his Country, but that he would accompany him, and fight to the laſt Drop of his Blood for his Service; adding, *If Your Majeſty brings in any* French, *I'll be d——n'd if any one will ſerve you*. The King reply'd, *Nobody can ſpeak plainer*. There was then a Report that the Sieur *Gaberet*, Commander of a Squadron of *French* Ships, was taking in Troops at *Bologne* or *Calais*, to be tranſported to *England*, which Report, tho' falſe, ſet the Nation ſtill more againſt the Court. As the King depended much upon the *Milan* Almanack, the *London* Mob built much on the Falling of the Scepter out of the Hand of Popiſh Queen *Mary*'s Statue on the *Royal-Exchange*, as portending the Downfall of Popery. They had been alarm'd with a Talk of *Cauldrons*, *Gridirons*, *Knives* and *Spits* being found in the Popiſh Seminary at *St. John*'s, which was aſſaulted by them, as was that in *Bucklersbury*, where they gutted the *Romiſh* Chappel; and a Prieſt ſneaking off with one of the Silver Candleſticks, had his Hand, Candleſtick and all, cut off, by a Goldſmith's Apprentice whom I knew. The Maſs-Houſe at *Lime-ſtreet* was reliev'd by the Trained Bands, or it had been utterly demoliſh'd, both Prieſts and People that frequented it, having been more inſolent than thoſe in *Bucklersbury*. The Mob's Juſtice here, and at the Maſs-Houſe in *Wild-ſtreet*, was remarkable; for having decreed the Furniture and Implements to the Fire, there was nothing of it plunder'd, and when ſome Raſcals endeavour'd to purloin ſome part, they were immediately taken hold of, and us'd in a worſe manner than the Law uſes Pilferers. Before the King left *London*, or while he was yet almoſt in the Hearing of it, there was a Hue and Cry after Father *Petre*, who ſhelter'd himſelf in the Train of the Lord *Waldegrave*, who was ſent Ambaſſador to *France*, the only Place where an Ambaſſador from King *James* now ſignify'd any thing.

The King had ſent for the chief Officers of the Army, upon hearing of the Defection of the Lords *Cornbury* and *Colcheſter*. The Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, Col. *Trelawny* and Col. *Kirk* attending him, he told them he was reſolv'd to call a free Parliament to redreſs Grievances, and do what was deſir'd of him; with which, if they were not ſatisfy'd, he would grant them Paſſes to go to the Prince of *Orange*, *and ſpare them the Shame of deſerting their lawful Sovereign*. He can't help it; the grand Air muſt always be kept up, and whatever *unlawful* things he did, muſt ſtill be the *lawful!*

The King arriving at *Salisbury* on the 19th of *November*, was complemented by ſuch Officers of the Army as were moſt devoted to him, who all expreſs'd their Abhorrence of the Lord *Cornbury*'s Deſertion; but the next day moſt of the chief Officers, and even ſome of the laſt mention'd, who diſapprov'd of the Lord *Cornbury*'s Defection, apply'd to the Earl of *Feverſham*, deſiring him to aſſure the King, *They would ſpill the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Service, but could not in Conſcience fight againſt a Prince, who was come over with no other Deſign than to procure the calling of a free Parliament for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.* *Officers refuſe to fight againſt the Prince of* Orange.

The King intended to go that day to *Warminſter*, to view four or five Battalions which lay thereabouts, under the Command of Col. *Kirk*, but he was hinder'd by the bleeding of his Noſe, for which he was twice let blood. A Party of the Brigade in and about *Warminſter*, being inform'd that there was a Party of *Scots* detach'd from the Prince's Army, advanc'd as far as *Bruton*, they march'd thither, and hearing the *Scots* were at *Wincaunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, four Miles off, they reſolv'd to ſurprize them, their Commander

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Sarsfield being an *Iriſh* Papiſt; but a Miller gave the *Scots* Notice of their coming, and the *Scots* lining the Hedges, receiv'd them ſo warmly, that they thought fit to retire, the Miller and others crying out, the *Dutch*, the *Dutch*. Cornet *Web* was mortally wounded. The next day the Lord *Churchil*, who commanded a Brigade of 5000 Men, went over to his Highneſs, with the Duke of *Grafton*, Col. *Berkley*, four or five Captains, and as many as were willing to follow him, leaving a Letter behind, containing great Expreſſions of Duty and Gratitude, *but nothing ought to come in competition with his Conſcience*; he join'd the Prince at *Axminſter*. The next day, *November* the 29th, on a falſe Alarm of the Duke of *Schomberg*'s advancing with the *Dutch* Army, whoſe Forlorn was indeed within four Miles of *Salisbury*, to give the King Battle, he left that City with great Precipitation, and at *Andover* was himſelf left by Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Drumlanerig*, Sir *George Hewett*, and others. The Prince wrote him a Letter, repreſenting that his Religion, and the Concern he had for the Liberties of *Europe*, now in danger from the *French* King, oblig'd him to uſe his Endeavours for the Preſervation of both. When the News came to *London*, the Princeſs was ſo ſtruck with the Apprehenſion of the King's Diſpleaſure, that ſhe ſaid to the Lady *Churchil* ſhe could not bear the Thoughts of it, and would leap out at Window rather than venture it. The Biſhop of *London* then lodg'd very ſecretly in *Suffolk ſtreet*, Lady *Churchil* knew of it, and went to him immediately; they concerted the Method of the Princeſs's withdrawing from Court. Her Highneſs went ſooner to bed than ordinary; about Midnight ſhe went down a back Stairs from her Cloſet, attended only by the Lady *Churchil* and Lady *Berkley*, in ſuch haſte, that they carry'd nothing with them. They were waited for by my Lord of *London*, who carry'd them to the Earl of *Dorſet*'s, whoſe Lady furniſh'd them with every thing, and ſo they went *Northward* as far as *Northampton*, where that Earl, attended with a Body of Horſe to ſerve as a Guard to the Princeſs, and in a little while a ſmall Army was form'd about her, who choſe to be commanded by the Biſhop of *London*, and Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, *he too eaſily accepted it*. Theſe things put the King in an inexpreſſible Confuſion, he ſaw himſelf now forſaken, not only by thoſe whom he had truſted and favour'd moſt, but even by his own Children; and the Army was in ſuch Diſtraction, that there was not any one Body that ſeem'd entirely united and firm to him. Biſhop *Burnet* takes notice that a fooliſh Ballad was made at that time, treating the Papiſts, and chiefly the *Iriſh*, in a very ridiculous manner. It was ſung in the Play-houſe by the Officers of the Army between the Acts; ſome *Iriſh* Officers reſenting it, Col. *Harry Wharton*, and 40 or 50 *Engliſh* Officers, who were there by Concert, roſe from their Seats to vindicate their Ballad, and the *Iriſh* Burthen of *Lero Lero Liliburlero*, which made an Impreſſion on the Army that cannot well be imagin'd by thoſe who ſaw it not. At laſt all People both in City and Country got it, and were perpetually ſinging it, and perhaps never had ſo ſlight a thing ſo great an Effect.

Lord Churchil *goes to him, with Duke of* Grafton, *Col.* Berkley, &c.

As do Prince George, *Duke of* Ormond, *Sir* George Hewett.

Princeſs Anne *withdraws.*

Liliburlero.

The Prince of *Orange* having ſtaid twelve Days at *Exeter*, left the Government of that City with Mr. *Seymour* the Recorder, and a ſmall Garriſon, to take Charge of his heavy Artillery, under Col. *Gibſon*, whom he made Deputy Governor as to the military Part.

At *Crewkern* in *Somerſetſhire*, Dr. *Finch*, Son to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, Warden of *All Souls* College in *Oxford*, was ſent to the Prince from ſome of the Heads of Colleges, to aſſure him they would declare for him, and to invite him to come thither, telling him that their Plate ſhould be at his Service, if he needed it. Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, *This was a ſudden Turn from thoſe Principles that they had carried ſo high a few Years before.*

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Doctors of Oxford *offer the Prince their Plate.*

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* and Sir *John Guiſe* enter'd *Briſtol* without Oppoſition; the latter ſent to the Keeper of the Caſtle at *Glouceſter*, to diſcharge the Lord *Lovelace* and his Followers, which was done immediately. The Earl of *Bath* prevail'd with the Garriſon of *Plymouth* to declare for the Prince of *Orange*, and moſt of the *Dutch* Men of War harbour'd there for ſome time. One of the King's Ships commanded by Captain *Churchil*, afterwards Admiral, came in to them, the Captain having read the Prince's Declaration on board it. At *Shireburn* the Gentlemen of *Dorſetſhire* came in a Body to the Prince, who haſten'd his March towards *London*, where things were in a high Fermentation.

Earl of Bath *for the Prince of* Orange.

The *Northern* Lords before-mention'd, with a great Concourſe of Nobility and Gentry, met at *Nottingham*, and declar'd for the Prince; and in their Declaration explain'd what *Rebellion* is, and what a *juſt Reſiſtance*. *We hope all good Proteſtants will with their Lives and Fortunes be aſſiſtant to us, and not be bugbear'd with the opprobrious Term of* Rebels, *by which the Court would fright them, to become perfect Slaves to their tyrannical Inſolences and Uſurpations; for we aſſure ourſelves that no rational and unbiaſs'd Perſons will judge it* Rebellion *to defend their Laws and Religion, which all* Engliſh *Princes have ſworn at their Coronations; which Oath, how well it has been obſerv'd of late, we deſire a* Free Parliament *may have the Conſideration of. We indeed own it a* Rebellion *to* Reſiſt *a King that governs by Law; but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to* Reſiſt *ſuch a one, we juſtly eſteem no* Rebellion, *but a neceſſary Defence.*

Northern *Lords explain Reſiſtance.*

Revolution Principles what they are.

At *Shireburn* his Highneſs had Advice that the King was retir'd to *London*, and the broken Remains of his Army to *Reading*; upon which he immediately proceeded to *Salisbury*, where he made a publick Entry, accompany'd by the Prince of *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Grafton*, Mareſchal *Schomberg*, Count *Solmes*, Count *Naſſau*, Meſſieurs *Zuyleſtein*, *Bentink*, *Overkirk*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, the Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*, the Lord *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Churchil*, the Lord *Cornbury*, the Lord *Colcheſter*, with many other Lords and Perſons of Quality. His Highneſs rode in a triumphant manner to the Biſhop's Palace, which was prepar'd for his Reception. The Mayor, Aldermen and Corporation of *Salisbury* attended in their Formalities; the Spectators were innumerable; their Joy and Exultation extatick, and vaſt Multitudes crowded in from all Parts of the Country to get a ſight of him, whom they look'd on as the Hope and Deliverer of the Nation. Happy had it been if they had been as grateful afterwards as they were glad then; and why they were not, the Gentlemen who ſent his Highneſs an Offer of their Plate can beſt tell.

The Prince's Entry into Salisbury.

The *North* was ſecur'd with a great deal of Eaſe for the Prince: *York* by the Earl of *Danby*, Lord *Dunblain*, Lord *Fairfax*, Lord *Willoughby*. *Newcaſtle*, by the Lord *Lumley*. *Hull* by Col. *Copley*, who made the Lord *Langdale*, the Popiſh Governor, the Lord *Montgomery*, and other Papiſts, Priſoners. The Earl of *Stamford* join'd the Lord *Delamere*, and both of them advanc'd to aſſiſt the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in his

Deſign

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Design upon *Briſtol*; who, however, wanted not their Aſſiſtance. The Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Oxford*, and many other Lords came in to the Prince daily. The unhappy Duke of *Ormond* was then ſo animated with Revolution, Principles, and was ſo zealous for the Proteſtant Religion, and *Engliſh* Liberties, that taking with him a Party of the Prince's Horſe, he went to *Oxford*, and caus'd his Highneſs's Declaration to be publickly read there. The Town of *Berwick* follow'd the Example of *York*, and declared for the Prince: and tho' the Duke of *Gordon* was ſent from *London* to ſecure *Edinburgh* Caſtle for the King, yet the *Scotch* Lords ſent the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Earl of *Balcarras*, and three other Deputies to *London*, to demand a *free Parliament*. Thus in a few Days only, the Defection became almoſt univerſal, and as *Echard* ſays it ought to be remembred, "That the chief "Actors were all Church of *England* Men, and "proceeded, as Biſhop *Sprat* terms it, upon "*Church of* England *Principles*." For, as the Earl of *Danby* writes, in a Tract, intituled, *Thoughts of a private Perſon, It is neither againſt Scripture, nor Moral Honeſty, to defend their juſt and legal Rights, againſt the illegal and unjuſt Invaders of them.*

D. of Ormond *carries the Prince's Declaration to* Oxford.

The Revolution on Ch. of England *Principles.*

We have mention'd the Retreat of the Princeſs of *Denmark*, which when the King heard of, he burſt into Tears, and cry'd, *God help me, my own Children have forſaken me:* But he conſider'd not, that he himſelf had forſaken God, his Country, and even his own Children, in forſaking the Church of *England*, in introducing Arbitrary Power, and in ſetting up an Impoſtor, to prevent the Succeſſion of his Daughters.

Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Anne* left a Letter for the Queen, wherein ſhe complain'd of her Father's being miſled *by the violent Counſels of Prieſts*, and tells her, *ſhe's fully perſuaded the Prince of* Orange *deſigns the King's Safety and Preſervation.* The Biſhop of *London* convoy'd the Princeſs to *Nottingham*, where the Earl of *Devonſhire* gave her a Guard of 200 Horſe, by whom ſhe was ſafely conducted to *Oxford*, and was there joyfully receiv'd by her Husband, who met her with a ſtrong Detachment of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces.

In the mean time, the Lord *Molineux* made a fruitleſs Attempt to raiſe the Papiſts in *Lancaſhire*; and Sir *Edward Hales*, a Papiſt, Governor of the Tower, pointed two Mortar-Pieces on the Tower Battlements, as if he intended to bombard the City, which being rumoured, ſeveral ſkilful Engineers and Sea Officers, were conſulted by the Prince's Friends, how to ſeize the Tower in caſe ſuch an Attempt was made. It is ſaid, that the Project was laid to enter it at the Wharf, which would have been made eaſy by Communication with ſome Officers and Soldiers of the Garriſon. The City complaining of *Hales*'s mounting his Mortar-Pieces to terrify them, that worthleſs Piece of Chivalry was turn'd out, and a Man of not much greater Worth put in his Place.

Before the Prince of *Orange* left *Salisbury*, a bold Man, probably Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, publiſh'd a third Declaration in the Prince's Name: It was penn'd with great Spirit, and had as great an Effect. One *Hugh Speke*, whoſe Character is ſpared out of Reſpect to a very worthy Name and Family, pretended to be the Author or Contriver of it; but *Echard* thinks 'twas a vain Pretence, only to aſſume the Merit of a Thing, after the Prince ſucceeded, for which he wou'd have been hang'd, had his Highneſs been unſucceſsful; and indeed he could no more write it, than he could have written Mr. *Locke*'s *Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*. It ſet forth the deſperate Deſigns of the Papiſts, and the extreme Danger the Nation was in, by their means; and requir'd all Perſons immediately to fall on ſuch Papiſts, as were in any Employments, and to turn them out; to ſecure all ſtrong Places, and do every thing that was in their power, to execute the Laws, and to bring all Things again in their proper Channels. This ſet all Men at work, for no doubt was made that it was truly the Prince's Declaration, tho' he knew nothing of it; and it was never certainly known who was the Author. The King was under ſuch Conſternation, that he neither knew what to reſolve on, nor whom to truſt. As no Pity is due to the Pityleſs, inſtead of ſympathizing in his extreme Miſery, I preſently call to mind the bleeding *Eſſex* in the Tower; the murder'd *Ruſſel* in *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*; the quarter'd *Corniſh* in *Cheapſide*; the ſcourg'd and mangled Mr. *Johnſon*, all the way from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; the infamous Chancellor and Judges; the Biſhops in Priſon; the Franchiſes of Corporations forcibly taken away from them; the Herds of Frock'd Prieſts in City and Country, and I can without relenting ſee him mourn over his Misfortunes.

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King in deſpair.

The pretended Declaration put the City in a Flame. It was carried to the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Chapman*, by Captain *Henry Baker*, and he required him to execute it. The Papiſts were ſeized with inexpreſſible Terror, and it is wonderful that the People had not every where fallen upon the Popiſh Party. The Proteſtants were ſo encouraged, that a Bill of Indictment was preferred to the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, againſt the Earl of *Salisbury*, not one of the wiſe *Cecils*, for turning Papiſt, contrary to the Laws of the Land. The King return'd to *Whitehall, November 26*, and two Days after, order'd the Lord Chancellor to iſſue out *Writs*, for ſummoning a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 15th of *January* next, in which he was no more ſincere, than in that he pretended to call two Months before, being all the while conſulting with his Queen and Creatures, how to amuſe the Prince of *Orange* and the Nation, till he could ſend away his Wife, her pretended Son, and then follow them himſelf, out of the Kingdom 'Twas rumour'd, that the Lord *Dartmouth* refus'd to tranſport the Queen and the Impoſtor from *Portſmouth* to *France*; ſo the Marquis of *Powis*, who carried him thither, return'd with him to *London*.

He had conſulted the Lords, who were then in Town, on the preſent wretched State of his Affairs, and they all adviſ'd him, not only to call a Parliament, but to ſend Commiſſioners to the Prince, to treat with him, which was much againſt his Inclinations; yet he was in ſuch Dejection that he conſented to it. The Earl of *Clarendon* propoſed it, as alſo a general Pardon, and to turn all Papiſts immediately out of Employments. To the latter, the King ſaid he *would leave it to the enſuing Parliament*, but agreed to every thing elſe. The Lords in Nomination to be Commiſſioners for the Treaty, were the Marquis of *Halliſax*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Lord *Godolphin*; the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, and *Ely*; but after a long Conſultation their Number was fix'd to theſe three, the Marquis of *Halliſax* the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*. The Earl of *Rocheſter* was left out, on account of the irreconcilable Enmity between his Family and the Marquis of *Halliſax*; whoſe greater Genius gave him greater Credit with the Prince of *Orange*. That Enmity is ſuppos'd to quicken the Earl of *Clarendon*'s joining his Highneſs, in hopes of perplexing the Negociation, or leſſening the Marquis of *Halliſax*'s Reputation in it. On this Reſolution a Trumpeter was diſ-

Third Declaration a bold one.

Commiſſioners ſent to treat with the Prince.

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patch'd by the Earl of *Feverſham*, to demand the neceſſary Paſſes of the Prince of *Orange*, whom he found at *Edingdon*, between *Bath* and *Salisbury*, in his way to *Oxford*. This Trumpeter ſet out the laſt of *November*, the ſame day with the Date of the Proclamation for calling a Parliament, and having obtain'd thoſe Paſſes, the Prince ſent a Trumpeter to demand a Paſs for a Gentleman to wait on the Princeſs of *Denmark*. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador alſo demanded a Paſs to go to the Prince of *Orange*, and the King granted it ſo readily, 'twas thought he expected ſome Good from that Miniſter's Mediation; for he was now in the moſt terrible Deſpondency. Whatever he had ſaid of the Prince's deſigning a Conqueſt, and to take his Crown from him, he did not himſelf, at that time believe it, and indeed there does not ſeem to be any ſuch Deſign in the Prince, and thoſe that invited him. If he had in earneſt ſet about redreſſing of Grievances, in conjunction with good Counſellors, and a free Parliament; if he had ſecur'd the Succeſſion of his Daughters, and the Maintenance of the Church and the Laws, to the Satisfaction of his People, no doubt he might have reign'd to his Death; but his implacable Hatred to our Religion and Liberty, his obſtinate perſiſting in it, when he was at the laſt Extremity, had ſo ſet the Hearts of all the Nation againſt him, that he was in mortal Fear of their Reſentment; and his Flatterers being as fearful as himſelf, it is probable that they had all come to a Reſolution to leave the King, if the Commiſſioners did not ſucceed in their Treaty; and they could have no Succeſs if they did not ward off a *free Parliament*, for which only the Prince of *Orange* came to *England*. At this time the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Lieutenant of that County, rais'd the *Militia*, and aſſembling the Citizens of *Norwich*, declar'd to them his Reſolution to aſſiſt his Highneſs in obtaining the Ends of his *Declaration*. The Town of *Lynn* put themſelves under his Grace's Protection, and declar'd the ſame.

K. James hates and is hated.

D. of Norfolk *ſecures* Norwich, *&c.*

Barillon, the *French* Ambaſſador, was now the King's moſt Chief and Secret Counſellor. He was very buſy, both with him, and with the principal Lords who wiſh'd well to the Prince. He repreſented to theſe that the *Engliſh* would do well to act with Moderation; that the Emperor was a great *Bigot* to his Religion, and would not fail of defending it in *England*.

Foreign Miniſters Behaviour

The Pope's Nuntio was very deſirous to be gone, and ſaid Father *Petre* would anſwer to God Almighty for all the Miſchief he had been the Cauſe of. The Queen was all the while packing up her Jewels, and preparing to get off.

Commiſſioners to treat.

The three Commiſſioners began their Journey *December* the 2d, and came next day to *Reading*, where they met the Trumpet with the Paſſes deſired from the Prince. Three Days after they acquainted the King, that they were to meet the Prince that Night at *Amesbury*; but they inform'd him next day, that his Highneſs had made a new Appointment to meet at *Hungerford*. They came thither, and having delivered their Meſſage, the Prince call'd all the Peers, and others of chief Note about him, to adviſe with them what Anſwer ſhould be made. A Day was taken to conſider of it: The Marquis of *Hallifax* ſent for Dr. *Burnet*; but the Prince ſaid, *Tho' I will ſuſpect nothing from ſuch a meeting, others may*, upon which it was put off, and the Doctor ſaw him only in publick; yet the Marquis took occaſion to ask him, ſo as no body obſerv'd it, *Have you a mind to have the King in your hands!* The Doctor reply'd, *By no means, for we will not hurt his Perſon.* Lord *Hallifax* ſaid, *What if he has a mind to go away?* Dr. *Burnet*'s Anſwer was, *Nothing is ſo much to be wiſh'd for.* The Doctor told this to the Prince, and he lik'd it. His Highneſs order'd the Earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury* and *Clarendon*, to treat with the Lords the King had ſent, and they deliver'd the Prince's Anſwer to them on *Sunday* the 8th of *December*. He deſired a Parliament might be preſently called, that no Men ſhould continue in any Employment who were not qualified by Law, and had not taken the Teſts; that the Tower of *London* might be put into the Keeping of the City; and all the ſtrong Places of the Kingdom might be put into the hands of the Proteſtants; that a Proportion of the Revenue might be ſet off for the Pay of the Prince's Army; and that during the Sitting of the Parliament, the Armies might not come within 20 Miles of *London*; but that the Prince might come on to *London*, and have the ſame Number of his Guards about him, that the King kept about his Perſon. The Lords Commiſſioners for the King ſeem'd very well ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer; and when the King read it, he ſaid, *It was as fair as he could have expected*; but he had then fix'd the very Hour for his going off. In the mean time there happen'd a Skirmiſh at *Reading*, between a Party of the King's *Iriſh* Men, and a ſmaller Party of the Prince's, who drove the other out of the Town, by the help, as 'twas ſaid, of the Townſmen, who fir'd out of Window at the *Iriſh* Men, of whom another Party was poſted at *Maidenhead Bridge*; but ſome of the Inhabitants beating a *Dutch* March in the Night, the *Iriſh* abandon'd their Poſts, leaving their Cannon behind them. The Prieſts, to frighten away the Queen, told her ſhe would certainly be impeach'd; upon which ſhe reſolv'd to fly for it immediately, and carry the Child with her. The Midwife, and all thoſe that aſſiſted at the Birth, were alſo carry'd over to *France*, or ſo diſpos'd of, that it could never be learn'd what became of them afterwards. The King promis'd to ſtay only a day or two after her, in hopes that the Shadow of Authority might keep Things ſo quiet, that ſhe might have an undiſturb'd Paſſage. The *Queen* and her Company croſt over to *Lambeth* in a ſtormy Night, *December* the 10th, went on board a Yatch at *Greenwich*, and had a very quick Paſſage to *Calais*. I think Biſhop *Burnet* errs in ſaying ſhe embark'd at *Portſmouth*. The King having read the Prince's Anſwer, ſent for the Lord Chancellor to come to him next Morning, but he ſecretly order'd the Great Seal to be brought him, and the Parliament Writs to be burnt, and about Three next Morning, *Decemb.* 11. he went away in Diſguiſe, with truſty Sir *Edward Hales*, one *Sheldon* a Papiſt, and *Labadie* the Dry-Nurſe's Husband: he paſs'd for *Hales*'s Man. As they croſt the River they flung the Great Seal into it, which was ſome Months after taken up by a Fiſherman, near *Vaux-Hall*, and went down to a miſerable Fiſher-Boat, which *Hales* had provided for them.

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The Prince's Demands.

The Queen frighted away.

With the Impoſtor, and all at the pretended Birth.

The King quits the Kingdom.

With this, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, his Reign ended, for this was a plain Deſerting his People, and the expoſing the Nation to the Pillage of an Army, which he had order'd the Earl of *Feverſham* to disband; and the doing this, without paying them, was the letting ſo many arm'd Men looſe upon the People, and they might have done much Miſchief, if the Execution of thoſe Orders that he left behind had not been ſtopp'd.

Lord Hallifax *and Dr.* Burnet's *Diſcourſe about the King's Perſon.*

The Night before the King went away, a whole Battalion of *Douglas*'s, an old *Scots* Regiment, went off to the Prince. That Morning the King ſent the Letter he left for the Earl of *Feverſham*, about disbanding the Army, to the Counteſs *de Roye*, the Earl's Siſter, to be con-

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vey'd to him, and it was the laſt Order he gave. The Marquis of *Miremont*, who had lately repented of what he had done, got his Regiment together, five Hours after the King went, and told his Officers, he thought it beſt to declare for the Prince of *Orange*; they all joining with him, he commanded all the *Popiſh* Troopers to alight, and quit their Arms and Cloaks, which 15 of them did. The Duke of *Northumberland*, Captain of a Troop of Guards, declared alſo for his Highneſs, as did his whole Troop.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, meeting at *Guildhall*, the Peers agreed upon a *ſolemn Declaration*, to aſſiſt his Highneſs, in obtaining a free Parliament, to ſecure the Church of *England*, the Laws and Liberties of the Nation, and a due Liberty of Conſcience to Proteſtant Diſſenters. They promis'd to take care of the City, to diſarm all Papiſts, and apprehend *Romiſh* Prieſts and Jeſuits. It was ſign'd by,

Lords addreſs the Prince of Orange.

W. Cant.	*Craven.*
Tho. Ebor.	*Ailesbury.*
Pembroke.	*Burlington.*
Dorſet.	*Suſſex.*
Mulgrave.	*Berkley.*
Thanet.	*Rocheſter.*
Carliſle.	*Newport.*
Weymouth.	*Chandos.*
P. Winton.	*Montagu.*
W. Aſaph.	*T. Jermyn.*
Fran. Ely.	*Vaughan Carbery.*
Tho. Roſſen.	*Colepepyr.*
Tho. Petriburg.	*Crew.*
P. Wharton.	*Oſſulſton.*
North and Grey.	

And ſent to the Prince by the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Viſcount *Weymouth*, and Biſhop of *Ely*.

Biſhops and Lords for Reſiſtance.

The Lords at the ſame time ſent for Col. *Skelton*, Governor of the Tower, who was poſted there by the King's Commiſſion, and demanded the Keys of him; than which I defy all Hiſtorians to ſhew me a greater Act of *Diſloyalty*, according to High-Church Interpreters. Having turn'd him out, they made the Lord *Lucas* Governor, and if this is not *Reſiſtance* with a vengeance, there can be no Inſtance given of it. Among theſe Reſiſters, were four Nonjuring Biſhops, and ten Lords, whoſe Names may be found among the *Abhorrers*.

The Lieutenancy of *London* ſent an Addreſs of Thanks to his Highneſs, by Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *Baſil Firebrace*, Sir *William Ruſſel*, and *Charles Duncomb* Eſq;

The Earl of *Feverſham*, Sir *John Lanier*, Sir *John Fenwick*, and Col. *Oglethorp*, General Officers of the King's Army, ſent a Letter to the Prince, notifying, that by the King's Command, they had disbanded the Troops that were with them; which the Prince, not at all approving of, he return'd them no Anſwer. Several Regiments and Troops had deſerted to the Prince before the disbanding Order came, among which was even Sir *John Lanier*'s Regiment, and he follow'd it himſelf, notwithſtanding he ſign'd the above-mention'd Letter. Moſt of the Lords at *London* look'd upon the Earl of *Feverſham*'s Conduct as raſh and dangerous. The letting ſo many Soldiers looſe, threw the whole Kingdom into a Panick, the moſt general and aſtoniſhing that was ever heard of. It began at *Weſtminſter*, *December* 11. about eleven a-clock: Some Country Fellows reporting, that the *Iriſh*, in a deſperate Rage, were advancing to *London*. It went from Street to Street thro' the City, *Southwark*, and thence thro' all the Cities, Towns and Pa-

The General Alarm.

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riſhes in *England*; at one City, they were ſaid to be burning and maſſacring in the next, and ſo in every Town and Pariſh. The Train'd Bands were every where rais'd; People every where ran to Arms; Lights were every where hung out; *The Iriſh are coming! The Iriſh are coming!* was in every one's mouth. This Fright and Alarm was ſuppos'd to be a Stratagem of the Duke of *Schomberg*'s: But I do not ſee what End it could anſwer, unleſs it was to diſcover the Bent of the Nation at this Juncture; for it could not be to put them in Arms againſt the disbanded *Iriſh*, becauſe 'twas univerſal in one Night, and muſt have been concerted long before there was any Thought of their being disbanded in that manner. His Highneſs publiſh'd a Declaration, requiring the Commanders of thoſe Soldiers to reaſſemble them, and keep them in good Order and Diſcipline till further Orders. He wrote to the Earl of *Danby* to come to him, and ſent the Lord *Churchil* to *London*, to gather his Troop of Guards together; and the Duke of *Grafton* to *Tilbury Fort*, to garriſon it, with his Regiment of Foot: With which, as he was marching at their Head thro' the *Strand*, a Trooper of the *Iriſh* Regiment of *Salisbury* preſented his Carbine againſt him to ſhoot him, which a Soldier of his firſt File obſerving, ſhot the Trooper dead on the Spot. The Duke alighted, and gave the Soldier all the Pillage of the Trooper. The next day the Peers and Privy Counſellors iſſued an Order for all *Iriſh* Officers and Soldiers to repair to their reſpective Bodies, and deliver up their Arms to the Officers of the Ordnance. It was ſign'd *December* the 14th, 1688.

Tho. Ebor.	*J. Trevor.*
North and Grey.	*P. Winton.*
N. Dunelm.	*Rocheſter.*
Nottingham.	*Craven.*
Dorſet.	*Carliſle.*
Halifax,	*S. Titus.*

As ſoon as it was known in *London*, that the King was gone, the Prentices and the Rabble, who had been a little quieted when they ſaw a Treaty on foot between the King and the Prince, now broke out again upon all ſuſpected Houſes, where they believ'd there were either Prieſts or Papiſts. They ſpar'd not the Houſes of Ambaſſadors, particularly thoſe of the *Spaniſh* and *Florentine* Ambaſſadors. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, had forwarded the *Revolution* more than any other Foreigner. The Populace knew not that, but they knew he was a Papiſt, and therefore rifled his Houſe, where many Catholicks had depoſited their beſt Effects, for which the next Parliament made him ample Satisfaction. No body was killed in this Uproar, no Houſes were burnt, no Robberies were committed; never was ſo much Fury ſeen under ſo much Management.

Jefferies runs away, and is taken.

Jefferies finding the King was gone, ſaw what reaſon he had to look to himſelf, and apprehending he was now expos'd to the Rage of the People, whom he had provok'd with ſo particular a Brutality, he diſguis'd himſelf in a Seaman's Habit, and was in a Seaman's Houſe in *Wapping* in order to eſcape to *Hamburgh*; but was diſcover'd as he was looking out of a Window, by a Chancery Clerk, who accidentally paſt that way. Upon which he was ſeized immediately, and was inſulted by the Populace, with as much ſcorn and rudeneſs as they could invent. After he had been toſt about many Hours, they carried him before the Lord Mayor, Sir *John Chapman*, in his Seaman's Habit: The Lord Mayor was ſo ſtruck with the Terror of ſuch a boiſterous Multitude, and the Diſgrace of a Man, who had made all

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People tremble before him, that he fell into Fits upon it, and was never well afterwards. The Populace held Whips and Halters up to *Jefferies*'s Noſe, as near as they could come at it, and growing warmer by Communication, would doubtleſs have torn the wicked Wretch in a thouſand pieces, had not the Train'd Bands been rais'd, and no leſs than two Regiments appointed to guard him to the Tower. When he was in the Coach, they continued preſſing on the Militia, who kept them off with their Pikes, as they would Horſe, to come at him. He held up his Hands, ſometimes on one ſide of the Coach, ſometimes on the other, crying, *For the Lord ſake keep them off! For the Lord ſake keep them off!* I ſaw him, and heard him, and I truly ſay, without Pity; tho' I never ſaw any other Malefactor in his Diſtreſs, without Compaſſion and Concern. The Lords at *Whitehall* ſent the Lord *Lucas* a Warrant for his Commitment. He promis'd to confeſs ſomething that would merit Pardon; but he choſe rather to ſave himſelf from a publick Death, by large Draughts of Brandy, which ſoon diſpatch'd him. He very much complain'd of *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who incited him to go thoſe Lengths in the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, and then publickly charg'd it upon him. *Sprat* wrote the Romance of the *Rye-houſe* Plot, and *Jefferies* hang'd the pretended Plotters.

His ill End.

In the mean while the Prince of *Orange* came to *Littlecot*, a Seat of the *Pophams* in *Wiltſhire*, from thence to *Hungerford* and *Abington*, deſigning to viſit the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and meet the Princeſs *Anne* there; but being ſurpriz'd with the King's Deſertion, and the Diſorders which the City and Neighbourhood of *London* were falling into, he could hardly believe it, till he received an Expreſs from the Lords *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Godolphin*, upon which he ſaw how neceſſary it was for him to make all poſſible haſte to *London*. So he ſent to *Oxford* to excuſe his not coming thither, and to offer the *Aſſociation* to them; *Which*, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, *was ſign'd by almoſt all the Heads, and the Chief Men of the Univerſity; even by thoſe, who being diſappointed in the Preferments they aſpir'd to, became afterwards his moſt implacable Enemies.* For none but Idiots can be impos'd upon ſo far as to believe, that thoſe very Men, who offer'd the Prince of *Orange* their Plate to enable him to reſiſt K. *James*, did afterwards, from Conviction, when the Danger was over, return again to their Vomit, and again preach up the Doctrines of their deteſtable *Decree*.

Why the Pr. went not to Oxford.

Their Gratitude to him.

The King being come to the Coaſt of *Kent*, embark'd aboard a Smack, commanded by Capt. *Sanders*, who was to carry him to a Frigat, commanded by Capt. *Mackdonald*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, who, by concert, waited for him at *Margate*. When they were aboard, *Hales* ſent his Footman to the *Poſt-Office* at *Feverſham*: A Gunner belonging to *Dover* Caſtle, whom *Hales* had formerly caſhier'd, knowing the Footman by his Livery, and hating his Maſter, dogg'd him to the River-ſide, and ſaw him make Signs to ſome on board the Smack; upon which he got a Rabble together, carry'd them to the Water-ſide, boarded the Veſſel immediately, and ſoon diſcover'd Sir *Edward Hales*. As for the King, who was in a plain Suit, and a *Bob-Wig*, they took him to be a *Popiſh* Prieſt, and ſuppos'd him to be *Hales*'s Chaplain; for which Reaſon they put many groſs Indignities upon him, and ſearching his Pockets found 400 Guineas, ſeveral valuable Seals, and other Jewels; but ſeveral People, continuing to crowd aboard the Smack, among the reſt was a Conſtable, who knowing the King, kneel'd down, and begg'd Pardon for the Rudeneſs of the People, which he was afterwards ſo far from complying with, that out of the Abundance of his Humanity, he excepted three of the poor Fiſhermen *Hunt*, *Edwards* and *Stapleton*, out of his Declaration of Indemnity, together with the Duke of *Ormond*, Duke of *Bolton*, Duke of *Leeds*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Earl of *Clarendon*, Earl of *Marlborough*, Biſhop of *London*, Sir *Stephen Fox*, and Alderman *Duncomb*. The Conſtable bid the Fiſhermen return what they had taken from him; he only took the Jewels, and ſaid, *I hope you will uſe me well.* Notwithſtanding the Reſpect that was paid him, he earneſtly endeavour'd to be gone; but they forc'd him to go to *Feverſham*, from whence he ſent for the Earl of *Winchelſea*, whom he made Lord Lieutenant of *Kent*, and was prevail'd with by him, to return to *London*. The Management at *London*, was very odd, on this Occaſion. The Peers had ſent a Deputation to compliment the Prince on his approaching nearer *London*, and now they heard of the King's being at *Feverſham*, they ſent another Deputation to compliment him without conſulting the Prince, or communicating their Intention to him. The Earl of *Middleton*, the Earl of *Ailesbury*, the Earl of *Yarmouth* and the Earl of *Feverſham*, were order'd to wait on the King, and invite him to *Whitehall*; and after they had reſolv'd ſo to do, they let the Prince know that the King was in *England* ſtill.

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Bad Management the Occaſion of all future Troubles.

K. James *taken.*

Biſhop *Burnet* has ſome judicious Remarks on the King's being brought back to *Feverſham*. "Here was an Accident that ſeem'd of no great "Conſequence, yet all the ſtrugglings of the *Ja-*"*cobite* Party ſince did riſe out of it. For, if "he had got clear away, by all that could be "judg'd he would not have had a Party left; all "would have agreed, that here was a *Deſertion*, "and that therefore the Nation was free, and at "liberty to ſecure itſelf; but what follow'd up-"on this, gave them a Colour to ſay, *he was for-*"*ced away*. Till now ſcarce any one was for him "but Papiſts, but from this Incident a Party grew "up, that has been long active for his Intereſts. "Two Gentlemen came from *Kent*, to the Prince "at *Windſor*, to inform him of what had hap-"pen'd at *Feverſham*; upon which his Highneſs "order'd Monſieur *Zuyleſtein* to go thither im-"mediately to ſee the King ſafe, and at full li-"berty to go wherever he pleas'd." What the Biſhop, and others ſay, of the King's being received, at his return to *London*, with joyful Acclamations, is exaggerated. I remember it well, that there was ſome ſhouting, by Boys chiefly, and that ſome of the Guards bid them hollow. At his coming to *Whitehall* he had a great Court again about him, even the Papiſts crept out of their lurking Holes, and appear'd there with much Aſſurance. One of their Prieſts ſent to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, Lord Chamberlain, *to new-furniſh his Lodgings, for he intended to continue in them.* The King himſelf began to take heart, and both at *Feverſham* and *Whitehall* talk'd in his ordinary high Strain, juſtifying all he had done. Only he ſpoke a little doubtfully of the Buſineſs of *Magdalen* College: But when he came to reflect on the State of his Affairs, and on a Free Parliament, which it was impoſſible for him to prevent, he found there was no way left for him, to make good his Allegations; ſo he ſent the Earl of *Feverſham* to *Windſor* without a Paſs, and order'd him to deſire the Prince to come to *St. James's*, to conſult with him of the beſt Way for the ſettling of the Nation.

Riſe of the Jacabites.

King returns to London.

The Prince of *Orange* did not think the Privy-Council at *London* had us'd him well in ſending for the King without conſulting him, after they had ſent to him to take the Government

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upon him. He call'd his Friends about him at *Windſor*, and ask'd their Advice. All agreed that it was not convenient that the King ſhould ſtay at *Whitehall*; neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the City could have been ſafe, if they had been both near one another. The Guards and the officious Flatterers of the two Courts would have been unquiet Neighbours. It was thought neceſſary to ſtick to the Point of the King's *Deſerting* his People, and not to give up that by entring upon any Treaty with him; and ſince the Earl of *Feverſham*, who commanded the Army againſt the Prince, was come without a Paſs, he was for ſome days put in Arreſt. The Reſult of theſe Conſultations was, that the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Lord *Delamere*, ſhould go to *London*, and order the *Engliſh* Guards that were about the Court to be drawn off; when that was done, Count *Solms*, with the *Dutch* Guards, was to come and take all the Poſts about *Whitehall* and *St. James's*. It was Midnight before all was ſettled. The *Engliſh* Guards having receiv'd no Orders from their General, the Lord *Craven*, to quit their Poſts, ſtood to them in a Poſture of Defence, and the *Dutch* Guards advanc'd in a fighting Poſture; but the former underſtanding that matters were ſo concerted, retir'd, and the *Dutch* Guards poſted themſelves in their Places. Then the three Lords ſent to the Earl of *Middleton* to deſire him to let the King know they had a Meſſage to deliver to him from the Prince. He went to the King, and ſent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came and found him a-bed. They told him the Neceſſity of Affairs required that the Prince ſhould come preſently to *London*, and he thought it would conduce to the Safety of the King's Perſon, and the Quiet of the Town, if he retir'd to ſome Houſe at a little diſtance, particularly *Ham*-Houſe near *Richmond*. The King ſeem'd much caſt down, and ſaid, *Muſt it be done immediately*? they told him, *he might take his Reſt firſt*: and they added, he ſhould be attended by a Guard, who ſhould not only guard his Perſon, but give him no ſort of Diſturbance. Having ſaid this, they withdrew. The Earl of *Middleton* came quickly after them, and ask'd, if it would not do as well if the King went to *Rocheſter*? for ſince the Prince was not pleas'd with his coming up from *Kent*, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he ſhould go thither again. It was very viſible this was propoſed in order to a ſecond Eſcape, and very probable that the Prince would not diſlike it. The three Lords promiſed to ſend word immediately to his Highneſs, who lay that Night at *Sion*, eight Miles from *London*. He very readily conſented to it, and the King went next day, *December* 18, to *Rocheſter*, having order'd all that which is call'd the Moving Wardrobe to be ſent before him; Count *Solms* ordering every thing to be done as the King deſired, who was attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran*, and *Dunbarton*, ſix of his own Yeomen of the Guard, and about a hundred of the Prince's Forces, who left him at full Liberty, and paid him rather more Reſpect than his own Guards had done lately. Moſt of them, as it happen'd, were Papiſts, ſo when he went to Maſs, they aſſiſted at it very reverently; and when they were ask'd how they could ſerve in an Expedition that was intended to deſtroy their own Religion, one of them anſwer'd, *My Soul is God's, but my Sword is the Prince of* Orange's. The King was ſo much delighted with this Anſwer, that he repeated it to all that came about him.

Lord Feverſham *arreſted.*

Three Lords ſent to deſire the King to go to Ham.

King goes to Rocheſter.

In the ſhort time the King ſtaid in *London*, which was but two Days from his firſt to his ſecond Deſertion, as it proved to be, and as he intended, he had time to ſummon his Privy-Council the 16th of *December*, and paſs an Order for ſuppreſſing all riotous and tumultuous Meetings. The Deſign was to hinder the demoliſhment of Maſs-houſes. This was his laſt Act of Government, if it deſerves the Name, for no body minded it. The Privy-Counſellors were,

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Duke of *Hamilton*.	Lord *Preſton*.
Earl of *Craven*.	Lord *Godolphin*.
Earl of *Berkley*.	Sir *John Trevor*.
Earl of *Middleton*.	Col. *Titus*.

Not a Papiſt amongſt them, except Lord *Middleton* was one.

The Populace did not only burn the Maſs-houſes, but alſo the King's Printing-houſe, the Printer *Henry Hills*, having turn'd *Papiſt*. The *French* Ambaſſador was buſy Night and Day packing up and moving off his Goods. The Privy-Council ſent Guards to ſecure the Houſe of Mr. *Sarotti* the Reſident of *Venice*, who had always oppos'd King *James*'s raſh and irregular Proceedings.

The ſame Day the King went to *Rocheſter*, the Prince came to *London*: all the way from thence to *Sion*, was crowded with Spectators, who welcom'd him with Shouts and Acclamations as loudly and heartily as Men could expreſs themſelves; but it being a rainy Day, it ſpoilt much of the Glory of the Show. Orders were immediately given for diſarming and disbanding all Popiſh Soldiers, and for diſarming all Papiſts. The Nuntio and the Envoy of *Savoy* who had been plundered, were put under honourable Arreſt for the Safety of their Perſons, his Highneſs knowing that neither of their Maſters wiſh'd him ill. The *Poliſh* Envoy *Neville* was plunder'd alſo, but 'tis ſaid he had ſo little to loſe, that the Rabble cudgel'd him.

The Prince of Orange *comes to* St. James's.

The *Council* ſent three Interrogatories to *Jefferies* in the Tower: 1. *What he had done with the Great Seal*? 2. *Where the Parliament* Writs *were, and how many were iſſu'd*? 3. *Whether the King had given him leave to depart the Kingdom*? To the firſt he ſaid, the King ſent for the Great Seal ten Days before, and tho' he had the Purſe and Mace carry'd about with him, yet he had not ſince then had the Seal. To the ſecond he anſwer'd, that he had given the King the Writs that were not ſent into the Country, and the Clerks of the Chancery could tell better than he what was become of thoſe that were. To the third he ſaid, the King had given him leave to depart the Kingdom, and he had Paſſes from the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors.

When the King at his Return was ask'd for the Great Seal, he ſaid, the Queen took it with her. This is *James* the *Juſt*, the King of his Word!

He was then preſs'd to iſſue the Writs for ſummoning the Parliament, but he would determine nothing, only he ſign'd Orders to the Treaſury for Payment of a round Sum of Money; but the Officers would not pay it, without the Prince of *Orange*'s Conſent. There was then 50,000 *l.* in the Exchequer, which was of ſingular Uſe to his Highneſs; we are told the King wanted Money ſo much for his Pocket, that he borrow'd 100 Guineas of Lord *Godolphin*.

The Lords of the Houſhold, and all other Officers who bore the Badges of their Offices, laid them down upon his Highneſs's coming to *St. James's*, who the next day viſited Queen *Katherine*, going by water from *Whitehall* to *Somerſet-*

A. D. 1688. *Somerſet*-Houſe; where the Queen Dowager taking notice in Raillery of the Detention of her Chamberlain, the Prince immediately aſſur'd her Majeſty, ſhe ſhould no longer want his Service.

The ſame day his Highneſs viſited alſo the Princeſs of *Denmark*, who then arriv'd from *Oxford*, having been in all her Journies attended by the Biſhop of *London* in a Purple Velvet Coat, Piſtols in his Holſters, and a naked Sword in his hand, at the head of her Guards.

On the 20th of *December* the Aldermen, the Lord Mayor being ſick, the Sheriffs and Common-Council of *London*, waited on his Highneſs, to complement him on his Arrival, and the Recorder Sir *George Treby* made a moſt excellent Speech to him on that happy Occaſion, which is very well worth inſerting.

The Recorder Treby's *Speech to him.*

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

THE Lord Mayor being diſabled by Sickneſs, Your Highneſs is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital of this Kingdom, deputed to congratulate Your Highneſs upon this great and glorious Occaſion; in which, labouring for Words, we cannot but come ſhort in Expreſſion; reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State over-run by Popery *and* Arbitrary Power, *brought to the Point of Deſtruction by the Conduct of Men, who were our true* Invaders, *that broke the ſacred Fences of our* Laws, *and which was worſt, the very Conſtitution of our* Legiſlature, *ſo that there was no Remedy left but the* Laſt. *The only Perſon under Heaven that could apply this Remedy, was Your Highneſs. You are of a Nation, whoſe Alliance in all Times has been agreeable and proſperous to us. You are of a Family moſt illuſtrious, Benefactors to Mankind; to have the Title of a Sovereign Prince,* Stadtholder, *and to have worn the* Imperial Crown, *are amongſt their leſſer Dignities. They have long enjoy'd a Dignity ſingular and tranſcendent, to be the* Champions *of Almighty God, ſent forth in ſeveral Ages to vindicate his Cauſe againſt the greateſt Oppreſſions. To this* Divine Commiſſion *our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our brave* Engliſh *Soldiers, render'd themſelves and their Arms upon your appearing.*

Great Sir,

When we look back to the laſt Month, and contemplate the Swiftneſs and Fulneſs of our preſent Deliverance, aſtoniſh'd, we think it miraculous! Your Highneſs, led by the Hand of Heaven, and call'd by the Voice of the People, has preſerv'd our deareſt Intereſts, our Laws, *which are our antient Title to our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, and without which, this World were a Wilderneſs. But what Retribution can we make to your Highneſs? our Thoughts are full charg'd with Gratitude; Your Highneſs has a laſting Monument in the Hearts, in the Prayers, in the Praiſes of all good Men amongſt us, and late Poſterity will celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time ſhall be no more.*

If I could prevail with the Reader, I would have him, when he has read this truly *ſublime* Speech, turn to the Earl of *Clarendon*'s long Speeches about the *Uniformity Act*, *Militia Act*, *Corporation Act*, *Five-Mile Act*, and all the Acts which are the Ornaments of his Miniſtry; and to Speaker *Turner*'s Speeches on thoſe Subjects. Here he ſees what is true Eloquence, what the true *Sublime*? There he will ſee quite the contrary.

Addreſſes to his Highneſs. The Biſhops waited on the Prince, all in Town, except the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who agreed to go with the others, but fail'd them. Such Steps as theſe are not the Motions of a regular Conſcience, but the Inſtigations of Fear and Caution. Old Serjeant *Maynard* came with the Men of the Law, he was then Ninety; yet he ſaid the livelieſt thing that was heard of on that occaſion. The Prince took notice of his great Age, ſaying, *You have out-liv'd all the Men of the Law*; he anſwer'd, *I had like to have out-liv'd the Law itſelf, if your Highneſs had not come over.* The Clergy of *London*, and a great many other Bodies of Men came with their Compliments: The Ambaſſador of *Spain* had a private Audience of the Prince, ſo had the Reſident of *Venice*; and the next day, *December* the 21ſt, the Peers aſſembled at *St. James's*, to whom his Highneſs made a ſhort Speech, telling them, he deſir'd them to *adviſe the beſt manner how to purſue the Ends of his Declaration, in calling a* Free *Parliament.* The Prince then withdrew, and the Lords voted their particular Thanks for his coming over, and reſolv'd to aſſemble in their Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, to conſider of what his Highneſs had recommended to them. They nam'd five of the moſt eminent Lawyers, as their Aſſiſtants, in the room of the Judges, who were moſt of them out of the way, as Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *John Holt*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Atkinſon*. They alſo appointed Mr. *Francis Gwin*, ſtill living, to ſign ſuch Orders as ſhould from time to time be made by them. The Lawyers adviſ'd his Highneſs to declare himſelf King, as *Henry* VII. did; but the Prince would not hear of it, as being contrary to his Declaration, to leave every thing to a *Free Parliament.*

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Serjeant Maynard's *Saying to him.*

Peers meet the Prince at St. James's.

One of the firſt Motions made in this auguſt Aſſembly, was the ſigning of the *Exeter Aſſociation*, which they all did, to the Number of above ſixty. It was refus'd by the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, my Lord *Wharton*, and all the Biſhops, except the Biſhop of *London*. A *French* Writer pretends to give the Earl of *Nottingham*'s, and the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Reaſons for it; becauſe Mr. *Finch*, Brother to the one, and Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Father-in-Law to the other, were not nam'd among the Aſſiſtants to the Houſe of Peers; tho' I doubt very much his Authority for it, and that he ſpeaks at random. The ſame Author pretends to give the Lords Reaſons for not naming them; becauſe Mr. *Finch* pleaded for putting the Lord *Ruſſel* to death; and what a ſhare Sir *Robert Sawyer* had in it, has been already related. The Lord *Wharton* ſaid, *he had ſign'd ſo many Aſſociations which had no Effect, that he was reſolv'd to ſign no more.* His Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion and Liberty was too well known to expoſe him to any Jealouſy; but there ſeems to be ſome of the old Leaven in the Biſhop's Refuſal.

The King continu'd five Days at *Rocheſter*, and both he himſelf, and every body elſe, ſaw he was at full Liberty, and that the Guard about him put him under no ſort of Reſtraint. Many of his Friends went to him, and preſs'd him to ſtay, flattering him with Hopes that a Party would appear for him, good Terms be got, and things be brought to a reaſonable Agreement. He was much diſtracted between his own Inclinations, and the Importunities of his Friends.

The Queen hearing what had happen'd, writ a moſt vehement Letter to him, preſſing his coming over, and remembring him of his Promiſe, which ſhe charg'd on him in a very earneſt, if not in an imperious Strain. This Letter being intercepted, the Prince ſent it to the King, and he preſently reſolv'd to do what ſhe would have

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him, in which he was like to find no Moleſtation; ſo on *Sunday* Morning, *December* 23, about three a-clock, he left *Rocheſter* without communicating his Deſign to any one, not ſo much as to the Lord *Dunbarton*, who lay in the ſame Chamber, and wak'd not till after he was gone. He had not above three or four Perſons with him, of whom the Duke of *Berwick* and *Labadie* were two. He rode on horſeback to a convenient Place in the River *Medway*, where *Mackdonald* before-mention'd receiv'd him aboard his ſmall Veſſel, and landed him at *Ambleteuſe* in *France*. The Earl of *Middleton*, who attended him at *Rocheſter*, found a Letter written by him on the Table in his Chamber, deſiring *Middleton* to gratify the Captains of the Prince's Guards with 100 Guineas each, the Lieutenants and Enſigns with 50 Guineas, and to reward ſome others that had attended him in proportion. He alſo left a Paper behind him, which made a great noiſe after he was gone, tho' it was capable really of doing nothing elſe, but making a noiſe, for it had neither Reaſon nor Truth in it.

The King leaves the Kingdom.

His Paper.

He ſaid the Earl of *Feverſham* had been made a Priſoner *againſt the Law of Nations*, which was not true; for that Earl, the General of his Army, came into the Prince's Quarters without a Paſs, and to ſeize him was according to the Law of all Nations. As to any other Force put upon him, beſides the deſiring him to remove to *Ham-Houſe*, he himſelf, and every one elſe knew there was none; but on the contrary, that the Prince's Friends wiſh'd him his full Liberty, and that he had it, to give him an Opportunity to do what he did, and what he all along intended; for I don't reckon this *Elopement* to be truly a *ſecond* one, but a Continuation and an Accompliſhment of the firſt. What follows is not much in the Courtly Manner, *I appeal to all that know me, nay even to himſelf*, the Prince, *that in their Conſciences, whether he nor they can believe me in the leaſt capable of ſo unnatural a Villainy, nor of ſo little common Senſe to be impos'd on in a thing of ſuch a nature.* No, if he had not been in the Secret, and conſented to the Impoſture, he could not have been impos'd on. But what can one not believe of a Prince, who apoſtatis'd from his Religion, who broke his Word, his Oath, the Laws, who endeavour'd to deſtroy the Conſtitution and Liberty of his Country, eternally ſacred! who hated the Proteſtant Religion, and all who ſincerely profeſs'd it, among whom were his two moſt religious, moſt excellent, and moſt beloved Daughters; who thought he could not merit Heaven by any Act ſo likely, as by eſtabliſhing Popery in theſe Kingdoms; and who could not eſtabliſh it, but by wronging his Daughters in their Right of Succeſſion. Again, *What had I to expect from one, who had taken ſuch pains to make me appear as black as Hell!* He had taken no more pains than in the bare Relation of his various Violations of the Laws, and his Attempts againſt the Religion he had ſworn to defend. If Truth had ſuch an Effect, he had better have conſulted his Conſcience about it than his Paſſion; but Biſhop *Burnet* and others having animadverted largely on this Paper, I ſhall ſay no more of it, but that it is hardly worth the pains we have been at about it.

The News of the King's quitting the Kingdom, as well as the Government, reaching *London*, the Lords aſſembled, and agreed upon an Addreſs to his Highneſs, *to take upon him the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs, Civil and Military; and to have a particular Care of* Ireland, *till the Meeting of the Convention*, which was propos'd to be *January* the 22d; and they preſented another Addreſs to his Highneſs, to deſire him to write miſſive Letters to the Perſons to whom *Writs* were to be iſſu'd for calling a Parliament, as had been done for calling the Parliament, who call'd home King *Charles* II. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, the Earl of *Nottingham* objected againſt it, "That ſuch a Convention "could be no legal Aſſembly, unleſs ſummon'd "by the King's Writ; therefore he mov'd, that "an Addreſs might be made to the King, *who* "*was by that time in* France, to order the Writs "to be iſſued out." Few were of his mind, and indeed it was not likely that the King, who had order'd *Writs*, and recall'd them two or three times, when he was in *England*, and on the Throne, ſhould ſend Orders from *France* for ſuch *Writs*, when it was more than probable he would never ſit upon it again. The Marquis of *Halliſax* was Chairman of the Houſe of Lords, and behav'd with great Wiſdom, Courage and Zeal for the Good of the Commonwealth. Their Lordſhips made an Order for all Papiſts to remove ten Miles from *London*, with ſome general Exceptions, and ſome particular, as the Dutcheſs of *Bouillon*, the Dutcheſs of *Mazarin*, the Marquis *de Seiſſac*, the Marquis *de Flamarin*, Monſieur *de St. Evremont*, and the Chevalier *St. Victor*.

The Lords addreſs the Prince to take the Government.

To confirm the Reſolutions of the Houſe of Peers, and know as well as might be the Sentiments of the Commons, his Highneſs ſummon'd all ſuch Commoners as had ſerv'd in any of the Parliaments in King *Charles* the Second's time, that of King *James* II. not being fit to be truſted; as alſo the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Deputies of the Common-Council, to meet him at *St. James's*, on *Wedneſday* the 26th of *December*; to whom he ſpoke to the ſame Purport as he had ſpoken to the Peers, *and deſir'd them to adviſe the beſt manner how to purſue the Ends of his Declaration in calling a* Free Parliament, *for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the reſtoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and ſettling the ſame, that they may not be in danger of being again ſubverted.* The Lord Mayor being ſtill indiſpos'd, the Prince gave the Copy of his ſhort Speech to Sir *Thomas Allen*, eldeſt Alderman. Theſe Gentlemen immediately repair'd to the Houſe of Commons, and choſe *Henry Powle* Eſq; Chairman. They reſolv'd on the Queſtion, that the Requeſt of his Highneſs was a ſufficient Authority for them to aſſemble. Sir *Robert Sawyer*, to puzzle matters, ask'd, *How his Highneſs could take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs without a diſtinguiſh'd Name or Title.* Serjeant *Maynard* reply'd briskly, *This Aſſembly will loſe a great deal of Time, if they wait till Sir* Robert *can conceive how that is poſſible.* A Motion being made for ſigning the *Aſſociation*, 'twas carry'd that it ſhould lie on the Table, and all ſign it that would.

Commons ſummon'd

To meet the Prince.

This Aſſembly agreed on an Addreſs to the Prince of the ſame nature with the Lords, to take on him the Government Civil and Military, the Diſpoſal of the publick Revenues, the Care of *Ireland*, till the Meeting of the *Convention* the 22d of *January*; which Addreſs was read to his Highneſs the ſame day by Mr. *Powle* their Speaker, attended by moſt of the Members. The Prince took time to conſider of it till *Friday*, *December* the 28th, and then he accepted of their Offer in a very gracious Speech, firſt to the Lords, and afterwards to the Commons. The News of which flying about Town, the Tower Guns were fir'd, and all uſual Demonſtrations of Joy were every where ſeen.

Their Addreſs.

He takes the Sacrament.

Barillon the *French* Ambaſſador had been very buſy in ſowing Diviſions among the Members of both theſe Aſſemblies, and the Prince

A. D. 1688. order'd him to depart from *London* in 24 Hours. He desir'd longer Time, but it was not granted; and Mr. *L'Etang*, the Officer who afterwards arrested Mareschal *Boufflers* at *Namur*, conducted him to *Dover*, where he refus'd the Presents *Barillon* would have given him for his Civility. With him went Signor *Ranzoni* the Envoy of *Modena*, who had no more Business here, after *Mary d'Este* had left the Kingdom.

The Post from *France* brought Advice that the young Earl of *Essex* and other *Englishmen* were put under Arrest at *Paris*; upon which it was propos'd to stop *Barillon* at *Dover*, but the Prince did not imagine that Lord *Essex* would be long detain'd, so the *French* Ambassador was suffer'd to embark. He order'd the six *English* and *Scots* Regiments in the States Service to be sent back to *Holland*, to which the Lords had not only agreed, but offer'd his Highness the 10,000 Men that *England* was oblig'd by Treaty to send to the Assistance of the States, and more if there was occasion.

The Earl of *Arran* returning from his Attendance on King *James*, went to make his Excuses to the Prince for not waiting on him sooner; but methinks his Excuses were worse than his staying away, for he said he would not have come then if the King had not been gone. His Highness told him next day, that he had given his Regiment to the Earl of *Oxford*, who was its old Master.

On the 29th of *December* the Prince of *Orange* went to the Treasury, where there was in Cash 80,000 *l.* with which he order'd the King's Houshold Troops and Officers to be paid, and the latter to be discharg'd. He took into consideration the difficult Affair of *Ireland*, and Preparations were made to ship off Arms and Men, which were interrupted by the Artifices of *Tyrconnel*, and the Treachery of *Richard Hamilton*, afterwards Lieutenant General. Tho' *Tyrconnel* talk'd of raising 30,000 Men and standing it out, yet he sent away his Wife and his richest Moveables to *France*; nay, he was in such Terror, that he had a Ship always ready to carry him thither after them. Several of the Privy-Council in that Kingdom propos'd to submit to the Government of *England*, and he pretended to be of the same Opinion sometimes, but said he would not part with the Sword till he was ask'd for it. He pretended to be very kind to the Protestants, in hopes they would be kind to him and his Friends: which was all Grimace. He had disarm'd them, and had them almost every where at Mercy, except in *Ulster*, where they were stronger than in *Munster* and the other Provinces. Their chief Leaders the Earl of *Granard*, and the Lord *Montjoy*, kept still such Measures with *Tyrconnel*, that they would not take the Conduct of them. Two Towns that had both very little Defence, and a very small Store of Provisions, were secur'd by some brave young Men, who refus'd to receive a *Popish* Garrison; these were *Londonderry* and *Iniskilling*, both advantageously situated. Great Numbers fled to them, and brought in Provisions; upon which they resolv'd to defend themselves, with a Firmness of Courage that cannot be enough admir'd; for when they were abandon'd by both Gentry and Military Men, those two small unfurnish'd, unfortify'd Places, stood out against good Armies, both *Irish* and *French*, till Relief came from *England*, where some thought *Ireland* would follow the Fate of that Kingdom, especially after the Protestants, by *Tyrconnel*'s Persuasions and Menaces, wrote over that he would deliver up the Government, if he might have good Terms for himself. They apply'd to Lord *Clarendon*, on whom they much depended, and those who were employ'd by *Tyrconnel* to deceive the Prince, made their Application to Sir *William Temple*. These said they were sure *Tyrconnel* would never part with the Sword, if Lord *Clarendon* was to succeed him; and that it might not hinder the Treaty with *Tyrconnel*, his Highness avoided speaking to the Earl of *Clarendon* of these Matters, which so disgusted the Earl, that he ever after gave the Prince all the Opposition he could. *A. D.* 1688.

Ireland.

The Treaty manag'd by *Temple*, and the Advice of the Marquis of *Hallifax*, that the Danger of *Ireland* would quicken the Convention in settling the Government of *England*, are suppos'd to be two fatal Causes of those dilatory Measures, which put the Nation to so great an Expence of Blood and Treasure to preserve the *English* Interest in *Ireland*. For tho' I have a Contempt for such Argument in common, as is us'd in the History of the REBELLION, IF the Duke of *Ormond* and General *Mackay*, as was then talk'd of, had been sent with 7 or 8000 Men to *Ireland*, as soon as the King was elop'd, and while *Tyrconnel* was in Terror and Suspence, there's no question but he would have accepted of honourable Terms: Instead of this, the *Temples*, Father, Son, and Brother, prevail'd with the Prince to send Lieutenant-General *Hamilton* before-mention'd, an *Irish* Officer and a Papist, who was a sort of Prisoner of War in *England*, to *Tyrconnel*, with whom he had great Credit, and undertook to prevail with him to deliver up the Government, which at that time the Lord Lieutenant was inclining to do, giving every thing for lost in *England*. But the Traytor *Hamilton* coming over, and representing to him, that things were like to take another Turn in favour of the King, he resolv'd to dissemble still, till he was strong enough to throw off the Mask, and sent two Privy-Counsellors, *Montjoy* and *Rice*, to *France*, to represent to the King the Necessity of submitting to *England*. *Montjoy* was immediately clapt up in the *Bastille*. *Tyrconnel* gain'd Time by it, perfected his Levies, sent Forces to the *North*, and invited the King to *Ireland*. *Hamilton*'s Treachery had such a terrible Effect on Mr. *Henry Temple*, Sir *William*'s Son, that he leap'd into the River of *Thames* near the Bridge, and was drown'd.

Things went on much more smoothly in *Scotland*, notwithstanding the Duke of *Gordon* had got into *Edinburgh*-Castle, where he had but a very small Force. As soon as News came of the Prince of *Orange*'s being landed with an Army in *England*, and that King *James* was not able to stand his ground, the People in the *West* of *Scotland*, for they were the first, ran immediately to Arms, and declar'd for the Prince. This was done with so universal a Resolution, and the Consternation the other People were in at the general face of things, was such at the same time, that there was no Capacity, or even Disposition to oppose them. The *Western* People not only took Arms, but turn'd the *Episcopal* Curates out of the Churches, which they had possess'd by Tyranny and Oppression; they restor'd the old Worship, and recall'd the banish'd *Presbyterian* Ministers. Scotland.

The Populace at *Edinburgh* broke into all Popish Chapels, and into the Church of *Holyrood House*, which had been adorn'd at great Charge for the Order of *St. Andrew*. They defac'd it quite, seiz'd on the Earl of *Perth* and other Delinquents, and the whole Kingdom declar'd for the Prince, the Castle of *Edinburgh* only excepted. The Episcopal Party in *Scotland* finding they had no other Game to play, stuck to the Viscount *Dundee*. Upon the Prince's coming

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coming to *London*, Duke *Hamilton* call'd a Meeting of all the Men of Quality of the *Scottiſh* Nation then in Town, where after ſome ſmall Oppoſition made by the Earl of *Arran*, his Son, they agreed on an Addreſs to his Highneſs to take on him the Government in *Scotland*, as at the Requeſt of the Lords and Commons he had done in *England*. This Addreſs was ſign'd by above 30 Lords and 80 Gentlemen, and preſented to his Highneſs, who on the 14th of *March* made a like Anſwer to it, as he had given to the Addreſs of the *Engliſh* Peers and Commoners.

Before the *Convention*, ſummon'd by the Prince of *Orange*'s circular Letters, met, the Privy Council receiv'd a Letter from K. *James*, dated at *St. Germaine en Laie* in *France*, wherein he tells them, *It had been his conſtant Care, ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, to govern his People with that Juſtice and Moderation as to give no Occaſion of Complaint.* His Juſtice appear'd in ſuffering the *Freeholds* of his Subjects to be taken from them by Force, as in the Caſe of *Magdalen* College and innumerable other Caſes; his Moderation in taking pleaſure to hear the Accounts of that *Butcher Jefferies*'s bloody Aſſizes in the *Weſt*. Is it not prodigious to Aſtoniſhment, that he ſhould boaſt of his Moderation and Juſtice, when there was no Part of the Kingdom that was not groaning and trembling under his Tyranny, and deploring the Loſs of their Liberties and Properties, and the Danger they were in of loſing their Religion? He aſſures them he had *redreſs'd all Grievances before he went away, and anſwer'd all the Ends of the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration.* Every Word of which, every one of thoſe Counſellors knew to be untrue. However he goes on, and deſires them to carry this good News to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about the City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; to the Lord Mayor and Commons of *London*, that he deſires nothing more *than to hold a Free Parliament, and have an Opportunity to ſhew the Sincerity of his Proteſtations*, to preſerve the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, and the Proteſtant Religion, *more eſpecially the Church of* England *as by Law eſtabliſh'd.* Men of Ingenuity and Modeſty cannot conceive how it was poſſible for any one, who juſt came from breaking his Word with the *Church* in the moſt notorious and enormous manner, which he knew was well known to every Soul in the Nation, to boaſt of his Sincerity in promiſing to preſerve it. This was a fine Recommendation to his Council to recall him, and the Effect of it was ſuitable to the Merit; they took no notice of his Letter, and,

King James's Letter to the Privy-Council.

Convention.

On the 22d of *January*, the *Convention* met at *Weſtminſter*. Both Houſes immediately proceeded to the Choice of their Speakers. The Marquis of *Hallifax* carry'd it in the Houſe of Lords againſt the Earl of *Danby*; and *Henry Powle* Eſq; was unanimouſly choſen by the Houſe of Commons, tho' it was thought Mr. *Edward Seymour* would have ſtood in competition with him. The Chairs being thus fill'd, the Prince of *Orange*'s Letter to both Houſes was read to them, containing in Subſtance,

Prince of Orange's *Letter to them.*

" A Recommendation to them to anſwer the " Ends of his Declaration, and lay the Foundation of a firm Security, for their Religion, " Laws, and Liberties. He mention'd to them " the dangerous Condition of *Ireland*, and the " Danger the States of the *United Provinces* were " in, which call'd for their early Aſſiſtance."

Mr. Powle's *Speech.*

This Letter being read, Mr. *Powle*, the Speaker, repreſented " the dangerous State of the " Nation, the fatal Conſequence of Anarchy, " the deplorable Condition of *Ireland*, the " Growth of the Power of *France*, the vaſt Deſigns " of that aſpiring turbulent Monarch, not only the " Perſecutor of the Proteſtant Religion, but likewiſe the known Enemy of *England*. He excited them to put the Nation into a poſture, not " only to ſecure themſelves againſt his Attempts, " but alſo to make ſuch a powerful Diverſion in " the Bowels of his Dominions, as that they " might recover their former Conqueſts in " *France*, &c."

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This Speech was univerſally applauded, and indeed there was ſuch a Spirit then in the People of *England*, animated by their Deliverance, and glorying in their Deliverer, that nothing leſs was talk'd of than marching directly to the Walls of *Paris*; the Wagers running on that ſide. The firſt thing the Convention did, was to vote an Addreſs of Thanks to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, to acknowledge his Care, and deſire him to take on him the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. In this Addreſs the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons joined, and the Prince in his Anſwer the next day, accepted of the Adminiſtration, *and recommended to them Diſpatch, not only for a Settlement at home upon a good Foundation, but for the Safety of* Europe. Even now a Party, who never had eaſe if any one elſe were eaſy, grown proud by Succeſs, and wanton by Security, began early to envy the Peace which was promis'd our Diſſenting Brethren, and fall off from the Publick Intereſt, as it was an Enemy to Perſecution. This appear'd by their Oppoſing the Vote for the *Vacancy of the Throne*. Mr. *Dolben* was the firſt that ſtood up, *January* 28, and made a long Speech, tending to prove that the *Throne was vacant*, which another Member oppoſing with ſome Heat, Sir *Richard Temple* ask'd him, *If the Throne is not Vacant, what Buſineſs have we in this Place, and what need was there of calling a* Convention? The Party, who repented of what they had been doing for the Good of their Country, out of ſpite to the *Nonconformiſts*, who they were afraid would be the better for it, and inclined to invite King *James* back again, finding they were not ſtrong enough to divide the Houſe, made many Harangues againſt the *Vacancy*; and it will doubtleſs not be amiſs to remember the Names of thoſe Gentlemen, that their Memory may have a ſhare of the Glory they aſcrib'd to themſelves for the Stand they made againſt the Revolution.

Mr. Dolben first moves the Vacancy of the Throne.

The Party againſt King William and Queen Mary.

Sir *Ralph Verney*, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Sir *Levins Bennet*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *Bourchier Wray*, *Nicholas Glynn* Eſq; Sir *John St. Aubin*, *Charles Godolphin* Eſq; *John Tanner* Eſq; *Alexander Pendarves* Eſq; *James Praed* Eſq; *Jonathan Raſhleigh* Eſq; *Francis Vivian* Eſq; *John Speccot* Eſq; Sir *Joſeph Tredenham*, *Henry Seymour* Eſq; *Francis Robarts* Eſq; Sir *John Coryton*, *John Prideaux* Eſq; Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, *John Cooke* Eſq; Sir *Edward Seymour*, *Rawlin Mallack* Eſq; Sir *John Fowell*, *William Cary* Eſq; *Henry Northleigh* Eſq; Sir *Arthur Chicheſter*, *Edmund Walrond* Eſq; *Chriſtopher Bale* Eſq; *William Hayne* Merchant, *William Coleman* Eſq; *Thomas Strangewaies* Eſq; *John Pole* Eſq; Sir *Robert Napier*, *Edward Nicholas* Eſq; *Richard Fownes* Eſq; *William Okeden* Eſq; *William Lampton* Eſq; *Robert Byerley* Eſq; *George Morland* Eſq; *William Cook* Eſq; *Thomas Maſter* Eſq; Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, *Henry Cornwallis* Eſq; *John Bigg* Eſq; Sir *John Banks*, Sir *Roger Twiſden*, *Caleb Banks* Eſq; *Francis Cholmondeley* Eſq; Sir *Edward Chiſnal*, Sir *Thomas Halford*, *Thomas Babington* Eſq; *Charles Bertie* Eſq; Sir *John Brown-*

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Brownlow, Sir *Charles Gerrard*, *Ralph Hawtry* Eſq; *Charles* Marquis of *Worceſter*, Sir *William Coke*, Sir *Francis Guybon*, Sir *Nevil Catlyn*, Sir *John Turner*, *Edward Mountague* Eſq; *Gilbert Dolben* Eſq; Sir *Juſtinian Iſham*, Sir *William Langham*, *Richard* Lord *Wenman*, *William Forſter* Eſq; *Philip Bickerſtaff* Eſq; Sir *Ralph Carr*, *Roger Fenwick* Eſq; *William* Lord *Eland*, Sir *Robert Jenkinſon*, Sir *John Cope*, Sir *Thomas Clargis*, *Henry Bertie* Eſq; Sir *John Doyley*, Sir *Thomas Mackworth*, *Edward Kynaſton* Eſq; *Andrew Newport* Eſq; Sir *Francis Edwards*, Sir *Edward Acton*, *George Weld* Eſq; Sir *Richard Hart*, Sir *John Knight*, Sir *William Baſſet*, *Edward Berkley* Eſq; Sir *William Portman*, *John Sandford* Eſq; Sir *Francis Warr*, *Francis Lutterel* Eſq; *Nathaniel Palmer* Eſq; Sir *Edward Wyndham*, *William Helyar* Eſq; *John Hunt* Eſq; *Thomas Saunders* Eſq; *Francis Morley* Eſq; Sir *Benjamin Newland*, Sir *Robert Holmes*, *Richard* Earl of *Ranelagh*, *Thomas Done* Eſq; *Francis Gwynn* Eſq; *William Ettrick* Eſq; *John Pollen* Eſq; *John Gray* Eſq; *Robert Burdett* Eſq; *John Chetwynd* Eſq; Sir *Henry Gough*, Sir *John Cordell*, Sir *John Rous*, Sir *John Barker*, *Thomas Glenham* Eſq; Sir *Henry Johnſon*, *William Johnſon* Eſq; Sir *John Pooley*, *Thomas Knyvet* Eſq; *Henry Pooley* Eſq; Sir *Thomas Harvey*, Sir *Robert Davers*, *John Weſton* Eſq; *White Tichburne* Eſq; Sir *William Morley*, *John Alford* Eſq; *Charles Goring* Eſq; *William Morley* Eſq; Sir *Richard Verney*, Sir *George Cave*, *William Cheyne* Eſq; *William* Lord *Digby*, *William Colemore* Eſq; *Richard Lowther* Eſq; *Robert Hyde* Eſq; *Richard Lewis* Eſq; *Peregrine Bertie* Eſq; *Charles Fox* Eſq; Sir *Edmund Warnford*, *John Dean* Eſq; Sir *John Ernle*, Sir *George Willoughby*, *Henry Parker* Eſq; Sir *John Matthews*, *Henry Chivers* Eſq; *Walter Grub* Eſq; *Peregrine* Lord *Dumblaine*, Sir *Jonathan Jenings*, *Chriſtopher Tancred* Eſq; *Edward Jones* Eſq; Sir *Richard Middleton*, *Edward Brereton* Eſq; *Thomas Manſel* Eſq; Sir *William Wogan*.

Theſe were all againſt the Vote that the King had *Abdicated*, and that the Throne was *Vacant*; and others ſpoke againſt it, who when the laſt Queſtion was put, either abſented themſelves, or ran down with the Stream, as probably Mr. *F*—, who made a very long Speech, and yet he is not in the Liſt of thoſe that voted againſt the *Abdication*. The Subſtance of his Speech was as follows; "That the Prince of *O-*"*range* was too great and too good to accept of "the Crown if it was offer'd him. That the "Popiſh Princes would not ſuffer a Popiſh King "to be thruſt out of his Kingdom, and inſtead "of invading *France*, we ſhould find it difficult "enough to preſerve ourſelves; that thoſe who "wiſh King *James*'s Humiliation do by no "means wiſh his Perdition and Excluſion from "the Crown, neither do they believe the Faults "to be ſingly his, or if they were, not to be "ſufficient to juſtify the depoſing him.

Speech made by Mr. F.

"We are alſo of a *Church* that has been Singu-"lar for her Loyalty and Deference to Kings, and "if we have any Honour for her, we ought to "tread tenderly in that Point." I can repeat no more of it, 'tis too wordy and too trifling to entertain the Reader; he clos'd his Speech, with a Motion for an Addreſs to the Prince of *Orange*, to call *back the King his Father, as the only way to make him renown'd in all the Hiſtories of* Europe. With juſt ſuch a ſort of *Renown* as the *French* Monarch deſerv'd, of whom the old bald Rhime, *The King of* France, *with forty thouſand Men*, &c.

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This Faction, the *Cavaliers* firſt, and the *Tories* after them, they being one and the ſame ſort of Men, are always excuſing Tyranny, by tranſferring the Faults from the King to his Miniſters, *Who*, ſays this Gentleman, *ſees by the Eyes and Ears of other People*, and therefore is not in fault. If the Prince did not know his Miniſters did ill, and was ready to puniſh them as ſoon as he knew it, this Argument would have weight in it; but it is not pretended that this was the Caſe of King *James*; and if a Prince knows his Miniſters do ill, if he protects them in it, if he commands them to do it, which is the Caſe of that King, the Fault is primarily and principally in him: and as to King *James*'s Faults not being ſufficient to *abdicate* him, we refer to the *Declaration of Right*, reſolv'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*.

'Tis pretty odd to hear this florid Speaker cry up the Loyalty of the *Church*, when the Biſhops and chief Churchmen had juſt then been inviting the Prince of *Orange* to bring an Army againſt King *James*, and had as ſoon as he landed given him all Aſſiſtance; as if every Step of that kind which had been taken, wou'd not have been deem'd as errant Rebellion as that of *Monmouth*, had the Prince of *Orange* been unſucceſsful, and as if the *Aſſociation* drawn up at *Exeter*, and ſign'd by the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Abington*, Earl *Rivers*, *John How* Eſq; late Duke of *Leeds*, late Earl of *Scarborough*; nay by *Sancroft* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and eight Biſhops more, was not thought by King *James* and his Adherents, to be as Treaſonable as the famous *Aſſociation*, for which he would have hang'd the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and againſt which ſo many hundred Addreſſes were ſent up to *London* by the Party Mr. *F*— means, when he calls them the *Church*. Incongruity and Inconſiſtency, Contradiction and Nonſenſe are Parts of the Compoſition of theſe Men's Principles and Practices. The abovemention'd Speech had no more Effect than it deſerv'd, and the Houſe proceeded vigorouſly towards the Settlement of the Nation.

Hiſt. Revol. Ech p. 222

The Houſe of Lords appointed Special Aſſiſtants, to adviſe them in Matters of Law, as Lord Chief Baron *Mountague*, Sir *Robert Atkins*, Sir *William Dolben*, Sir *Creſwell Levins*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *Edward Nevile*, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Bradbury*, and Mr. *Petit*. They alſo order'd a *Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for having made the Prince of* Orange *the Glorious Inſtrument of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from* Popery *and* Arbitrary Power; in which the Commons alſo join'd with them, and eleven Biſhops were appointed to compoſe the Prayers, as Dr. *Compton*, Biſhop of *London*; Dr. *Loyd*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*; Dr. *Loyd*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; Dr. *Turner*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Dr. *Lake*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Dr. *Frampton*, Biſhop of *Glouceſter*; Dr. *Ken*, Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*; Dr. *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; Dr. *Barlow*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*; Dr. *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; Dr. *Trelawny*, Biſhop of *Exeter*. Six of whom were afterwards *Nonjurors*, tho' in this very Act of theirs, they were, in their own King's Senſe, guilty of as much Treaſon, as was Col. *Algernon Sidney*, who was condemned to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd, for writing againſt *Filmer*.

H. of Lords.

Aſſiſtants.

All the World knows King *James* treated the Prince of *Orange* as at the Head of a Rebellion, that he call'd his Adherents Rebels, and yet theſe ſix *Nonjurors*, *Loyd*, *Turner*, *Lake Frampton*, *Ken*, *White*, pray, *That God, who in Times of Trouble and Danger, does raiſe up Deliverers of his People, would bleſs his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange.

Nonjuring Biſhops make a Form of Prayer for the Prince of Orange.

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of Orange, *whom he has ſent to be the Defender of our Laws and Religion, that he would protect his Perſon, ſtrengthen his Hands*, &c. In the general Thankſgiving Prayers, Dr. *Ken*, Dr. *Frampton*, Dr. *Turner*, Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. *White*, Dr. *Lake*, *bleſs the holy Name of God, who has rais'd up for them a mighty* Deliverer, *by whom he has wrought this great Salvation.* Theſe Nonjuring Biſhops here call the *Reſiſtance* made by the Prince of *Orange* and his Adherents, *The Salvation of the Lord.* And in another Prayer, *The Work of the Lord*, and pray the Almighty to *bleſs the Hands of thoſe*, who drew their Swords againſt King *James*. Their own Words are, *Go on to perfect, O gracious God, the Work that thou haſt begun amongſt us, bleſs and proſper the Hands by which thou haſt convey'd this Mercy to us.* In another Prayer, theſe Nonjurors ſay, *We give Glory to thy holy Name for our Deliverance from the intolerable Yoke of the* Romiſh *Church.* Again, *It was becauſe thy Compaſſions fail'd not*, that *our holy* Reform'd Religion *was not overwhelm'd with* Popiſh Superſtition *and* Idolatry, *that our Laws and Liberties are reſcu'd from the Bands of Violence and Oppreſſion.* They own King *James* to have been a Tyrant, and thank the Almighty for the *Reſiſtance* that delivered them: let us compare this with the *Oxford* Decree, with the Sermons and Libels of *Hicks*, *Leſley*, *Hill*, *Sacheverel*, *T—p*, &c. with the Behaviour of thoſe Biſhops afterwards, and then we ſhall have a juſt Conception of their Congruity, Conſiſtency, their Sincerity and Piety.

Ech. *ib.* p. 233.

Echard aſſures us the Motion made by Mr. *Dolben*, was for the Convention to proceed, as if King *James* was actually dead, and that this *home Motion* was ſeconded by Sir *Richard Temple*, and ſupported by Sir *Robert Sawyer*; which is not very likely, *Sawyer* being in the black Liſt of thoſe who voted againſt the Abdication, and it is very likely that he is not injur'd by being enroll'd there.

Sir *Robert Howard* made an eloquent convincing Speech on the ſame ſide of the Queſtion with Mr. *Dolben* and Sir *Richard Temple*. *Echard* affirms, he was the firſt who ventur'd to aſſert the *Vacancy of the Throne*, and the Breach of the *Original Contract* by a continu'd Series of illegal Acts. 'Tis true as to the latter, but Mr. *Dolben* firſt aſſerted that the Throne was *Vacant*, and being an Archbiſhop's Son, did in a manner ſet the Church at the Head of this Affair. Sir *Robert Howard*'s Allegations were maintain'd by Mr. *Sacheverel*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *George Treby*, Mr. *Somers*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Mr. *Garraway*: theſe Gentlemen were oppos'd by Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Mr. *Heneage Finch*, Lord *Fanſhaw*, Sir *Thomas Clarges*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, &c. Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave* ſaid, that *to vote the Throne to be vacant, would be actually to depoſe the King.* What Strength there is in their Arguments? To place one Man in a Chair which another Man has left, is to turn that other Man out of it. *Muſgrave* deſir'd to know from the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, *Whether that could legally be done*? What do theſe *Sophiſters* pretend to? Why did not he ask the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, whether the Earl of *Danby* could legally riſe in Arms againſt King *James* in the North? Whether the Earl of *Abingdon* could legally do the ſame in the Weſt, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury legally* make a Prayer for thoſe whom King *James* call'd Rebels, and who would have been treated as Rebels had they not ſucceeded? Why did he not ask the Gentlemen of the Long Robe, if the Heads of Colleges at *Oxford* could legally ſign an *Aſſociation* to ſtand by a Prince, whom their Sovereign Lord declar'd to be in Arms againſt him.

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'Tis the ſame Cant that was us'd in King *Charles* the Firſt's time. That Prince, who had ſo little govern'd by Law, had, as has been often obſerv'd, nothing oftner in his Declarations than *the Law, the Laws of the Land*, and the like. Thoſe who oppos'd the Settlement of the Nation, having no better Reaſons than Mr. *F——*and Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*; the Committee, *Richard Hampden* Eſq; in the Chair, and afterwards the whole Houſe, *January* the 28th,

Reſolv'd,

That King James *the Second, having endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom by breaking the* Original Contract *between King and People, and by the Advice of Jeſuits and other wicked Perſons, having violated the* Fundamental Laws, *and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom, hath* abdicated *the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.* Which Reſolution was immediately ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. *Abdication Vote.*

Before the Commons came to this *Grand Vote*, they receiv'd a Letter ſent them by the Lord *Preſton*, and hearing it came from King *James*, they would not ſo much as open it. The Contents of it were the ſame with that directed *To the Lords and others of the Privy-Council*, before mentioned. The like Letter was ſent by the ſame Lord to the Houſe of Peers, where a Motion was made for reading it, but it was warmly oppos'd and rejected. However, their Lordſhips ſent for *Preſton*, and demanded how he came by the Letter, who ſaid, he had it from a *Scotſman*; upon which, he was order'd to produce him, and attend the Houſe with him within three Days. The *Scotſman*'s Name was *Hays*, and at the time appointed he appear'd in the Houſe, whom he inform'd, " That when he " left *Paris*, on the Monday before, the King " commanded him to call at *St. Germains* on " the Earl of *Melfort* for a Packet of Letters to " the Lord *Preſton*, which he did, and had de- " livered them according to his Orders, and that " was all he knew of the Matter." A Motion was again made for reading the Letter, but it was again rejected. *Echard* tells us that the Letter being ſign'd by *Melfort*, diſguſted ſeveral of the Lords, who had before been zealous for the King. *Debated by the Lords.*

On the 29th of *January*, the Lords conſider'd the *Grand Vote*, ſent up to them by the Commons in a Committee of the whole Houſe, the Earl of *Danby*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, in the Chair. The firſt Motion was, " *Not to agree* " *with the Commons that the* Throne *was* vacant, " but only firſt to ſuppoſe it for the preſent, " leaving it to be further examined afterwards, " in order to cut ſhort ſeveral other Queſtions by " determining this firſt, *Whether the Throne be-* " *ing* vacant, *it ought* to be fill'd by a Regent " or a King?

It is a very unpleaſant Task to me to repeat what was ſaid for the Regency, it being in ſome places trifling, in ſome abſurd, and all ſo well anſwer'd by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Danby*, and thoſe illuſtrious Peers and Patriots, who aſſerted the Liberty of the Conſtitution, were great in Argument and like *Truth prevail'd.* It was alledg'd, *I muſt not name Names*, " That if upon any Pretence *whatſoe-* " *ver* the Nation might throw off their King," *even after that King had thrown off the Kingdom*, " then the Crown muſt become precarious, " and the Supremacy be lodg'd in the People, " which depoſing Power would deſtroy the hap- " py Mixture in the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and end " in a new Species of Government unknown to " this Nation." *Here is twice Nation in one Sen-*

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tence, yet a Biſhop inſulted Baxter *at the* Savoy *Conference* for making uſe of the Term as *Republican*. If the Nation might not on any Pretence whatſoever throw off their King, then the *Engliſh* were oblig'd to ſubmit firſt to the Pope, and afterwards to the King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, when King *John* had given them his Kingdom; the Abſurdity of which, is too viſible to need Explanation.

If there's a Mixture in the *Engliſh* Monarchy, what is it that is mix'd with it? Is it not the legiſlative Power as lodg'd in Lords and Commons? And if that Power is not to guard againſt the Subverſion of the Laws, it is a Shadow only, and has no Subſtance; of which I ſhall be convinc'd, when I can believe that *One* is more than *Two*, and the *Whole* leſs than a *Part*. *Echard* adds, that in the ſame Speech *much was brought both from the Laws and Hiſtory of* England, *to prove*, "That not only the *Perſon*, "but the *Authority* of the King is ſacred." Eternal Sophiſtry! The Perſon and Authority of the King, governing according to Law and his Coronation Oath, is ſacred, and to reſiſt him a damnable Sin. This is univerſally granted; but when he throws off the Authority the Law gives him, and aſſumes an arbitrary tyrannical Power over his Subjects, Body and Soul, is his Authority then *ſacred*? Thoſe that are minded to ſee more of this edifying Argument againſt placing King *William* and Queen *Mary* on the Throne, againſt the Succeſſion of Queen *Anne*, King *George* I. his preſent Majeſty, and his Royal Poſterity, are refer'd to *Echard*, and the common Hiſtories, where that and other Arguments of equal force are in great plenty. The Archdeacon owns, "Some intended to bring "King *James* back, and artfully join'd in this, "as the probable means of ſoftning the Nation, "and removing the preſent Averſion to that "Prince; which done, a little Time might "bring about their Deſigns."

Lords for the Vacancy.

The noble Peers who inſiſted that the Throne was *Vacant*, and that it might be fill'd with a King, urg'd, "That a *Regent* was as much or "more againſt *Monarchy* than what they had "propos'd. If a King's ill Government gave "the People a Right in any caſe to take away "his Power, and lodge it with another, owning "that the Right to it ſtill remain'd with him; "this would have as ill Conſequences as the "pretended Danger by *Diverſity of Factions*, "and Variety of Elections, ſince recourſe would "be had to this violent Remedy as often and as "raſhly as the other. By the Propoſition of a "*Regent*, there would be in effect two Kings at "the ſame time, one with the *Title*, and the "other with the *Power*, which was more illegal "and unſafe than the Method then propos'd. "If the Oaths to King *James* were thought to "be ſtill in force, his Subjects by theſe were "not only bound to maintain his *Title*, but all "his *Powers* and *Prerogatives*; and therefore "it ſeem'd *abſurd* to continue a Government in "his Name, and to ſwear to him as King, "when all the Kingly Power was taken out of "his hands. If the Government ſhould be "carry'd on in the Name of King *James* by "the hands of others, the Body of the Nation "would conſider him as the Perſon who was "really their King; and if any ſhould plot or "act in his behalf, they could not be proſecuted "for *High Treaſon*, as conſpiring againſt the "*Perſon* or *Government* of the King; when it "would be apparent, that they were only de-"ſigning to preſerve his Perſon, and reſtore him "to his Government. To proceed againſt, and "to condemn any to die for ſuch Practice, would "be to add Murder to Perjury." Theſe and other Arguments had ſuch weight in this auguſt Aſſembly, that when the Queſtion was put, there were 51 for a *King*, and but 49 for a *Regency*. Among the latter were,

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Lords againſt the Vacancy.

Duke of *Somerſet*,	Lord *Leigh*,
Duke of *Ormond*,	Lord *Ferrars*,
Duke of *Southampton*,	Lord *Maynard*,
Duke of *Grafton*,	Lord *Chandos*,
Duke of *Beaufort*,	Lord *Jermin*,
Duke of *Northumberland*,	Lord *Arundel* of *Trerice*,
Earl of *Kent*,	Lord *Dartmouth*,
Earl of *Pembroke*,	Lord *Griffin*,
Earl of *Clarendon*,	Archbiſhop of *York*,
Earl of *Rocheſter*,	Biſhop of *Norwich*,
Earl of *Craven*,	Biſhop of *Wincheſter*,
Earl of *Weſtmorland*,	Biſhop of *Ely*,
Earl of *Scarſdale*,	Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*,
Earl of *Cheſterfield*,	Biſhop of *Peterborough*,
Earl of *Litchfield*,	Biſhop of *Chicheſter*,
Earl of *Yarmouth*,	Biſhop of *Rocheſter*,
Earl of *Lindſey*,	Biſhop of *St. David's*,
Viſcount *Weymouth*,	Biſhop of *Oxford*,
Lord *Coventry*,	Biſhop of *Glouceſter*,
Lord *Brook*,	Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Mr. Archdeacon informs us, that the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Earl of *Mulgrave*, whom King *William* afterwards created Marquis of *Normanby*, did not appear in the Houſe, and the Lord *Churchil* alſo abſented himſelf, pretending ſome Indiſpoſition; but it was ſuppos'd he was abſent out of Decency only, and in conſideration of the Favours he had receiv'd from the abdicated King. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was always abſent, and Mr. *Echard* adds, "Indeed the Odiouſneſs of a *Depoſing Power* "had made ſo deep an Impreſſion on the Minds "of the *Clergy*, that none of the Biſhops knew "how to come into the Opinion of filling up the "Throne, but Dr. *Compton* Biſhop of *London*, "and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny* Biſhop of *Briſtol*." But they knew very well how to come into the Opinion to invite the Prince of *Orange* to come with a mighty Fleet and Army againſt the King, who fill'd the Throne, and to make Prayers for the Prince's Succeſs againſt him, which was as criminal in the Opinion of King *James*, as the drawing the Duke of *Monmouth*'s, or the Earl of *Argyle*'s Declaration. The Duke of *Ormond*, and three of King *Charles*'s natural Sons, the Dukes of *Southampton*, *Grafton*, and *Northumberland*, ſoon left the Party for the *Regency*, and fell in with that for a *King*.

The Lords proceeded farther on the *Grand Vote*, *January* 31. and put this Queſtion, *Whether or no there was an* Original Contract *between* King *and* People? Some maintain'd that Kings held their Crowns by *Divine Right*, which was vehemently deny'd by others, who aſſerted, "That all Power originally belong'd "to the Community, and to the King only by "*Mutual Contract*." The former inſiſted that there was no ſuch thing in being, and ask'd, *Where it was kept, and how they might come at it*? We have obſerv'd of the *Cavaliers* in former Times, that whenever they pretended to Wit, 'twas as aukard and clumſy as the Jeſts of Clowns, or the Mirth of Fools. The *Original Contract* was kept in the *Coronation* Oaths, till *Laud* and *Sancroft* alter'd them, and might there be found as well as in all the Records of antient Times. Sir *Robert Philips*, Knight of the Shire for *Somerſet* in King *James* the Firſt's Time, aſſerted this *Original Contract* in Parliament, in the very Terms, above Threeſcore Years before this *Convention*, as may be ſeen in that Reign; and now, ſays *Echard*, and thinks he

Original Contract *aſſerted.*

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ſays ſomething, they ask'd *where the* Original Contract *was kept, and how they might come at it* ? as if it had been *Articles of Agreement had and made* between *John a Nokes*, and *Tom a Stiles* laid by in an old Coffer.

The Archdeacon himſelf can't help repeating enough of what was ſaid in Anſwer to it, to juſtify this Mirth. " Others anſwer'd it was " imply'd in a legal and limited Government, " tho' in a long Tract of Time and dark Ages, " there was not ſuch an explicit Proof of it to be " found. Yet many Hints from Law-Books, " antient Hiſtories, and the Proceedings at *Co-* " *ronations*, ſupported the Truth of it ; and e- " ven the Conqueror himſelf was receiv'd upon " his promiſing to keep the Laws of *Edward* the " *Confeſſor*, which was plainly the *Original* " *Contract* between him and the Nation. Theſe " were often renew'd by his Succeſſors, more eſ- " pecially by their ſeveral Confirmations of " *Magna Charta*, and *Edward* II. and *Ri-* " *chard* II. were *depos'd* for breaking theſe " *Laws* and *Contracts*, which Proceedings were " ſtill good in Law ; ſince they were never re- " vers'd, nor was the Right of *Depoſing* them " ever renounc'd or diſown'd. It was ask'd, " what ſignify'd all the *Limitations* of the Regal " Power, if when a King broke thro' them all, " the People were left without Remedy to " maintain their Laws, and preſerve their Con- " ſtitution ? "

The contrary Notion is like that *Nonſenſe*, with which the ſame Party complemented Queen *Anne*, upon *H——y*'s hated Revolution in the Miniſtry. They cry'd up in their Addreſſes her divine, hereditary, unalienable, indefeaſible Right to the Crown, at the ſame time that they affirm'd the Pretender to be her true Brother : Thus it was an unmix'd mix'd Monarchy, a limited unlimited Government ; for all *Limitations*, of Regal Power, according to theſe Men, were no where to *be come at*, and the Subjects had no Remedy to main- rain their Laws and preſerve their Conſtitution. Upon the finiſhing of this Debate, which was un- equally maintain'd by the *Negative*, the Queſtion, *Whether King* James *had broke the ſaid* Original Contract, *paſt in the Affirmative*, *Yea's* 53, *No's* 46 ; by which it appear'd, that the Num- ber of thoſe who were for the *Regency* was much leſſen'd. In the mean time the People began to diſreliſh theſe Debates, and the Stand that was put to the wiſh'd-for *Revolution*. They were impatient of the old Cathedral Topicks of *Jure Divino*, and a *Petition* was drawn up and carry'd about *London* for Hands, addreſs'd *to the Lords* Spiritual *and* Temporal, *aſſembled in the* Grand Convention, &c. wherein it was ſaid,

A Petition to the Lords.

" Whereas we are in a deep Senſe of the " Danger of Delays and perplex'd Debates a- " bout ſettling the Government, at this time " *Vacant*, by reaſon whereof the neceſſary Ends " of Government cannot be duly adminiſtred, " we humbly deſire that his Illuſtrious Highneſs " the Prince of *Orange*, and his Royal Conſort " the Princeſs, may be ſettled on the *Throne* ; " by whoſe Courage, Conduct, and Reputation " this Nation and the *Proteſtant Religion* may " be defended from our Enemies, both at home " and abroad ; and that *Ireland*, now in a " bleeding and deplorable Condition, may be " reſcu'd from its Miſeries, and theſe Kingdoms " ſettled on a laſting Foundation in *Peace* and " *Liberty*."

His Highneſs had not appear'd on any ſide of the Queſtions debated in the Convention, which he reſolv'd ſhould be free, and that there ſhould not be the leaſt colour for the Enemies to our Liberty and Peace to ſay they were under any Direction ; Therefore to prevent its being in- ſinuated that he approv'd of this Petition, he caus'd the Lord Mayor to iſſue an Order to ſup- preſs it.

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King *James*'s Acceſſion-Day, *February* 6th, approaching, the Houſe of Peers order'd it ſhould not be obſerv'd as a *Holiday*, and took into conſideration the Word *Abdicated*, and con- cluded that the Word *Deſerted* was more proper for this occaſion. They next examin'd the Word *Vacant*, and put this Queſtion, *Whether King* James *having broken the* Original Contract *be- tween him and his People, and* Deſerted *the Go- vernment, the Throne was thereby* Vacant ? Thoſe who were for bringing back King *James*, and all the Miſeries that he had carry'd away with him, debated this Queſtion with greater Heat, but I can't ſay with greater Force than any of the former ; and ſome, according to *E- chard*, were for a *Tye* between him and the Na- tion, inſtead of the *Original Contract*. How- ever the Term *Vacant* was ſtill too ſtrong for the Major Vote, and when it was put to the queſtion, it was carry'd in the Negative by eleven Voices. And a Motion being made that the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* be immediately declar'd *King* and *Queen*, it was alſo carry'd in the *Ne-* *gative* by five Voices. Againſt which Vote the Marquiſſes of *Halliſax* and *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Danby* and *Devonſhire*, the Lord *De- lamere* and others, to the Number of *Forty*, en- ter'd their *Proteſt*. Lord *Lovelace* offer'd a Pe- tition to the Houſe ; upon which the Earl of *Cla- rendon* mov'd, " That according to a ſtanding " Order of the Houſe he himſelf ſhould open it, " and acquaint the Houſe with the Contents of " it, and by whom it was ſign'd." The Lord *Ferrars* ſeconded that Motion ; upon which Lord *Lovelace* withdrew it, ſaying, *It was not yet ſign'd, but ſhould be by Hands enough*. *E- chard* adds, " Great Numbers of the *Rabble* " flock'd that Morning to *Weſtminſter*, with " *Will. Killegrew* at the head of them, but it " made little Impreſſion on their Lordſhips." By *Rabble* he and his Brother Hiſtory-Writers mean every Man, whoſe Zeal for the Conſtitution is apt to break out into any kind of Activity. There was to my knowledge among thoſe whom he calls Rabble, Men of ſuperior Cha- racter to himſelf, in whatever light we look upon him ; and it would not have been eaſy for the Enemies of the Revolution to have hinder'd its taking effect, had they continu'd their En- deavours. The Lords the ſame day, *February* the 4th, ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, *That they had conſider'd of their Vote* of the 28th of *January* laſt. *Inſtead of the Word* Abdicated *they would have* Deſerted *to be put in, and theſe Words*, And that the Throne is thereby become Vacant, *to be left out*.

Votes a- gainſt the Vacancy.

Lords A- mendment to the Grand Vote of the Commons.

Does there not ſeem ſomething very extraor- dinary, I will not ſay extravagant, in theſe A- mendments ? If King *James* was gone, and as the Earl of *Clarendon* ſaid, *His own Opinion would concur to ſecure the Nation againſt his Return*, is not the plain Senſe and *Engliſh* of it, *He has put himſelf out, and we'll keep him out* ? Call it *Deſertion* or *Abdication*, the Conſequence is the ſame to King *James* ; and if the Throne was not *Vacant*, he muſt be out of it and in it at the ſame time, which is a new Doctrine of Tran- ſubſtantiation, that could not be ſwallow'd by good Proteſtants. And as ſoon as the Commons had conſider'd of theſe Amendments, it was car- ry'd by a great Majority, *February* 5th, that a Committee ſhould be appointed to draw up Reaſons why that Houſe could not concur with their Lordſhips ; which were as follows : As to the

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the firſt *Amendment*, the Word *Deſerted* did not fully expreſs the Concluſion from the Premiſes, which the Lords had agreed in agreeing to all the reſt of the *grand Vote*, except the *Abdication* and *Vacancy*, their Lordſhips having

Commons Reaſons againſt the Amendment.

Reſolved,

That King James II. *had endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the* Original Contract *between King and People, and had violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the Kingdom.*

Now the Word *Deſerted*, as the Commons argued, reſpected only the *withdrawing*; but the Word *Abdicated* reſpected the whole, for which purpoſe the Commons made choice of it.

And as to the ſecond *Amendment* the Commons could not agree to leave out the Words, *And that the Throne is thereby vacant*. 1ſt, Becauſe they conceived, that they might well infer, from ſo much of their own Vote, as their Lordſhips had agreed to, That King *James* the *Second* had *Abdicated* the Government, and that the Throne was thereby *Vacant*. So that if the Commons ſhould admit their Lordſhips Amendment, that he had only *Deſerted* the Government, yet even thence it would follow that the Throne is *vacant*, as to King *James* II, *deſerting the Government*, being in true Conſtruction deſerting the Throne. 2dly, The Commons conceived, they needed not to prove to their Lordſhips, that as to any other Perſon the *Throne was alſo Vacant*, their Lordſhips having, as the Commons conceived, already admitted it, by their Addreſſing to the Prince of *Orange*, the 25th of *December* paſt, to take upon him the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and to take into his Care the Kingdom of *Ireland*, till the meeting of this *Convention*; and by their Lordſhips renewing the ſame Addreſs to his Highneſs, ſince they met, and by appointing of Publick *Thankſgivings* to be obſerv'd throughout the whole Kingdom. All which the Commons conceived to imply, that it was their Lordſhips Opinion, that the *Throne* was *Vacant*, and to ſignify ſo much to the People of *England*. 3dly, It is from thoſe who are upon the *Throne* of *England*, when there are any ſuch, from whom the People of *England* ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cauſe, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects; but there being none now from whom they expect Regal Protection, and to whom for that Cauſe, they owe the Allegiance of Subjects, the Commons conceived the *Throne Vacant*. Theſe Reaſons were given the Lords by *Richard Hampden* Eſq; at a Conference which the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, afterwards Duke of *Bolton*, had been ſent to deſire: At which Conference, Mr. *Hampden* reported, *February* the 6th, that the Earl of *Nottingham* ſaid, "The Lords had deſir'd this Conference, "that they might be as happily united to the "Commons in Opinion, as they are inſeparable "in their Intereſt, and that they are at this "time uneaſy, that they cannot concur with the "Commons in every thing, becauſe it is of ſo "great Concern to the Nation, and from ſo great "and wiſe a Body.

Earl of Nottingham *at the Conference.*

"That the Lords did inſiſt upon the firſt A-"mendment, becauſe they did not find, that the "Word *Abdicated* was a Word known to the "Common Law of *England*, and becauſe in the "moſt common Acceptation in the Civil Law, "*Abdicated* was a voluntary expreſs Act of *Re-*"*nunciation*, which was not in this Caſe, and did "not follow from the Premiſes, *That King* "James *the Second, by having withdrawn him-*"*ſelf, after having endeavour'd to ſubvert the* "*Conſtitution of the Government, by breaking the* "Original Contract *between King and People,* "*and having violated the Fundamental Laws,* "may be any more properly ſaid to have *Abdi-*"*cated* than to have *Deſerted*. *A. D.* 1688.

"That the Lords alſo inſiſted on the Second "*Amendment*, to leave out the Words, *And the* "*Throne is Vacant*; for tho' their Lordſhips have "agreed that the King has *deſerted* the Govern-"ment, and therefore have made Application to "the Prince of *Orange*, *to take upon him the Ad-*"*miniſtration of the Government, and thereby to* "*provide for the Peace and Safety of the King-*"*dom*; yet there can be no other Inference "drawn from thence, but only that the Exerciſe "of the Government by King *James* the Second "is ceaſed; ſo as the Lords were and are wil-"ling to ſecure this Nation againſt the Return "of the ſaid King into this Kingdom, but not "that there was either ſuch an *Abdication* by "him, or ſuch a *Vacancy* in the Throne, as that "the Crown was thereby become *Elective*, which "they cannot agree."

1ſt, *Becauſe by the Conſtitution of the Government, the Monarchy is Hereditary and not Elective.*

2dly, *Becauſe no Act of the King alone can bar or deſtroy the Right of his Heir to the Crown; and therefore in Anſwer to the third Reaſon alledg'd by the Houſe of Commons, if the* Throne *be* Vacant *of King* James II. *Allegiance is due to ſuch Perſon as the Right of Succeſſion doth belong to.*

The Reverend Archdeacon's Reflections on theſe *Arguments*, I make uſe of his own Words, are ſome of the beſt in his Book. "Their Lord-"ſhips diſſented from a tender Regard to the "Proteſtant Succeſſors, and the reſpectful, legal "Notions of *Hereditary Monarchy*; which had "been too long rooted, to be eaſily removed at "once." That *Reſpectful Notion* did not allow to thruſt King *James* out of his Seat, but it allow'd to hinder his ever getting again into it; and to keep a Man out of his Chair, when he ſtrives to get in again, is I think as diſreſpectful as to diſplace him, when he was in it. The *reſpectful Notion of Hereditary Monarchy* did not hinder this illuſtrious Aſſembly, from applying to a Prince who was not apparently Hereditary, to take on him that Government, to which the *Hereditary Monarch* aſſerted his Right.

Mr. *Hampden* having made the Report of the Conference, *February* the 6th, the Queſtion was put, Whether the Commons do agree with the Lords in the firſt Amendment? and it paſt in the *Negative* with great Unanimity: and then the Queſtion being put, That the Houſe do agree with the Lords in the ſecond Amendment? a warm Debate enſu'd, and the Houſe divided upon the Queſtion. The *Yeas* to go forth; the Tellers for the *Yeas*, Sir *Joſeph Tredenham* and *Francis Gwynn* Eſq; Tellers for the *No's* Mr. *Dutton-Colt*, and Mr. *Herbert*. I think *Names* on both ſides ought to be remembred on this Occaſion. The *Yeas* were 151, the *No's* 282, the Majority 131.

Reſolved,

The Free Conference.

That a *free Conference* be deſir'd with the Lords upon the Subject Matter of the laſt Conference.

Ordered,

That it be referred to

Committee of Commons.

Sir *Robert Howard*.
Henry Pollexfen Eſq;
Paul Foley Eſq;
Mr. Serj. *Maynard*.
Mr. Serj. *Holt*.
Lord *Falkland*.
Sir *George Treby*.
John Somers.
William Garraway Eſq;
Hugh Boſcawen Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Littleton*.
Mr. *Palmer*.

Ri-

A. D. 1688. Richard Hampden Eſq; Giles Eyre Eſq; Sir Henry Capel. Sir Richard Temple. Sir Thomas Lee. Sir Henry Goodrick. Will. Sacheverel Eſq; Edmund Waller Eſq; Major Wildman. Sir John Guiſe. Col. Birch.

To manage the Conference.

Ordered,

That Mr. *Dolben* do go up to the Lords, and deſire a *free Conference* with the Lords upon the ſubject Matter of the laſt Conference.

Mr. *Dolben* reported,

That he having, according to the Order of this Houſe, attended the Lords, to deſire a free Conference with their Lordſhips, upon the Subject Matter of the laſt Conference, they had agreed to a free Conference, preſently in the *painted Chamber*; and the Managers going thither, conferr'd with the Managers for the Lords, who were,

Committee of Lords. Earl of *Pembroke*. Duke of *Somerſet*. Earl of *Nottingham*. Biſhop of *Ely*. Earl of *Rocheſter*. Biſhop of *Peterborough*. Earl of *Clarendon*. Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. Earl of *Ailesbury*. Archbiſhop of *York*. Earl of *Cheſterfield*. Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Earl of *Weſtmorland*.

The Debates at this memorable Conference were carried on with great Solemnity and Strength of Argument. But *Echard* tells us ſomething that is very true upon it, *according to the Senſe of the Nation, the Commons had much the Advantage*, and I have often been puzzled to comprehend what thoſe noble Perſons meant by oppoſing the Settlement. Let us ſuppoſe, that out of Complacency to the *Oxford* Decree, and the reſpectful Notions of *Hereditary Monarchy*, a *Negative* had paſs'd in the Houſe of Peers to the laſt important Queſtion, *Whether the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *ſhould be declared* King *and* Queen: It was viſible the People of *England* were bent upon it, and how could any *Engliſhman* think of the Conſequence of ſuch a *Negative* without trembling? Had the Arguments for it been ſtronger than any I have met with, the People were not to be argued out of the Security which they expected for their Religion, Liberties, Rights and Properties, by ſettling the Government on that *Prince* and *Princeſs*. Inſtead of abdicating, *it was the univerſal Opinion*, as *Echard* confeſſes, that *King* James *had forfeited his Right*, and as to the pretended Prince of *Wales*, the Impoſture was ſo generally believ'd that he was not thought worth mentioning. What then was to be done, but to have recourſe to the next undoubted Heir, the Princeſs of *Orange*, who willingly transferr'd her Divine Right to the *Prince*, with the Conſent of the *Legiſlature*?

Mr. Hampden. The Debate at the *Conference* was open'd by Mr. *Hampden*, who among other Things ſaid, "That the Common Law of *England* is not acquainted with the Word *Abdicate*, is from the "Modeſty of our Law, which is not willing to "ſuppoſe there ſhould be any unfortunate Occaſion of making uſe of it."

Mr. Somers. Mr. *Somers* enlarg'd in anſwer to that Objection, and urg'd, that there was the ſame Exception to their Lordſhips word *Deſertion*, which has not a known Senſe in the Common Law of *England*. Then he explain'd the meaning of the Word *Abdicate*, as ſignifying a *Renouncing* not only by *Expreſs Words, or Writing, but by doing ſuch Acts, as are inconſiſtent with the holding or retaining of the Thing*; in which Senſe 'tis taken by *Grotius, Calvin, Briſonius, Budæus*: Whereas *Deſerted* ſignifies only a *bare Withdrawing, which leaves the Party at liberty to return to it again*, for which he quotes *Spigelius* and *Bartolus*; adding, that to *deſert* in the Canon Law is only *Non-reſidence*, with reſpect to a Benefice, *in which Caſe the Party hath not only a Right to return, but is bound to return again*. Mr. *Somers* added, "As the "Commons do not take this to be the preſent Caſe, "ſo they cannot think that your Lordſhips do, "becauſe it is expreſly ſaid, in one of your Rea"ſons given in Defence of the laſt *Amendment*, "*That your Lordſhips have been, and are wil*"*ling to ſecure the Nation againſt the Return of* "*King* James; which your Lordſhips would "not in juſtice do, if you did look upon it no "more than a *withdrawing*, which leaves the "Party at liberty to return."

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"The Queſtion is not ſo much, whether the *Serj.* Holt. "Word *Abdicated* be as antient as the Common "Law, for that will be no Objection againſt the "uſing it, if it be a Word of a known and certain "Signification, becauſe that we think will juſti"fy the Commons making uſe of it." He then prov'd the Signification of it to be the ſame, as in the Senſe the Commons us'd it, out of *Cicero*, and our Countryman *Minſhew*; adding, "We "have very few Words in our Tongue that are "of equal Antiquity with the *Common Law*. "Your Lordſhips know the Language of *Eng*"*land* is alter'd greatly in ſeveral Succeſſions of "Time, and the Intermixture of other Nations, "and if we ſhould be oblig'd to make uſe only "of Words then known and in uſe, what we "ſhould deliver in ſuch a Dialect, would be ve"ry difficult to be underſtood. He then prov'd, that the doing an Act inconſiſtent with the Being and End of a Thing, but quite the contrary, is an *Abdication*, and formal Renunciation of that Thing.

Earl of Nottingham. The Earl of *Nottingham* ſaid, "The main "Reaſon of the Change of the Word is upon the "account of the Conſequence drawn in the Con"cluſion of the Vote, *That the Throne is thereby* "*vacant*, that is, what the Commons mean by "that Expreſſion, whether you mean it is ſo "*Vacant*, as to null the Succeſſion in the Here"ditary Line, and ſo all the Heirs to be cut off, "which we ſay will make the Crown *Elective*.

Serj. Maynard. *When there is a preſent Defect of one to exerciſe the Adminiſtration of the Government, I conceive the Declaring a* Vacancy, *and Proviſion of a Supply for it, can never make the Crown* Elective. *The Commons apprehend there is ſuch a Defect Now, and by Conſequence a preſent Neceſſity for the Supply of the Government. If the attempting the utter Deſtruction of the Subject, and the Subverſion of the Conſtitution, be not as much an* Abdication, *as the attempting of a Father to cut his Son's Throat, I know not what is. The Conſtitution, notwithſtanding the* Vacancy, *is the ſame; the Laws that are the Foundation and Rules of that Conſtitution are the ſame; but if there be, in any particular Inſtance, a Breach of that Conſtitution, that will be an* Abdication, *and that* Abdication *will infer a* Vacancy.

I ſhall not be very particular, in relating the whole Conference, for tho' the Conſequence of it was of the laſt Importance, yet the Subject ſeems not to be ſo: The Difference being chiefly about the Signification of Words; for as to Things, both Houſes ſeem to be pretty well agreed. The Lords allow'd that King *James* had deſerted the Government, and ſhould never return to it, if they could help it; but they did not allow the Word *Abdicate*; nor that the Throne was *Vacant*, tho' there was no body in it, which was plain by their agreeing that he had deſerted it; for Throne and Government are all one in a Political Senſe. I ſhall only remember ſome Remarkables in certain Speeches at the Conference,

Biſhop of Ely. Dr. *Turner*, Biſhop of *Fly*: *He was for the Abdication of King* James, *if the Right Line of Succeſſion was continued.* This Prelate,

A. D. 1688. after King *William* and Queen *Mary* were crown'd, held a Treaſonable Correſpondence with the ſame King or his Agents: notwithſtanding he own'd that he would take the Oaths to them, if that King was dead, as not looking upon the Pretender to be the right Line of Succeſſion; which is ſpoken of elſewhere, and ſerves to ſhew the Conſiſtency of theſe Men in Sentiment and Practice.

Againſt the Pretender.

Earl of Clarendon

Said, nobody will make the *Coronation-Oath* to be the *Original Contract*. One would think indeed that if a Man *ſwears* to do a thing, he does more than *contract* to do it.

Sir George Treby.

" We are gone back too far, when we offer to " enquire into the *Original Contract*, whether " any ſuch thing is known or underſtood in our " *Law* or *Conſtitution*? And I offer this to your " Lordſhips Conſideration for two Reaſons: " *Firſt*, It is a Phraſe and Thing uſed by the " Learned Mr. *Hooker*, in his Book of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, whom I mention as a valuable " Authority, being one of the beſt Men, the " beſt *Churchman*, and the moſt Learned of our " Nation in his time; and his Works are very " worthily recommended by the Teſtimony of " King *Charles* the Firſt." He allows, *That Government* did originally *begin by* Contract. What follows proves, that, as I ſaid before, the Difference was about the Signification of Words only. " But I have a greater Authority than " this to influence this Matter, and that is your " Lordſhips own, who have agreed to all the " Vote but this word *Deſerted*, and the *Vacancy* " of the *Throne*." Their Lordſhips had agreed that King *James* had broken the *Original Contract*, and it remain'd that he had *deſerted* thereby or *abdicated* the Throne. It was urg'd, that his *Abdication* not being a voluntary Act, could not be a *Renunciation*, no more could it be a *Deſertion*, for that was not voluntary. Now as to *Renunciation*, King *James*'s indeed was not ſo ſolemn and expreſs as Queen *Chriſtina*'s of *Sweden*: But what then? It was as effectual and legal, as Lord *Nottingham* granted it to be. *I will not undertake to diſpute whether a King of* England *may or may not renounce his Kingdom? For my own part, I think he can, and I may go ſo far in agreement with thoſe that have ſpoken to this Point, to yield that he may do it by implicit Acts, contrary to his Kingly Office.* In which his Lordſhip ſeems to go as far, according to my Underſtanding, as the Commons intended; for certainly the *ſubverting the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and the breaking the Original Contract*, are the greateſt *Implicit Acts contrary to the Kingly Office*, and makes the Word *Abdicated* the only proper one, to expreſs the Senſe of the Convention and the Nation. His Lordſhip confirms what he was pleas'd to ſay before by what follows: *For a* King *to ſay, he will not govern according to* Law, *and for a* King *to act wholly contrary to* Law, *and do that which would* ſubvert the Conſtitution, *is, I think, the ſame thing*. I do not repeat what his Lordſhip adds entirely, becauſe I do not conceive there is the ſame Force of Reaſon in it. However I ſhall add this, *If every Tranſgreſſion or Violation of the Law, by the Prince's Connivance or Command, were ſuch a Breach of the fundamental Laws, as would infer an* Abdication, *then were it in vain to call any of his Miniſters to account. Then the Action is the* King's, *and not* theirs, *and then adieu to the Maxim of* A King can do no Wrong. This Argument has the Infirmity, which is in moſt of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s, in his *Hiſtory*. The Houſe of Commons and their Committee, and indeed any one reaſonable Man in the Kingdom, did not pretend *that every Tranſgreſſion or Violation of the* Law *was ſuch a Breach of the* Fundamental Laws, *as would infer an* Abdication; but they did all pretend and aſſert, and the Houſe of Lords had agreed to it, that King *James had endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution, broken the* Original Contract, *and violated the* Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which is infinitely more than a *ſingle Tranſgreſſion*. As to the Maxim of *a King can do no Wrong*, let thoſe make the moſt of it who believe and preach it. I believe King *Charles* the Firſt *did wrong*, when he enter'd the Houſe of Commons with Men in Arms, and that his Miniſters were not accountable for it; and many other Inſtances of Wrong will be met with in the Reigns we write of.

Earl of Nottingham.

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In the Debate about the ſecond Amendment, the *Throne being vacant*, Mr. *Sacheverell*, ſpeaking of the Notion of King *James*'s having left the *Exerciſe* of the Government, and continuing ſtill the Office, ſaid, " If the Caſe were ſo, " then all the Actions we have done in this " *Convention* are wholly not juſtifiable. You " are in no Place or Station to relieve yourſelves " or the Nation in this Exigence, unleſs you " will think of ſetting up another *Regency* by " your own Authority, without his Conſent; " which I conceive, by the Laws of *England*, " you cannot do. What then follows upon all " we have done? We have drawn the Nation " into a Snare by the Steps we have taken, and " leave all in ſuch an Intricacy, as we have no " Power by Law to deliver them out of." This is one of the terrible Conſequences of the *Negative* to the Commons *grand Vote*, which I have given Hints of in the preceding Page.

Mr. Sacheverell.

That great Lawyer Mr. *Pollexfen* ſpoke as to the Diſtinction between the *Exerciſe* of the Government, which their Lordſhips agreed to be *ceaſed* as to King *James*, and his Right to the Government, which the Committee underſtood would remain in the Senſe of the word *Deſerted*, and which they were reſolv'd ſhould remain no where. Mr. *Pollexfen* argu'd thus: " The *Adminiſtration* or *Exerciſe* of the Kingly Government is in Conſtruction and Conſideration of Law all one and the ſame; and, I think, no body that would reaſon aright from thence, can ſay there is any Diſtinction between *Government* and the *Exerciſe of Government*: for whoſoever takes from the King the *Exerciſe of Government*, takes from the King his Kingſhip; for the Power and the Exerciſe of the Power are ſo join'd, that they cannot be ſever'd. And the Terms themſelves, taking them as the Law of *England*, which we are to argue from this Caſe, teacheth them, are ſo coincident, that they cannot either ſubſiſt without conſiſting together. If a Man grant to another the Government of ſuch a Place, this imports the Exerciſe of the Government there to be granted thereby."

Mr. Pollexfen.

Another Reaſon which the Managers for the Lords urg'd againſt the *Vacancy of the Throne* was, that the Government which was *Hereditary* would thus become *Elective*; and indeed the Managers ſeem'd to have direful Apprehenſions of an Increaſe of the People's Liberty by it, tho', as we have long experienc'd, there was not the leaſt danger of it; for, thanks be to God, the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line has continu'd above forty Years uninterrupted, and is like ſo to continue longer than any Succeſſion has hitherto done in the Throne of *England*, for which every good *Engliſhman* prays with all the Powers of his Soul.

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The Learned Mr. *Pollexfen* ſpoke to this alſo: "For the Concluſion, which your Lordſhips "have added to your Reaſon, as making it from "the very Words of your Vote, *That it would "infer ſuch* a Vacancy *in the Throne, as that "the Crown ſhould thereby become* Elective: This "we conceive is a Concluſion that hath no Pre-"miſſes either from our Actions or our Say-"ings, or our Votes, or any thing elſe in this "Caſe; nay, it is quite varying from all Pre-"miſſes: But when ſuch a Concluſion can be "ſhewn to follow from them, then it will be "time enough for us to give our Anſwer to it."

The Earl of Claren-don.

How is the Throne vacant? *Is it only as to King* James, *or is it as to him and all or any of his Poſterity, or any of thoſe that are in the Remainder in the Royal Line in Succeſſion*? I do not find that the Word Heirs or Heirſhip has been in the leaſt hinted by any one of the Houſe of Commons. That came naturally into conſideration, after the *Vacancy* of the *Throne* was ſettled, and not before. Lord *Clarendon* proceeded, *If it be as to them too, then it muſt neceſſarily follow, that the Kingdom muſt thereby become* Elective, *or the Government changed into a Commonwealth*; which no Man in his Wits dreamt of, and his Lordſhip muſt needs dread it as much as a *Deluge* or *Conflagration*.

Serjeant Maynard.

"I am ſure if we be left without a Govern-"ment, as we find we are, ſure we muſt not be "perpetually under *Anarchy*. The Word *E-"lective* is none of the Commons Word, nei-"ther is the making the Kingdom *Elective* "the Thing they had in their Thoughts or In-"tentions; all they mean by this Matter, is to "provide a Supply for this Defect in the Go-"vernment, brought upon it by the late King's "Male-Adminiſtration."

Earl of Pem-broke

Said againſt the Vacancy, *You, Gentlemen, ask who the Throne is full of? I think it is ſufficient to know that there are Heirs who are to take the Lineal Succeſſion, though we do not, or cannot poſitively name the particular Perſon.* By which, in my Conception, his Lordſhip rejects the Prince of *Wales* as an Impoſtor; for if he had been a true Son, they could have poſitively nam'd the particular Perſon in the Succeſſion.

Earl of Notting-ham.

Lord *Nottingham* ſpoke about the Heirſhip, and making the Kingdom *Elective*. But as to the Heirſhip, it did not yet come into the Queſtion. As to the *Elective*, Mr. *Sacheverell* ſaid,

Mr. Sache-verell.

"You put it upon us to ſay, the Execution or "Exerciſe of the Government is *ceaſed*, but you "will not ſay the *Throne is vacant*, ſo much as "to King *James*. And if it be not, what have "we to do to conſider or debate of any Conſe-"quence, whether it will infer an *Election* or "not? What Satisfaction can it be to your "Lordſhips, or us, or the Nation, to know that "ſuch things as are mention'd in the Votes have "been done by King *James*, and *that he has "deſerted*, as you ſay, the Government, if he "ſtill retain a Right to it, and your Lordſhips "will not declare he hath no Right, but amuſe "the Kingdom with the doubtful Words of the "*Exerciſe*, as to him, *ceaſing*. If that be all "you mean, what need the Queſtion be ask'd, "How far it is *vacant*? for it ſhould ſeem it is "not *vacant* at all."

Earl of Notting-ham.

Will you pleaſe to ſuppoſe it vacant *as to King* James; *that is, that he hath no Right? then let us go on to the next ſtep.*

Mr. Sache-verell.

"That, my Lords, we cannot do; for all our Buſineſs is to maintain our own, *That the Throne is vacant.*

Mr. So-mers.

"My Lords, your Lordſhips, as a Reaſon a-"gainſt the Word *Abdicate*, ſay, *It is not a "Word known to our common Law.* But the "Word *vacant*, about which we are now diſpu-"ting, cannot have that Objection made to it; "for we find it in our *Records*, and even ap-"plied in a parallel Caſe to this of ours, in "1 *Hen.* IV. where it is expreſly made uſe of "more than once, and there it doth import "what I think it doth import in this Vote of "the Houſe of Commons, now in debate; and "to require any further or other Explica-"tion of it than the Record gives, will be ve-"ry hard and unreaſonable, for we are here to "give the Commons Reaſons for maintaining "their own Vote, and nothing elſe. If your "Lordſhips pleaſe to look into the Record in "that Caſe, there was firſt a Reſignation of the "Crown and Government, made and ſubſcrib'd "by King *Richard* II. and this is brought into "the Parliament, and there they take notice "that the *Sedes Regalis*, thoſe are the Words, "*fuit vacua*: and the Reſignation being read "both in *Latin* and *Engliſh* in the great Hall "at *Weſtminſter*, where the Parliament then "aſſembled, it was accepted by the Lords and "Commons.

"After that, it proceeds further, and there "are Articles exhibited againſt *Richard* II. "and upon theſe Articles they went on to Sen-"tence of Depoſition and Deprivation, and then "followeth the Words in the Record: *Et con-"feſſim, ut conſtabat, ex præmiſſis & eorum Oc-"caſione Regnum Angliæ cum pertinentis ſuis "vacare.* Then *Henry* IV. riſes up out of his "Place as Duke of *Lancaſter*, where he ſate "before; and ſtanding ſo high that he might "be well enough ſeen, makes claim to the "Crown. The Words in the Record are, *Dic-"tum Regnum Angliæ, ſic ut præmittitur, va-"cans una cum Corona vendicat.* After that the "Record goes on: Upon this Claim, the Lords "and Commons being ask'd what they thought "of it, they unanimouſly conſented, and the "Archbiſhop took him by the Hand and led "him *ad Sedem Regalem prædictam.*

"Nay, and after all this, it is there taken no-"tice and particularly obſerv'd, that *prius Va-"cante Sede Regali*, by the Leaſion and De-"poſition aforeſaid, all the publick Officers "*ceaſed*; there is care taken for *Henry* IVth's "taking the Royal Oath, and granting of new "Commiſſions.

"My Lords, the Commons do therefore ap-"prehend, that with very good Reaſon and Au-"thority they did in their Vote declare the "*Throne to be vacant:* But as to the going fur-"ther, to enquire into the Conſequences of that, "*concerning the Heirs and the* Election, or "what is to be done afterwards, is not our Com-"miſſion, who came here only to maintain their "Expreſſions in their Vote againſt your Lord-"ſhips Amendments."

Earl of Rocheſter.

The Lord *Rocheſter* had no regard to that Commiſſion, but inſiſted upon it, that the *Va-cancy of the Throne* would make the *Monarchy elective.* And did not the *Deſertion* of the Government do it every whit as much, when another was to have it? and ſince that other Perſon could not beſtow it upon himſelf, but muſt have it conferr'd on him by others, that *Conferring* is *Electing*, and reduces the Debate ſtill to a Difference about Words only.

Earl of Claren-don

The Earl of *Clarendon* continu'd the Doubt of turning the Kingdom into a Common-Wealth, adding, *I hope you will take into your Conſideration, what will become of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *if they ſhould differ from us in this Point.* And truly they did differ in an extraordinary manner, for they would not make uſe of either of the two Words *Deſerted* or *Abdicated*, but I think they us'd a much better

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better Word, *Forefaulted*, declaring that King *James* by many ill Acts of Government had *forfeited* the Kingdom, and had no more Right to it, than the late Earl of *Mar* has to his Lands in *North Britain*.

Sir Robert Howard.

" We do not doubt but that Power which " brought in another Line upon the *Vacancy* of " the *Throne* by the Leasion of *Richard* II. is " still, according to the Constitution, residing " in the Lords and Commons, and is legally " sufficient to supply the *Vacancy* that now is: " Use what Words you will, *Fill up*, or *Nomi-* " *nate*, or *Elect*." It being very plain, their Lordships did agree that there was nobody in the *Throne*, and that it was necessary it should be fill'd, but not with King *James*, the Difference continues still about the Terms only; and if they us'd, *to Elect*, or *Nominate*, or *Fill up*, either of them would have kept King *James* out as effectually as *Abdicated*, but 'twould not have alike preserv'd the Force and Vigour of the Constitution, which the Commons insisted upon.

Earl of Clarendon.

" Suppose you say nothing, but fill the Throne, " is it not to take away the right Line of Inhe- " ritance?" And does not Desertion imply a Vacancy as well as Abdication? That was not disputed.

Sir Thomas Lee.

" The Amendments your Lordships have " made to the Commons Vote, are not agreeing " with your other Votes, nor any of the Acts " since the *Abdication*. You were sensible we " were without a Government, by your desiring " the Prince to take the Administration, and to " issue out his Letters for this *Convention*. My " Lords, I would ask this Question, Whether " upon the *Original Contract*, there were not a " Power preserv'd in the Nation, to provide it " self in such Exigencies? That *Contract* was " to settle the Constitution; the making of Laws " is a Part of that *Contract*, and that those " Laws should oblige all Sides, when made; " but yet so as not to exclude this *Original Con-* " *stitution*, *in all* Governments which commence " by *Compact*, that there should be a Power in " the States to make Provision in all Times and " upon all Occasions, for extraordinary Cases " and Necessities, such as ours now is."

Sir G. Treby.

" To discourse whether the Crown of *England* " would by this means become *Elective*, is al- " together unnecessary, and I think your Lord- " ships have given no Reasons that are sufficient " to make the Objection out, neither any An- " swers to the Commons Reasons for their Vote. " It seems to me an odd way of Reasoning, first " to mistake the Meaning, and then give Rea- " sons against that mistaken Meaning. The " proper single Question here, is, Whether we " have well affirm'd upon the Premises that are " mention'd in the former Part of the Vote, that " King *James* has *Abdicated*, and *that the Throne* " *is thereby Vacant*. Your Lordships in part a- " gree, for you say he has *deserted the Govern-* " *ment*. Then you say, *He is not in it*: and it " is as much as to say, He has left the Kingdom " destitute of a Government. Now, if there be " any Sense, in which our Proposition is true, " will you deny the whole Proposition, because " it may be taken in a Sense that is dubious and " uncertain? You cannot say, the Throne is *Full*; " if then there be a Doubt with you, to be sure " it is not like to be evident to us, especially in this " Case. You are the Persons that usually are, " or ought to be present at the Delivery of our " Queens, and the proper Witnesses to the Birth " of our Princes. If then your Lordships had " known who was on the Throne, we should " certainly have heard his Name from you, and " that had been the best Reason against the *Va-* " *cancy* as could have been given.

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Their Lordships would not touch this Point. It would have exasperated the Nation beyond measure. Sir *Robert Howard* just hinted it, *We know something has been pretended to, as an Heir-Male, of which there are different Opinions; and in the mean time, we are without a Government*, and must we stay till the *Truth of the matter be found out*?

Earl of Pembroke.

Lord *Pembroke*, *The Laws made, are certainly Part of the* Original Contract: which his Lordship would not have asserted, if no such thing was to be come at.

Serjeant Maynard.

" If we look into the Law of Nature, which is " above all human Laws, we have enough to " justify us in what we are now a-doing, to pro- " vide for our selves and the Publick Weal in " such an Exigency as this."

Sir R. Temple.

If Laws made about the Succession *be so obliging, what then shall we say to the Succession of* Queen Elizabeth, *who had an Act of Parliament; to the keeping of which an Oath was required, against both her and her Sister*?

Earl of Pembroke.

" But to shew what Opinion she herself, and " the wise Men of her Times, had, and were " of, in this Point, there is an Act made in her " Reign yet in being, which declares it to be a " *Præmunire*, to affirm that Parliaments cannot " settle the Succession of the Crown or alter it." By this Statute, all the Addresses in K. *Charles* and K. *James*'s Reigns, and at the latter end of Queen *Anne*'s, which affirm'd the Right of Succession to be *Unalterable*, were subject to a *Præmunire*; and it were to be wish'd, that whenever the *Unalienable*, *Indefeasible*, *Unalterable*, is preach'd up again, a *Præmunire* may be executed upon the Preacher.

Sir R. Temple.

I think we are in as full a Capacity to take care of the Government as any of our Predecessors, in such an Exigence, and if we do as they have done before us, that is not to be call'd a Changing of the Monarchy from an Hereditary *to an* Elective.

Earl of Nottingham.

Gentlemen, " If any of you can settle this mat- " ter in its true Light, it would do very well, " and it is you must do it, for the Words are " yours, and so we must be told your Significa- " tion and Intention by yourselves. If you mean " by *Abdication* and *Vacancy* only, that the " King has *left the Government*, and it is de- " volv'd upon the next Successor, that may per- " haps satisfy my Lords, and we may agree " upon some Settlement."

Mr. Paul Foley.

" We are pursuing those Methods that agree " with our Laws and Constitution; for tho' the " *Monarchy* of this Nation be *Hereditary* in the " ordinary Course of Succession, yet there may " fall out a Case wherein that cannot be com- " ply'd with, and a plain *Vacancy* may ensue. " For put the Case, the whole Royal Line should " fail, as they are all mortal as well as we ourselves " are, should we in that Case have no Govern- " ment at all? And who then should we have but " the Lords and Commons? And I think that Case " comes nearest to the Case in question, where " the Successor is not known; for if he had been, " we should have heard of him before now. " And what is the Reason that it should then " in the former Case devolve to Lords and " Commons, but that there is no King? And " they being the Representative Body of the " Kingdom, are the only remaining Parts of the " Government, and are only to supply the De- " fect by providing a Successor. And is there " not the same Reason here? We are without " a King, I am sure I do not know of any that

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" we have; if that fall out to be the Caſe now, " that will infer a *Vacancy* with a witneſs; and " it will be of Neceſſity that the Lords and " Commons take care to ſupply it."

My Lords,

Mr. Eyre. " We are led, and I think out of the way, into " a very large Field, hunting after the Conſe- " quences of a Vote not yet ſettled or agreed un- " to: we have, as I conceive, nothing but the " Vote itſelf to conſider of or debate upon. We " do not pretend to prejudice any legal Right; " but what the Conſequences of this Vote may be, " before the Vote itſelf be paſt, I believe no Man " can reaſonably pretend to aſcertain, unleſs he " have the Spirit of Prophecy. The *Throne* may " be *Vacant* as to the Poſſeſſion, without the *Ex-* " *cluſion* of one that has a Right to the Succeſ- " ſion, or a Diſſolution of the Government in the " Conſtitution; neither will there be room for " the Objection of a King *de Facto*, and not *de* " *Jure*, which ſome of the Lords were pleas'd " to expreſs their Fears of.

" The Gentleman that ſtands by me in- " ſtanc'd in a Record, and that was miſtaken, " as a Precedent for the Proceeding in this Caſe: " It was only mention'd by him to ſhew, that " by uſing the Word *Vacant*, the Commons did " no more than our Anceſtors did before us, and " therefore it was not an unknown Word or " Thing to have the *Throne Vacant*. We do appre- " hend we have made a right and apt Concluſion " from the Premiſes, for otherwiſe all the Vote " is but Hiſtorical. We declare the late King " hath broke the *Original Contract*, *hath viola-* " *ted the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn* " *himſelf out of the Kingdom*; *that he hath* Ab- " dicated, actually Renounc'd the Government. " What occaſion was there for ſuch a Declara- " tion as this, if nothing were concluded from it? " That were only to give the Kingdom a com- " pendious Hiſtory of thoſe Miſeries they have " too well learn'd by feeling them; therefore " there was a Neceſſity to make ſome Conclu- " ſion, and none ſo natural as this, that we are " left without a King, in the Words of the " Vote; that the *Throne* is thereby *Vacant*, " which it may be as to the Poſſeſſion, and yet " the Right of Succeſſion no way prejudiced. " But, my Lords, we come here, by the Com- " mands of the Houſe of Commons, to debate " the Reaſons of their Vote, and your Lord- " ſhips Amendments, not to diſpute what will " be the Conſequences, which is not at preſent " our Purpoſe."

This Debate laſted ſeveral Hours, and as ſoon as the *Managers* for the Lords had made a Report in that Houſe, a new Debate aroſe there, long and warm, whether or no they ſhould inſiſt on their Amendments, or agree with the *Grand Vote* of the Commons. Many of the chief Mem- bers, who were before for a *Regency*, came over to the Party who were for a *King*, which was alſo encreas'd by the Arrival of ſome Lords; inſomuch, that when the two Queſtions about the Words *Abdicate* and *Vacant* were put, they were both carry'd in the *Affirmative*; upon which Mr. Archdeacon makes a very grave, but childiſh Ob- ſervation, " From which Principles, and the gene- " ral Opinion of both Lords and Commons, " that the perſonal Right of King *James* was " not *unalienable*, it has been often infer'd, " *That there can be no indefeaſible Right in any* " *of his Heirs, either near or remote.*" He has no Heirs nearer than his Couſins in *Savoy*, and the People of *England* don't care whether their Right be *defeaſible* or *indefeaſible*: They will ne- ver draw any Inference from that Vote, which was not before infer'd from the *Original Contract*, and the natural Right of their *Repreſentative* to fill up the *Throne*, when it is at any time *Vacant*.

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The next day after the Houſe of Commons had paſs'd their *Grand Vote*, they *reſolv'd*, " That it hath been found by Experience to be " inconſiſtent with this Proteſtant Kingdom to " be govern'd by a *Popiſh* Prince;" which Vote they ſent up to the Lords for their Concur- rence: And their Lordſhips having concurr'd in it, did it not imply that the Government of King *James* was inconſiſtent with the Govern- ment of *England*, and that that Inconſiſtency turn'd the *Deſertion* into an *Abdication*? Nay, *Echard* himſelf acknowledges that King *James* had *forfeited* his perſonal Right, which, if he thought ſo, muſt make him read the Arguments for the Word *Deſerted* with great Prejudice and Averſion. *Hiſt. Revol.* *p.* 253.

While they were debating it, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* continu'd his remarkable Reſer- vedneſs and ſeeming Indifference ſome time, hearing all that was ſaid to him without making Anſwers upon this Head. All he ſaid himſelf was, *He came over upon Invitation to ſave the Kingdom, and now he had brought together a true and free* Repreſentative *of the Nation, he therefore left it to them to do what they thought beſt for the Good of the Kingdom; and when things were once ſettled, he ſhould be well ſatis- fy'd to return back to* Holland, in which 'tis pro- bable he preſerv'd his Phlegm more than his Sincerity, for not long after he ſent for the Mar- quis of *Hallifax*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and ſome other leading Members of the Houſe of Lords, to whom he ſpoke to this ef- fect, " That he had been ſilent till then, be- " cauſe he would neither ſay nor do the leaſt " thing that might ſeem to intrench upon any " Man's full Freedom of deliberating and voting " in Matters of ſuch Importance. He was re- " ſolv'd neither to court nor threaten any Perſon " whatſoever, and therefore he had wholly " declin'd giving out his own Thoughts. He " found ſome were for putting the Government " into the hands of a *Regent*. He would ſay " nothing againſt that, if it was thought the beſt " means for ſettling their Affairs; only he " thought it neceſſary to tell them, that he him- " ſelf would not be the *Regent*. Therefore, if " they continu'd in that Deſign, they muſt look " out for ſome other Perſon to be put in that " Station; for he himſelf ſo well knew the Con- " ſequences of it, that he would not accept of " it."——*He ſaid*, " He found that others were " for putting the Princeſs ſingly on the Throne, " and that he ſhould reign by her Courteſy; to " which he ſaid, no Man could eſteem a Woman " more than he did the Princeſs, but he was of " that Temper, that he could not think of hold- " ing any thing upon ſuch Terms as the Life of " a Wife; nor could he think it reaſonable to " have any ſhare in the Government, unleſs it " was veſted in his Perſon, and that for the " Term of Life. If they thought fit to ſettle it " otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe them in it, " but he would return back to *Holland*, and " concern himſelf no more in their Affairs." *Which I take however to be a kind of Menace.* He added, *That whatſoever others may think of a Crown, it did not appear ſuch a thing in his Eyes, but that he could live very well, and very well pleas'd without it.* He concluded, " That tho' he could not reſolve to accept of a " Dignity, ſo as to hold it under the Life of ano- " ther, yet he thought that the Iſſue of the " Princeſs *Anne* ſhould be preferr'd in the Suc- " ceſſion to any Iſſue he might have by any o- " ther Wife after the preſent Princeſs." It muſt

Prince of Orange's Thoughts of the Con- vention.

And the Regency.

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be own'd, that there was great Reaſon for the Prince to ſay what he ſaid, that a *Regency* would have ill Conſequences, an eternal Struggle between that and a prior ſuperior Right, which on all emergent Occaſions would have broke out to perplex and ruin the *Regent*, whoſe Power being ſo uncertain and diſputable, would be but a ſmall Encouragement for Foreign Princes to enter into Alliance with him, which was what his Highneſs had moſt at heart, after the Settlement of this Nation, to put a ſtop to the Growth of the exorbitant Power of *France*. His Sentiments were not deſign'd to be kept ſecret, and being reported abroad, they had great Influence in the Debates at *Weſtminſter*, and haſten'd things to a Concluſion.

Princeſs of Orange.

I do not think there were really ſo many Difficulties ſtarted, with relation to the Right of the Princeſs of *Orange*, as *Echard* pretends, or that her Diſpoſition was ſo little known as to create Doubts; tho' probably ſome might be apprehenſive, that if ſhe thought herſelf injur'd, ſhe, who by reaſon of her Youth and Health was like to outlive the Prince, might take revenge on all that poſtpon'd her Succeſſion, when it was in her power. The Satisfaction of theſe was left to Dr. *Burnet*, who had diſcours'd her Highneſs on that nice Subject two Years before, and knew her Mind. Accordingly he, with the Prince's Leave, declar'd her Royal Highneſs's Reſolution to ſubmit to the Preference that might be given her Royal Conſort, on account of his great Genius, Experience, and all Princely and Heroick Qua-

Princeſs of Denmark.

lities. The Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* conſented to have her Succeſſion ſuſpended in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; but I have been told her Conſent was not procur'd very eaſily, nor was ſhe ever heartily reconcil'd to it, tho' ſhe did not let it be known to any but her moſt truſty Confidents.

Earl of Danby *for the Princeſs of* Orange.

The Earl of *Danby* carry'd things very high in favour of the Princeſs of *Orange*; he was ſo officious as to ſend a Meſſenger over to *Holland* with a Letter to her, giving her an Account of the State of the Debate, and deſiring to know her own Senſe of the Matter; for if it was her Deſire, *He did not doubt but he ſhould be able to ſet her alone on the Throne.* She return'd him a ſharp Anſwer, letting him know, *She was the Prince's Wife, and would never be any other than what ſhould be in conjunction with him, and under him; and that ſhe ſhould take it extreme unkindly, if any, under the pretence of their Care for her, ſhould ſet up a divided Intereſt between her and the Prince.* Wiſe and generous Sentiments, worthy ſo pious and ſo prudent a Princeſs; not content with this, ſhe immediately ſent both the Lord *Danby*'s Letter, and her Anſwer, to the Prince, which open Proceeding was the moſt effectual Diſcouragement that could be to any future Attempt to create a Miſunderſtanding or Jealouſy between them. His Highneſs bore it coolly, and without any Expoſtulation with the Earl of *Danby*, who atton'd for this wrong Step by a warm Speech after the Report of the laſt Conference with the Commons, not only to prove the *Vacancy* of the *Throne*, but the Neceſſity of ſupplying it by the Prince of *Orange*, in which he was ſtrenuouſly

Marquis of Halifax *puts the Queſtion for King* William *and Queen* Mary.

ſupported by the Marquis of *Halliſax*, who from the firſt of the Debates to the laſt had been moſt zealous for the Prince, and taking advantage of this favourable Opportunity, immediately put the Queſtion, *Whether their Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *ſhould be declar'd* King *and* Queen? and it was carry'd in the *Affirmative* by 20 Voices. *Yea's* 65, *No's* 45.

A. D. 1688.

Reſolv'd, "By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, that the "Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſhall be declar'd "*King* and *Queen* of *England*, and all the "Dominions thereunto belonging."

Which Vote their Lordſhips explain'd at their next Seſſion by the following one.

Reſolv'd,

Settlement of the Crown.

"That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* "ſhall be King and Queen of *England*, &c. "for their natural Lives, and the Life of the "longer Liver of them; and that the ſole and "full *Regal Power* be in the Prince only, in the "Name of both. And that after their Deceaſes "the Crown ſhall belong to the Heirs of the Bo"dy of the Princeſs; and for Default of ſuch "Iſſue to the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, and "the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of "ſuch Iſſue, to the Heirs of the ſaid Prince of "*Orange*; and for Default of ſuch Iſſue, to the "Perſon that ſhall be nam'd, and in ſuch man"ner as ſhall be limited by Act of Parliament; "and for Default of ſuch Limitation and Regu"lation, to the lawful Heirs of the ſaid Prince "of *Orange*." A Lord, whom *Echard* does not think fit to to name, mov'd ſeveral Lords to enter their *Diſſents* to theſe Votes; but it ſeems, tho' they were ready enough in their Inclinations, yet they thought the Caſe ſo nice, that they all refus'd to ſubſcribe their Names, for which I am very ſorry; it would have been a fine Roll to have oblig'd Poſterity with.

Their Lordſhips having agreed to abrogate the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, which had been ſo miſchievous in the former Reigns, *Reſolv'd*, that the following Oaths ſhould be taken inſtead of them.

New Oaths.

I A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe and ſwear to bear true Allegiance to their Majeſties King* William *and Queen* Mary.

So help me God.

I A. B. *do ſwear, that I do from my Heart abhor, deteſt, abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable Doctrine and Poſition, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the* Pope, *or any Authority of the See of* Rome, *may be depos'd or murther'd by their Subjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, that no Foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual, within this Realm.*

So help me God.

Theſe *Votes* and *Reſolutions* being ſent down by the Lords to the Commons for their Concurrence, the latter, after a ſhort Debate, agreed to them with ſome Amendments; and to the new Oaths without any Amendment: But they were proteſted againſt in the Upper Houſe by eleven Biſhops, and twelve Temporal Peers, whoſe Number within two or three Days encreas'd to thirty-ſeven; and who not only declar'd againſt the Oaths, but expreſs'd themſelves againſt the *Abdication*, and the *Vacancy* of the *Throne*.

Declaration of Rights.

In the mean while a ſelect Committee of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Somers* at their head, were buſily employ'd in drawing up a ſolemn *Declaration* of *Rights*, containing the ſeveral Facts and Reaſons for King *James*'s *Forfeiture* of the Crown; aſſerting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subject, ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown, and appointing the *New Oaths*. Mr. Archdeacon *Echard* diſcovers a Secret here,

The

A. D. 1688. *The Management of the Prince had ſuch an Effect upon the Leaders, as to cauſe them to haſten and ſhorten the famous Declaration, which was ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, February* the 11th, At what time the ſingular Lord he ſpeaks of, who ſtuck faſt by King *James*, propos'd to thoſe Peers, who in moſt of the Votes had been of his mind, *That they would all agree by Conſent to leave the Houſe at once*; by which they would have *abdicated* their Seats there, as King *James* had *abdicated* the Throne; and no doubt that *Auguſt Aſſembly* would have dealt with them accordingly. But two wiſe and noble Lords, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Nottingham*, could not approve of ſuch Raſhneſs and Temerity, and told them, *that it would be of ill Conſequence, that they muſt ſupport the Government as well as they could, and could never anſwer it if they left the Houſe.*

On the 12th of *February* the Lords had a Conference with the Commons about the Declaration, and the Amendments to the Votes beforemention'd. *Managers* for their Lordſhips were,

Earl of *Bridgwater.*	Earl *Rivers.*
Lord *Delamere.*	Earl of *Stamford.*
Earl of *Kingſton.*	Lord Viſcount *Newport.*
Biſhop of *London.*	Lord *Vaughan.*
Earl of *Macclesfield.*	Lord *Ward.*
Lord *Montagu.*	Earl of *Northampton.*

The very Names of theſe Lords lead us to the Expectation of a happy Agreement between the two Houſes for the Settlement of the Nation; which was ſoon compleated, and both Lords and Commons agreed to the Votes and Declaration of Rights by which King *William* and Queen *Mary* were ſettled on the Throne, and the Subjects Liberties aſſerted and ſecur'd in the manner following.

It was objected by Mr. *F*..... againſt the *Grand Vote* for the *Abdication*, that King *James*'s ill Acts of Government amounted not to what was underſtood by the Word, *Such a Violation of his Truſt, as was a Subverſion of the Conſtitution, and a Renouncing of it.* We ſhall ſee beſt, whether it was ſo or not, by reading the following *Declaration.*

" Whereas the late King *James* II. by the " Aſſiſtance of divers evil Counſellors, Judges, " and Miniſters employ'd by him, did endea- " vour to ſubject and extirpate the *Proteſtant* " Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this " Kingdom,

Declaration of RIGHT. " By aſſuming and exerciſing a Power of diſ- " penſing with, and ſuſpending of Laws, and the " Execution of Laws, without Conſent of Par- " liament,

" By committing and proſecuting divers wor- " thy Prelates, for humbly petitioning to be " excus'd from concurring to the ſaid aſſum'd " Power,

" By iſſuing, and cauſing to be executed, a " Commiſſion under the *Great Seal*, for erecting " a Court call'd, *The Court of Commiſſion for* " *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*,

" By levying Money for and to the Uſe of the " Crown, by pretence of *Prerogative*, for other " Time and in other Manner than the ſame was " *granted by* Parliament,

" By raiſing and keeping a *Standing Army* " within the Kingdom in time of Peace, with- " out Conſent of Parliament, and quartering " Soldiers contrary to Law,

" By cauſing ſeveral good Subjects, being Pro- " teſtants, to be diſarm'd, at the ſame time when " Papiſts were both arm'd and employ'd con- " trary to Law.

" By violating the Freedom of Election of " Members to ſerve in Parliament,

" By Proſecutions in the Court of *King's-* " *Bench*, for Matters and Cauſes cognizable on- " ly in Parliament, and by divers other Illegal " and Arbitrary Courſes,

" And whereas of late Years Partial, Corrupt " and Unqualify'd Perſons have been return'd, " and ſerv'd on Juries in Trials, and particularly " divers Jurors in Trials for High-Treaſon, " which were not Freeholders,

" And exceſſive Bail hath been requir'd of " Perſons committed in criminal Cauſes, to e- " lude the Benefit of the Laws for the Liberty " of the Subject,

" And exceſſive Fines have been impoſed,

" And Illegal and Cruel Puniſhments inflicted,

" And ſeveral Grants and Promiſes made of " Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction " or Judgment againſt whom the ſame was to " be levied: All which are utterly and directly " contrary to the known Laws, and Statutes, " and Freedom of this Realm,

" And where as the late King *James* II. hav- " ing *abdicated* the Government, and the *Throne* " being thereby *vacant*,

" His Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, whom " it hath pleaſed Almighty God to make the " Glorious Inſtrument of delivering this King- " dom from Popery and Arbitrary Power, did, " by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and " Temporal, and divers principal Perſons of the " Commons, cauſe Letters to be written to the " Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Pro- " teſtants, and other Letters to the ſeveral Coun- " ties, Cities, Univerſities, Boroughs and Cinque- " Ports, for the chuſing of ſuch Perſons to repre- " ſent them, as were of right to be ſent to Parlia- " ment, to meet and ſit at *Weſtminſter, Janua-* " *ry* 22, 1689, in order to ſuch an Eſtabliſh- " ment, as that their Religion, Laws and Li- " berties might not be again in danger of being " ſubverted; upon which Letters, Elections " have been accordingly made,

" And thereupon the ſaid Lords Spiritual and " Temporal, and Commons, purſuant to their " reſpective Letters and Elections, being now " aſſembled in a full and free Repreſentation of " this Nation, taking into their moſt ſerious " Conſideration the beſt means for the attaining " the Ends aforeſaid, do, in the firſt place, as " their Anceſtors in the like Caſes have uſually " done, for the vindicating their ancient Rights " and Liberties, DECLARE,

" That the pretended Power of ſuſpending " Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal " Authority, without Conſent of Parliament, is " illegal,

" That the pretended Power of Diſpenſing " Laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal " Authority, as it hath been aſſumed and exer- " ciſed of late, is illegal,

" That the *Commiſſion* for erecting the late " *Court of Commiſſioners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, " and all other Commiſſions and Courts of like " nature, are Illegal and Pernicious,

" That levying Money to or for the Uſe of " the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, with- " out Grant of Parliament for longer Time, or in " any other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be " granted, is illegal,

" That it is the Right of the Subject to peti- " tion the King, and all Commitments and Pro- " ſecutions for ſuch Petitioning, are illegal,

" That the raiſing and keeping a *Standing* " *Army* within the Kingdom in time of Peace, " unleſs it be by Conſent of Parliament, is a- " gainſt Law,

A. D. 1688.

" That the Subjects, being Proteſtants, may " have Arms for their Defence ſuitable to their " Condition, and as allowed by Law,

" That the Election of Members of Parliament " ought to be free,

" That the Freedom of Speech, or Debates " and Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to " be impeach'd or queſtion'd in any Court or " Place out of Parliament,

" That exceſſive Bail ought not to be requir'd, " nor exceſſive Fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual Puniſhments inflicted,

" That Jurors ought to be duly impannell'd " and return'd; and Jurors, which paſs upon " Men in Trials for High-Treaſon, ought to be " Freeholders,

" That all Grants, and Promiſes of Fines and " Forfeitures of particular Perſons before Conviction, are illegal and void,

" And that for Redreſs of all Grievances, and " for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held " frequently,

" And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon " all and ſingular the Premiſſes, as their undoubted Rights and Privileges; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings or Proceedings " to the Prejudice of the People in any of the " ſaid Premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn " hereafter in Conſequence or Example,

" To which Demand of their Rights, they " are particularly encourag'd by the Declaration of his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as " being the only means for obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy therein. Having therefore " an intire Confidence, that his ſaid Highneſs " the Prince of *Orange* will perfect the Deliverance ſo far advanc'd by him, and will ſtill " preſerve them from the Violation of their " Rights, which they have here *aſſerted*, and " from all other Attempts upon their Religion, " Rights and Liberties,

" The ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, " and Commons aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, do " *Reſolve*,

That WILLIAM *and* MARY, *&c.*

Then follows the Reſolution before-mention'd for the Settlement of the Crown; at the cloſe of which, they ſay,

" And the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the ſaid Prince and " Princeſs of *Orange* to accept the ſame accordingly: And that the *Oaths* hereafter mention'd be taken by all Perſons of whom the " *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* might be " requir'd by Law inſtead of them, and that " the ſaid *Oaths* of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* " be *abrogated*," Which Oaths are there inſerted.

Princeſs of Orange *arrives in* England.

The Day before this Declaration and Tender of the Crown were offer'd to their Royal Highneſſes, the Princeſs of *Orange* arrived in *England*. She had been oblig'd to ſtay longer in *Holland* than ſhe deſir'd to have done, by Froſt and contrary Winds; which gave the Prince's Enemies occaſion to give out, ſhe was detain'd there by his Order, that ſhe might not come and put in her Claim to the Crown; for the *Cavaliers*, *Tories*, and *Jacobites* have always been fed with falſe Reports, to keep up their Spirits in Diſtreſs and Deſpair; and thoſe Reports being ever ſo fooliſh, abſurd and incredible, have not hinder'd their Currency. They alſo gave out, That ſhe was not well pleas'd with the late Tranſactions, with reſpect both to her Father and the preſent Settlement. Upon which, it is ſaid the Prince wrote to her, " That it was ne- " ceſſary ſhe ſhould at firſt appear ſo chearful, " that no one might be diſcourag'd by her Looks, " or made to apprehend that ſhe was uneaſy " at any thing that had been done:" Which Advice ſhe very punctually follow'd, and put on an Air of Gaiety, which had very little of Affectation in it. The Prince and Princeſs of *Denmark* met her Royal Highneſs at *Greenwich*; from whence they paſs'd by Barge up to *Whitehall*, amidſt the loud Shouts and Acclamations of the Multitude, who doubly rejoic'd for her happy Arrival, and her being juſt declar'd Queen. Never was Joy ſo reaſonable, ſo general, and ſo tranſporting. A. D. 1688.

Echard very ſqueamiſhly obſerves, *She had ſome tender Pangs when ſhe enter'd her Father's Palace, and was going to mount his Throne*; which is doubtleſs as falſe as what follows: She ſaid, *She was under Direction, and acting a part that was not natural to her.* I can hardly think even he would have ventur'd to have reported ſuch a Falſity, had he ſeen her then as I did, and there was nothing to be ſeen in her Looks which was not as natural and as lovely, as ever were Charms in Woman; nor was her Empire leſs over the Hearts than over the Wills of the *Engliſh*.

A Popiſh Lady furniſh'd the Archdeacon with the next Story. " Falling the ſame Night " into a more private Converſation with the " Earl of *Danby*, ſhe ſhew'd her Sentiments " with full Freedom and Openneſs." Upon his Diſcourſe to her of the late Proceedings, and the intended Settlements, ſhe ſaid to this effect: *Do you but take care to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, the Liberties of* England, *and the general Good of the Publick, and then make me what you pleaſe — I value neither Titles nor Honours, but to ſupport theſe great Things. When you can make them ſure without me, ſend me back as ſoon as you pleaſe.* Such Notions as theſe, are indeed worthy the Greatneſs of her Royal Highneſs's Soul. However, Mr. *Echard*'s pretended Pangs for her mounting her Father's *Throne*; which, by the way, was *then* no more her Father's, than it was the Archdeacon's; agree very little with what I have heard that ſhe ſhould ſay at her *Coronation*. The Princeſs of *Denmark* obſerving that ſhe was heated with the Royal Robes, the Breath of ſuch a prodigious Crowd as aſſiſted at it, and tired with the Time and Ceremony, ſaid ſoftly to her, *I pity your Fatigue, Madam.* Her Majeſty reply'd, *A Crown, Siſter, is not ſo heavy as it ſeems to be*, or ſomething like it.

The next day, *February* 13th, both Houſes of *Convention* waited upon their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* in a Body at the *Banquetting Houſe*, where the Prince and Princeſs ſate on two large Seats under a Canopy of State.

Convention tender the Crown to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange.

The Clerk of the Crown having read the *Declaration of Right* with a loud Voice, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, in the name of both Houſes, the *Repreſentative* of the Nation, made a Tender of the Crown to them, purſuant to the Prayer in that Declaration. To which his Royal Highneſs the Prince return'd the following Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Prince accepts it.

This is certainly the greateſt Proof of the Truſt you have in us that can be given, which is the thing that makes us value it the more, and we thankfully accept *what you have offer'd. And as I had no other Intention in coming, than to preſerve your* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *ſo you may be ſure that I ſhall endeavour to ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to concur in any thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and*

A. D. 1688. *and to do all that is in my power to advance the* Welfare *and* Glory *of the Nation.*

Upon which there was a Shout ſo juſt and ſo loud, that it may bear Compariſon with the Acclaim in Holy Writ, when *the Morning Stars ſang, and the Sons of God ſhouted for Joy.* Such was the Voice of a People, who had their Deliverer and Liberty before them. The Multitudes without caught the grateful Acclamation, and Joy and Rapture ſounded in every Mouth, and ſparkled in every Eye.

Both Houſes had paſs'd a Proclamation in form, and it was ſolemnly publiſh'd, with a noble and numerous Attendance, in all the uſual Places, filling City and Suburbs, and afterwards the three Kingdoms with ſuch Exultations, as they had never felt or heard of before. The Proclamation was in the following Terms.

Proclamation for King WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

Whereas it has pleaſed Almighty God, in his great Mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchſafe us a Miraculous Deliverance *from* Popery *and* Arbitrary Power, *and that our Preſervation is due, next under God, to the Reſolution and Conduct of his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange, *whom God hath choſen to be the* Glorious Inſtrument *of ſuch an ineſtimable Happineſs to us and our Poſterity: And being ſenſible and fully perſuaded of the great and eminent Virtues of her Highneſs the Princeſs of* Orange, *whoſe Zeal for the* PROTESTANT *Religion will, no doubt, bring a Bleſſing along with her upon this Nation; And whereas the Lords and Commons now aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, *have made a* DECLARATION *and preſented the ſame to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *and therein deſir'd them to accept the Crown, who have accepted the ſame accordingly: We therefore,* &c. *do with full Conſent* Publiſh *and* Proclaim, *according to the ſaid* Declaration, WILLIAM *and* MARY, *Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *to be* KING *and* QUEEN *of* England, France *and* Ireland, *with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging,* &c.

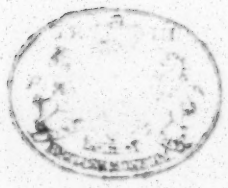
Thus have I finiſh'd my Journey with great Pains and Patience. I have travel'd thro' difficult and dangerous Ways, where many Travellers before me have been bewilder'd and loſt. Some have fallen from Precipices, and periſh'd by their Raſhneſs and Obſtinacy; probably the Author or Authors of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory will be reckon'd among theſe. Others have been miſled into Bogs and Mire by falſe Lights, like that of *Ignis fatuus*, which was the Misfortune of the *Compleat* Hiſtorian and Archdeacon *Echard*; and none have kept their Way with an equal and ſober Pace, which is the only ſure one to bring a Man to his Journey's End with Pleaſure and Profit. A. D. 1688.

What I propos'd by this Undertaking, was to ſhew that the Royal Houſe of *Stuart*, from the Acceſſion of the *Firſt* King *James* to the Throne of *England*, to the *Abdication* of the *Second*, did endeavour to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and ſubject this Kingdom to Arbitrary Power *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*; That in the Proſecution of their Deſign, they met with vigorous Oppoſition from the moſt Virtuous and Generous of the *Engliſh* Nation, who aſſerted their Liberty upon all Occaſions, according as the Neceſſity of the Caſe requir'd, and preſerv'd it, when in the utmoſt Peril of being loſt, by their Courage and Conſtancy.

The Fate of King *James* the Second, which is the *Cataſtrophe* of this Hiſtory, would, like that of a Tragedy, move Pity as well as Terror, if that Prince had been the leaſt ſenſible of his Miſgovernment: But all Compaſſion is taken off by his glorying in the Attempt to bind theſe Nations in the Chains of Spiritual and Temporal Bondage, and his ſhewing no Sorrow, but for his not being able to accompliſh it.

There is nothing in his Example which is in any danger of Temptation, but there is much in the Example of our Countrymen to invite us to imitate it, and to leave it in the beſt manner recommended to Poſterity, for whoſe ſake chiefly this Work was undertaken.

F I N I S.



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